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A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

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

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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PREFATORY.

Judging from many private communications received from all parts of India, it would appear that such a journal as the Indian Antiquary was much wanted; and if it is considered that almost every branch of scientific research possesses, not merely the transactions of societies specially devoted to its culture, but also weekly, monthly, and quarterly journals, publishing all sorts of information, for all classes of readers; it is surely not too much to expect that Indian Research should be of sufficient interest to Europeans resident in India, or interested in it and to intelligent and educated natives of the country, to support one journal devoted to its promotion. The scope of this will be as wide as possible—addressing the general reader with information on Manners and Customs, Arts, Mythology, Feasts, Festivals and Rites, Antiquities and History,—in which every one, in any way connected with the country, ought to feel an intelligent interest,—and, at the same time, it is intended to be a medium of communication between Archæologists in the East and the West. Its Correspondence columns will afford ample opportunity for the amicable discussion of many questions, on which more information is yet required before any fixed opinion can be formed, and for propounding Queries on all matters fairly within the domain of Oriental Research. By presenting its readers with abstracts of the most recent researches of savans in India, Europe and America, and by its translations from German, French, and other European languages—it will make fully accessible to them many Native Scholars, unacquainted with these languages, the latest results arrived at by the greatest continental scholars. It will be the aim of the Indian Antiquary to supplement the Journals of the various Asiatic Societies by directing the attention of its readers to the best articles in each, and supplying a variety of such articles, notes, and memoranda as never find their way to the pages of these publications.

Among the many subjects we wish and hope to see discussed, we may enumerate—Architectural and other Lithic remains—of the extent and variety of which, in India, the world is only beginning to form a vague idea. And as attention has been specially directed to this branch of late years, and Government has at last very properly responded to the demand for an Archæological Survey, we may hope to aid it by the early publication of all the information respecting its progress and discoveries communicated to us by its officers, and aid it by information respecting localities and remains as yet but imperfectly known. Then there are old Native Engineering works of no small interest—of which, scarcely one satisfactory account of a single work has yet appeared in type. Local legends and Folklore, Proverbs and Songs, are subjects at every one's door who can speak a vernacular tongue, and, besides their intrinsic interest, they often shed a most instructive light on the habits of thought of the people. When ready to go to press, we have had the pleasure of receiving a contribution to this department that we feel sure all our readers will welcome with delight.
Mr. Gover's "Folk-songs of Southern India" is not only an instructive book, it is probably without exception, the most interesting work relating to India and the social character of its people, that has appeared for years; and it shows what a patient worker may effect.

Then the History, Chronology and Genealogies of the many provinces, races, and royal families are all but exhaustless subjects. On the costumes ancient and modern; on implements of domestic use, husbandry, and war; on Sports and Pastimes; and on the Arts and Handicrafts, of India, volumes might be filled. The Ethnology of the various tribes and the connections of their languages, &c., may well occupy many enquirers. Topography and Geography—ancient and modern,—are only beginning to attract attention, and are susceptible of very extensive elucidation. Our Indian Governments have at length taken up the compilation of Provincial Gazetteers; but such works can at first be only approximately complete, and the compilers—however talented and energetic—cannot be expected to obtain the best possible information, in more than a majority of cases. Here, again, our contributors may be of public service, by supplying our pages with articles on points of local geography and history.

Numismatology is another branch for which much remains to be done. There are coinages—Sah, Gupta, Baktrian, Hindu, and Mughal, of various ages and dynasties, that will amply reward patient study, and respecting which we expect to be aided with researches and coins to figure. Inscriptions abound in some districts more than in others, and if fac-similes are sent to the Indian Antiquary, we hope to find the means of publishing them for decipherment and translation by those among our correspondents best skilled in such studies.

Then there are the subjects of Mythology and Religions—with their sects, rites and ceremonies; Literature and Bibliography; Philology and Grammar; Astronomy; Medicine; Geology and Natural History,—which will all supply themes interesting to the scholar, the man of science, the politician, the educator, the missionary, the general reader and the tourist.

We are gratified to find that so ready a response has been made by so many eminentscholars in India to our request for aid, and we have to thank many others for voluntarily offering very valuable contributions to our pages. We invite all our readers to aid us with their pens; there is no country where fresh information of the most varied sort lies so near to every one's hand as in India; and whoever tries to write, we feel sure, will find the field widen and deepen in interest the oftener he makes the attempt to put it into form for the interest and instruction of others.

Finally, by inducing subscribers to join our ranks, and thereby obtaining for us the pecuniary means of which, as yet, we necessarily stand in need, our readers and first supporters will enable us to accomplish the services at which we aim; and no pains will be spared on our part in endeavouring to stimulate that literary spirit and power which very many of those who have first welcomed our proposals are known to possess, and which not a few are ready to exert for the instruction of all who will join us.

ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF OLD HINDI IN ORIENTAL PHILOLOGY.

by JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c. BALASORE.

Oriental scholars in Europe, as a rule, devote their time and attention exclusively to Sanskrit and its off-shoots, Pali and the Prakrits. With the exception of the veteran Professor, M. Garcin de Tassy, I know of none who have considered the Indian vernaculars of the mediaval and modern periods worthy of their study, and even that eminent scholar's labours have been chiefly directed to Urdu, and other quite modern branches of the Hindi group of dialects. Manuscripts of works by Hindi writers from the twelfth to the sixteenth century are very rare, and those that exist are seldom complete. On the occasion of my recent visit to England, I found that the British Museum contained none, the Bodleian had one bad manuscript of Chand, (which was entered in the catalogue as a Sanskrit poem!) and the library of the Royal Asiatic Society had not more than half-a-dozen works of this class. I found only three or four imperfect copies of some of the latest and most common of these poets in the India Office library, and I believe continental collections are entirely destitute of them, though I had no time during my short stay in Paris to verify the fact.

A wide field is then awaiting attention. Its
interest and importance for the student of comparative philology will be apparent, when I say that the modern Aryan group of languages has been developed from the Sanskrit, or rather from that old Aryan ursprache, of which Sanskrit is our only surviving type, by precisely the same processes as those by which the Romance group in Europe has evolved itself from the Latin. We see in both groups exactly parallel developments, marvellously synchronous, and precisely similar in point of structure. So also with the German group; readers of Grimm might almost take his rules and the skeleton of his German Grammar, and fill up the details with examples drawn from Hindi, Marathi, and other Indian languages. Inasmuch then, as what we want, more especially in philology at present, is an absolute parallelism of all developments in groups of languages of the same family, to enable us to give to our science that mathematical precision which it is at present reproached with lacking, there can be few more important lines of study for the enquirer to follow, than a thorough elucidation of the principles of development of the Aryan languages of India. The first requisite for this task is, that there should exist an accessible and trustworthy series of texts. As long as the Indian authors remain in manuscript, no real work can be done. We must have Chand in print, just as readily procurable as Otfried or Notker, so that he may be analyzed and commented upon, and the lessons which his rude style teaches, as fully understood as those of the old and middle-German writers.

It is generally supposed, that, to translate an old Hindi work, is as easy as it is to translate a modern German or French novel. This is a very great mistake, and entails much undeserved neglect and some little contempt, upon scholars who undertake the task. I wish therefore, as one who has had occasion to spend many a weary hour over the dark and mystic pages of these knotty old poets, to say a few words with a view to putting the importance and difficulty of these studies in a truer light, and winning some sympathy and recognition for those who are engaged in what seems to them at present, a task of almost disheartening difficulty.

The earliest Hindi poem extant, as far as we know at present, is the great epic of Chand Bardai, [Baroth] called the Prithiraja Rāsau, which was written about A.D. 1200, and records the life and exploits of Prithiraja of the Chauhān tribe of Rājputs, the last Hindu sovereign of Dehli. This is followed by a long string of writers of religious poetry, whose names are too well known to need repetition here, but whose works are, perhaps, not so familiar as their names. In spite of occasional dialectic differences, and although a gradual modernization of style and vocabulary is discernible in them, these poets are all of one type as regards grammatical construction, and general characteristics. And this type is about the most enigmatical that can possibly be imagined.

In the first place, as though peculiarities of grammar and syntax were not enough to bewilder the student, a mechanical stumbling-block of the gravest description meets him at the outset. All the words in one line are written together without any break; thus—

\[
\text{Chand.}
\]

\[
\text{Kabir.}
\]

This is the universal custom in Indian manuscripts of all ages, but in Sanskrit the practice causes no difficulty, because the inflexional termination of the words themselves supply a guide to their proper division.

In old Hindi, however, the inflexional terminations of nouns and verbs (a point to be noticed presently more in detail) have almost entirely disappeared; so, that, we have frequently no clue at all to help us in dividing the words. Take for instance the following lines from Chand:

\[
\text{Chand.}
\]

\[
\text{Kabir.}
\]

The above lines are not consecutive, but are taken at random, from different parts of the poem. It will be observed, that each one of them admits of being divided in more than one way; as, for instance, the first from a hymn in praise of Saraswati. We may take it thus—

\[
\text{Chand.}
\]

\[
\text{Kabir.}
\]

*See Garcin de Tassy’s valuable Histoire de la Litterature Hindoue and Hindoustane, vol. I, passim.*
"Whose is the umbrella, smelling of wine, brilliant in wrath." The remaining part of the line आदि भूरि आचार्यता "canopied with a cloud of bees," is clear enough.

If it be objected that the context and general sense of the passage will generally decide which of several possible ways is the right one, I am constrained to reply, that these rhapsodical old authors are often so very vague that little help can, in most instances, be obtained from the context. Their verses were, especially in the case of bards like Chand, meant to be sung, and the tone and gestures of the singer were relied upon to express the meaning as much as, if not more than, the strict grammatical construction of the words. Chand's epic is in the main historical, though often extravagantly legendary and hyperbolical. In his tamer passages some connected sense may be traced, but when he soars into religious or descriptive altitudes, one may say of him with Bassanio; "Gratianos speaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice. His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff; you shall seek all day ere you find them, and when you have them, they are not worth the search."

It is still worse when we come to purely religious or quasi-philosophical poems like Kabir's Rekhtas, where there is no regular narrative or chain of events to guide us. In such cases the luckless translator founders in deep mire with no landmarks by which to direct his course.

The value of this Old Hindī literature consists, to my mind, almost entirely in the assistance it renders to philology: for purposes of philosophy, history, or anything else, it is not of much worth.

Secondly, even if the task of dividing the words rightly be at last achieved, tout bien que mal; leaving only one or two doubtful places to be settled hereafter, the translator's troubles have after all only begun. The language of all but the most modern of these poets is in a transitional stage.

Sanskrit and the Prakrits are, as every one knows, purely inflexional languages, while the modern vernaculars are all more or less analytical. In the Indo-Aryan, as in the European cognate groups, a time came when the case and tense-endings of the old synthetical system had become so abraded and corrupted that they no longer sufficed to distinguish clearly the relations between words in a sentence. After a time a remedy was unconsciously found for this difficulty in the introduction of particles, pre-or post-positions, and auxiliaries, whose use constitutes the distinguishing characteristic of the analytical stage. But between the decay of the old and the rise of the new system, there intervenes a period of the greatest obscurity, and it is unfortunately just at this period, both in India and in Europe, that modern literature takes its rise. This period in Europe is occupied by the Trouvères and Troubadours, of the tongues of Oil and Or, by the Juglers of Spain, the Minnesinger of Germany and the like, and occurs, historically, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. In Germany, (where however the synthetical system never suffered so much decay as in other countries,) the rise to power of the Swabian dynasty in the person of Konrad III. in 1138 A. D. marks the commencement, as Walther von der Vogelweide (1220), the Nibelungenlied, and Wolfram von Eschilbach mark the zenith, and a host of minor writers the decay of this brilliant period. Almost exactly contemporaneous with these writers, as also with the nameless Juglers, who wrote the Romance of the Cid in Spain, are our early Hindī poets, and their language is in the same transitional and undefined stage, as that of their European compers. It is marked by a great scarcity, at times by a total absence, of what the Germans call Verbindungswörter, and by a general neglect, and capricious misuse of tense-endings in the verb and case-endings in the noun. It abounds with archaisms which are only to be rendered at all intelligible by the tedious process, impossible to all but experts in philology, of restoring them by reversing the order of phonetic corruption, and so tracing them back to some known Sanskrit word.

But here occurs another difficulty. Sanskrit as a language, does not cover the whole ground of Aryan speech. Many old Aryan words remained in use among the lower orders but were never admitted into literary composition, either because they were stigmatized as vulgar, or because Brahmānical literature, confined to religion, philosophy and ritual, had no need of them. The Hindī poets, however, receiving such words Prakritized by lapse of time, from their fathers, make no scruple of using them, and if, as often happens, they are no longer in use in modern times, their meaning is excessively difficult of discovery, because neither the ancient Sanskrit nor the modern Hindī afford any clue to their origin or sense.

To illustrate this point, I will here give the
first few lines of Paradise Lost, first in Milton's own words, and then in such a form of old English as shall bear the same relation to the real words, as Chand's style bears to modern Hindi, and I will then leave the impartial reader to judge of the difficulty of the task.

1. Milton's own words.

Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
Sing, heavenly Muse! &c.

2. The same, in "Chandesque" English.

Mannnaerestoferhyrneandeawestyma
Thaesunleafedtreowwhabanfagbyrigues
Namethetoerdeandendalewan
Mitedenforewyrdsaeacanvagtraman
Unhedestathletegwyresemgede
Siggwithheavenlymenuse.

The reader may well ask for an explanation of No. 2. All I have done is to put Milton's lines into eleventh-century English—the English spoken at the time of Chand—and to make the resemblance to the 'Chandesque' style still more complete, I have written all the words in one, and have inserted here and there a word of a still older period, either from the old High German, or from the Moeso-Gothic of Ulfilas such as "siggwith." The high German words represent those words in Chand which are derived from lost Aryan roots, and the Moeso-Gothic pure Sanskrit tat samas, such as are to be found in his writings. I have inserted an e or an a here and there to imitate Chand's habit of inserting such vowels needlessly, and I have omitted them in one or two places where they ought to be found, just as he does. Especially, to make an exact parallel, in nine out of ten cases all inflexions have been dispensed with, both in noun and verb, and I have used the rarest words to be found in English works of that century, in preference to the simpler and commoner. With this explanation, the ordinary English reader will have, of course, no difficulty in deciphering my translation. If he should find any difficulty in this, a specimen from his own language, he will perhaps not be too ready to believe in the easy and trifling nature of similar work in a foreign language like Hindi.

In conclusion, to show that I have not overdrawn the picture, I append a short extract from Chand in his own words, and a translation of the same into ordinary modern Hindi. The extract selected is not by any means so difficult as some others, the exact rendering of which I must confess to being still in doubt about, and which the Pandits and Bháts have given up as unintelligible long ago.

1. Chand's own words,—

2. Modern Hindi translation,—

In conclusion, to show that I have not overdrawn the picture, I append a short extract from Chand in his own words, and a translation of the same into ordinary modern Hindi. The extract selected is not by any means so difficult as some others, the exact rendering of which I must confess to being still in doubt about, and which the Pandits and Bháts have given up as unintelligible long ago.
Darshapūryamāsa sacrifices, P.IV—VIII, the initiation aṅga-ayāna and remaining hāvīr-yajñāṇa rites; P. IX contains the prāyashchita for those ceremonies; P. X—XVII describe the Soma sacrifices&c.; P. XIX, the Sautraṁṣiṇī and Rājastālyā; P. XX, the Ashvamedha and Puruṣavaṁśa; P. XXI, the Dvādashaśa and Mahāvṛata; P. XXII, the Utsargin-ayana; and P. XXIII, the Sattrayana. In Prashna XXIV, there are three sections: the Paribhushāstra (translated by Professor Max Müller in the German Oriental Society's Journal, IX.), the Pracarākhandha, and the Hāvatraka. Prashnas XXV and XXVI contain the mantras for the grihya rites, and P. XXVII contains the Grihya-sūtra. Of this section Dr. Eggeling has an edition in hand. Prashnas XXVIII and XXIX contain the Dharmasūtra which has been edited by Dr. Bühler. The last prāshana contains the Śulva-sūtra.

The manuscript described is of the early part of the last century, and is in the grantha character.

To these thirty prāshana may be added two more which treat of the Pitṛmedha &c. and nearly agree with parts of the Hiranyakeshi (Prashnas. XXVIII and XXIX) and Bhrādavaṁśa-sūtra. In Chaṇḍapāpa's commentary on the Āpastamba sūtra they are not mentioned, though in his introduction he gives the order of the chapters as described above, and expressly states that the work contains thirty sections.

There are several commentaries on the Āpastamba sūtra. Rudradatta was one of the earliest who attempted to explain this huge work but there is every reason to believe that he only finished fifteen prāshanas. Kāparīśvāmin and Durvasvāmin most probably commented on the first twenty-four prāshanas, and Kāśika Rāma has annotated the work of the last. Gurudevāsīvāmin is also said to have written on this sūtra (v. Max Müller As. Soc. Jour, p. 380 note), but I have not seen his work. In the fourteenth century Chaṇḍapāpa wrote a very diffusive commentary, but I have only seen the first three sections. There is also a commentary by Aśokalā which appears to be of the seventeenth century. Haradatta Mishra explained the XXVIIth, XXVIIIth, XXIXth, and XIXth, sections, and on the last two there seems to have been another commentary, as there is a quotation from such a work in the Śrīmadvīṣanāvīṣa, which I cannot find in any copy of Haradatta's commentary accessible to me. There is a comment on P. XXVII by Darshānārya or Sudarshānārya. On prashna XXX there are comments by Karavindasvāminī, Karpardasvāminī, and Sundararāja. As I have several good manuscripts of all these works, I hope sometime to bring out an edition and translation of this interesting section which I have long had nearly ready. Very useful for the understanding of the Śrāvānas and Īśvānas (tantras) parts are the two prayoga by Tālavīṣantaṇivāsī. The whole of these may I believe be found, but in fragments, and generally very incorrectly copied. Few Brāhmans care to get more of the work than they require for the time, and very few śrōtriyas are grammarians, or well acquainted with modern Sanskrit. As there is very little chance that it will be ever possible to bring out an edition of the whole of this immense sūtra, it is satisfactory to be able to add that it does not appear to differ materially from the Kātyāyana sūtra edited by Dr. Weber.

Tanjor, Nov. 1871.

A LEGEND OF SERPENT WORSHIP.

From Bhāunagar in Kāthīwād.

There was once a king who had seven wives, of whom six were favoured but one was disliked by him. No member of her father's family being alive, she was obliged to take such food as was given her by her mother-in-law and dērdēnt jethānī. This poor creature was content to take the refuse of the food left by the other members of the family. One day when all the others cooked and ate khir (rice boiled in milk) she longed to have some of it, but alas! whence could she hope to obtain it? She took all the cooking pots, which were given her to wash, to the river, and scraping out what adhered to their sides, she collected it all into one pot and then went to bathe. Meanwhile a Nāga (female snake) coming out of its ráṣṭadā (or

* The younger brother's wife is dērdēnt to an elder brother's wife—who, in turn, is jethānī to the former.
burrow) close by the river, ate up all that was in the pot, and entering her hole sat there resolved to bite the woman if she should curse her, but not otherwise. The woman returned to the spot, and finding the pot empty exclaimed "May the stomach of the eater be cooled!"

Hearing these words the Nágán coming out of her hole said "Well done! I now regard you as my daughter, and as you are pregnant at present, go and inform the members of your family to perform the Shrimant (pregnancy) ceremonies, and tell them that the mohosálá and pehrámaní presents will be sent from your parents’ house. The kankotarı (the letter inviting the guests to the festive meeting) you should tie to this A’kadá tree near the ráfada."

Hearing these words she returned and spoke as she had been told, asking the members of the family to write kankotari to her brother that she might send them to them. At these words they were all surprised and began to laugh at her; but at length they wrote a kankotari and gave it to her. This she took and tied to the A’kadá tree. Next day the young of the Nágán assuming human form, came to the village attended with music. An escort from the king went out to receive them; and they gave large pehrámaní to their adopted sister, and to other members of her father-in-law’s family; while their sister had previously arranged to have two earthen pots (kuhdain) filled with milk and placed in a room for them to drink. Next day they took their sister home with them to be confined. When she reached the burrow the snake who was sitting outside took her in. At first she was much afraid, but when she found that there were large drawing-rooms and halls inside, she was delighted. There she gave birth to her child and was well treated during the month-and-half. Afterwards the time for the Nágán to bear young arrived, and the lady was told to hold a lamp beside her. This she did, but was rather frightened, so that her hand shook a little, and the consequence was that the Nágán as usual devoured her offspring except two which were left half eaten, whence they were called Khándiá and Bándiá. The Nágán after this gave the queen presents of gold toys, and many other things to carry to her house, and said to her, "here is your father sitting, put your hand into his mouth"; she was petrified with fear, but at length thrust her left and half her right arm into his mouth, when both her arms were covered with gold chudá (bangles). Now Kándiá and Bándiá asked their mother to bite her who called them by such names, but they were refused. The queen then returned to her father-in-law’s house, where she was greatly honoured because of her wealth. One day, however, her mother-in-law, seeing her send for milk from the bazar for her baby, said tauntingly—"Why don’t you get cows from your parent’s house."

Hearing this she went to the A’kadá-tree and began to cry. She was heard by the Nágán who came out and asked her what was the matter with her that she wept. She related what has been stated, and the Nágán said "go home and get a large yard made and it shall be filled with cows and buffaloes." This excited the envy of the snake brothers Khándiá and Bándiá, and they resolved to lie in wait, the one in the paniera (where the water-vessels stand) and the other in the kitchen, that they might bite her as she passed. Now it happened as she went to fill a kalshya with water that she struck her foot against the door-step, when she exclaimed "may my Khándiá and Bándiá be safe and sound—they who are brothers to her who has no brothers." She again repeated the same words in the kitchen. At this the brothers were greatly pleased with her, and next day they gave her many presents and took their way home, and the queen passed the rest of her life in happiness and enjoyment.

J. B.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE DARDS.

[Being part of Dr. Leitner’s forthcoming work—Part III. of “Dardistan.”]

(a.)—AMUSEMENTS.

The Changhan Bazi, or Hockey-on-horseback, so popular everywhere north of Kashmir, and which is called Polo by the Baltis and Ladakis, who both play it to perfection and in a manner which I shall describe elsewhere, is also well known to the Ghilgiti and Astori sub-divisions of the Shina people. On great general holydays as well as on any special occasion of rejoicing, the people meet on those grounds, which are mostly near the larger villages, and pursue...
the game with great excitement and at the risk of casualties. The first day I was at Astor, I had the greatest difficulty in restoring to his senses a youth of the name of Rustem Ali who, like a famous player of the same name at Mardo, was passionately fond of the game, and had been thrown from his horse. The place of meeting near Astor is called the 'Idgah. The game is called Top E in Astor, and the grounds for playing it are called Shajarān. At Ghilgit the game is called Bulla, and the place Shawarān. The latter names are evidently of Tibetan origin.

The people are also very fond of target practice, shooting with bows, which they use dexterously, but in which they do not excel the people of Nagyr and Hunza. Game is much stalked during the winter. At Astor any game shot on the three principal hills—Tshhamo, a high hill opposite the fort, Demidelden and Tšūlokol—belongs to the Nawāb of Astor (the sportsman receiving only the head, legs, and a haunch) or to his representative, now the Tahsildar Munshi Rozi Khan. At Ghilgit everybody claims what he may have shot, but it is customary for the Nawāb to receive some share of it. Men are especially appointed to watch and track game, and when they discover their whereabouts notice is sent to the villages from which parties issue, accompanied by musicians, and surround the game. Early in the morning, when the "Lohe" dawns, the musicians begin to play and a great noise is made, which frightens the game into the several directions where the sportsmen are placed.

The guns are matchlocks and are called in Ghilgiti turmak and in Astor tumak. At Ghilgit they manufacture the guns themselves or receive them from Badakhshan. The ballshave only a slight coating of lead, the inside generally being a little stone. The people of Hanza and Nagyr invariably place their guns on little wooden pegs, which are permanently fixed to the gun and are called dugaza. The guns are much lighter than those manufactured elsewhere, much shorter, and carry much smaller bullets than the matchlock of the Mahārāja’s troops. They carry very much farther than any native Indian gun, and are fired with almost unnerving accuracy. For “small shot” little stones of any shape—the longest and oval ones being preferred—are used. There is one kind of stone especially which is much used for that purpose; it is called “Balōš Batt,” which is found in Hanza, Nagyr, Skardo, and near the Desimīldeh hill already noticed, at a village called Pareshinghi near Astor. It is a very soft stone, and large cooking utensils are cut out from it, whence the name, “balōš” kettle, “batt” stone,—“Balōš Batt.” The stone is cut out with a chisel and hammer; the former is called “Gūtt” in Astori and “Gukk,” in Ghilgiti; the hammer “toũ” and “tot shũng,” and in Ghilgiti “samdeh.” The gunpowder is manufactured by the people themselves.

Fighting with iron wristbands is confined to the Chilāsi women, who bring them over their fists, which they are said to use with effect.

To play the Jew’s harp is considered meritorious, as King David played it. All other music good Muslims are bid to avoid.

The “Sitara” [the Eastern Guitar] is said to be much played in Yassen, the people of which country, as well as of Hunza and Nagyr excel in dancing, singing and playing. After them come the Ghilgitis, then the Astoris, Chilāsis &c., &c. The people of Nagyr are a comparatively mild race. They carry on gold washing, which is constantly interrupted by kidnapping parties from the opposite Hunza. The language of Nagyr and Yassen is the Non-Aryan Khajunšt, and no affinity between that language and any other has yet been traced. The Nagyris are mostly Shīahs. They are short and stout, and fairer than the people of Hunza [the Kunjutis] who are described as “tall skeletons,” and are desperate robbers. The Nagyris understand Tibetan, Persian and Hindu stani. Badakhshan merchants are the only ones who can travel with perfect safety though Yassen, Chitral and Hunza.

**Dances** fall into two main Divisions: slow or “Būti Harip” = Slow Instrument, and quick “Danni Harip,” = Quick Instrument. The

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* “Tumak” is called Jetoli in Astor, and in Ghilgit Bile, which is, in both dialects, also the word used for medicinal powder; it is made of sulphur, saltpetre and coal. Sulphur = "shorthil", saltpetre = "shak" in Astor, and shorn in Ghilgit. Coal = kari. The general proportion of the composition is, as my informants put it, after dividing the whole into six and a half parts to give 5 of saltpetre, 1 of coal, and 4 of sulphur. Some put less coal in, but it is generally believed that more than the above proportion of sulphur would make the powder too explosive.
Yassen, Nagyr and Hunza people dance quickest; then come the Ghilgitis; then the Astoris; then the Baltis, and slowest of all are the Ladakis.

When all join in the dance, cheer or sing with gesticulations, the dance or recitative is called "thapnatt" in Ghilgit, and "burro" in Astori.

When there is a solo dance it is called "nætt" in Ghilgit, and "nott" in Astori. Cheering is called "halamush" in Ghilgit, and "halamüsh" in Astori. Clapping of hands is called "tza." Cries of "Yu, Yu dea; tza thea, Hiu Hiu dea; Halamish thea; shabash" accompany the performances.

There are several kinds of Dances. The Prasukti nate is danced by ten or twelve people ranging themselves behind the bride as soon as she reaches the bridegroom’s house. This custom is observed at Astor. In this dance men swing about sticks, or whatever they may happen to hold in their hands.

The Buró natt is a dance performed on the Nao holyday, in which both men and women engage—the women forming a ring round the central group of dancers, which is composed of men. This dance is called Tappnate at Ghilgit. In Dareyl there is a dance in which the dancers wield swords and engage in a mimic fight. This dance the Ghilgitis and Astoris call the Dareyl nate, but what it is called by the Dareylis themselves I do not know.

The mantle dance is called Gojanat. In this popular dance the dancer throws his cloth over his extended arm.

When I sent a man round with a drum inviting all the Dards that were to be found at Ghilgit to a festival, a large number of men appeared, much to the surprise of the invading Dogras, who thought that they had run to the hills. A few sheep were roasted for their benefit; bread and fruit were also given them, and when I thought they were getting into good humour, I proposed that they should sing. Musicians had been procured with great difficulty, and after some demur, the Ghilgitis sang and danced. At first, only one at a time danced, taking his sleeve well over his arm so as to let it fall over, and then moving it up and down according to the cadence of the music. The movements were, at first, slow, one hand hanging down, the other being extended with a commanding gesture. The left foot appeared to be principally engaged in moving or rather jerking the body forward. All sorts of pas seul were danced; sometimes a rude imitation of the Indian Nichht; the by-standers clapping their hands and crying out "Shabash!" one man, a sort of Master of Ceremonies, used to run in and out amongst them, brandishing a stick, with which, in spite of his very violent gestures, he only lightly touched the bystanders, and exciting them to cheering by repeated calls, which the rest then took up of "Hiu, Hiu." The most extraordinary dance, however, was when about twelve men arose to dance, of whom six went on one side and six on the other. Both sides then, moving forward, jerked out their arms so as to look as if they had all crossed swords, then receded and let their arms drop. This was a war dance, and I was told that properly it ought to have been danced with swords, which however, out of suspicion of the Dogras, did not seem to be forthcoming. They then formed a circle, again separated, the movements becoming more and more violent till almost all the bystanders joined in the dance, shouting like fiends and literally kicking up a frightful amount of dust, which, after I had nearly become choked with it, compelled me to retire. I may also notice that before a song is sung the rhythm and melody of it are given in "solo" by some one, for instance—

Dänã dang dänû dängldâ
nädañg dänû, &c., &c., &c.

(2.)—BEVERAGES.

Beer.—Fine corn (about five or six seers in weight) is put into a kettle with water and boiled till it gets soft, but not pulpy. It is then strained through a cloth, and the grain retained and put into a vessel. Then it is mixed with a drug that comes from Ladak which is called "Papps," and has a salty taste, but in my opinion is nothing more than hardened dough with which some kind of drug is mixed. It is necessary that "the marks of four fingers" be impressed upon the "Papps." The mark of "four fingers" make one stick; two fingers’ mark half a stick, and so forth. This is scraped and mixed with the corn. The whole is then put into an earthen jar with a narrow neck, after it has received an infusion of an amount of water equal to the proportion of corn. The jar is put out into the sun—if summer—for twelve days, or under the fireplace if in winter—

* The drawing and description of this scene were given in the Illustrated London News of the 12th February 1870, under the heading of "A Dance at Ghilgit."
Mahārāja's troops when invading Ghilgit often suffered severely from want of food, when, unknown to them, large stores of grain of every kind,—butter, ghi, &c., were buried close to them. The Ghilgitis and other so-called rebels, generally, were well off, knowing where to go for food. Even in subject Astor, it is the custom to lay up provisions in this manner. On the day of birth of any one in that country, it is the custom to bury a stock of provisions, which are opened on the day of betrothal of the young man and distributed. The ghi, which by that time turns frightfully sour and (to our taste) unpalatable, and the colour of which is red, is esteemed a great delicacy, and is said to bring much luck.

Wine.—The Ghilgitis are great wine-drinkers, though not so much so as the people of Hunza. In Nagyr little wine is made. The mode of preparation of the wine is a simple one. The grapes are stamped out by a man who, fortunately before entering into the wine press, washes his feet and hands. The juice flows into another reservoir, which is first well laid round with stones, over which a cement is put of chalk mixed with sheep-fat which is previously heated. The juice is kept in this reservoir; the top is closed, cement being put round the sides, and only in the middle an opening is made over which a loose stone is placed. After two or three months the reservoir is opened, and the wine is used at meals and festivals. In Darcy (and not in Ghilgit, as was told to Vigne,) the custom is to sit round the grave of the deceased and eat grapes, nuts, and Tahilgōzas (edible pine). In Astor (and in Chilās?) the custom is to put a number of Ghi (clarified butter) cakes before the Mulla, (when the earth has been put on the deceased) who, after reading prayers over them, distributes them to the company who are standing round with their caps on. In Ghilgit, three days after the burial, bread is generally distributed to the friends and acquaintances of the deceased. To return to the wine presses, it is to be noticed that no one ever interferes with the store of another. I passed several of them on my road from Chakerkot onward, but they appeared to have been destroyed. This brings me to another custom which all the Dards seem to have of burying provisions of every kind in cellars that are scooped out in the mountains or near their houses, and of which they alone have any knowledge. The reservoir into which it flows is called "Moe San."

As soon as a child is born, the father or the Mulla repeat the "bāng" in his ear "Allah Akbar" (which an Astori, of the name of Mirza Khan, said was never again repeated in one's life!). Three days after the reading of the "bāng" or "namáz" in Ghilgit, and seven days after that ceremony in Astor, a large company assembles, when the father or grand-father of the newborn child gives him a name, or the Mulla fixes on a name by putting his
hand on some word in the Koran which may serve the purpose, or by getting somebody else to fix his hand at random on a passage or word in the Koran. Men and women assemble at that meeting. There appears to be no purdah whatsoever in Dardaland, and the women are remarkably chaste. The little imitation of purdah amongst the Rantis of Ghilgit was a mere fashion imported from elsewhere. Till the child receives a name the woman is declared impure for the seven days previous to the ceremony. In Ghilgit twenty-seven days are allowed to elapse till the woman is declared pure. Then the bed and clothes are washed and the woman is restored to the company of her husband and the visits of her friends.

Men and women eat together everywhere in Dardaland. In Astor, raw milk alone cannot be drunk together with a woman, unless thereby it is intimated that she should be a sister by faith, and come within the prohibited degrees of relationship. When men drink of the same raw milk they thereby swear each other eternal friendship. In Ghilgit this custom does not exist, but it will at once be perceived that much of what has been noted above belongs to Musalmancustom generally. When a son is born great rejoicings take place, and in Ghilgit muskets are fired off by the father whilst the "bäng" is being read.

(d.)—MARRIAGE.

In Ghilgit marriage appears to be a more simple ceremony than in Chilás and Astor. The father of the boy goes to the father of the girl and presents him with a knife about 1/2 foot long, 4 yards of cloth, and a pumpkin filled with wine. If the father accepts the present the betrothal is arranged. It is generally the fashion that after the betrothal, which is named Shür qatar wîye, balli plye, i.e. "4 yards of cloth and a knife he has given, the pumpkin he has drunk," the marriage takes place. A betrothal is inviolable, and is only dissolved by death as far as the woman is concerned. The young man is at liberty to dissolve the contract. When the marriage day arrives, the men and women who are acquainted with the parties range themselves in rows at the house of the bride, the bridegroom, with her at his left, sitting together at the end of the row. The Mulla then reads the prayers, the ceremony is completed, and playing, dancing and drinking begin. It is considered the proper thing for the bridegroom's father, if he belongs to the true Shin race, to pay 12 tolas of gold of the value [at Ghilgit] of 15 Rupees Nanaksha-
and in Ghilgit, it is considered indecent for the boy to turn round and look at her. Then a particular friend, the “Dharm-bhai”* of the girl’s brother asks her if she consents to the marriage. In receiving or imagining an affirmative he turns round to the Mulla, who, after asking three times whether he, she, and the bridegroom, as well as all present are satisfied, reads the prayers and completes the ceremonial. Then some rice boiled in milk is brought in, of which the boy and the girl take a spoonful. They do not retire the first night, but grace the company with their presence. The people assembled then amuse themselves by hearing the musicians, eating, &c., &c.

It appears to be the custom that a person leaves an entertainment whenever he likes, which is generally the case after he has eaten enough.

It must not, however, be imagined that the sexes are secluded from each other in Dardistan. Young people have continual opportunities of meeting each other in the fields, at their work, or at festive gatherings. Love declarations often take place on these occasions, but if any evil intention is perceived the seducer of a girl is punished by this savage but virtuous race with death. The Dards know and speak of the existence of “pure love,” “pāk āshiqi.” Their love songs show sufficiently that they are capable of a deeper, than mere sexual feeling. No objection to lawful love terminating in matrimony is ever made, unless the girl or the boy is of a lower caste. In Ghilgit, however, the girl may be of a lower caste than the bridegroom. In Astor it appears that a young man, whose parents—to whom he must mention his desire for marrying any particular person—refuse to intercede, often attains his point by threatening to live in the family of the bride and become an adopted son. A Shin of true race at Astor may live in concubinage with a girl of lower caste, but the relatives of the girl, if they discover the intrigue, revenge the insult by murdering the paramour, who, however, does not lose caste by the alliance.

The bridegroom dances as well as his twelve companions. The girl ought not to be older than 15 years; but at twelve girls are generally engaged.†

The Balti custom of having merely a claim to dowry on the part of the woman—the prosecution of which claim so often depends on her satisfaction with her husband, or the incapacity of her relatives—in spite of the intercourse of the Baltis with the Shin people, is never observed by the latter—not even by the Shin colonists of little Tibet, who are called “Brokhpa.”

When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He generally shoots three arrows off in the direction of his home.

At Astor the custom is sometimes to fire guns as a sign of rejoicing. This is not done at Ghilgit.

When the bridegroom on the second day fetches his bride to his own home, the girl is crying with the women of her household, and the young man catches hold of her hand (at Ghilgit by the hand) and leads her to the door. If the girl cannot get over embracing her people and crying with them quickly, the twelve men who have come along with the bridegroom (who in Astori are called hilalee, bridegrooms, and garoni in Ghilgit) sing the following song:—

**INVITATION TO THE BRIDE.**

Nikastali queroi koniit (“astali” is added to the fem. Imp).

Come out hawk’s daughter.

Nikastali karkaniit.

Come out why delayest thou!

Nikastali melyn gutijo.

Come out (from) thy father’s tent.

Nikastali ke karamilić.

Come out why delayest thou.

Nerō tshareyn baray6.

Do not weep waterfall’s fairy.

Në ro teyn rōng boye.

Do not weep thy colour will go.

Në ro faro shidati.

Do not weep ! thy colour will go.

Në ro maleyn shidaii.

Do not weep brethren’s beloved,

Në ro tey rōng boye.

Do not weep thy colour will go.

Në ro tey rōng boye.

Do not weep ! thy colour will go.

Në ro tey rōng boye.

Do not weep thy colour will go.

(Nikastali ke karamilić.

Come out why delayest thou.

Nerō tshareyn baray6.

Do not weep waterfall’s fairy.

Në ro teyn rōng boye.

Do not weep thy colour will go.

Në ro faro shidati.

Do not weep ! thy colour will go.

Në ro maleyn shidaii.

Do not weep ! thy colour will go.

Në ro tey rōng boye.

Do not weep thy colour will go.

**TRANSLATION.**

Come out, O daughter of the hawk,

Come out, why dost thou delay ?

Come forth from thy father’s tent,

The “brother in the faith” with whom raw milk has been drunk, vide page

Betrothal, = balli, = pumpkin in Ghilgiti, = soel—Astor.

Bridegroom, = hilaee, Gh. hilaee, Astori.

Bride, = hilaee.

the grain, ghi and sheep that may accompany the betrothal-present is called by the Astoris “sakaro.”

Husband, = baro, Gh. barcyo, Astori.

| Bridegroom’s men = garoni, Gh. hilaee, Astori. |
| Dowry, = “dab,” Gh. and Astori. |

Wife, = Greyn, Gh. griyn, Astori.

Wedding dinner “garcy thāi” in Ghilgiti, “Kaljūn bal kyas,” in Astori (C) “[lakkti] is bread, “bal” is a chippati, kyas = food."

† The Turks say “a girl of 15 years of age should be either married or buried.”
Come out and do not delay.
Weep not! O fairy of the waterfall!
Weep not! thy colour will fade;
Weep not thou art the beloved of us all who are thy brethren,
Weep not thy colour will fade.

Oh weep not thou beloved of fathers,[or "thy father's darling."]
For if thou weepest, thy face will grow pale.

Then the young man catches hold of her dress,
or in Ghilgit of her arm, puts her on horseback,
and rides off with her, heedless of her tears and
of those of her companions.

(c)—FUNERALS.

Funerals are conducted in a very simple manner.
The custom of eating grapes at funerals I
have already touched upon in my allusion to
Darey in the chapter on "Wine." Three days
after the funeral, bread is commonly distributed
gether with ghi, &c., to people in general,
which is called "Nashi" by the Astoris,
and "Khatm" by the Ghilgitis. When a person is
dead, the Mulla, assisted generally by a near
friend of the deceased, washes the body which
is then placed in a shroud. Women assemble,
weep, and relate the virtues of the deceased.
The body is conveyed to the grave the very day
of the decease. In Astor there is something in
the shape of a bier for conveying the dead. At
Ghilgit two poles, across which little bits of wood
are placed sideways and then fastened, serve the
same purpose. The persons who carry the body
think it a meritorious act. The women accompany
the body for some fifty yards and then
return to the house to weep. The body is then
placed in the earth, which has been dug up to
admit of its interment. Sometimes the grave is
a pucka one, and a kind of small vault is made
over it with pieces of wood closely jammed to-
gether. A Pir or saint receives a hewn stone,
standing as a sign-post from the tomb. I have
seen no inscriptions anywhere. I do not believe
there are any in the whole of Dardistan proper.
The tomb of one of their famous saints at
Ghilgit has none. I have heard people there say
that he was killed at that place in order to provide
the country with a shrine. My Ghilgiti, who,
like all his countrymen, was very patriotic, de-
nied it, but I heard it at Ghilgit from several
persons, among whom was one of the descendants
of the saint. As the saint was a Kashmiri, the
veracity of his descendant may, however, justly
be doubted. To return to the funeral. The
body is conveyed to the cemetery, which is gener-
ally at some distance from the village, accom-
panied by friends. When they reach the spot the
Mulla reads the prayers standing—as in the
"Jenazá"—any genuflexion, 'ruku,' and pro-

struption are of course, inadmissible. After the
body has been interred the Mulla recites the
Fatiha, or opening prayer of the Koran, all the
people standing up and holding out their hands as
if they were reading a book. The Mulla prays
that the deceased may be preserved from the fire
of hell as he was a good man, &c. Then after
a short benediction the people separate. For
three days at Ghilgit, and seven days at Astor,
the near relatives of the deceased do not eat
meat. After that period the grave is again
visited by the deceased's friends, who, on reaching
the grave, eat some ghi and bread, offer up prayers, and, on returning, slaughter a sheep,
whose kidney is roasted and divided into small bits
amongst those present. Bread is distributed
amongst those present, and a little feast is in-
dulged in, in memory of the deceased. I doubt,
however, whether the Ghilgitis are very exact
in their religious exercises. The mention of
death was always received with shouts of laughter
by them, and one of them told me that a dead
person deserved only to be kicked. He possi-
ably only joked, and there can be little doubt that
the Ghilgit people are not very communicative
about their better feelings. It would be ridiculous
however, to deny them the possession of natural
feelings, although I certainly believe that they
are not over-burdened with them. In Astor the
influence of Kashmir has made the people attend
a little more to the ceremonies of the Musalman
religion.

In Chilás rigour is observed in the mainte-
nance of religious practices, but elsewhere there
exists the greatest laxity. In fact, so rude are
the people, that they have no written character
of their own, and till very recently the art of
writing (Persian) was confined to, perhaps, the
Rajas of these countries, or rather to their
Munshis, when they had any. Some of
them may be able to read the Koran. Even
this I doubt, as of hundreds of people, I saw
at Ghilgit only one who could read, and he was
a Kashmiri who had travelled far and wide, and
had at last settled in that country. Grave-in-
scriptions, or indeed inscriptions of any kind, I
did not see in the country, and the report that
they kill saints in order to have shrines where to
worship, has been repeated to me so often, and
from so many different quarters as almost to
deserve credence.

(f) HOLIDAYS.

The great holiday of the Shín people happen-
ed, in 1867, during the month succeeding the
Ramazan, but seems to be generally on the sixth of February. It is called the "Shino nao," "the new day of the Shin people." The Ghilgitis call the day "Shino bazono," the spring of the Shin people. The year, it will be remembered, is divided into bazono, spring; walo, summer; shero, autumn; yono, winter. The snow is now becoming a little softer, and outdoor life is more possible. The festivities are kept up for twelve days. Visits take place, and man and wife are invited out to dinner during that period. Formerly when the Shins had a Raja or Nawab of their own it used to be the custom for women to dance during those twelve days. Now the advent of the sipahis, and the ridiculous pseudo-morality of the Kashmir rule have introduced a kind of pardah, and the chaste Shin women do not like to expose themselves to strangers. Then there is the Nauroz which is celebrated for three, and sometimes for six days.

There are five great holidays in the year:

1. The 'Id of Ramazan.
3. The Naoroz.
4. Kurbani 'Id.
5. The Kūy Nāo, Astori.

On the last-named holiday the game of Polo is played, good clothes are put on, and men and women amuse themselves in public meetings.

The Shin people are very patriotic. Since the Maharaja's rule, many of their old customs have died out, and the separation of the sexes is becoming greater.

A TÁMBA PATRA OR ANCIENT COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM KÁTHIÁWÁD
TRANSLATED BY RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR M.A.

Welfare! From Valabhi. From Bhataraka the great Maheshvara, who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of friends of matchless might, who, with main force, had subjugated their enemies,—who won the attachment of kings by his gifts, respectful treatment and equable conduct—the results of that greatness— who, by the power of the kings so attached to him, obtained sovereignty, and whose royal race is unbroken,—sprang Shri Gubhvena the great Maheshvara,—who had all his sins washed away by bowing at the lotus-like feet of his mother and father— who, sword in hand, from his childhood manifested great prowess, by breaking the ranks of the maddened elephants of his enemy,—the rays of the nails of whose feet were mixed with the light of the crown jewels of the enemies laid prostrate [at his feet] by his valour,—who delighted the hearts of his subjects by excellently protecting them, thoroughly, according to the method prescribed in the Smritis, and thus rendered his title of Raja literally true,—who in beauty, lustre, firmness, depth, genius and wealth, excelled Kuna, the moon, the King of mountains, the ocean, the perceptor of the Gods, and the Lord of wealth,—who sacrificed his own interests as if they were as worthless as straw, by his readiness to extend protection from danger to those who sought an asylum with him,—and, who delighted the hearts of learned men, friends and favourites, by giving them more wealth than was asked, and who was the very incarnate [moving on legs] delight of the whole extent of the world.

His son was Shri Dharasena the great Maheshvara whose stains of sins were wholly washed away by the water of the Ganges in the shape of the rays from the nails of his father's feet,—whose wealth was fed on by hundreds of thousands of favourites,—who was resorted to as it were, out of love for his beauty, by many acquired virtues,—who astonished all archers by his innate power and acquired skill,—who continued the charitable grants made by former kings,—who averted the evils destructive to his subjects,—who showed himself to be the common abode of Shri and Sarasvatī,—whose exploits placed him in the enjoyment of the wealth and power of his united enemies, and who, by his exploits, obtained unsullied royal dignity. His son was Shidlita, the great Maheshvara, who meditated on his father's feet,—who filled the circle of all the quarters by extraordinary virtues which were united in him, and

* Is celebrated in Autumn when the the fruit and corn have become ripe.
† Devotee of Maheshvara or Shiva. The Valabhi kings probably belonged to the Maheshvara Sect.
‡ This is an honorific, prefixed to the names of kings.
§ Law-books.
|| The God of Love.
†† Himalaya.
* Brihaspati. "The water of the Gangá is white, according to Hindu poets, and rays of light are also white; hence the resemblance.
†† Kubera. The Goddess of wealth.
‡ Goddess of learning. These two are supposed always to live apart.
FACSIMILE of an INSCRIPTION on ancient TAMBA PATRAS or COPPER-PLATES from KATHIAWÁD.
which delighted the whole world,—the burden of whose great desires was borne successfully by his shoulders, which were brighter than those of others, in consequence of his conspicuousness amongst the allies, who had obtained distinction by winning a hundred battles,—whom it was always very easy to please by writing sage epigrams, though his own mind was purified by the study of all sciences, in all their branches,—who, though transcending all people in the unfathomable depth [of his heart], was of a very benevolent disposition, as shown by his good deeds,—who obtained great fame by clearing the obstructed path trodden on by kings of the Krita* age,—whose enjoyment of the sweets of affluence was refined by his adherence to justice, and thus procured for him his other name of Dharma,

† His younger brother was Shri Kharagraha, the great Maheshvara, who meditated on his (brother's) feet, who bore the sovereign power though it was an object of desire to the loving elder one, who was like the elder one of Upendra,‡ as a bullock (bearer of the yoke) bears on his shoulders something that is great, simply on account of the pleasure he took in executing his (brother's) commands, and while doing so he did not allow his virtue to be diminished, either by love of pleasure or vexation, whose mind,—though his foot-stool was enveloped in the lustre of the crown jewels of the hundred kings subjugated by his prowess—was not affected by arrogance, or a fondness to treat others with indignity,—to counteract whom (whose power), setting aside submission, there was no way even for enemies reputed for manliness and pride,—who by a number of pure virtues which perfumed the whole world, resisted with main force the progress of the sport of Kali,—whose heart was noble and untouched by all the faults which little men are prone to,—and who obtained the first place amongst men of valour by the royal Lakshmi,§ of a host of inimical kings voluntarily embracing him, on account of his well-known valour and skill in the management of weapons.

His son who meditated on his feet was Shri Dharasena, the great Maheshvara,—who gave exceedingly great delight to the hearts of learned men by the acquisition of all the sciences,—who in his stock of virtue and liberality in giving away, found a device, by which was effected the defeat of the desires of his enemies, who, though his thoughts were deep (in his breast), in consequence of his having been thoroughly acquainted with various sciences, arts, and with the ways of the world, was of a very benevolent disposition,—whose unaffected humility and chastened manners, were his ornaments,—who destroyed the pride of all enemies by his powerful and massive arm, which carried the flag of victory in a hundred battles,—and whose commands were obeyed by the whole circle of kings, whose skill in the management of weapons he had defeated by the might of his bow. His younger brother who meditated on his feet was the great Maheshvara Dhrusasena, who surpassed all previous kings by his good deeds,—who accomplished things that were very difficult to accomplish,—who was valour itself in a human form,—who was respected as if he were Manu himself by his subjects, with hearts full of love for his great virtues,—who was the very lord of lotuses¶ without the spots, full-sized,* shining, and the cause of joy to others,—who was the ever shining sun, the dispeller of darkness by filling all quarters with the bright lustre [of his great prowess]—who, inspiring confidence in his subjects, as to the acquisition of wealth, the furtherance of a great many purposes, and the increase of prosperity [Gram. prescribing the addition to bases of a termination with a certain sense, having letters indicatory of a great many changes, and with the augment added on to it]; proficient in determining matters about peace,‡ war, and alliance [Gram. well-versed in Sandhi or phonetic rules—dissolution of compounds and compounds], issuing commands proper for the occasion [Gram. prescribing a substitute for the original]; and doing honour to the good by raising

* The kings of the Krita or the first age of Hindu Mythology were very virtuous; and their ways and manners were forgotten. Shiladitya is trod in their foot-steps.
† Literally—the Sun of justice or virtue.
‡ Upendra is a name of Vishnu; and the allusion here is probably to Krishna, in whose favour Balarâma, his elder brother, or guru,—the word in the original,—resigned the kingdom.
§ The principle of evil. Kali is supposed to have full swing in the present age, which is called Kali-yuga.
¶ The triumph of a lover consists in his mistress giving him a voluntary embrace. The royal power and state of Khara grahas' enemies are personified as Lakshmi, who is attracted by their valour.
* i.e. The moon.
† There is a play here on the word, Kali which means 'a digit of the moon' and 'an art.' The moon had all her digits i.e. was full, and the king was versed in all the arts.
‡ There is a play here on the words prakriti, pratyaya, anubandha, gama and vidadhana, which are technical terms used by Pânini. The grammatical meaning is enclosed within brackets in the text.
§ Here the words Samasa, Vighraha and Semdh are used in a double sense.
¶ Sthana and adesha are the words here.
§ Here the words with a double meaning are Samskāra, Sadha, Gupa, Vriddhi, and Vidhāna.
them from a subordinate position [Grama.
giving correct forms to words by prescribing
Guna and Vriddhi changes] was thoroughly
versed in the art of Government, and of the
Shálatúriya. Though of great valour, he
possessed a heart softened by compassion;
though learned, he was not boastful,—though he
was a lover, his passions were subdued; though
his kindness was unchanging, he repelled those
who were guilty. He rendered his well-known
second name of Bālāditya (morning sun) literally
true, by the warm love which he engendered in
men at the time of his accession,† and which
overspread the earth. His son is Shri Dhar-
rasena who bears on his forehead, a crescent of
the moon, in the shape of the mark of scars pro-
duced by rubbing his head on the earth, when
prostrating himself at his father's lotus-like feet
—whose great learning is as pure as the pearl
ornament put on his gracefull ear in his child-
hood,—the lotus-like palm of whose hand is
always washed by the water [poured in the
making] of gifts,—whose joy is heightened by
the levy of taxes as light as the soft grasp of
the hand of a maiden,—who, like the revealed
science of archery,§ has dealt by means of his bow
with all the aims in the world (takes aims),—
whose commands are treated by the circle of
subject kings as the jewels worn on the head,¶
who meditates on his grandfather's feet and
who is the great Māheśvara, the great
lord, the king of kings, the great
ruler, the universal sovereign. He, enjoying good health,
commands all whom it may concern:—"Be it
known to you, that for the increase of the reli-
gious merit of my mother and father, I have
given, in charity, by pouring water, a field of the
area of 56 paces* at the southern extremity of
Sharkarāpadraka, a district of Kikkaṭāputra, a
village in Kālāpakapatha in Surashtra, to the
Brahman Ajuna, son of the Brahman Guhāṭhyla,
residing in Kikkaṭāputra, formerly of Sinhapura,
honoured among the Brahmins of Sinhapura know-
ing the four Vedas, of the Bhāradvajya gotra, and
student of the Chhandoga Veda. The boundaries of
the field are, to the east the well Vinhalsattka,—
to the south, the field Vātukasattka,—to the west,
the field Kutumbi-Vinhala-Sattkkā,—to the north,
the field of Brahmana-shashi-bhava Satkka:—
And also to the Brahman Manka-Sedum son of
the Brahman Guhāṭhyla residing in the village of
Kikkaṭāputra, formerly of Sinhapura, honoured
among the Brahmins of Sinhapura knowing the four Vedas of the Bhāradvajya gotra, student of the
Chhandoga Veda: a well of the area of sixteen
paces, at the western extremity of Kikk...
a village in Kalap...in Surashtra. The bound-
aries are:—To the east, the well Chatra-sattkā,
to the south and west, the field Kutumbi Chan-
dra-Sattkā, and to the north the field Makh...
And also at the western extremity of the village of Shākarāpadraka a district of Kikkaṭāputra, a field of the area of 28 paces, the boundaries of which are,..........and also a field measuring fourteen paces, the boundaries of which are........................
and also six pattakastt whose boundaries are:
to the east .......... to the south ........
to the west .......... and to the north, at the
boundary of the village of Patānakaka, the field of Vāpī, of the extent of 182 paces. All these
are granted, along with their appurtenances,
and whatever is on them, together with the re-
venue in kind, or gold, and with whatever may be
grown on them, except what may have been
granted to Gods or Brāhmans before. The
whole is not to be meddled with by any officer of
the king, and is to be enjoyed from son to grand-
son, and to last as long as the sun, the moon, the
ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains endure.
On this account no one shall obstruct any one,
who, in virtue of this Brāhman-gift, enjoys the
land, ploughs it, or allows it to be ploughed, or
assigns it over to another person. All future
kings, whether of our race or others, should, bear-
ing in mind that power is transitory, and humanity
frail, and knowing the good fruits arising from
the grant of land, recognise this our grant, and
continue it. It is said this earth has been en-
joyed by many kings, such as Sagara and others,
each one obtainsthe fruit when he is in posses-
sion. The things given in charity by kings
who were afraid of poverty, are like flowers
which have been used. What good man will

* Pānini was a native of Shālatūri, in the country to the west of the Indus; and he is known by the name of Shā-
lāturiya or native of Shalaturn.
† There is a play on the word anurāgahere, which means 'redness as well as love.' The light of the morning sun is
redish.
‡ Udaya is the word here which means 'rise' as applied to the sun or the king.
§ The Dhanurveda so translated here, teaches how to take all sorts of aims; and the king had actually taken
all aims; hence the comparison.
¶ i. e. uncompromisingly observed.
* The word in the original is pād āvarta, which appears to have been a square measure.
†† Probably a certain square measure.
A WALABHI GRANT.

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resumethem? The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years, and he who takes it away or allows it to be taken away lives in hell for as many years. The prince Dhruvesena is minister (executive officer) here. Engraved by Divirapatī Skanda-bhaa the son of Divirapatī Vāsha (?) bhata, minister for peace and war. 326* in the bright half of Ashadhā.

My own hand [sign manual].

REMARKS.

Three copperplates of the Valabhi Dynasty have been hitherto deciphered and translated. Two of these were discovered by Mr. Wathen, and the third by Dr. Burns of Kaira. Mr. Wathen's translation of one of the two and his remarks on the other are given in the fourth volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal. One leaf of the latter was afterwards deciphered and translated by the Rev. P. Anderson. The translation, a Devanāgari transcript, and a lithographed copy are given in the third volume of the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal. A transcript and translation of Dr. Burn's copperplate are to be found in the seventh volume of the Bengal Society's Journal. We shall distinguish these by the numbers 1, 2, and 3.

No. 1 records a grant of land by Dharasena II., the great-grandson of the founder of the dynasty and the seventh in Mr. Anderson's list; and Nos. 2 and 3 are said to be from Dhruvesena, the thirteenth in the list. The copperplates now translated were put into my hands by the Editor.† The grantor, in this case, is Dharasena IV., the twelfth in Mr. Anderson's list and consequently the immediate predecessor of the king who is considered as the grantor in Nos. 2 and 3.

Dr. Bhan Daji gives, in one place, the dates of five copperplate grants of this dynasty,‡ whilst in another he mentions seven dates professedly derived from copperplates. But he does not say when or by whom so many grants of the Valabhi kings were discovered, nor who deciphered and translated them, or where the plates or their transcripts and translations are to be found. Mr. Thomas, as appears from his edition of Prinsep's Essays, knows only of the three I have mentioned.

The descriptions of the several kings in all these plates are given in the same words; so that, so far as they go, they may be considered to be copies of each other. There are a few varieties lectionis but some of these at least must be ascribed to the ignorance or carelessness of the engraver. The published transcript of No. 1 is generally correct; but those of the other two are full of mistakes, and it is difficult or impossible in a great many places to make out any sense. Any one well acquainted with Sanskrit may ascertain the truth of this for himself by comparing the several transcripts with that of the present one. Many instances of this might be given, but I shall confine myself here to one: The plays on certain grammatical terms, and Shalāturīya, the name of Pāṇini, were not at all made out by previous decipherers; Gunaviddhi was read by Mr. Anderson and the Calcutta scholar as Gunabhridbhī, and Shalāturīya as Shalāgarīya. But these mistakes are not in the original copperplates. Nos. 1 and 2 are preserved in the museum of the Bombay Asiatic Society and I have collated these (in original) with the present one. I did not find there the mistakes I speak of, and which are to be ascribed to the transcribers. The translations based upon such transcripts must, of course, be equally wrong.

The genealogy of the Valabhi kings as gathered from the present grant is as follows:—

From Bhatārka sprang

Guhasena.

Dharasena II.

Shalāditya I. Khara Graha I.

Dharasena III. Dhruvesena.

Dharasena IV.

This genealogy agrees in every respect, so far as it goes, with that in Nos. 2 and 3. The exact relationship between Bhatārka and Guhasena is not given; but in No. 1 he is represented as his great-grandson. No. 1 gives also the names of the several sons of Bhatārka who succeeded each other.

The name of the grandfather of Dharasena IV. and brother of Shalāditya I. is given as Ishvaragraha by the translators of Nos. 2 and 3. In the present plate it is clearly Khara Graha and I find it in No. 2. Mr. Wathen's reading of it was Charagraha which is nearer to the true name than Ishvaragraha.

From a passage in the description of Khara Graha, the younger brother of Shalāditya, it appears that during the life-time of the latter, the former held the reins of government. For he is there spoken of as having administered the affairs of the kingdom in obedience to the orders of his guru which word must, from the analogy of the guru of Upendra or Kṛṣṇa mentioned there, as well as for other reasons, be taken to mean `elder brother.' Mr. Anderson has entirely misunderstood this passage. The Calcutta translator gives the substance of it though the bearing of the analogy does not seem to have been clearly comprehended. There appears to have been a sort of usurpation here, for Shalāditya's children were passed over and the
kingdom was governed by Kharagraha, and after him, by his lineal descendants. The line of Shilāditya was restored after the death of Dharasena IV, as is evident from Nos. 2 and 3.

According to the translators of these, the immediate successor of this king made the grants Nos. 2 and 3, and his name was Dhruvasena. There is here a double mistake. The grantor's name was evidently Shilāditya, as may be ascertained by comparing the passage in No. 2 with the corresponding one in the transcript of No. 3, and he was not the immediate successor of Dharasena IV. He was great grandson to Shilāditya I, as shown in the following genealogy gathered from the original of No. 2, now in the museum of the Bombay Asiatic Society:

- Shilāditya I.
- Derābhata.
- Shilāditya II.

This last, marked—Shilāditya II—is the grantor in Nos. 2 and 3.

This genealogy differs from that given by all the writers on the Valabhi dynasty except Dr. Bhan Daji who does not give his authorities; but if they are not the same as mine, the order of names given above receives confirmation from what may, for the present, be called an independent source.

In another list† given by the same writer,‡ I find another Shilāditya, placed below Shilāditya II. But here again I must complain of his silence as to his authorities.

It is not likely, though there is nothing impossible in it, that Derābhata, the son of Shilāditya, should have lived to succeed Dharasena IV, the grand-son of his uncle. It appears to me that those only whose names in the plates are in the nominative case and have the epithet paraṇa-māheshvara prefixed to them were reigning kings. The names of Derābhata, and Shilāditya, the father of Shilāditya II are in the genitive case in No. 2 and they are not styled paraṇa-māheshvaras. They do not seem, therefore, to have sat on the throne.

In a few places, in the latter part of the present copperplate, the letters are not distinct: so that I am not sure of the readings I have given of the names of the fields mentioned as boundaries of the pieces of land conveyed. But these names cannot be of any importance.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF VARIOUS PLACES IN THE KINGDOM OF MAGADHA VISITED BY THE PILGRIM CHI-FAH-HIAN (A.D. 400-415.)

By A. M. Broadley, C.S., Assistant Magistrate in Charge of Subdivision Bihar, in Patna.

PART I.

The travels of Chi-Fah-Hian were first translated into French by MM. Remusat, Klaproth and Landrèesse. An English version of this work* was published by Mr. Laidlay in Calcutta in 1848. In 1869, the Rev. S. Beal published an original translation from the Chinese text. Great doubts are entertained as to the correctness of portions of the French work, and M. Julien points out that it cannot be safely used by persons unable to verify the translation by comparison with the original. Under these circumstances I make reference only to the edition of Mr. Beal.

A constant residence of many months in the midst of the places visited by the pilgrim and consequently a very familiar acquaintance, not only with the ruined temples, tope and cities themselves, but with the geography of the surrounding country, must be my apology for publishing my notes, differing as they oftendo with former identifications of these spots. I maintain that no satisfactory identification can be made without a lengthened stay in the neighbourhood of the places in question, and a careful survey of the ruins themselves. No amount of antiquarian knowledge, however profound, can compensate for an imperfect or second-hand acquaintance with the places professed to be identified.

Throughout Fah-Hian's work, distances are computed by "lis" and "yojanas." Mr. Beal allows four or five "lis" to the mile, General Cunningham six, and their estimate is doubtless correct. As to the second measure Mr. Beal allows seven miles to a "yojana" in the North-West Provinces, and only four in Magadha. General Cunningham counts uniformly 7½ or 8 miles as equal to a "yojana". From a comparison of the distances given in Bihār, the very centre of the kingdom of Magadha, I do not see how more than five miles out of fifty could be made to agree with either.


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GEOGRAPHY OF MAGADHA.

or six miles can, by any possibility be allowed, e.g. Bihár to Nánda “one yojana” actual distance 5½ or 6 miles; Patna to Bihár 9 yojanas—actual distance about 34 miles; Nánda to Rajgir one yojana, actual distance—5½ or 6 miles. For these reasons I consider a yojana as equivalent to a distance of between 5 and 6 miles.

I now proceed to follow the text of Mr. Beal page 110, chapter 28. “From this city [Patna] proceeding in a south-easterly direction nine yójanas, we arrive at a small rocky hill standing by itself; on the top of which is a stone cell facing the south. On one occasion, when Buddha was sitting in the middle of this cell, the divine Sekra took with him his attendant musicians, each one provided with a five-stringed lute, and caused them to sound a strain in the place where Buddha was seated. Then the divine Sekra proposed forty-two questions to Buddha, writing each one of them singly with his finger upon a stone. The traces of these questions yet exist. There is also a Saûgháráma built upon this spot. Going south-west from this one yójan we arrive at the village of Ná-lo.”

This hill is identified by General Cunningham with Giryak. “The remains of Giryak” he writes* “appear to me to correspond exactly with the accounts given by Fa-hHian of the Hill of the Isolated Rock.” His reasons are twofold, 1st the position, and 2nd the supposed etymology, of Giryak, i.e., giri-eka ek giri. I think I shall be able to show beyond doubt that this identification is entirely erroneous.

Firstly, at Giryak there is no solitary hill at all, nor any hill which can be described as resembling in any way an eminence of that description. At Giryak terminates the rocky range of the Rajgir hills, which stretch from the neighbourhood of Gya to the banks of the Panchana, on which the village of Giryak stands, and, as a matter of fact, the hill which rises above the village—so far from being solitary—is a mere offshoot of Vipulagir at Rajgir and is not less than six miles in length.

Secondly, from the “solitary hill” Fah-Hian proceeded south-west, one yójana, to Nála. Now Nála has been identified most satisfactorily with Bargán [Cunningham page 469] by position and by the aid of inscriptions, but strange to say, Bargán is exactly six miles north-west of Giryak. If General Cunningham’s identification of Giryak be right, Nánda must have been situated somewhere to the south of the Rajgir hills, in the middle of the Nowádá valley, but, strange to say, he identifies it with Bargán which is exactly north-west of the Rajgir hills in the centre of the Bihár valley. For this reason it is clear that “the hill of the solitary rock” could not be Giryak. The two identifications involve a dilemma, because no amount of argument can make Bargán six miles south-west of Giryak, when physically it is six miles in the very opposite direction. The identification of Nánda with Bargán (Vihár-gráma) is undoubtedly right, and as a consequence, that of the “solitary hill” with Giryak—undoubtedly wrong. Strange to say, General Cunningham writes as one reason for identifying Nánda with Bargán (page 469)—“Fah Hian places the hamlet of Ná-lo at one yojana, or seven miles from the hill of the isolated rock, i.e. from Giryak, and also the same distance from new Raja Grihá. This account agrees exactly with the position of Bargon with respect to Giryak and Rajgir.” Now in reality both translators agree in placing Nánda to the south-west of the hill, and as a matter of fact Bargán is north-west of Giryak.

I have no hesitation in identifying the “solitary hill” with the rocky peak at Bihár, which rises by itself in the midst of the plain covered with rice and poppy fields, and which gently slopes from the northern foot of the Rajgir hills to the banks of the Ganges itself. My reasons for so doing are: first,—correspondence of the relative distance and position of the Bihár rock and Patna, and of the solitary hill and Pátáliputra; second,—the agreement of the relative distance and position of the Bihár rock and Bargán, and the “solitary hill” and Nánda; third,—natural appearances of the Bihár rock.

Of Nánda, Fah says, “this was the place of Sáriputra’s birth. Sáriputra returned here to enter Nirváña. A town therefore was erected on this spot which is still in existence.”

Nánda corresponds with Bargán, a spot still marked with the ruins of vast tops and temples. “Going west from this one yojana we arrive at the new Rajgir.” This corresponds with the large circuit of fortifications at the foot of the Baibhá and Vipula hills, exactly six miles to the south of the Bargán ruins. I therefore think the direction given by the translators must be a mistake.

* Ancient Geography of India, page 472.
Fah-Hian continues; "this was the town king Ajásat built. There are two Sañgháramas in it. Leaving the town by the west gate and proceeding 300 paces (we arrive at) the tower which king Ajásat raised over the share of Buddha's relics which he obtained. Its height is very imposing."

The walls of the town and its gates are distinctly traceable at the distance of about half a mile from the foot of the mountain and directly facing the northern entrance of the valley of the five hills. Its form is somewhat difficult to describe and authors have varied in their attempts to do so, but after careful inspection from all points of view, and, what is still better, after studying its form from two of the hills above, I am of opinion it cannot be correctly called a pentagon, but is rather a parallelogram having, as measured from the top of the ramparts, three equal sides, viz., the north, west, and south, each measuring 1,900 feet, and one unequal viz., the east measuring 1,200 feet. The wall appears to have had a uniform thickness of about 14 feet and is composed of masses of stone about four feet square, the faces of which are made uniform and placed one upon the other in close contiguity, without any mortar or cement whatever. Starting from the north-east corner, where a stone bastion still exists in tolerable entirety, the wall remains unbroken for 200 feet, at the end of which distance a second bastion appears to have existed and similar traces are seen at the 300th foot. The remains of the wall now almost entirely disappear, but at the distance of 1100 feet from the north-east corner there is portion of entire wall measuring 20 feet by 14. Further on the wall appears clearly to have been removed and hardly a trace of it remains till towards the north-west corner, where its elevation considerably increases and there are enormous masses of brick which lead me to the conclusion that a tower must have once existed here. At this place the bricks are very small and of remarkable solidity. At a distance of 110 feet from the corner there are clear marks of a bastion, and the same feature is observable at similar distances up to the great west door, some 500 or 600 feet from the north-west corner of the fort. The rampart throughout this distance presents an average elevation of 25 or 30 feet above the plain beneath. Just before the west door, a fine piece of wall still remains intact measuring 26 feet by 14. Passing out by the west gate and going 800 feet in a direct line to the south-west, and crossing about midway the Sarasvatī rivulet one arrives at a circular mound having an elevation of some 30 feet and a diameter of 180. The centre is considerably depressed and seems to consist simply of masses of bricks similar to those on the ramparts and inside the fort. From the west side of the ruins a sort of terrace leads to a semi-circular heap of somewhat less elevation than the first, in the centre of this I discovered three large statues of Buddha all headless but otherwise little mutilated, they are all seated on lotus-leaf thrones supported by bases ornamented by different devices. In one, several figures are seen in the act of making an offering; the centre of the second is occupied by the "Wheel of the Law" with a deer on either side, and the third bears the representations of two lions couchant. These mounds are undoubtedly the ruins of the great tower mentioned in the text. I hope to make a complete excavation of them during the cold season. I have made at the present time two incisions in the side of the topes, and have recovered from them some Buddhist idols of remarkable beauty, as well as a tablet covered with the representations of the nine planets.

From the west door the ramparts still increase in height, but the wall is hidden by masses of brick. Not far from the end of the western side, there is another break in the wall exactly opposite which is a small temple containing a Buddhist idol, now worshipped by the Hindus as the image of Beni Mādhav. At each side of the Saraswatī stream is a paccā Ghāt and the ceremonies of "Goudān" and "Pindādān" are constantly performed here. At a short distance from this opening, the south rampart commences and has an elevation nearly equal to that on the west. The wall is not straight, but inclines towards the north-east. At about the 500th foot from the south-west corner, there are unmistakable traces of an enormous brick tower, and 400 feet farther on there is a long piece of wall still intact, and terminating in the southern gate. From this point to the south-east angle the wall is clearly visible. It has an elevation of some 30 or 40 feet above the valley, and there appears to have been bastions at distances varying from 100 to 110 feet. Opposite the south-east corner and at a distance of 50 or 60 paces there are distinct marks of a ruined tower similar to the one near the western gate already described. The wall towards the east has a total length
of nearly 1,200 feet, and the ruins have a very
inconsiderable elevation. Bastions are clearly
visible at the following distances from the south
east angle, viz., 200, 320, 420, 520, 620, 720,
820, 920, 1,020, 1,120 and 1,200 feet. Montgomery
Martin considers the heaps of brick to be
the remains of a second set of fortifications
built by Shir Shah, but I am rather inclined to
regard them as the ruins of the ancient towers, the
two monasteries and the royal palace which we
know to have existed in the town and parts of
which as well as other buildings were doubtless
built on the city walls. General Cunningham
gives a much larger area to the ruined city, but it
must be remembered he made his measurements
outside the ditch, very faint traces of which
are visible on two sides of the wall. I have
effected to trace carefully the rampart and in
many places removed the heaps of brick which
covered it. In most cases I succeeded in un-
covering the original wall, which uniformly
presents a thickness of 14 feet. As regards the outer
walls which are said to have existed, if the
heaps of stone which are found at different dis-
tances from the fort are traces of them, they
are so imperfect that any attempt to follow
them would be simply futile.

(To be continued.)

PĀṆINI AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE PANJĀB.

BY PROF. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The chief native authorities for Ancient
Indian Geography hitherto made use of by Anti-
quarians, are the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas. But
there is another, and a very important one, which
is not frequently referred to. The great Gram-
marian Pāṇini and his commentators, often give
very useful information in cases where the
Purāṇas and the Itihāsas afford no hint. We
propose in the following remarks to show by ex-
amples, what use may be made of this branch of
Sanskrit literature, in illustrating the Ancient
Geography of India.

In teaching the formation of the names of
places and of the inhabitants thereof, Pāṇini,
as is usual with him, gives general rules where
possible; and where not, he groups together cer-
tain names, in which the grammatical peculiarity
is the same. These groups are distinguished
from each other by the name of the first in the list,
with an expression which is equivalent to ‘and
others’ added to it. In the body of the work,
the names of the groups so formed, and the gram-
matical or etymological changes characteristic
of them, are only given, while the words constitut-
ing each group are set forth, in what may be
considered as an appendix to the work, called
gana-pāṭha. Instances of the general rules are
given by the commentators, but they are not, on
that account, to be considered as recent. There
is internal evidence to show that most of these
must have been handed down from the time of
Pāṇini himself. A good many are given by
Patañjali, the author of the great commentary on
Pāṇini’s work. On the other hand, all the words

* Translated at page 14.
mountains, and warlike tribes, occurring in the works of Pāṇini and his commentators, is very large. It would be difficult, or even impossible, to identify them all, but the positions and modern names of a good many can be determined with ease. It is not our purpose in this article to notice all such places, but to confine ourselves to such as may seem to throw new light on some doubtful points connected with the Ancient Geography of Afghanistan and the Panjāb.

The northernmost Kingdom of Afghanistan, in ancient times, was known to some of the Greek and Roman Geographers by the name of Kapišenâ, and the Chinese traveller Hwan Thsang calls it Kia-pi-shé. Pāṇini mentions Kapiši (IV-2-39), from which he derives Kapišhāyani—the name of a wine manufactured from grapes produced in the district. The country about Kabul is still remarkable for its fine grapes. The name of another kingdom was Archosia, which was called Arkhōj or Rokhōj by the Arab geographers, and Tsaukuta, supposed to be equivalent to Raukuta, by Hwan Thsang. European antiquarians* trace the name, or that of the river Archōtis, to the Zend Haraqaiti, corresponding to the Sanskrit Sarasvatī. But we are not aware upon what evidence a river of the name of Sarasvatī is fixed in this district. Sarasvatī is one of the Saptapāñhavas, or seven rivers of the Vedas, and if assigned a position here, would certainly be far away from the other six. The river Sarasvatī was situated to the east of the Satlej. Perhaps the name Archosia, Arkhōj, or Rokhōj, is to be derived from that of the mountain Rikshoda, mentioned by Pāṇini's commentators, the Brahmans living about which, were called Arkshodas. This name is given as one to which Pāṇini's rule (IV-3-91) does not apply.

Another province of Afghanistan is called Fa-la-nu by Hwan Thsang, and identified with the modern Vaneh or Wanneh by some, and with Banu, by General Cunningham. The Sanskrit name corresponding to this is not known. Pāṇini, however, mentions a country named Varṇa in several places (IV-2-103, and IV-3-93), which is very likely the same as Hwan Thsang's Fa-la-nu. The country of Gandhāra is mentioned in the group Kačchhādī IV-2-133 and in IV-1-169, and the river Suvaṣṭu, the modern Swat, a branch of the Kabul river, (in IV-2-77).

The position of the hill-fort of Aornos in the capture of which Alexander the Great displayed very great valor, is still a matter of uncertainty. The Sanskrit name corresponding to it is also equally unknown. Professor Wilson traces it to the word—avarāṇa, 'enclosure', which, he thinks, forms the latter part of many names of cities. Whether it was actually so used is more than doubtful, and it would be necessary to suppose that the Greeks, in their Aornos dropped the first part of the name, retaining only the latter. General Cunningham derives it from the name of a king, whom he calls Rājā Vara. May it not be the Varaṇā mentioned by Pāṇini in IV-2-82? It was the name of a city as well as its people. There is a place on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Atak, still called, we are told, Varanas or Varanās.

The Ortospan of the classical geographers has been identified with the modern Kabul. The Sanskrit name corresponding to it is not known. Professor Wilson derives it from such an original as Uṛddhasṭhāna. But we do not meet with such a name, and the etymology is purely aimless and conjectural. To derive it from the name of a tribe would be more reasonable. Hwan Thsang calls the country about the place Fo-li-shi-sa-tang-ṇa. May not this name be derived from such a compound as Parsuṣṭhāna, the country of the Parshus, a warlike tribe mentioned by Pāṇini in V-3-117. Pāṇini and Patañjali call the Panjāb—Bāhika (IV-2-117 and V-3-114). The historians of Alexander tell us, that after having crossed the Hydrāotes or Ravi in the course of his march through the Panjāb, he captured and destroyed a town of the name of Sangala. European antiquarians have identified it with the Sanskrit Shākala. But Shākala, from the evidence to be gathered from the Mahābārata, and according to Hwan Thsang, who visited the place, was situated to the west of the Rāvi. Professor Wilson, therefore thinks that after Alexander had destroyed the Shākala to the east of the Rāvi, another was founded to the west of the river. This is merely a gratuitous supposition. General Cunningham thinks that Alexander re-crossed the Rāvi to conquer the town. Would it not be better to suppose that the two places were distinct? Alexander destroyed Sangala, while Shākala existed in the time of Hwan Thsang. Sangala belonged to a tribe that had no King,

* See Wilson's Ārīana Antiqua.

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*See Wilson’s Arīana Antiqua.
while Shākala was the capital of the Madras, who were governed by a king. Sangala is very probably to be traced to Sānkalā, a place mentioned by Pānini (IV-2-75). Sānkalā was the name of the person who is said to have founded the city. It stands at the head of the group Sānkalādi, the second name in which is Pushkala, from whom the city of Paushkala, the ancient capital of Gandhāra, and the Peukalas of the ancient European Geographers, derived its name. Sānkalā agrees more closely with Sangala than Shākala. If this identification is to be trusted, the occurrence of the name of Sangala in Pānini, may be taken as a proof of his having flourished before Alexander; for the Macedonian Conqueror is said to have destroyed the city, on which account it must have ceased to exist after him.

The central province of the Panjāb is called Pa-la-fa-to by Hwan Thsang, transcribed Parvata by M. Julien. General Cunningham proposes Sorvata for Parvata. But Parvata is given as the name of a country by Pānini (IV-2-143) and the group Takshashilādi, (under IV-3-93).

In the central and lower Panjāb, Alexander met with two tribes of warriors, named the Mali and the Ox ydrakae. The Sanskrit original of the former is unknown; and Professor Wilson identifies the latter with the Shudrakes of the Purānas. But there is a rule in Pānini (V-3-114) which teaches us to form the singular and dual of the names of warlike tribes in the Panjāb, by adding the termination -ya and changing the vowel of the first syllable to its ērddhi. Of this rule, his commentators give Mālavās (pl. Mālavās) and Kshudrakes (pl. Kshudrakes) as instances. We thus learn that the Mālavās and Kshudrakes were two tribes of warriors in the Panjāb. The name Mālavās corresponds with Mali, and Kshudrakes with Ox ydrakae. Kshudrakes is nearer to the latter than Professor Wilson's Shudrakes.

At the confluence of the Panjāb rivers, Alexander came in contact with a tribe which is called Sambracā or Sabracā. General Cunningham traces this name to Samvāgri which he considers a Sanskrit word. But we are not aware of the existence of such a word; and it has an unsanskrit look about it, meaning as it does, according to the General, 'united warriors.' The Sabracā were probably the Shaubhreyas, grouped along with the Yau dheyas, V-3-117.

PROGRESS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH IN 1869-70.

[From the last published Report of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

The Sanskrit series of the Bibliotheca Indica, which, from various reasons, had for several years made but little progress, has taken a fresh start. Of the Tāndya Brāhman three fasciculi have already been issued, and a number of other important works are reported to be in preparation. The Bombay Sanskrit Series, conducted by the Sanskrit Professors of the Bombay and Punā Colleges, presents also a promising aspect, and though of only a few years' standing, has raised hopes that, with an increased staff of well-trained editors, and commensurate support from Government, it may some day successfully compete with its elder Bengal sister.

The searching for Sanskrit MSS. has also been carried on during the last year with laudable vigour and decided success in several parts of India, particularly in Bengal, by the indefatigable Bābu Rājendraālā Mitra; and in Bombay by Professors Bāhler and Keilhorn, the latter of whom has just published a classified catalogue, containing little short of 600 Titles of Sanskrit Manuscripts, discovered in the southern division of that Presidency.

As regards the Dekhan, the Council cannot, unfortunately, present so favourable a report, as they are not aware that any official steps have as yet been taken by the Madras Government to carry into effect the resolution passed by the Government of India in 1868. This, in the opinion of the Council, is the more to be regretted, as the value of Sanskrit MSS. written in the vernacular alphabets of southern India, is beginning to be better appreciated, furnishing as they do, in many cases, a more correct text than the Devanāgari MSS of the north, and supplying, not unfrequently, texts and variant versions which have not hitherto been known to exist. The members of this Society cannot have failed to notice the Descriptive Catalogue, now being published by Mr. A. Burnell, of the Madras C.S., in Mr. Trübner’s "American and Oriental Literary Record," of an excellent collection of Sanscrit MSS. made by himself during his residence in various parts of the Dekhan. It must be satisfactory to him to know that the portion of the catalogue which he has already published, exhibits several important works, for the most part belonging to the Black Yajur-veda, which are either entirely new, or of which incomplete MSS. alone have as yet been discovered in the north. Mr. Burnell (like Sir Walter Elliot, Mr. C. P. Brown, and some few scholars of earlier days) thus shows what benefit a civilian in
southern India, who earnestly applies himself to the study of Hindu Literature, may be able to confer
on Indian Philology, by collecting materials, and placing the results of his researches before Euro-
pean scholars. The Madras Service, however, has
of late evinced but little interest in literary pursuits
of this kind, and the Literary Society of Madras in-
deed has for years scarcely shown a sign of its ex-
istence. It is to be hoped that the few earnest
scholars still engaged in Oriental Studies may put
an end to this unhappy state of indifference, by
showing what important problems of Sanskrit Phi-
losophy and Indian history are dependent for their
solution upon the south, and that Madras will thus
not stay behind other local governments in lending
its support to the scientific exertions of European
and native scholars, but still cordially co-operate in
curing, and compiling lists of MSS. scattered over
the whole of India.

The contents of the Sarasvati Bhandāram Library
of H. H. the Maharāja of Māisur, have been made
known through a catalogue issued a few months
earlier by the Bangalore Press, and containing the
titles of several rare works. Of the Tanjore Library,
a list had been printed many years ago, in which
an extremely bad, often unintelligible, method of transcription was adopted; of this
list there is a copy in the possession of Professor
Goldstücker, the only one which is supposed to be
now extant in Europe. Many parts of the Dekhān,
however, have up to this time remained completely
unexplored, and still promise a plentiful harvest to
future investigators; although, in many cases, it
will, no doubt, require the utmost care to overcome
the suspicion and superstitions of the Brahmans.
Of the Namburis in Malabar, for instance, a most
interesting, though very retired and secluded class
of Brahmans, we know next to nothing; yet they
are said to be staunch followers of the Vedic reli-
gion, and to have in their possession a great many
old Vedic MSS. Some places in the Hyderabad
territory also, especially Kaleshvaram on the Upper
Godavari, are known as great seats of Rig and San-
veda learning, and may be expected, when visited
and explored, to add considerably to our knowledge
of ancient Sanskrit literature.

There exists already a large collection of Sanskrit
MSS. in Madras, which awaits a thorough examina-
tion, and the Council of this society have for some
years used their best endeavours to get the collections
transferred to England for incorporation with the
Library of the India Office, with a view not only
to rescuing the MSS. from the early destruction
with which they are threatened by the ravages of
the climate and of the white ants, but also in order
to render them more accessible to European scholars.
Though their recommendation has not been carried
out in full, the Council are gratified in stating that
in reply to their application they have been inform-
ed by the Government of Madras that it is proposed
to build at Madras a Public Library, in which these
MSS. will be deposited and properly protected
against the ravages of insects, and that the Pro-

The Indian Antiquary.
by expedition, none of the results of their labours have been sent home; and no attempt was made to follow up these experiments during the last cold weather. Nor, so far as is known in this country, have any expeditions been organized, either in Bengal or Bombay, for operations during the next season.

In the meanwhile Dr. Hunter, at Madras, has been most successfully employing the pupils in his school of design in photographing some of the numerous temples which abound in that part of India, and also in casting some of their sculptures; none of the latter have reached this country, but the photographs are a valuable contribution to our knowledge, and, combined with those taken for Government by Captain Lyon, convey a very perfect idea of the enormous architectural wealth of that Presidency.

During the cold weather of 1868-9 Lieut. Cole, R.E., was deputed to Kashmir to photograph and make plans and drawings of the temples in that valley. A work giving the result of his labours is on the eve of publication by the India Office. It promises to be a most valuable contribution of our knowledge of the style of architecture there prevailing, and worthyly completes what was so well commenced by General Cunningham in 1848.

During the last cold season the same officer has been employed under the auspices of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, in casting the eastern gate-way of the great-tope at Sanchi. It is understood that he has successfully accomplished this object, and is now on his way home with the moulds. Lieut. Cole took with him from this country a party of draughtsmen, with the intention of drawing all those sculptures which had not hitherto been delineated by General Cunningham and his brother, or by Col. Maisey. We may therefore hope that before long the means will be available in this country for obtaining a perfect knowledge of that remarkable monument.

Besides these expeditions, which are all more or less dependent on Government support, Mr. James Burgess, of Bombay, has just completed a splendid work on the great Temple city of Palitana. This work, which is illustrated by 45 photographs by Mr. Sykes, is preceded by an introduction by himself, full of interesting local information and antiquarian knowledge regarding the sect of the Jains, to whom all the temples on that hill belong.

The same author has also published 41 photographs taken by the same artist during an expedition to the caves of Talája and Sana, and the temples of Somnath and Gírnar. The text to this book is not so elaborate as that of the previous work, but is sufficient to describe and explain the history of the monuments it illustrates.

Messrs. Sykes and Dwyer have also photographed the caves and temples at Nasik and Kárík, but no text has yet been added in illustration of them by any such competent hand.

Besides these, Mr. T. C. Hope of the Civil Service, has published a valuable work illustrated with 20 photographs by Mr. Lindley, of "Surat, Bharuch and other old cities of Gujarát with descriptive and architectural notes," by himself.

From the above it will be seen that our knowledge of the architecture and antiquities of some parts of our Indian Empire is progressing, though not so rapidly as might be desired. More, however, may be doing in India than we are aware of here: for unfortunately there is no agency either there or in the country where photographs by amateurs or local societies are collected, or from which a knowledge can be obtained of what is being done in this respect.

In continuation of their report on the present state of literary and antiquarian research on the Indian continent, the Council, now desire to refer to the neighbouring island of Ceylon, and to offer a few remarks on the condition of that seat of Buddhism and Pali learning. They have noticed with no little satisfaction that the Pali language and literature and the religion of Káká Múni in general have, during the last year or two, received a great amount of attention at the hands of European as well as of Singaleso scholars. Several important works bearing on the subjects have been published in England and abroad during the past year; and it is but fair to mention that this Society also has contributed its share to the promotion of these studies as is testified by the communications of Messrs. Childers and Fausboll, printed in its Journal, besides several papers on Buddhistic antiquities. A great and long-felt want will, at last, be supplied by the Pali Dictionary about to be published by Mr. Childers, who, it is to be expected, will by this work give a fresh and more general impulse to Pali studies.

A Singaleso scholar, Pandit Deva-rakkha, has published, a few months since, an excellent edition of the Balavatara, the most popular Pali Grammar in Ceylon; and the Pali text of the Digha Nikawa has been promised by another native scholar.

The Ceylon branch of the Asiatic Society also, has just issued a new and highly interesting number of its Journal, containing, amongst other articles, the continuation of Mr. James d'Alwis' paper on the Singaleso language, the Aryan origin of which he maintains in an able and convincing manner, together with a Lecture on Buddhism, delivered shortly before his death by Mr. Gogerly, the late eminent Pali scholar, and edited, with an introduction and notes, by the Revd. J. Scott and D. de Silva. Another number of that Journal is reported to be already in preparation. It is further gratifying to learn that Mr. T. W. R. Davids, a young promising Pali scholar of the Ceylon S. C., has undertaken to collect the Pali inscriptions which are scattered in great number over the island. Whether he may succeed in deciphering, or whether he may have to content himself with copying and publishing, these
ancient historical and religious records, Mr. Davids
deserves the encouragement and approbation of all
who take an interest in these studies; and the Council
have no doubt but that the Ceylon Government, which
has recently shown its liberality by granting a sum
of money for the searching for, and procuring of
MSS., will lend its full support and countenance
to so promising and well-timed an undertaking.

As regards our sister societies on the Continent,
the Asiatic Society of Paris and the German Oriental
Society, their scientific researches have lost nothing
of their wanted vigour and efficiency, and their
publications embody, as usual, a goodly amount of
useful information in the various branches of Orien-
tal knowledge.

The number of the American Oriental Society's
Journal, issued during the last year, contains the
greater part of an important publication, viz., of
Professor W. D. Whitney's Taftitirya Prāthīśākhyā,
the Sanskrit Text and Commentary, with a transla-
tion of the former, and copious annotations. A new
number of the same Journal, which will con-
tain the concluding part of this work, will be issued
in the course of the summer.

REVIEWS.

A CATENA of Buddhist Scriptures. FROM the CHI-
NISE. By Samuel Beal, Chaplain R.N., Author of "Budd-
hist Pilgrims," &c., (pp. 136, 8vo.) London, Trübner
& Co., 1871.

Of this extensive store-house of Buddhist lore,
it is our duty at present merely to give a brief
outline. Some of the translations here published
have already appeared in the Journal of the Royal
Asiatic Society. Having revised these, and added
others to complete what he considers to be the
cycle of the Buddhist development, the author now
publishes the entire series as a contribution towards
a more general acquaintance with Buddhist litera-
ture in China. It seems that the Buddhist Canon
in that country, as was arranged between the years
67 and 1285, A.D., includes 1440 distinct works
comprising 5586 books. These however form only
an insignificant portion of the whole Buddhist liter-
ature which is spread throughout the empire, of
which, hitherto the majority, or nearly all of English
people, have been content to remain ignorant. In
these circumstances, the author may well think that
it is difficult to understand how we can claim to have
any precise idea of the religious condition of the
Chinese people, or even to appreciate the phrasology
met with in their ordinary books. The book, we
are told, and we can well believe it, represents the
results of some years of patient labour; and
that whatever be its fate, the author, or rather editor,
has found his reward in the delight which the
study has afforded him, and in the insight which he
has thereby gained into the character of one of
"the most wonderful movements of the human
mind in the direction of Spiritual Truth, which is
traced in the history of Buddhism." Much has
been done within the last thirty years to elucidate
Buddhist history and philosophy, and it is certainly
extraordinary, that little or no use has been made
of the Buddhist Canon as it is accepted in China.
In many of the large monasteries, there are to be
found not only complete editions of the Buddhist
Scriptures in the vernacular, but also the Sanskrit
originals from which the Chinese version was made.
Yet no effort has hitherto been made, either in this
country or elsewhere, to secure for our great libra-
ries copies of these invaluable works. Buddhist
books, we learn, began to be translated into Chinese
so early as the middle of our first century A.D.
"It is one of the singular coincidences which oc-
cur in such abundance, between the history of Bud-
dhism and the Christian religion, that whilst the
influence of the latter was leaving the Western
world, the knowledge of the former was being car-
died by missionaries—as zealous, though not so well
instructed, as the followers of St. Paul—into the
vast empire beyond the Eastern deserts; where it
took root, long before Germany or England had be-
come Christian, and has flourished ever since." The
first complete edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon
dates merely from the seventh century. It was
prepared under the direction of Tae Tsung, the se-
cond emperor of the Tang dynasty, who reigned
from 627 to 650 A.D. and it was published by his
successor Kaon-Tsung. Yung-loh, the third emperor
of the Ming dynasty, in the year 1410, prepared a
second and much enlarged edition of the Canon,
writing a royal preface to it. This is called the
Southern Edition—nan-tsang. Wan-leih the thir-
teenth emperor of the same dynasty, caused the
publication of a third edition about 1590 A.D.,
which goes by the name of the Northern Collection,
or peh-tsang, and which was renewed and enlarged
in 1723, during the reign of Keen-lang, under the
auspices of a former governor of Cheh-kiang, who
wrote a preface to the catalogue of works contain-
ed in it, and added a reprint of the royal preface
to the first complete edition written by Tae-Tsung.
"It is calculated that the whole work of the Indian
translators in China, together with that of Hiuen-
Thsang, amounts to about seven hundred times the
size of the New Testament. The section known as
the Mahāprajñā Pāramitā alone, is eighty times
large as the New Testament, and was prepared by
Hiuen-Thsang, without abbreviation, from the
Sanskrit, embracing two hundred thousand shlokas."
It is certainly singular, that with a knowledge of
this large and complete collection of the Buddhist
Scriptures, so little use has been made of it by mis-
sionaries and scholars, with the exception of M.
Wassiliev. "It would be wrong to state," says Mr.
especially towards a critical acquaintance with the
render to the cause of literature generally, but es-
the Chinese version of the Buddhist Scriptures may
that our indifference to their prejudices will tend to
Müller suggests. "The analytical structure of the
other important service which a careful study of
the character of a gloss; and although we need not
Chineselanguage imparts to Chinesetranslations
originalSanskrit text of the Tripitaka; as Max
beevident that so long as we are ignorant of the
belong to the Buddhist faith. Moreover, it must
of so many millions of that population as do strictly
ture which containsthesacred deposit of the faith
them,and it is hardly consistent in us, whilst we
ancientness would naturally impart to them consider
we may derive from having in China copies of
many of the sacred books which are unknown else-
Such are, for example, the Avatamsaka Sūtra, written
Vibásha Shastras, the Surajgama Sūtra, and many
others.

Another important consideration is the advantage
we may derive from having in China copies of
many of the sacred books which are unknown else-
Such are numerous works of the Northern School, as it is called, and which, so far as is
at present known, are not to be met with in their
original Sanskrit form, either in India or Nepal.
Such are, for example, the Avatamsaka Sūtra, written
by Nagarjüna, and which, under the name of the
Fa yan king, is one of the commonest and most
widely circulated Sūtras in China—the Kosha and
Vibhāsha Shastras, the Suraṅgama Sūtra, and many
others.

"Incidentally," says the author, "we shall derive
from these studies much information relating to
the more obscure parts of Indian history, and the
struggles of the conflicting Indian sects." In the
history of the mission of Song Yun, for example, we have an account of the effect which a picture of the
sufferings of Bodhisatva, when he was born
as Vessantara, produced on the rough Indo-Scythic
tribes who invaded North India at the beginning
of the Christian Era. He tells us they could not
refrain from tears when they saw the picture of the
sufferings of the Prince. This little incident may
very reasonably account for the conversion of the
whole tribe of invaders who, under the rule of
Kaśyapa and his successors, became the most devoted
patrons of the Buddhist faith, and "the magnifi-
cent founders" of Topes and Temples, the ruins of
which at present survive. And from this reference
of Song Yun to the Vessantara Jataka, represented
in the white Elephant Temple, Varousha, the writer,
is led to connect the Sang-teh or Sānti temples in
the neighbourhood of that city with the Sanchi
or Santi Topes near Bhilsa, where also, over the
northern gateway of the great Topes, we find sculp-
tured the same history of Bodhisatva as Vessan-
tara, giving away his whole possessions, his chil-
dren and his wife, so that there might be no
remnant of selfishness left in his nature, and thus
he might be fitted to undertake the salvation of
men. But it is hardly necessary, recollecting the
labours of M. Julion, and the school of French
Sinologues, amongst whom he is conspicuous, to
bring farther instances of the manner in which we
may derive funds of information from China re-
specting the civilization of India. The connection
is also noted between the history of Buddhism in
the East, and the progress of Christianity in the
West. In the middle ages there was a favourite
legend known throughout Europe, and generally
accepted as genuine, under the name of Barlaam
and Josaphat. This history is at present widely
circulated in the modern edition of the Lives of the
Saints, by Symeon, the translator. But on exa-
namination we find that the life of Josaphat, who has
somewhere crept into the Roman Martyrology, was
but a copy of the well known history of Shakya
Buddha, and was appropriated doubtlessly by the
early Christian hagiographers as being in itself a
very touching and natural account of the struggle
of a sensitive conscience with the temptations of a
wicked and ensnaring world. We quite agree with
Mr. Beal too, when he says—"The widest and most
interesting result to be derived from such studies
as these, is the means they afford us of arriving at
a correct judgment in the science of comparative
religion"—so far as that is possible. "The scope
of the present work is to present the reader with a
brief Catena of Buddhist Scriptures arranged, so far
as possible, in a chronological order, with a view
to exhibit the origin and gradual expansion of the
system, and to point out in what particulars it demands
our candid consideration, and in what particulars
it fails to deserve either attention or inquiry.
The former phase will be found to consist of its peculiar
purity as a religious system properly so called,
whilst the latter will embrace those numerous
divergencies of the system from its original charac-
ter, into a scholastic and vain philosophy, which
ended in its ultimate confusion with other sects in
India, or in its present lifeless condition in China
and Japan. The works here translated are mostly
standard ones, and if not, strictly speaking, in the
Canon, are yet of great authority, and are found
in the libraries of most of the monasteries in the
South of China."

Mr. Beal's work more than achieves his prefa-
tory anticipations. He has given an elaborate and
splendid contribution to our knowledge of early
Eastern Mythology. His notes and comments ex-
hibit a wide acquaintance with European orientalism,
and his tone of thought a width and liberalism al-
together unusual. Mr. Beal's handsome and deeply
interesting volume well deserves a place in the library of every one who can read English. A. H. B.

GOVER'S FOLK SONGS.


This is one of the most attractive and instructive books, relating to the social life of the people of India we have ever read. We think we can safely predict that it will be a favourite in the drawing-room as well as in the study. The introductory remarks, criticisms, &c. are well written, and the many songs rendered with great spirit and in every variety of metre. Some of them have already appeared in the Cornhill Magazine, and others were read before the Royal Asiatic Society but have not yet been published.

The Dravidian languages have hitherto been too much overlooked by Orientalists. The Rev. W. Taylor remarks, "It is desirable that the polish of the Telugu and Tamil poetry should be better known in Europe; that so competent judges might determine whether the high distinction accorded to Greek and Latin poetry, as if there were nothing like it in the world, is perfectly just." And Dr. Caldwell remarks, that Tamil is "the only vernacular literature in India which has not been content with imitating the Sanskrit, but has honourably attempted to emulate and outshine it. In one department, at least, that of ethical epigrams, it is generally maintained, and I think must be admitted, that the Sanskrit has been outdone by the Tamil."

But we must let Mr. Gover speak for himself:—"There is," he says, "a great mass of noble writing ready to hand, in Tamil and Telugu folk-literature, especially in the former. Total neglect has fallen upon it. Overborne by Brahmanic legend, hated by the Brahmans, it has not had a chance of obtaining the notice it so much deserves. The people cling to their songs still, and in every pyall-school the pupils learn the strains of Tiruvalluva, Anveiyar, Kapila, Pattammata and the other early writers. To raise these books in public estimation, to exhibit the true products of the Dravidian mind, would be a task worthy of the ripest scholar, and the most enlightened government. I would especially draw attention to the eighteen volumes that are said to have received the sanction of the Madura College, and are among the oldest specimens of Dravidian literature. Any student of Dravidian writings would be able to add a score of equally valuable books. If these were carefully edited, they would form a body of Dravidian classics of the highest value."

Nor ought we to pass over the author's history of his book—"the result of an attempt," as he describes it, "to fathom the real feelings of the masses of the people, by gathering and collecting the folksongs of each family of the great Dravidian nation. It has been the pleasant labour of years to make this collection—in the plains, where dwell the Tamil and Telugu peoples: on the Mysore plateau, the home of Kõnarese: among the hills and valleys of the Nilgiris and the Western Ghâts, sheltering the stilt-waite tribes of Kurig, and the humble Badagas of Utkamand: along the narrow strip of low-lying coast that parts the sea from the western Ghâts and gives a home to the Malayalam tongue." And lovingly and honestly has he done his work, and we feel that the vista he has opened up is a picture of reality of no common interest.

Before proceeding to the songs let us quote this picture, so well drawn, of the dasa:—"Their service was first of all poverty; secondly, singing; thirdly, forgetfulness of caste. Their reward lay in human honour and the certainty of a living. None dared to dispise the 'slave of God,' none could refuse him a handful of rice or a couple of oppams or chappatis. At weddings and feasts, at fasts and funerals, at sowing and harvest, at full moon and sankranti (the passing of the equator as the sun changed its tropic), the dasa must be invited, listened to and rewarded. At weddings, he must sing of Krishna; at burnings of Yama; before maidens of Kâma; before men, of Kâma. As he begs he sings of right and duty; when he hoars the clink of copper in his shell, of benevolence and charity. . . .

"There can be few more pleasant scenes than when in the cool of the evening, the dasa enters some quiet country village, to find and earn his food and quarters for the night. Marching straight to the Mantapam or many-pillared porch of the pagoda, he squats on the elevated basement, tunes his vina, places before him his huge begging shell. The villagers are just returning from the fields, weary with their labours, anxious for some sober excitement. The word is quickly passed round that the singer has come, and men, women and children turn their steps towards the Mantapam. There they sit on the ground before the bard and wait his pleasure. He begins by trolling out some praise to Krishna, Vishnu or Pillaiyarswami. Then he starts with a pada or short song, such as those with which the book commences. There is chorus to every verse. If the song be well known before the bard has finished the long-drawn-out note with which he ends his verse, the villagers have taken up their part and the loud chorus swells on the evening breeze. If the song be new they soon learn chorus, and every fresh verse bears a louder and louder refrain. Then the shell is carried round and pice are showered into it. When darkness closes in, the head-man of the village invites the singer to his house, gives him a full meal and then leaves him with mat, vina and shell to sleep in the pyall. In busy towns the singer
squats by the roadside and soon collects a crowd
to hear his song. The chorus here is less frequent-
ly heard. The people cannot stay, their children are
at home, they hear a little and then pass on.”
This is but a specimen of the descriptions of life and
manners with which the songs are interspersed  
and illustrated.

Here is a pada—selected at random from the
twenty eight Kanarese songs with which the book
commences:—

“One begs of others for a wife,
On her bestows both rule and home
He counts her half of all his life.
But when death comes, he dies alone.

Chorus.—Of all good things the best are three—
Wives, lands, and countless gain.
Which is the dearest friend to thee ?
One mounts the throne of mighty kings,
His palace girds with fort and wall ;
Of his great power the whole world rings,
His lifeless corset to dogs shall fall.

Chorus.—Of all good things the best &c.
King’s grace, good luck, hard work and trade,
May load with wealth of coin or land.
What tyrants leave, the moths invade ;
For riches fly like desert sand.
Chorus.—Of all good things &c.
In vain wives mourn, in vain sons weep,
Wealth helps e’en less in death’s last scene.
Two things alone the gulf can leap—
The sin, the good, our life has seen.

Chorus.—Of all good things &c.
In this weak frame put not your trust,
But think on Him with inward calm.
Is your heart clean ? For Him you lust—
Then Vishnu is a healing balm.
Chorus.—Of all good things &c.

Of the three Badaga songs translated—the “Next
world” is of weird and wonderful interest: it is a
Vision of Heaven and Hell that might immortalize
another Dante. But it is too long for quotation:
its concluding verse reminds us of what will strike
most readers, as the prevailing undertone of a large
proportion of the translations in this interesting
volume.

“Oh brother, how I wish
To reach that blessful shore !
Why did I ever come
To see such fearful things !
If when at last I die,
A solemn gathering mourns,
And fire devours my corpse—
If till be paid to him
Who guards the heavenly gates—
If this and more he done,
Can I obtain that bliss,
Or must I sink to hell ?”

“Alas! my dear sister, I know not of that.”

Here as in very many other instances in these
Dravida songs the note of sorrow is clear enough.
And, as the author remarks “no one can fail to be
struck with the sadness that prevails. The world
and every soul in it are so sinful, so full of all evil,
man should give up all to save his life; and even
than can hardly hope to succeed. ‘How to cross
the sea of Sin?’ becomes the great question. Its
current is so strong, its waves so high, its hidden
rocks so many, that none but a strong swimmer can
dare to hope to reach the other side. Even he is
so battered by storm and rock, so exhausted by the
contest or worn by exertion, that when he seems
able to touch the shore his strength may fail, his
heart grow weak, and he sink back into the roaring
tide. If things be so with the vigorous manful
few, how can the feeble trembling many ever hope
to see the golden feet of the god whose help they
crave? It is inexpressibly saddening again and
again to note such songs as these, and know that
they represent the inmost feelings of the better
part of a great nation.”

We must pass over the Kurg Harvest and Wed-
ding songs too—beautiful as they are, and made
still more interesting by Mr. Gover’s excellent
sketches of the attendant ceremonies; the Funeral
Song also is full of pathos and striking images,
such as:

Woe! The string of choicest pearls
Round the neck of favoured child
Is for ever burst and lost !
Woe! The clear and brilliant glass,
Fallen from our trembling hands,
Fallen—broken to the ground !

But it is too long to reproduce. Nor can we find
space for quotations from the Tamil songs, though
those by Kapila and Sivavaky, as well as from
the Cural of Tiruvalluva—the “typical and honour-
ed book” of the Tamils—will interest and instruct
every thoughtful reader. These occupy nearly a
third of the volume. Next come Malayalam songs
five in number; and lastly thirteen Telugu songs
close the work, which we heartily commend to all
readers.

Hindustanman Musafari—or Journal of Travels
in India. By Ardaseer Framjee Mook. 8vo. I., Bom-
bay, 1871.

This very elegant volume, dedicated to His Royal
Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, is written in
Gujarati, and illustrated by a good map, a photo-
graph of His Royal Highness, a steel engraving of
the author and his travelling companions, and by
a series of sixty-six beautiful chromolithographs,
prepared by Messrs. Vincent, Brooks, Day and Sons,
from photographs collected by the author, of
places visited during his travels. The text occupies
292 pages of beautifully printed vernacular, and
40 pages of translations spiritedly rendered from
what the author considers the most interesting por-
tions of his book. In typography, illustrations, and
binding, the book has never been equalled in India.
Mr. RAVENSHAW'S HISTORY OF GAUR.

In reply to a letter from the Government of India to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, asking him to state whether he was prepared to revise and edit Mr. Ravenshaw's historical sketch of the kingdom of Gaur, General Cunningham wrote as follows:—

"I beg to state that I feel some delicacy about meddling with Mr. Ravenshaw's historical sketch without his permission, as he states that he spent much time and labour upon it, and evidently believes that he has made a very good job of it. But if he has no objection to my revision of his sketch, I would undertake to edit the work, merely making the necessary corrections in his text, and adding such notes as are absolutely necessary to illustrate the subject. I would, however, give an introductory chapter, treating of the style of architecture compared with that of Northern India, as shown in the existing buildings at Delhi and Jumnpur."

"I should like also, if possible, to obtain some further illustrations of the Muhammadan architecture of Bengal from the eastern capital of Sonárgaon, which still exists about 20 miles from Dacca."

General Cunningham has been asked to place himself in communication with Mr. Ravenshaw with reference to the proposed editing of the sketch.

We have been favoured with a copy of a letter, dated 6th September, from the Bengal Government to the Commissioner of Dacca, asking that official to "be so good as to report, for the Lieutenant-Governor's information, whether there is any one in Dacca or its neighbourhood who is willing to take photographs of the Muhammadan architectural ruins of Sonárgaon, and to supply Government with copies of those views at a moderate cost."—Englishman, Oct. 20.

SHRI HARSHA.

At the monthly meeting of the Bombay B. R. Asiatic Society, on the 9th Nov. Dr. George Bühler read a paper entitled "A Note on the History of the Sanskrit Literature," of which the following is a brief abstract:—

A Jainawriter, Rajasekhara,gives in his Prabhandakosh, composed A.D. 1348, a life of Shri Harsha. He states that Shri Harsha, the son of Hira, was born in Benares, and composed the Naişadhiyakavya at the request of a king at that town, named Jayantachandra, the son of Govinda Chandra. Various details which Rajasekhara gives regarding Jayantachandra, especially the statement that he had the surname Panjula, that he was contemporary of Kumarpala of Anahillapattan, and that he and his dynasty were destroyed by the Musalmans, show that Raja Sokhara's Jayantachandra is nobody else than the Kaśitrakuta prince, Jayachandra, who reigned over Kanyakubya and Benares, in the latter half of the 12th century, probably from 1168-1194.

Rajasekhara's account of the age of the Shri Harsha is confirmed by the fact, that the latter states, at the end of his Naişadhiyakavya, that he was honoured by a king of Kanyakubya.

THE SELONS.

Colonel Browne, the Deputy Commissioner of the Mergui district, British Burmah, gives a very interesting account of the Selons, a peculiar race of people living under our rule. This they have been doing ever since Mergui became ours, some fifty years ago, and yet they are described as perfectly uncivilized, and not a bit the better for our rule. The number of this race living in British territory is about 1,000. They have no written language, nor have they any traditions regarding their origin. Dr. Mason, the well known American Missionary of the Karens, is of opinion that they have a Polynesian origin, but their Mongolian cast of features completely upsets this theory. Their spoken language is quite distinct from the Burmese. They are divided into families; these are told, are free to intermarry with each other, but the bride becomes a part of her husband's family. The wealth consists of boats and fishing apparatus. Each family appears to understand its own boundaries, and no encroachment is allowed by one into the preserves of another. The race is described as strong and well-built but very ugly. They go about almost naked. They live in small huts of a most primitive description, in which the whole family is huddled together. Their principal weapon appears to be the spear, with which they capture fish and wild pigs, which constitute their principal articles of food. Turtles and shell-fish also afford them subsistence, together with yams, which grow on the islands, and are sometimes found of 30 pounds weight. They are very fond, we are told, of opium, arrak and tobacco. Weaving cloth is unknown to them, but they manufacture neat sleeping mats of a certain kind of leaf, and the sails of their boats are constructed of the same material. They are without religion of any sort, and have no idea of a future existence. Like the Dyaks of Borneo they believe in the existence of spirits, which haunt streams, forests, &c. When a Selon dies, his body, with his spear, &c., is placed on a mat on the sea beach. His friends then vacate the spot, and return after a year to bury the bones and the weapons. They are said to be very truthful, and polygamy and conjugal infidelity are unknown among them. They are moreover of a mild and peaceable nature, and offer no resistance to the attacks frequently made upon them by Malay pirates.—Delhi Gazette.

ROCK TEMPLE AT HARCHOR A.

At the last meeting of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, an interesting letter was read from Captain W. L. Sumnells, Assistant Commissioner, Parhumba, Chord Line, regarding a rock-cut temple which he
discovered at Harchoka in the Chota Nagpur Tributary Mahal of Chang Bhokar. Tracings, plans, and inscriptions were exhibited, and Captain Samuel has promised to send descriptive notes for the next meeting. There appear to be several rock-cut temples in the neighbourhood. Captain Blunt, in 1795, visited those at Mara, a village in Rewa.

**COIN OF FIRUZ SHAH ZAFAR.**

In March last, Mr. E. C. Bayley presented the Asiatic Society of Bengal with a unique coin bearing the name of Firuz Shah Zafar. A woodcut had just been prepared when the first copy of Mr. Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi reached this country. Mr. Thomas (p. 300) enumerates four coins that bear the name of that prince, among them one gold coin, a "unique specimen in the possession of Col. Guthrie," and "one silver coin, a new variety, belonging to Mr. Bayley," &c. They are all posthumous coins, as Zafar died before his father. The original is identical with Col. Guthrie's specimen, of which, however, the margin has been cut away. The coin bears date, A. H. 791, which agrees with the third coin described by Mr. Thomas. During the year 791, Abulakr, son of Zafar, succeeded to the throne of Delhi, which accounts perhaps for the issue, or re-issue of coins with Zafar's name. The weight of the coin cannot be determined, as it is attached to a necklace. It bears the following legend: "The great Sultan Firuz Shah Zafar, son of Firuz Shah, the Royal, in the time of the Imam, the Commander of the Faithful, Abdullah,—may his Khilafat be perpetuated!"

**ORIENTAL STUDIES AT CAMBRIDGE.**

The Board of Oriental Studies at Cambridge has presented the following Report on Oriental Studies to the Vice Chancellor. (Dated Nov. 8, 1871).

"The Board of Oriental Studies are unanimously of opinion that the time has now arrived for assigning to the Oriental languages a more prominent position among the studies of the University. These form at present the only great branch of learning which, though long recognized in the University by the foundation of Professorships, fails to take its proper place in our great examinations. The impulse given in the last few years to the Moral and Natural Sciences by the establishment to Triposes suggests to the Board similar examinations in their department as the best method, in accordance with the present University system, for fostering the early growth of Oriental Studies.

As the Oriental Languages, now represented in the University, naturally separate into two main groups the Board beg to recommend the establishment of two independent Oriental Triposes: (1) the Semitic, and (2) the Aryan. In each of these two great divisions, it would probably be found expedient to confine the attention of the student to a few of the leading languages rather than to encourage a superficial knowledge of many. Hebrew (together with Chaldee), Syriac and Arabic might be taken as the best representatives of the first group. It seems superfluous to urge the importance of an accurate knowledge of Hebrew in a great Christian University; this study has always flourished to some extent at Cambridge, and it is hoped that many who have already devoted themselves to it might be induced to extend their researches to the sister dialects. The connection of Syriac with the early Christian Literature, and the revival of its study in the present generation, to which the large addition of Syriac MSS. to the British Museum has in no slight degree contributed, would justify the position proposed for it in a Semitic examination. In Arabic, the intricacies of the Grammar and the extent of the Vocabulary render an early systematic training especially necessary. Its literature is rich and varied in poetry, history and science, and indispensable to all who would fully understand the spirit of the Muhammadan religion. Not only is Arabic the spoken language of that part of the East most interesting to Europeans, but it enters largely into the composition of Persian and Turkish.

In the Aryan group, Sanskrit holds the first and foremost place. Independently of its vast literature which embraces the authoritative theological works of the Brahmans, it is the eldest sister of the Indo-European tongues, and is now acknowledged to be an indispensable aid in unravelling the structure of Greek and Latin as well as of the Germanic, Celtic and Slavonic tongues. It is the parent of most of the spoken languages of Northern India, and also of Pali, the sacred language of the Buddhists. Persian also possesses an extensive literature of especial value for historic and theosophic investigations; it is cultivated by the Muhammadans in India, as well as in Persia itself; and might therefore be introduced with advantage into this Tripos.

The Members of the Board feel that it would be presumptuous to expect any great result from the establishment of Oriental Triposes, until these studies have won a due share of the College endowments; yet they confidently hope that the University will grant, as far as lies in its power, a fair field for the growth and development of studies so intimately connected with Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature, with the Religion of our Indian fellow-subjects, with the Science of Language, and the history of the human Mind.

The Vice-Chancellor invited the attendance of Members of the Senate in the Art's School, on Monday, Nov. 20 at 2 p.m., for the discussion of this Report.

**REVISION OF THE SINHALESE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.**

In the year 1867, through the exertions of a Sinhalese nobleman named Idammaloda, a Synod of the Buddhist clergy, was convened at the town of Palnadulla for the purpose of correcting the Tripitaka. The Synod was under the joint presidency of two eminent prelates, Sumairgala and Dhirananda,
and its members were priests selected for their learning and scholarship, from the principal Ceylon monasteries. The procedure was as follows:—After the formal opening of the Synod, each member was furnished with a manuscript in the Sinhalese character, which he took to an apartment assigned to him, and collated with a number of Ceylon, Burmah and Siam copies of the same work. All obvious errors in his manuscript he corrected at once, but where a passage was doubtful, he merely marked it. On an appointed day each member carried his corrected manuscript to the hall of assembly, where, in a public sitting of the Synod all the corrected manuscripts were compared together. When the corrections were identical in all the manuscripts, they were generally adopted without much loss of time, but in many doubtful or difficult passages the reading was not finally fixed without long and anxious discussion. The first session of the Synod lasted seven months, and was devoted exclusively to the Vinaya, a revised and authorized version which, together with its Arthakhā and Tikas, was deposited in safe hands. The next meeting of the Synod was held after a considerable interval, and was devoted to the correction of the Sūtra Pitaka. On this occasion a somewhat different plan was followed, for the members had been instructed to correct at their own monasteries the manuscripts entrusted to them, and when the Synod met, it was able to sit daily until the work of fixing the text of the Sūtras was ended. The Abhidharma Pitaka is now undergoing revision, and the labours of the Synod are drawing to a close. When they are completed, a palm-leaf copy of the authorized version of the sacred texts will be deposited in one of the Ceylon monasteries, and the public will be permitted to inspect and transcribe the different books. In the very extensive collation of MSS. made by the Synod, it was found that the Ceylon MSS. were generally more accurate than those of Burmah and Siam.—The Academy.

DISCOVERY OF ANCESTRAL COINS.

About a month and a half ago, some of the villagers of Sonpat, while digging out a ruin in the vicinity of an old tank, discovered an earthern pot, (not unlike a common sāra) containing three sāri and a half of silver-coin. The earthern pot was buried about seven feet underground; the coins at the bottom of the pot were completely defaced by corrosion, though nearly three-fourths of its contents were in a very good state of preservation. On examination the coins were found to belong to Graeco-Baktrian Kings. The coins of Menander are certainly more numerous than those of any other king, though by far the best impressions are on the coins of King Philoxenus. The following are the names of the kings whose coins have been deciphered:—Menander, Philoxenus, Diomedes, Antialkidas, Apollodotus, Hermenus, Heliskles, Heaton, Antemachus, Hermenus, and Kaikilliope. A description of the coins and the circumstances of their discovery, is being prepared for the London Academy.—Delhi Gazette, Oct. 11.

DISCOVERY OF COPPER AXES.

At the last meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a letter was read from the Assistant Commissioner, Pachumba, describing two ancient copper axes which he has presented to the Society. The narrative of their discovery is very curious. It appears that they had been found by a villager just below the surface of a hillock, round which he was cultivating land. But where this hillock is, he steadily refuses, in spite of an offer of twenty rupees, to tell to any one, lest the demon of the spot should revenge itself upon him. He has, he declares, already suffered at his hands. The night after he found the things, he had a dream in which a gnome of terrible aspect appeared before him. He was no ordinary looking spirit, but of prodigious proportions, his skin being red and his clothes black, whilst a profusion of hair hung down his back from his head, each lock enough to make a thick as a man's wrist. Having dismounted from a tiger, which had carried him to the villager's door, he entered the hut and, pointing to the copper-pieces, informed the trembling man that they were his (the gnome's) property. The man at once expressed his willingness to give them up, but the gnome would have none of them. He wanted in exchange four hairs of the villager's right knee, and in return offered to relinquish all claim to the treasure which, he said, lay buried under the other hillocks in that locality. But the much coveted hairs the man would not part with at any price. So the gnome mounted his tiger, and trotted off in high dudgeon. When the day broke, the villager proceeded to do a little ploughing before resuming his excavations at the hillock, but as he passed that spot, one of his bullocks dropped down stone-dead, and within a few days the remaining two bullocks which he possessed died also. Upon this he deserted that place, and took up his residence in the village where he now lives. This, he says, happened three years ago, and till last year he concealed the copper pieces, which he believed to be gold; but thinking he might then realise something by them, he carried them off in great secrecy to a European official, to whom he imparted the information of where he had found them. But this little indiscretion brought fresh troubles on him; for when he returned home, his little girl sickened and died. For these valid reasons he refuses to point out the hillock where the demon's treasures lie hidden.—Pioneer.

QUERY.

Will any of the correspondents of the Indian Antiquary help me by obtaining the complete alphabet of the ancient characters used in the Maldivian islands? The form of each consonant changes completely according to the affixed vowel, and the late Captain Christopher, I. N., only published the consonants with the short a. The present Maldivian characters are sufficiently known.

ANTOINE D'ABBADIE,
Membre de l'Institute France.

Hendaye, Basses Pyrenees, Nov. 29, 1871.
Northern Orissa is, considering its situation within 150 miles of Calcutta, very isolated and little known. There is however a good historical reason for this. The Kings of Orissa fixed their capital always in the southern part of the province, and the long narrow strip of country between the hills and the sea was only at times, and never for long periods, under their sway. It was covered with dense jungle, which extended apparently with hardly any break to the banks of the Hooghly.* The Kings of Bengal, on the other hand, held their court either at Gaur, or some other place far to the north, and the lower Gangetic delta was to them also almost a terra incognita. The English settlement of Calcutta pushed out feelers along the course of the Ganges, and the wave of conquest and commerce followed the same path, leaving Midnapore and Balasore comparatively unheeded and unexplored. In the present day the great Imperial high road from Calcutta to Madras has opened up a portion of this country, and is much frequented, especially by the thousands and tens of thousands of pilgrims who annually visit the great shrine of Jagannāth at Puri. But the line of traffic, and the road of invading armies in former times, did not follow the course of the present great avenue of communication, and it is not therefore along the Madras and Calcutta road that we must look for relics of past times.

One hundred and fifteen miles S.W. of Calcutta, at the town of Jalasore (Jal es hwar) the road crosses the river Subanrekhā (Su va r n a r e k h ā—"streak of gold") at a spot on the confines of British territory and the territory of the tributary Raja of Mohurbhunj (May ū ra b h a n j). The river here winds so as to run for about five miles nearly parallel to the road on the northern side. Crossing the river we come into the isolated pargana of F a t t i h a b ā d, one of the so-called Jungle Mehals which is now included in the district of Balasore (B a l e s h w a r). Nine miles north of Jalasore, and about two from the right bank of the river, amidst dense grass and tree jungle, which is here and there in course of being brought into cultivation, stands the group of forts which I propose to describe. I hope the above details will enable the reader to form a clear idea of their actual position on the map of India, in case however the ordinary maps should not show the road, or the little town of Jalasore, I would add that the forts are distant from the sea at the mouth of the Subanrekhā, twenty-six miles as the crow flies.

I propose first to describe the forts themselves, and secondly to endeavour to arrive at an approximation to the date of their foundation, and to collect such few facts respecting their past history as I can. This enquiry will, if successful, throw considerable light on the relations between the Kings of Orissa and their northern neighbours, as well as on the somewhat obscure subject of the Musalman invasions of the province, in addition to the more purely archaeological interest which it may present.

It will be seen from the annexed map that the forts are four in number, the two larger ones being close to the large village of Rāibāṇ i y ā ā, and the two smaller ones at the village of Phulṭā, or more correctly Phūl h aṭṭā. Of these two small forts nothing now remains save the outline of mud walls, with here and there a scattered mass of laterite stones.

The whole soil of this neighbourhood for many miles is composed of laterite, a dark brick-red stone full of holes like a sponge, but very hard. All these forts are built of this stone, though in many cases the stones have either, from having been originally loosely put together, or owing to some subsequent violence, become scattered or sunk in the soil. The stones are all hewn and of various sizes, the largest and most regularly shaped being found in the most important and probably most ancient portions of the work, the smaller and less carefully hewn in the walls and outworks. The largest stones are about 3 feet in length by a foot in depth, and the same in breadth; while in some of the pettier and more modern works, stones not bigger than ordinary bricks are found. Owing to the denseness of the jungle, and the great number of tigers and bears which find shelter there, it is very difficult to explore these forts thoroughly. In three visits which I have recently made to them, I obtained from the Zamindar some thirty or forty coolies armed with the useful little Sonthal axe, and these together with my own Police and Chaukidars were oc-

* In writing native names I follow Dr. Hunter’s rule of using the received (although often incorrect) spelling for well-known places and the strictly correct Wilsonian system for those that are unknown to the general public.
occupied many hours every day in cutting a path through the thick tangle of underwood.

The most accessible and fortunately also the most interesting of the forts is that which I have marked as the "Mud fort" on the map, at the north-west angle of the Räibaniyan village. This fort is in shape an irregular pentagon, having the following dimensions:

- Eastern wall .......... 1,650 English yards.
- Northern .......... 1,650
- North-western....... 880 (about)
- South-western ........ 1,550 (about)
- Southern ............... 880

There seems to be some sort of order even in the irregularity as the eastern and northern walls are the same length, so also the north-western and southern. The north and south-western, however, are so covered with jungle that it is impossible to arrive at more than an approximate measurement.

Though called the 'Mud fort,' the walls of this fort are not really of mud. The peasants of the neighbouring villages have made breaches through the walls in some places to enable them to get at their rice-fields in the inside, and in entering the fort by one of these breaches a sort of section is obtained which reveals the nature of the construction. The following section will explain how the wall is made.

The centre or heart consists of layers of stone gradually diminishing to a point, and this is covered and entirely hidden with about four feet of earth closely rammed. The breadth at the base from A to B is by measurement 112 feet, and the height we guessed to be about 50 feet.

The wall is surrounded by a deep and broad moat, and a slight but continuous ridge, evidently artificial, runs parallel to the moat on its outer edge. Outside all this again, at a distance in some places of as much as half a mile, runs a nallá which by a little dexterous cutting and deepening has been made into a very efficacious outer moat lined here and there with a wall of laterite.

The interior of the fort is a large plain covered with debris of stone buildings, tanks, and patches of jungle; a considerable portion of it is now cultivated, and near the south wall is the remains of a small indigo factory which was conducted by a European for some years, but has now long ago been abandoned.

The natives have a tradition that the north-western corner contained the palace of the Räjá, and this is partially confirmed by the greater height and strength of the works in that corner, and by the numerous remains of buildings still traceable. The principal of these I have called the "keep" on the map, as the natives assert that it was the highest and strongest part of the fort. It is a strong square tower of which about 20 feet only now remain; the stones are carefully hewn and placed together, but without any traces of cement or mortar. A simple but graceful style of ornament is effected by a straight moulding running round the middle of each course, above which the top of each stone is sloped inwards with a small pine-apple shaped projection in the centre.

Though I am disposed to think this building must have been a Shiva-temple, as the architecture is precisely similar to the other ancient temples in other parts of Orissa, and the dimensions of the building, which is not more than 100 feet square, are too small for the purposes of a citadel.

On the top, half hidden by trees, are the capitals of some pillars of the dark ash-coloured stone known as munganí patthar or chlorite: none of the columns however remain. In the centre is a well or tank—similar to the square enclosure round the linga-stone in Shiva-temples: so that I imagine the stone walls must have formed a lofty platform surmounted by an open hall surrounded by pillars, in the centre of which was the linga in its sunken square enclosure. The capitals, though massive, are quite plain and without ornament.

At the foot of this building on the south side is a curious little hollow where the trees and jungle are perhaps more dense than in any other part. This is called the Jaychandiban or Jaychand's jungle. Who Jaychand was nobody knows. In the heart of this jungle, approached by a narrow winding path, is a small platform
2 feet high on which have been set up, in quite modern times, some beautiful pieces of sculpture which have probably fallen from the temple above. There is the lower half of a female figure bedecked with jewels, and the legs of a man running—both in high relief. There is also an exquisite piece of arabesque carving—probably the moulding or edge of the frame enclosing the relief. Though much defaced the general design is clearly traceable.* There is a freedom and graceful play of outline in the rounded foliage which is rare in ancient remains in this part of India. The rest of this moulding is probably hidden beneath the masses of laterite, stones, and debris of all kinds. If I have an opportunity of visiting the spot at any future time, I may succeed in unearthing more of it. The people said they remembered in their youth having seen stones with inscriptions in the Nāgari character, but unfortunately knew not where to find them. The Nāgari character is not understood by any one, except a very few Pandits in this part of the country, and as far as I know was never used in inscriptions, which are all in a bad form of Kutila, but the difference between Kutila and Nāgari would not be appretiable by the natives here.

The idols and carvings in the Jayachandi Ban are still worshipped, and in consequence, are smeared all over with that mixture of oil and vermilion (sendūr), which is so freely applied to all sacred buildings and trees. A small plot of rent-free land has been assigned to some Brahmins who carry on the worship at stated seasons, but do not seem able to specify what god the shrine is sacred to. This Jayachandi Ban is evidently a modern arrangement. Some one found these mutilated bits of sculpture and set them up and invited people to worship them, purely as a bit of Brahmanical speculation, and probably the speculator's name was Jayachand. This sort of thing goes on even at the present day: an Uriya will worship anything, especially if he does not know what it is, and a Brahman tells him it is a debad.

The western gate of the fort which is close to the Ban, was probably only a sort of postern, as it is only wide enough for one horseman at a time. The sketch below represents its present appearance. In the wall will be noticed the sockets of the hinges of the doors which at one time stood there. Crossing the moat by a strong though narrow bridge, we come to a second doorway, precisely similar to the first. This is merely a gateway in a sort of tete de pont, protecting the bridge across the moat.

Moving round to the north wall of the fort, we come upon the largest and most perfect group of remains in the whole building. It is called the Sāt Gambhra Attālikā—literally "Palace of the seven deeps;" this name however is a mere modern corruption of sāt gumbaz or 'the seven domes'.† The building consists of six large rooms which have evidently at one time been vaulted, and the passage through them or gateway counted as a seventh room—which was probably covered in and vaulted like the others. The ground plan is—

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* I have represented the broken and undecipherable portions by cross shading and dotted spaces.

† The Uriyas, more so, changed the comparatively little known Persian word gumbaz 'a dome,' into their own pecu-
ing at the foot of the wall in No. 3, and I had unfortunately no gun with me, having brought a sketch-book and measuring rod instead, it was not thought prudent to remain long in that neighbourhood. For the same reason there was not time to make more than a plan of the building with a rough measurement. The covered gateway is about 40 feet wide and 25 feet deep, and rooms Nos. 5 and 6, though so encumbered with rubbish as to be quite inaccessible were judged to be about the same size. This approximation will enable the reader to judge of the size of the other rooms. The rest of the palace was probably, as usual in Bengal, built of mud with thatched roofs, which mode of construction would account for its total disappearance. The covered gateway is called the Háthídúrā or Háthí bandhá dūrā, (elephant gate, or elephant-enclosure gate.) The southern door-way, of which only a crumbled heap of stones remains, is called the Sona múkhi, or golden faced gate, the origin of which name I cannot trace; but so many places in northern Orissa are called Sonamúkhi, even bare salt-marshes washed by the sea, that the appellation must be very ancient, and the allusion which it was meant to convey has become obscure. The only suggestion offered is—that it refers to the golden face of the idol Jágannáth at Puri—miniature copies of which are to be seen in many parts of Orissa. Such an idol may have stood in or near this gateway.

THE SO-CALLED DASYUS OF SÁNCHI.

By BABU RÁJENDRA LÁLA MITRA, Hon. M.R.A.S.

Mr. Fergusson, in his magnificent work on "Tree and Serpent Worship," has discussed at great length the ethnology of a race of men represented on the Sánchi bas reliefs, whom he designates the Dásyus or aborigines of India. The deductions he has drawn, however, are not warrantable from the premises on which he has argued. As the subject is of some importance in connexion with the history of the Sánchi Tope, a summary of it will perhaps not be uninteresting.

The people who are called Dásyus or aborigines, as distinct from the Aryans, are generally represented as people of the woods, living in thatched huts, wearing a small dhuṭi wrapped round the waist, and possessing no ornaments. Their head dress consists occasionally of a plain skull-cap, but frequently of plaited or matted hair wound round the head, and tied on the crown in a conical form. Occasionally they allow the hair to hang behind in loose tresses. Most of them have beards: a few appear with shaven chins. They sit with their knees raised and legs crossed and tied round with a strip of cloth or a napkin, and are occupied in splitting wood or other domestic tasks; occasionally navigating in rude canoes; but they never seem to mix with the community at large, except for the observance of religious rites. They have invariably by them a chaffing dish with a blazing fire, a pair of tongs, and a bowl which, from its shape, appears to be made of the hard shell of the gourd. It was carried about hanging from the left hand. In one instance a man has a stand of the shape of a mord, over which he holds something which appears to us, from the tracing of writing on it, to be a scroll or a mass of written paper; a companion of his is folding or unfolding a similar scroll or bundle, and a third is taking up some burning charcoal with his tongs. Mr. Fergusson, following General Cunningham, takes the first scroll to be a flagon from which the man is pouring something into his fire pot, and the second a fan with which the owner is enlivening his fire; but the appearance of the scrolls and the position and action of the hands according to several intelligent European gentlemen including two professional artists, are entirely against vaults, and it was not till I had the jungle cleared from the northern face that I convinced them the rooms were not underground.
this supposition. Mr. Fergusson himself half suspects the persons to be hermits, and attributes their rarity in the A m a r ā v a t i sculptures, to the scarcity of D a s y u s at the time.*

Some of these figures are repeated on the temples of B h u v a n e s h v a r a. They appear old and emaciated, having by their sides a pair of tongs, a gourd pot, and a chaffing dish. The scene is scrupulously true to life, and may be found to this day not only in every part of India, but even beyond it, and everywhere it represents an Aryan of the third order, i.e., a hermit or ascetic (V ā n a p r a s t h a) seated at his ease, reading his prayer book, or attending to his domestic occupations, and not a non-Aryan. Adverting to some of these houseless hermits on the shores of the Caspian Sea, M. de Pauly observes—"Out trouve en outre à Bakou quelques adorateurs du feu, dont la personnalité est particulièrement intéressante. L'aspect de ces feux perpétuels, sortant spontanément de la terre offre un coup d'œil vraiment magique, surtout pendant la nuit; dans le voisinage de ces feux se trouve une sorte de temple ou de couvent dans lequel les derniers débris des antique adorateurs du feu, représentés par quelques vieux Indous desséchés, presque nus, semblables à des fantômes ambulants, pratiquent sur eux-mêmes leurs macérations contre nature, et célébrent leur culte idolâtre, triste et misérable parodie de la doctrine de Tserdoucht."†

General Cunningham, from his thorough knowledge of Indian life, at once took the Sā n c h i D a s y u s for ascetics, and no one who has once seen a group of S a n n y á s i s at H a r d w ā r, B a n a r e s, or other sacred places, could for a moment mistake them. The head gear, the style of sitting, the tongs, the gourd, and the blazing fire, are so peculiar and characteristic that I, as a Hindu—perfectly familiar with the scene—cannot possibly mistake it, and I have no hesitation in asserting that the D a s y u s in such scenes are entirely imaginary. It might be said that the hermits of the present day are generally celibates, whereas the D a s y u s of the Sā n c h i T o p e have women and children about them. But the objection is of no moment, as we have ample evidence to show that the ancient Aryan hermits or sages were not altogether free from domestic ties. According to M a n u, "when the father of a family perceives his muscles become flaccid, and his hair grey, and sees the child of his child, let him seek refuge in a forest, abandoning all food eaten in towns and his household utensils, let him repair to the lonely wood, committing the care of his wife to her sons, or accompanied by her if she choose to attend him. Let him take up his consecrated fire, and all his domestic implements for making oblations to it, and departing from the town to the forest, let him dwell in it, with complete power over his organs of sense and of action." This state of hermitage or V ā n a p r a s t h a was subsequently exchanged for that of the S a n n y á s i, or houseless mendicant, but the distinction was rarely very rigidly observed; and the transition, when it did take place, was so gradual as to be imperceptible. Hence it is that we find the ancient sages generally described as living in woods and retired places, but not without women and children about them. K ā l i d ā s a makes the sage K a n v a live in a wood, with about half a dozen maidens—including S h a k u n t ā l ā, in his hermitage. K ā s h y ā p a, in the same way, has his retreat full of women of different ranks and a boy. S ī t ā is said to have lived in the hermitage of V ā s i s h t h a, with her two sons who were borne there; and almost every ancient story book has its tale of hermitages having feminine and juvenile residents. No doubt those works treat of avowed fictions, but it is not to be supposed that their authors outraged the sense of propriety of their readers by describing hermits having wife and children about them; and the presence of such persons cannot, therefore, be taken as inconsistent with ancient Indian ascetic life.

The same practice also prevailed among the Buddhists, and priestesses or female mendicants—the S e w a ri of Clement of Alexandria—are frequently named in the Avadānas the Jātakas and other legendary writings. In Mr. James D'Alwis's translation of the Attaṇagula Vānsa we have a remarkable instance of this. As the story there given is of importance, in connexion with the question at issue, and cannot readily be had for reference, I shall quote it entire. It forms a part of the Sāma Jātaka, and runs as follows:

* Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 206.
† Peoples de la Russie, p. 148.
"Once upon a time when Piliyuk was king of Baranes, Gotama was born unto a hermit, named Dukula, and was named Sama. After the son had grown up, Dukula and his wife Pariká went one day into the jungle in quest of roots and fruits. There they encountered a storm, and being much wet, were obliged to take shelter under a tree close to a hole inhabited by a malignant serpent. Whilst the venerable pair were standing there, dripping from their garments, a cobra issued a venomous blast, whereby they were instantly struck blind. In this helpless condition their son discovered and conducted them home, and began to nourish and maintain them with the affection of a dutiful son. Sometime afterwards the king went upon a hunting expedition, and rested on the banks of the Migasammata, not far from the hermitage. He had not, however, been long there before he saw the footsteps of deer that came down to the river to drink; and, thinking that he could kill them, lay in ambush. Immediately a remarkably handsome person with a pitcher came down to the river surrounded by a flock of deer. Amazed at the sight and wishing to ascertain whether it was a nymph of the forest whom he thus beheld, he issued a dart which, alas! severely wounded him. In the agonies of death the wretched man put his pitcher by him, and, falling on the ground, began to exclaim, 'Who can be the enemy of a person that was devoted to the religious duties of the eight silas and ten kusadas? Who, indeed, could desire the flesh of an innocent person like myself?' Hearing these cries the king approached his victim, proclaimed that he was Piliyuk, king of Baranes; and entered with them into a conversation, in the course of which he delicately disclosed their son's fate and the particulars connected with it, offering at the same time to succour them through life. Unbounded was now the grief of the hapless parents, to which they gave utterance in the language of despair, falling down, and each bitterly crying, 'Oh, son Sama! from the day I have lost my sight, have I, by thy unceasing attentions, felt that I have acquired divine eyes. Where hast thou now gone? How shall I henceforth live? Son, thou hast never done nor conceived any evil towards us, or any other being. Thou hast never uttered a falsehood. Thou hast never committed life-slaughter; ever hast thou maintained the observance of the pancha sila. The king tried his utmost to console them but without success. Afterwards, turning to the king, the blind parents addressed him, saying, that they had no faith in his proffered protection, and that all the favour they desired was to be led to the place where Sama lay. The king
THE DASYUS AT SĀNCHE.

complied by leading the point of a stick which the blind ones held in their hands. When they reached their destination, the bereaved parents again gave vent to their feelings by much weeping, and praying to the titular gods. The mother, on examination, finding that all signs of life had vanished, gave utterance to the following Satya Kiriyā:— If it be true that my son Sāma incessantly devoted himself to the duties of Brahma chariyā and that he has ever maintained the ordinances of the Attha sila; and if it be also true that I have entertained no other faith except Buddhism, and that I have ever performed tilakuna Bhavana, may, by the power of those truths, my son receive life. By the influence of this Satya Kiriyā and by the might of the gods, Sāma moved from one side to another. When the father had also uttered a similar Satya Kiriyā, Sāma again moved to a side, and by the power of the goddess already named he revived, and the parents received their lost sight. Instantly the morning sun arose, and Sāma dismissed the astonished king, after preaching to him on the merit of nourishing one’s parents, and above all of leading a religious life, as they were testified to by his miraculous restoration to life."

This story will no doubt appear as a Buddhist adaptation of the anecdote of D as a r a t h a and the blind sage A n d h a k a, but it has been reproduced in stone on the standing pillar of the western gateway of the Sānchei Tope, and we see in it Gotama as Sāma wounded by the King, and his parents, the hermit and his wife, dressed in the same garb which has been assigned to the D a s y u s. According to the Jātaka, Sāma recovered from his wounds and was restored to his parents, as we see in the sculpture. The Rāmāyana kills the boy and sends his parents to the funeral pyre, to immolate themselves. The following is Mr. Griffith’s version of the Rāmāyana story as related by the king to the blind hermits:—

"High-minded saint, not I thy child,
A warrior, Dasaratha styled,
I bear a grievous sorrow’s weight,
Born of a deed which good men hate.
My lord, I came to Sāma’s shore
And in my hand my bow I bore,
For elephant or beast of chase,
That seeks by night his drinking place.
There from the stream a sound I heard,
As if a jar the water stirred.

An elephant, I thought, was nigh:
I aimed and let an arrow fly,
Swift to the place I made my way,
And there a wounded hermit lay.
Gasping for breath; the deadly dart
Stood quivering in his youthful heart.
I hastened near with pain oppressed,
He faltered out his last behest,
And quickly, as he bade me do,
From his pierced side the shaft I drew.
I drew the arrow from the rent,
And up to heaven the hermit went,
Lamenting, as from earth he passed.
Thus unaware the deed was done,
My hand, unwitting, killed thy son;
For what remains, O, let me win,
Thy pardon for my heedless sin."

Mr. Fergusson has published this scene in his great work,† but says that it represents one of those transactions between the H i n d u s and D a s y u s which have probably only a local meaning, and to which, therefore, it is improbable we shall ever be able to affix a definite meaning. To those, however, who are familiar with the story of the Rāmāyana and the Jātaka, the indefiniteness will give place to unmistakable certainty, the only difficulty being the presence of a companion of the king in the scene of action, due probably to the Buddhist version having included such a personage in the tale—whose name has been omitted in Mr. D’Alwis’s abstract as unimportant. According to the Rāmāyana, the king went to the wood in his car, and was attended by his charioteer. General Cunningham, as already observed, takes the blind hermits of Sānchei to be ascetics, and adds—"I am unable to offer any explanation of this curious scene, but it may possibly have reference to some event in the early life of Shakya." Mr. Fergusson appeals to this scene as an evidence of the Aryans or Hindus having formerly indulged in the wicked pastime of shooting the inoffensive D a s y u s; but if our identification be correct it will of course lose its only foothold.

Exception might also be taken to our identification of the so-called D a s y u s with V a n a p r a s t h a ascetics on the ground of its being inconsistent in such people to engage in domestic and pastoral occupations. But the laws of Manu do not at all prohibit such pursuits. On the contrary, they ordained that the retired hermit should not only live in a hut and go about dressed, but even horde food sufficient to last for a year (vi. 18). He should also provide means for the performance of various rites

† Fergusson’s Tree and Serpent Worship, Plate XXX. page 138.
and ceremonies, make oblations on the hearth to the three sacred fires, not omitting in due time the ceremonies to be performed at the conjunction and opposition of the moon, and also to "perform the sacrifice ordained in honour of the Lunar asterisms, make the proscribed offering of new grain, and solemnize holy rites every four months, and at the winter and summer solstices." Nothing has been said by Manu as to the propriety or otherwise of ascetics keeping cattle; but the epics and the Purānas clearly show that the ancient sages were partial to milk, and the saintly character of Vāsīghtha was not in any way opposed to his keeping the famous cow Nandini. The rites enjoined them could not be performed without an ample supply of milk. The Buddhist ascetics, likewise, lived in huts, and not unfrequently collected money enough to dedicate images and topes built at their cost. During their four months vassa they lived in monasteries together, with their religious sisterhood. Some of the hermits in the Sānchi bas-reliefs are engaged in worshipping the five-headed, Nāga, but as the Hindu recognised in it an emblem of the sempeternal divinity, Ananta, and the the Buddhist a race of superhuman beings worthy of adoration,—devotion to it would not be by any means unbecoming a hermit, who is required to observe all the necessary regular and periodical rites and ceremonies.

The last and most important argument of Mr. Fergusson in support of the non-Aryan origin of the Dāsyus is founded upon their features; but at Sānchi the figures are generally so small, so rough, and so weather-worn, that their indications of the aboriginal broad face and flat nose cannot be relied upon. That the appearance of youth and beauty, and rank and wealth, should be different from that of age, decay, decrepitude, and squalid poverty, is a fact which none will question, and therefore what are taken in the sculptures for ethnic peculiarities, may be entirely due to a desire to mark the distinctions of condition. It may be added that the term Dāsyu itself is Aryan, and indicates an Aryan and not a non-Aryan race. According to Manu, all those tribes of men who sprung from the mouth, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of Brahma, but who became out-castes by having neglected their duties, are called Dāsyus or plunderers (X 45); and the designation therefore fails to convey the idea which the learned author of the History of Architecture wishes to attach to it.

THE TEMPLE AT HALABĪD.

By CAPT. J. S. F. MACKENZIE.

Sixteen miles north of Hasan, in the Māsur province, is Halabīd, or as Ferishtah the Muhammadan historian, calls it, Dhur Samudra, once the capital of the Bēlāla kings, who ruled one of the minor states into which Southern India was formerly divided. Fables and the dimness of a remote period throw illusive shadows over the traditions of these kings of a bye-gone age. Doubt and uncertainty haunt the enquirer into their unilluminated history.

From inscriptions and other sources it appears, however, that the Bēlāla kings held the sceptre from about 950 A. D. to 1310 A. D. when a Muhammadan army, led by Kafur, plundered their capital for the first time. An expedition sent by Muhammad III. in 1326 finally destroyed Halabid. The seat of a declining government was removed by Vīshnu Verdhana, the then reigning sovereign, to Jonur, better known by the name of the Moti Talav (Lake of Pearls), 12 miles north of the famous Seringapatam. Vīshnu Verdhana was converted from the Jaina religion—the religion of his forefathers—by the celebrated Vaiśnava reformer, Rāmanuḍāchāryā, a reformer who—protected by the king—hesitated not at using physical force to convert the followers of the heterodox Jaina religion, and by grinding their priests in an oil mill effectually did away with anything like active opposition. After his conversion, Vīshnu Verdhana is said to have resided at Bailur (the present head-quarters of the taluq, and distant 10 miles from Halabid); and, from an inscription there, it appears he rebuilt the temple Keshava Perural in the year 1116 A. D.

Such is the account given, of the most important event in the history of the Bēlāla kings by Buchanan in his Journey through Mysore and Canara. A cursory examination of known dates, however, proves that the Verdhana, who became a Vaiśnava, was not the same Verdhana who fled before the Musalman invasion of 1362.

The latest date assigned to the birth of Rāma
nuja A'chāryā is A. D. 1025. The final Muham-
madan conquest of the Belāla capital was in
1326. In order that these statements might
agree, we should be compelled to allow that
the great Vaishnava reformer lived for a period
of 300 years. Nowhere in the whole of Ha-
bīd do we find a vestige of its having been at
any time the seat of the Vaishnava religion.
The temples are either Jina bastis or dedicated
to Shiva. It is therefore clear that they were
erected by kings professing one of these two
religions, and the date of their building cannot
be later than 1025 A. D. How long they were
erected before, it is impossible now to determine,
for the history of the builders is buried under the
dust of bye-gone ages, and has been for-
 gotten in the lapse of centuries. The inscrip-
tions on the walls of the Hoisela Ishwara, or
larger temple, prove it must have been in ex-
istence at a time when the Norman conquest
of England was a hardly-established fact, and
long before many of England's grandest Cathe-
drals were thought of.

Tradition—a people's history—has preserved
for us the story connected with the capital. In
the reign of the ninth king it happened that his
favourite concubine fell greatly in love with his
nephews, who are said to have been remarkably
handsome men. Each in his turn treated all her
advances and overtures with contempt. Her
love now changed to hate. In order to be re-
venged, she did not scruple to charge the
nephews with having made overtures to her.
Furious on hearing this, the king ordered
them to be impaled, and their bodies, like those
of common thieves, exposed at the city gates.
The gate to the south of the Jain bastis is
pointed out as being the one where this was
done. Hearing what had happened, their unfor-
tunate mother ran to the palace to demand
justice. Not only was she refused admittance,
but the inhabitants of the city were commanded
not to give her assistance of any sort or kind.
Weary and worn, the unfortunate woman wan-
dered from street to street, only to find that
every door was closed against her, and every
helping hand withheld. At length a poor
potter took compassion upon the bereaved mother,
drew her aside, and supplied her with the refresh-
ment of which she was so much in want. Re-
freshed, she turned round and cursed the king,
prophesying that his race would soon be extinct
and his capital fall into ruins. She, however,
out of gratitude for the kindness shown her by
the potter, spared the street in which he lived.
Her prophecy was soon fulfilled. A Muham-
dadan Invasion shortly afterwards took place;
the whole of the city with the exception of one
street was laid in ruins. To this day the street
which was saved, goes by the name of the
Potter's Street.

The old city was surrounded by an outer wall
having nine gates, and close upon 5 miles in
length. The stones are cyclopean and were
trimmed to fit each other. No mortar was
employed. From a comparison of this work
with the temples, it is conjectured that the walls
are the work of a prior and different race. The
popular idea that these walls once enclosed
770 temples of various kinds, is supported by
the immense number of broken shafts, pillars,
columns, capitals and carvings of every sort,
used in forming the band of a large neighbour-
ting tank.

Of all these temples only five now remain, viz.,
the Kait Ishwara, Hoisela Ishwara, and three
Jaina bastis.

Time, assisted by a banian tree, whose roots
are embedded in its Vimana (or pyramidal tower
over the spot where the god or his emblem is
enthroned) is fast reducing the Kait Ishwara to
a shapeless mound. In its pristine state this
temple must have been a noble specimen of its
architect's skill. The carvings, which adorned
its walls, though small when compared with
those of the larger temple, display a fineness of
detail in execution which might be equalled but
could scarcely be surpassed.

Mr. Fergusson, in his History of Architec-
ture, when treating of the Chālukya style, has
made the following remarks* with regard to
Hoisela Ishwara, or larger temple:

"It (the Kait Ishwara) is however surpassed
in size and magnificence by its neighbour,
the great temple, which, taking it altogether, is
perhaps the building on which the advocate
of Hindu architecture would desire to take
his stand. Unfortunately it was never finished.

The general arrangement of the building
is...... a double temple...... Such double temples
are by no means uncommon in India, but the two
sanctuaries usually face each other, and have
the porch between them. The dimensions may

be roughly stated as 200 feet square over all, including all the detached pavilions. The temple itself is 160 feet N. and S. by 122 feet E. and W. Its height, as it now remains, to the cornice is about 25 feet from the terrace on which it stands. It cannot, therefore, be considered by any means as a large building, though large enough for effect. This, however, can hardly be judged of as it now stands, for there is no doubt but that it was intended to raise two pyramidal spires over the sanctuaries, four smaller ones in front of these, and two more, one over each of the two central pavilions, and if carried out with the richness of detail exhibited in the Kait Ishwaraw would have made up a whole, which it would be difficult to rival anywhere.

The material out of which the temple is erected is an indurated pot-stone, of volcanic origin, found in the neighbourhood. This stone is said to be soft when first quarried, and easily cut in that state, though hardening on exposure to the atmosphere. Even this, however, will not diminish our admiration of the amount of labour bestowed on the temple, for, from the number of parts still unfinished, it is evident, that, like most others of its class, it was built in block, and carved long after the stone had become hard. As we now see it, the stone is of a pleasing creamy colour, and so close-grained as to take a polish like marble.

The enduring qualities of the stone seem to be unrivalled, for though neglected and exposed to all the vicissitudes of a tropical climate for more than six (eight) centuries, the minutest details are as clear and sharp as the day they were finished.

It must not, however, be considered that it is only for patient industry that this building is remarkable. The mode in which the eastern face is broken up by the larger masses, so as to give height and play of light and shade, is a better way of accomplishing what the Gothic architects attempted by their transepts and projections. This, however, is surpassed by the western front, where the variety of outline and the arrangement and subordination of the various facets in which it is disposed, must be considered a masterpiece of design in its class. If the frieze of gods were spread along a plain surface, it would lose more than half its effect, and the vertical angles, without interfering with the continuity of the frieze, give height and strength to the whole composition. The disposition of the lower line of friezes is equally effective. Here again the artistic combination of horizontal with vertical lines, and the play of outline and of light and shade, far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects are just what the medieval architects were often aiming at, but they never attained them so perfectly as was done at Halabid.

If it were possible to illustrate the Halabid temple to such an extent as to render its peculiarities familiar, there would be few things more interesting or more instructive than to institute a comparison between it and the Parthenon at Athens.
"The Halabíd temple...is regular, but with a studied variety of outline in plan, and even greater variety in detail. All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facets of the Indian temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning every mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on these walls; but of pure intellect there is little—less than there is of human feeling in the Parthenon."

Strange to say, both here and at Bailur, this frieze of horsemen appears to have been the more especial object of aversion to the conqueror of the capital. It is with difficulty, and only where concealment has been afforded by some figure in front, that one can find a complete figure of man and horse. All have been more or less mutilated. It appears to have been the custom then, not only among the horsemen but generally, for all men, to wear their hair—like the Sinhalese of the present day—tied up in a knot behind; long boots were always worn by the riders, whose seat is more European than native; in some instances their horses were protected by network, similar in every outward respect to that of the old Norman knight. The cavalry were armed generally with a short Roman-like sword; and from this it is conjectured they usually dismounted to fight; some however are delineated with lances. The saddle-cloth was indispensable, and stirrups were not unknown.

Fah Hian,* (who, as Col. Sykes conjectures,) visited Elora about A. D. 400, found there "a Sangharāma of the former Buddha Kāshyapa. It is constructed out of a great mountain of rock hewn to the proper shape. This building has altogether five stories. The lowest is shaped into the form of an elephant, and has five hundred stone cells in it. The second is in the form of a lion, and has four hundred chambers. The third is shaped like a horse, and has three hundred chambers. The fourth is in the form of an ox, and has two hundred chambers. The fifth story is in the shape of a dove and has one hundred chambers in it."—Now the order of friezes at Halabid, with an interpolation of scenes from the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, is the same, except that in lieu of the ox we have the crocodile, and the dove is represented by the sacred goose or swan. This similarity in order cannot be considered accidental, and must, as its prototype at Elora, signify something.

A study of the frieze, where scenes from the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata are delineated, well repays any trouble. A clearer and better knowledge of these two great Hindu epic poems is obtained by examining these carvings than hours of tedious weary reading would ever give. Although some of the carvings are to a considerable extent mutilated, yet the attitude of the actors and the position of the scene, with reference to those on its right and left, enable us to state with certainty what the sculptor meant to represent. Here we see that, as to-day, so eight hundred years ago, the Hindu mother carried her child on the hip. Large earrings were the fashion among the women of those days, for the lobe of the ear is distended to an enormous extent. Like the natives of the Western Ghâts of the present day, no covering then concealed a woman's breast. As now, so then, children ran about perfectly naked. Looking-glasses were not unknown; for we find a fair one admiring herself in a circular glass.

Both two and four wheeled chariots appear to have been in use. As is natural, kings affected the four-wheeled one more than the two. The wheels were much lower than the body, which was a sort of raised platform. Each wheel had an independent axle. Improvements in carriage building had, however, taken place, for in one instance the solid circular disc is replaced by spokes. The horses were attached, as bullocks are now, to the pole on which the driver stood. Shurapadma, scorning the more common-place horse, has tamed the lion, which is represented as yoked to his war chariot. In all these eight hundred years, no change has been made in the pounding of rice—the same sort of mortar and pestle is now used.

In the upper and larger frieze, where every Hindu god finds a place, and which consists in all of some 300 figures, is to be seen one which—from its peculiar Assyrian-like look—cannot fail to attract attention. In his right hand he holds a disc, in his left a wand. The fingers of both hands are adorned with rings. His dress, a simple long robe descending below the knee, is thrown back showing a Brahmanical cord. What

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* Beal's Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims, p. 139. Compare Julien's Voyages de Hiouen Thang tom II. p. 101, and Cunningham's Anc. Geog. of India, pp. 521-525. It is not at all probable that the Po-lo-yu of Fah Hian was Elora, but some place considerably to the S. E. of it.—Ed.
appears of his hair under the hood, which is one
with the robe, is curly. His features are by no
means Ethiopian. The attitude is easy and his
tout ensemble, when compared with his bejewelled
and bejewelled companions—the gods, pleasingly
simple. A peculiarity, observable both in
this and the lower frieze where underdelineations
of the same figure are to be found, is—that
he is always in attendance upon, or attended by,
a perfectly nude woman, whose only covering is a
few snakes? She wears sandals of uncommon
pattern, and has large earrings. Her hair is
curly but her features by no means of the negro
type. The fact that her companion wears a
hood would support the idea that he was an
inhabitant of a cold climate, but her want of
dress and being entwined by snakes would lead
one to think she was some unknown goddess or
religious devotee. All enquiries from natives
and search among authorities fail to show by
what right or title these figures take a place
among the gods.

The building was originally protected by
curtains of cloth hung all round. These have
long ago disappeared, but the carvings have in
no way suffered by the atmosphere; and if
they had not been wilfully mutilated, would have
been as clear and perfect as the day they were
finished.

In front of each of the eastern doors and un-
der porticos supported by massive, beautifully
turned stone pillars, are splendid specimens of
Shiva's vehicle—the Bull. The larger is oppo-
site the upper door, and like its companion, is re-
presented in a lying position watching its mas-
ter's emblem—the Linga. They are each carv-
ed out of a single block of stone. So natural
is the position, and so well proportioned the
parts, that one does not fully realize the size un-
til the dimensions are examined. The larger,
formed of stone similar to that employed in
the construction of the temple, is sixteen feet long,
ten feet high, and seven broad. The stone
used for the other bull is finer and admits of a
marble polish. "It seems, also, to be potstone
or perhaps a talc impregnated with horn-
blende, and contains small irregular veins of a
green shining matter. Its general colour is
black with a greenish tinge."

The general effect of the inside of the temple
is somewhat marred by pillars, which evidently
formed no part of the original plan, and which
were subsequently erected to prop up some cross
beams where the stone has unfortunately crack-
ed. Judging from these pillars, as compared with
the original ones, it is clear that architecture,
so far as finish is concerned, had already dete-
riorated. If proof were wanting that the De-
partment of Public Works of to-day either wants
the means or skill to produce works equal to
those of former ages, we have only to turn to the
pillar recently erected by that department. It
is a single slab of undressed granite which ekes
out its length and strength in a rough bed of
brick and chunam. The walls inside are cover-
ed with inscriptions, in old Kánadá, commemo-
rating donations given at various times by dif-
ferent persons.

Jakanácharyá is the reputed architect of this
magnificent building, but he is also credited with
having built all the temples, similar in style,
throughout the district. The number of these
is so great, that—even if we allow him the lakh
of masons tradition says he always employed—it
would be difficult to believe he could have su-
perintended the building of all. A man of the
same name is said to have built the temples at
Madurá. Jakanácharyá was a prince who, hav-
ing accidently killed a Brahman, employed twen-
ty years of life, with the hope of washing away
this great sin, in rebuilding temples between
Kási and Rámeshwara (Cape Comorin),—so says
tradition. The engineers of the Belálakings
did not confine their attention to building alone,
but irrigation works were also taken in hand.
Tradition has it that the waters of the Yagachi,
which flows through a valley distant 10 miles
and divided by a range of hills from the Halá-
bid Valley, were brought by a channel to
supply the capital with water and fill the neigh-
bouring tanks: a deep cutting on the Hasan-
Bailur road at the 16th mile, marks the spot
where the channel crossed the saddle of the hills.

It is difficult, when looking at this fine tem-
ple, to believe that the builders of the neigh-
bouring mud huts are the descendant of the
great masons whose brains planned, and whose
hands fashioned, this monument of their skill
and taste. What has become of them, and where
have they gone, are questions which, though hard
to answer, are none the less interesting, and
may well form the subject of antiquarian research.
ON TWO COPPERPLATES FROM VALABHII,
BY PROF. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The following are translations of the second halves of two copperplate grants sent to the Editor from Bhaunagar. The second and smaller one, 12 inches by 8½, is greatly damaged; and the letters are indistinct in many places. The other is 12¾ inches by 10½ and is in a better state of preservation—the right-hand edge only being broken off.

The grantor in No. I. is Dharasena IV., the same as in the one translated at page 14. The date is also the same, viz. 326, the month being Magha instead of Ashādha. The first nine lines and a half have not been translated, as the description of the kings in them is in almost every respect the same as in the corresponding portion of the last and other Valabhi grants.

The grantor in No. II. is Shilāditya I., the son and successor of Dharasena II., the king in Mr. Wathen's first plate. The figured date is—

[Figures not provided]

The first figure, having only one side stroke, represents 200. The value of the second we know from Dr. Burn's Chālukya and Gurjara plates to be 80, and the last stands for 6; so that the whole is 286. But the date usually assigned to the father of Shilāditya from Mr. Wathen's plate is 332. I have shown* that this date has been misread and misinterpreted. The first figure in it stands for 200, and the value I have assigned to the second from the evidence available is 70. The date therefore is 272.

These two plates, broken and mutilated as they are, are very interesting. Those hitherto discovered record grants of land to Brāhmans; but both these record grants of land to Buddhist monasteries or vihāras. In the larger plate the village of Yodhāvaka is assigned to a Vihara constructed by the minister Skandabhata, who appears to have been a pious Buddhist. We see from these, that the Valabhi kings patronized the Buddhists as well as the Brāhmans: Buddhism flourished at the time side by side with Brāhmmanism, and the worship of images formed part of the religion.

The genealogy of the Valabhi dynasty has been given at p. 17. The dates gathered from the copper-plate grants I know of are given below. I believe, for reasons elsewhere given, that the aera used in these grants is that of the Shaka King.

Dharasena II. ......... 272 Sh. or 350 A.D.
Shilāditya I. ......... 286 Sh. , 364 A.D.
Dharasena IV. (2 grants) 326 Sh. , 404 A.D.
Shilāditya II. (2 grants) 356 Sh. , 434 A.D.

PLATE I.

Shri Dharasena, the great Māheśvara, the great lord, the king of kings, the great ruler, the universal sovereign, who meditates on his grand-father's feet, enjoying good health, commands all whom it may concern:—Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father I have [assigned] to the assembly of the reverend mendicant priests of the Mahāyāna (school) coming from the four quarters to the monastery constructed by Divirapati Skandabhata in the village of Yodhāvaka in Hastavaprapār in Surāshtra, the four divisions of the same village of Yodhāvaka:—viz., three for the purpose of [providing] clothing, food,† [means of] sleeping and sitting . . . . and medicine; for the purpose of [providing] the means of worshipping and washing the glorious Buddhas, viz., fragrant ointment, incense, flowers, and oil for lamps, and for executing repairs to the monastery (lit. for putting aright the broken parts); and the fourth part of the same village for the further digging, clearing or repairing of the tank dug at the same place by Divirapati Skandabhata, and thus for providing water just at the door, (lit. at the root of the feet). In this manner, by pouring water, the village is assigned as a charity-grant to the monastery, and the tank along with its appurtenances, and whatever is on it, with the creatures living therein, the revenue in grain or gold, the defects in its condition, and whatever may grow in it spontaneously. The grant is exclusive of whatever may have been given to gods or Brāhmans before; is not to be interfered with by the officers of the king; and is to last on the principle of a hole in the earth, as long as the moon,

* In a paper recently read at a meeting of the Bombay B. R. As. Society. Vide inf.
† Pinda-pāta, is explained as बीजाना विनाशायनान भौजनम्. Pinda is a ball, i. e. of rice in this case, and pāta is "dropping; hence it means the dropping in of a ball of rice in the Bhikshu's bowl.

* To the list of expressions the senses of which are not accurately known, given by Prof. Dowson, I might add सत्तापरियम् which occurs in several plates. I have however translated it as in the text.
sun, ocean, earth, rivers, and mountains endure.
Therefore, no one shall obstruct the reverend mendicant priests in the act of ploughing the land, causing it to be ploughed or assigning it over to some person, in virtue of this its condition as an assignment to gods. All future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind that power is transitory and humanity frail, and knowing the good fruits ordinarily arising from grants of land, should recognize this our grant and continue it. It is said, &c. (the rest as in the translation of the plate at page 16.) The prince Dhruvasena is executive officer here.

Engraved by Divirapatī Sksandabha, the son of Divirapati Vatraḥ bhātī, minister for peace and war. S. 326, the fifth day of the dark half of Māgha.

My own hand.

PLATE II.

Transcript of the second half of another grant to a Buddhist Monastery, found in the ruins of Valabhi.

Shri Shilā...the great Māheśvara, whose other name, procured for him by the enjoyment... was Dharmāditya, commands persons in office or holding commissions... great [and small] and others... “Be it known to you, that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father, I [have assigned a field named... on the northern side of the river, in the village of Raksha-raputra [?] in Palatirolahma [?]; and also a field... in the village of Udrapadraka, to the assembly of the reverend mendicant priests coming from the four quarters, and residing in the monastery constructed by... for [providing] clothing, food, and [the means of] sleeping and sitting... and for the purpose of [providing] fragrant ointment, incense, flowers, oil for lamps for the glorious Buddhas, and for the repairing of the monastery [lit. putting aright the broken parts]. These fields are granted by pouring water, along with their appurtenances, &c. &c.” [the rest as usual].

The son Bhaṭṭādiya-yaśāḥ is executive officer here. Written... 286 on the 6th day of Vaishākhavadya. My own hand.

MANDARA HILL.

By BABU RASBIHARIBOSE, BANKA.

This hill stands in the midst of a large plain near Bausi which was lately the head quarters of a sub-division of the district of Bhāgalpur in Bihār. It is of granite and almost devoid of vegetation except near the summit and on one side where it is generally overgrown with low jungle. The ascent has been rendered easy by

*Mūrskāndya-yajña—This expression Bhāmilakhaṃdha-sūrya, which occurs in a great many copperplates, and which no one has yet attempted to explain, may have some reference to the circumstance that holes in the earth are not permanent but are filled up in the course of time. That this fact was often the subject of thought and remark is shown by the story (in the Taitt. Sam. H. 5, and in the Bhāgavata H. 2 and other works) that Indra transferred the sin he incurred by killing Vishvarūpa, the son of Tvāṣṭṛ—among other objects and persons—to the earth, and in steps cut in the rock, which run up about two-thirds of the way; but as the hill is upwards of 700 feet high, and is extremely steep and rugged near the top, very few persons can reach the summit without halting in the middle of the journey.

This hill occupies a large place in the ancient consideration of her having taken it, gave her a boon, that all holes made in her would be filled up in time. The sense of the sentence then is—that a grant is to last as long as the sun, the moon, &c. shall endure on the principle of holes in the earth (nyāya means a principle of the Tākra Kaunḍinya and other nyāyas) that is, as holes in the earth are filled up in time and the earth is whole again and so unchanged, so a grant should survive all revolutions &c. and last unchanged for ever.

It is on the east side of the river Chandan, 21 miles N. of Bausi and 29 S. Bhagalpur in Lat. 24° 09′ N., Long, 81° 9′ E.—Ed.
Mandara Hill.

The hill is also believed to be the one that was used by the gods and Asuras in churning the ocean. This, as recorded in the Mahābhārata, was done partly to obtain the Aṣurīta, which confers immortality, and partly to recover the goddess of Fortune who, in obedience to the curse of a sage, had forsaken heaven and descended into the bosom of the sea. The great serpent who supports the earth on his thousand heads having, on that occasion, consented to act as a string, Mandara hill was selected as the only churning-rod that was capable of withstanding the mighty movement. The learned are divided as to this hill being identical with the gigantic Mandara that is compared in their books with the fabulous Sumeru which supports the heavens on its head, the earth on its navel, and the nether world on its base, and round whose sides the sun, moon, and stars roll in their accustomed orbits. But the ignorant pilgrims who annually flock to the hill entertain no doubt on this point, especially when they behold with wonder and awe the coil of the great serpent traced round its enormous girth.

Having such memories associated with the Hill, the great sanctity attached to it by the Hindus need not excite wonder. But besides being a place of pilgrimage, the hill possesses great value in the eye of the antiquarian, abounding, as it does, in interesting ruins as well as in natural and artificial curiosities. For a mile or two around its base are to be seen numerous tanks, several old buildings, some stone figures, and a few large wells—which attest the remains of a great city that has long since disappeared. A common saying among the people in the neighbourhood is, that this city contained fifty-two bazars and fifty-three streets besides four times twenty-two tanks. Near the foot of the hill, there is a building, now in ruins, which has an immense number of square holes evidently designed for lamps or Chirags. The tradition runs that on the night of the Dōwali festival, there were a hundred thousand lighted Chirags placed in these holes by the inhabitants of the city—each householder being allowed to place there only a single Chirag.

About a hundred yards from the above structure may be observed a large building of stone, which is generally ascribed to Rājā Chōla. As the Rāja is said to have flourished twenty-two centuries ago, the building must be very old. It is built without mortar, and the walls are made of large stones laid upon one another. The roof, which is composed of long and spacious marble slabs, is supported upon huge stone beams 18 inches by 15, and the Varanda rests upon entire posts of the same material. The building consists of a large hall in the centre, with an adjoining veranda in front and six dark rooms on the side—only lighted through small apertures in the perforated windows, which are of various devices.

The rise of the city, like many other ancient Hindu cities, is no doubt due to the sanctity attached to the place, or the great veneration felt for Madhūsūdana on the Mandara, which was not inferior to what is inspired by Krishna at Mathurā, by Jagannāth at Puri, or by Rūma at Nāsik. It is said it subsequently became the capital of Rājā Chōla. How or when the city fell into ruins, it is difficult to say; but popular tradition ascribes its destruction as well as that of Madhūsūdana's temple on the hill to Kālāpahār, who is charged, rightly or wrongly, with the demolition of every sacred relic of Hindu antiquity throughout the length and breath of Hindustan. Not far from the building with the square holes, previously mentioned, there is a triumphal arch built of stone containing an inscription in Sanskrit which seems to show that...

*See a spirited rendering of this tale from the Mahābhārata in Griffith's 'Specimens of Old Indian Poetry,' pp. 35-40.—Ed.
* It is written in the old Bengali character of the Tirhut type and in the Sanskrit language. The following is a translation of it by Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra:—
the city was in existence 270 years ago; for the inscription is dated in the Shaka year 1521, and records the victory of one Chhatrapati and the dedication of the arch to Madhusudana. This victory evidently marks a series of struggles between Hindu conservatism and Muhammadan fanaticism under which the city must have been gradually depopulated. This must have been the work of time, and could not have been simultaneous with the demolition of Madhusudana's temple on the hill to which Kālāpahār's invasion must have been directed. It may be presumed that Chhatrapati would hardly have thought of dedicating the triumphal arch to Madhusudana for the purpose of swinging, had not the city been in existence in his time. This supposition finds corroboration in the well known fact, that, after the destruction of the temple on the hill, the image of Madhusudana was brought down to the plains and located in a new temple built near the arch. The present Zamindars of Subbalpur, who claim to be descended from Chhatrapati, assert that the image was removed to Bausi only when the city was wholly abandoned by the inhabitants. The precise date of this depopulation cannot be ascertained; but it is clear that though the Muhammadans under Kālāpahār may have plundered the city when demolishing the temple on the hill, it continued to flourish, though not in its former splendour, for a considerable time afterwards. It is worthy of notice that, according to immemorial custom, the image of Madhusudana, continues to be brought annually from Bausi to the foot of the hill on the Paush-Sankranti day for the purpose of being swung on the triumphal arch built by Chhatrapati.

The removal of the image to Bausi has no doubt lessened the sanctity of the hill in the estimation of the Hindus; but on the above mentioned day there is annually an immense gathering of pilgrims, ranging from thirty to forty thousand, who come from different parts of the country to bathe in a tank at the foot of the hill. The consequence is a large melā or fair which lasts for fifteen days. The origin of the fair is accounted for by the following legend:—

A Rājā of Kanchipur called Chola was affected with leprosy, a disease which, according to the Hindus, visits only those who are especially accursed of heaven. In accordance with this belief he paid visits to all the sacred shrines in India but could nowhere find relief. At last he came to the Māndara. Happening to wash his feet in the water of a spring at the foot of the hill he was surprised to find his leprous ulcers disappear. He next washed his hands with the water, when lo! the disease disappeared from them also. He then widened and deepened the spring which was then called Manohar Kunda, and named it Pāpharnī, or what cleanses men from sin. In commemoration of the event he instituted the melā or fair which was to take place on the last day of Paush, because it was on that day that he used the water of the spring with such miraculous results.

It is also believed that Brahma spent millions and millions of years on the top of this hill in contemplation and prayers to the Supreme. When it was at last over, he offered, according to custom, a betel-nut and other things to the burning pile, but the betel-nut came rolling down the side of the hill and fell into the spring at its base. Thus the waters of the Manohar-kunda or Pāpharnī became especially sacred, and had the merit of curing Rājā Chola of his leprosy. Dead bodies from the neighbourhood are burnt on its banks, and the bones thrown into it, as if its waters were as holy as those of the Ganges. It is indeed cleared at the time of the fair, but it is impossible for the water to be freed from the stench arising from the putrefaction of the half-burnt bodies that are seen floating on its surface throughout the rest of the year. In spite of this, the immense host of pilgrims on the day of the fair bathe in it, in the hope of obtaining salvation in a life to come. Women from the most respectable families in the neighbourhood come to perform their ablutions at night that they may not be the objects of vulgar gaze.

As usual on such occasions, the pilgrims also offer oblations to the manes of their deceased ancestors. This is generally done at one of the Ghāts which is deemed especially sacred to the memory of Rāma. For this deified hero is believed to have visited the hill during his twelve years exile from Oudh, and performed the funeral obsequies of Dāsāratha his father, at the Ghāt which after him is called Dāsārathi.

After his miraculous cure, Rājā Chola is said not only to have fixed his capital in the city near the famous spring, but to have spent his immense wealth in beautifying and adorning the hill with marble figures, stone temples, spacious tanks, and deep reservoirs. To him is also attributed the pious fraud of tracing the coil of the great
serpent round its sides, so as to induce the
belief that the hill was used by the gods in churning
the ocean. This, as well as the steps cut in
the rock, must have cost enormous sums. But
an inscription at the side of the steps which
has lately been deciphered seems to show that
they were the work of a Buddhist king named
Ugrabhairava. It is however probable that
the inscription does not refer to the steps cut in
the rock, but, as supposed by the decipherer, commemorates the dedication of a statue. Though
there is at present no statue near the inscription,
there are still to be seen many Buddhist and
Hindu images lying here and there on the left
side of the steps, which have evidently been
transported from their original places and mutilated and disfigured by Muhammadan bigotry.
There is also a Buddhist temple near the sum-
mit of the hill which is held in great veneration
by people of the jaina. But even if the
honour of cutting the steps in the rock really
belongs to Ugrabhairava—as a Buddhist,
he could not have traced the coil of the great ser-
pent on the body of the hill in order to keep up
the memory of a Hindu superstition.

The steps do not go much higher than Sítá-
kuṇḍa. This is the name of a beautiful oblong
tank, about 100 feet by 50, excavated in the
body of the rock, nearly 500 feet above the sur-
rounding plain. Every hot spring in India is
known by the name of Sítákuṇḍa, it being
supposed that Sítá bathed in it after passing
through the fiery ordeal to which she was subject-
ed by her husband with a view to test her purity, and thereby imparted to its water the heat which she had imbibed in the flaming pile.
But the water in the Sítákuṇḍa on the
Mandara is almost as cold as ice. Whether
there was formerly a hot spring, the heat of
which has become extinct, it is not easy to
say. The Mándara Mahaśmya, an old Sanskrit work which gives an account of the
hill from a religious point of view, describes
several springs existing at the place which
appear to have been subsequently amalgamated
and converted into a tank by Rájá Cholá.
That the Sítákuṇḍa has undergone
extensive changes within the memory of man
is apparent from Col. Franklin's account of
it. For when he visited the hill in 1814,
there was a cascade or waterfall from the Sítá-
kuṇḍa to the Pápharni (which he calls Pow-
phur).† The passage of the cascade may still
be clearly traced a few yards from the steps
by the smooth surface, abrupt declivities, and
deep gorges left by it on that portion of the hill
where it fell. But at present the Sítákuṇḍa, in-
stead of overflowing, is scarcely full even during
the rains. The pilgrims who visit it are persuaded
to believe that it has derived its name from Sítá—
who used to bathe in it during her stay in the
hill with her husband when banished from Oudh.

On the northern bank of the Sítákuṇḍa, stood
the temple of Mādhusūdāna, said to have been
built by Rájá Cholá, now entirely in ruins. The
temple appears to have been pulled down, its stones
hurled down the sides of the hill to the plain,
and the image of Mādhusūdāna reduced to
dust by Muhammadan fanatics. But according
to the Bráhmans, Kálápachári could not destroy
the image of Mādhusūdāna, for it leaped into
the Sítákuṇḍa on his approach, and cutting a
subterranean passage, proceeded to the large tank
at Kajrāli near Bhágalpur, where it remained
concealed for many years. At length Mādhusū-
udāna appeared to a Puná in a dream and
told him of the place of his concealment, whence
it was accordingly conveyed back to the Mán-
dára and located in a new temple at the foot of
the hill. But the Zamindars of Subbalpur, by
whose ancestors the new temple was built, affirm
that the image of Mādhusūdāna, after its plunge
into the Sítákuṇḍa, went direct to Páchit, and thence appeared to one of their ancestors in a
dream, and that it was not till they had waited
in vain upon the Rájá of that place for recovery
of the image, that Mādhusūdāna condescended
to appear in the tank at Kajrāli.

A few feet above the Sítákuṇḍa is another
spring which is called Shanka Kuṇḍa from a
monster Shankha or oyster reposing beneath
its waters. The Shankha, to judge of its size
by the impression left on the bank, where it was
formerly kept, is about 3 feet by 1½. It is said
to be the same identical Shankha that is designated
in the Mahaśmya as Panchajanya—
whose sound used to fill the ranks of the enemy
with dismay. The Shankha Kuṇḍa is believed
to be very deep. It has been very irregularly
evacuated, not presenting the appearance of any
symmetrical figure, but rather resembling the
shape of the oyster which is preserved in it; and

† Vide his Inquiry concerning the Site of Ancient Pataliputra. Part II. As Franklin's work is now scarce, his account is appended in full.—Ed.
A perpendicular ridge of rock rises abruptly from the Shankhakuṇḍa and stretches towards the north and east. On the north-west corner of this ridge, about five feet from the base, is a small cave hewn out in the solid rock. It is about four feet square and high enough to allow a person to sit at his ease in it. It is just like one of the rock-cut caves to be met with in different parts of India, where Buddhist ascetics used to retire for the purpose of contemplation and prayer. But from an inscription on a large cave in the neighbourhood, to be presently noticed, it appears doubtful whether it does not rather owe its origin to Hindu devotees.

Further north, about half way to the summit of the ridge above mentioned, is situated a spring named Akāshganga, meaning the Ganges of the sky. The only approach to this is by a wooden ladder about 15 feet high. The water, which is contained in a cavity in the shape of a cone, cut in the body of the rock, is only about three feet deep, and is so transparent that the smallest objects at the bottom appear distinctly. This cavity, to which no rain-water can find access, fills itself as often as it is emptied, being supplied from a source which no eye has ever seen.

The following legend accounts for the existence of the sacred Ganges at Mandara.

The Mandara having been blessed by the presence of all the principal deities, was anxious to have Shiva also. With this object, it offered prayer to the sage Nārada, who thereupon undertook a journey to Kailasa for the purpose. On his way he met an ascetic who, having propitiated Shiva by his prayers, had just been promised the sovereignty of Banaras. Nārada told him he was a fool to desire the sovereignty of Banaras as long as Shiva himself was there, since the latter would be considered the real Rājā and the ascetic only so in name. So under the guise of friendship, Nārada advised him to go back and ask Shiva to leave Banaras as long as he reigned. The ascetic did so; and Shiva, being unable to refuse the prayer of a devoted votary, consented to leave Banaras; and as Nārada happened just then to prefer his own prayer, towards the accomplishment of which he had played so deep a game, the deity agreed to spend the time on Mandara. He would not go however unless he had the water of the Ganges to drink, in order to quench the irritating sensation occasioned by the poison in his throat. At Nārada's suggestion he went to Brahman, and having brought some water from his famous basin in which the Ganges is said to have taken its birth, deposited it on Mandara for his own use.

On the left side of the Akāshganga, is the colossal figure of Madhu, a trace on the rock. This, according to the Mandara Mahatmya, was done by Rāma during his residence on the hill. About 15 feet below, is a vaulted cave, cut into the body of a smaller ridge of rock which rises like an inclined plane from near the base of the perpendicular ridge before mentioned. The chamber is about 15 feet by 10, and, like the veranda of a bangala, gets higher as it recedes from the entrance, owing to the inclination of the vaulted roof with which it is covered. On this roof there is an inscription in large letters which has not yet been deciphered. The only approach to the cave is by a small door which just enables a person to enter in a sitting posture, but does not admit sufficient light to perceive what it contains. The ascetic residing on the hill, who has his cottage contiguous to the cave, however, assists pilgrims with lamps to observe the representation of one of the incarnations of Vishnu—carved in stone—on the middle of the floor. The image in the centre, is that of Vishnu in the shape of the mansion, its eyes almost glaring with unearthly lustre and its claws tearing into pieces the body of a Titan thrown over his thigh, while a child stands underneath with half-shut eyes trembling at the fearful scene. There are other figures such as those of Lakshmi, Sarasvati, Rāma, &c.; but the cave goes under the name of the central image—to which it is principally dedicated.

The following is the legend to which the central image alludes. There were two brothers Asuras or Titans by birth who by the favour of Shiva, became very powerful and, expelling the gods, usurped the throne of heaven. In the pride of victory the elder brother, named Hiranyaksha, thought himself even equal to Vishnu in power, and so sought him in the nether world to give him battle, but was killed in the encounter. The younger Hiranyakashipu therefore hated Vishnu so intensely that he could not even bear to hear his name pronounced in his presence. But in course of time a son was born to him, who became a devoted follower of his antagonist, and who, forsaking the
studies and pursuits suited to his age, began to pray to Viṣṇu night and day. The king became highly incensed, and finding it impossible to shake his son’s belief, or make him forsake his devotion, ordered him to be put to death. But though Prahlāda, (for so the son was named) was successively hurled to the earth from the summit of a high hill, put upon a flaming pile, thrown into the sea with weights fastened round his neck, and trampled under the feet of an elephant, yet he escaped uninjured.

The monarch then asked his son how he had survived such fearful perils, to which Prahlāda answered that Viṣṇu had preserved his life. “But where is your Viṣṇu?”, demanded the king in a rage. “He is,” replied the son, “present everywhere.” “Is he present in that impervious and solid body,” asked Hiranyakasipā, pointing with his finger to a large crystal globe that stood before him. “Yes, father” replied Prahlāda. “He must be there, since He is omnipresent and nothing can exist without Him.” Scarcely were these words uttered when Hiranyakasipā’s scimitar descended like a thunderbolt and broke the crystal into a thousand fragments; but at the same instant, a terrific figure, with the head and fore-claws of a lion and under part of a man, issued out of the broken crystal, and throwing Hiranyakasipā over his thigh, tore him into pieces. This took place at the twilight. He was killed in this manner, because by the blessing of Śiva, he was not to die by the hands of god or demigod, of man or beast, in the water or in the sky, during the glare of day or during the shades of night.

The three caves above mentioned are situated on the left of the Shankhakuṇḍa and on the eastern bank of the Sītakūṇḍa, while the way to the summit lies just over the right margin of these two springs. Beyond Shankhakuṇḍa, it runs for a considerable distance over a slightly inclined plane till it reaches the base of a conical ridge of rock which leads to the summit. By the side of this road, about ten feet above the Shankhakuṇḍa, there is an empty temple, now the abode of bats and mice, in which Śiva is said to have resided during his self-imposed exile from Banares.

Probably the original image having been reduced to dust by Kālāpahār, was not replaced by another, owing at first to the frequent incursions of the Muhammadans, and afterwards to the removal of Madhusūdana’s image to Bausi.

Far to the right, separated by a waterway through which the rains falling on the summit find their way to the foot of the hill, is the temple of the Jains already mentioned. From Śiva’s temple up to the base of the conical ridge, there is nothing else to arrest the attention. Thence to the summit, the ascent is very difficult owing to the rugged and uneven rock, loose and disjointed stones, abrupt precipices, and thick jungle that obstruct the way. On the highest summit of the hill, stands a very old temple of stone, said to have been built by Rāma.

It contains only the footprints of Viṣṇu, thereby indicating that he still holds the hill over the headless giant, with the weight of the universe embodied in his divine frame.

COL. FRANCKLIN’S ACCOUNT OF MANDARA HILL.

(From his “Inquiry concerning the Site of Ancient Palibothra,” Part II., pp. 13-26 and 72-78.)

(November 22, 1814.) Moved at 20 minutes past 7, quitted the Chandan, and proceeded on into the interior, to visit Mandara hill E. by N., Chandan river W............ Passed the village of Beliya, which stands on elevated ground, the surrounding scenery beautiful and fertile, the cottages of the inhabitants very neatly and compactly built, in patches detached from each other: Mandara hill N., passed several talāv (or large tanks of water): Manudan Math, a Hindu place of worship, N. At 5 minutes past 9, reached the village of Bausi near Mandara, at a spacious talāw with high banks. Mandara hill N. Berbari hill S., Malido SE. Distance 8 miles 5 furlongs.

(November 23.) Halted and visited Mandara hill. The south side of this hill presents on the approach to it a singular appearance, it consisting of a range of five distinct hills rising one above the other, till they are terminated by the summit of Mandara, which is of an oval form, and very much resembles the Gola at Patna; the summit is surmounted by a stone math whither the idols that are seen in the plain below, at a math of the same name, are carried at the annual pujas, two in each year, to be worshipped in the temple. At the south foot of the hill is a spacious talāw, called by the natives Pounphar [Pāpharni], the descent to which is by a stone staircase of seven steps, each step being 14 feet in length by 1½ in breadth. Near this flight of steps are great quantities of broken stones of different dimensions, mutilated idols, fragments of pillars, and other ir-
regular masses. The circumference of the talae, as measured by a perambulator, is 4 furlongs 40 yards.

Three sides of it are covered with trees and jungle; the fourth embraces the south-eastern base of the mountain, which is cut away in a sloping direction.

A stone channel or watercourse, formed from a natural fissure in the rock, runs in a direction from NW. to SE. along the centre of the hill, which it divides into two parts. The sides of this channel are very steep, and formed of hard black rock, having a coal-like appearance resembling the crater of a volcano; the channel itself is deep and hollow. From this channel, in the rainy season, a torrent of water pours down, and is discharged into the tank in the plain below. It is called by the natives Patalakandara, and perfectly answers to the description of that place, as detailed by the learned Wilford in the Asiatic Researches; though he has applied the circumstances to the neighbourhood of Raimohali, and the Motijhorna, or pearl cascade at that place.

The mountain Manulara, though in its general features, barren and rugged, is yet occasionally interspersed with trees and jungle growing out of the fissures on its rocky base and sides.

(Nov. 24). The ascent to Mandara is by a winding road or staircase cut in the rock, with landing-places of rock at intervals. Near the first staircase is a small stone image of the bull Nandi, not badly executed; the head is broken. About 300 yards from the foot of the hill is a heap of ruins, apparently the remains of a small temple. Adjoining to this the second staircase, consisting of 67 steps, continues the ascent. All these stairs are excavated from the rock, 3 feet 7 inches in length and 1 foot 8 inches in breadth. On the right hand of the second flight is a colossal figure of Mahakali cut in the rock. The goddess is bestriding a demon, whom she has subdued in combat; she is armed with a battle-axe in one hand and a sword in the other, and has three faces and ten arms, with a mala or necklace of human skulls.

A short distance from this place, continuing the ascent, you meet with a sight extremely beautiful; a natural cascade, which issuing from the spring called Sitá Kunda, flows over the black and rugged surface of the rock, and discharges itself into the Patal Kandara, or channel below, from whence it is conveyed to the talae of Poupur at the foot of the mountain. From this place you ascend the third range of stairs, being a flight of 39 steps, and presently after, the fourth which has 101 steps, and then a fifth of 35 steps; the whole forming, as it were, a magnificent natural ladder.

In our road up we observed many images and fragments of stone lying scattered on each side of the way, the latter appearing to be the remains of small temples, to be visited by the pilgrims in progressive ascent to that on the summit. From the last landing place the Chir Nala on the left bore E., the river Chandan on the right W., the mountain Mandara being in the centre between the two. From hence you proceed up the sixth range of stairs 11 in number, when, turning round a corner to the N. W., you come to a beautiful enclosure of mango trees, and behold the cistern called Sita Kunda, or well of Sitá, being a square enclosure faced on three sides with large stones, the scarp of the rock forming the fourth, and containing sweet and transparent water. This water, issuing from apertures in the rock, flows down the side of the mountain, and is finally discharged into the talae at the bottom, and from the brightness of its appearance it may truly be called a mots jhorna, or pearl-dropping spring. Here the scenery is romantic and picturesque; the green and flourishing trees forming a most remarkable contrast to the black and barren rock near which they grow.

A short distance from Sita Kunda is another well or cistern, called 'Sunkur' Kunda, of a triangular shape, cut between two parts of the rock, which divides at this place. On the side of this cistern future travellers may recognise a figure of Shankha cut in the rock. Close to Shankha Kunda commences the seventh series of stairs, consisting of 23 steps, after passing which you come to the well or cistern called Lakshman Kunda, or well of Lakshman. This is situated in a nook of the rock to the eastward; beyond which, by an ascent of 37 steps, you are conducted to the summit of the mountain and the Musulan Math (or temple) dedicated to Mahadeva. The Patal Kandara, or channel, so frequently mentioned, runs along the north-west side of this temple, and preserves the same features as at the bottom of the mountain, viz. a deep rugged channel of coal-black rock, of volcanic appearance. Here a magnificent prospect bursts upon the view; the whole range of hills in the Jangal Terai extending from S.E. to N.W., the Chandan river and its numerous arms or nala, and the dark and impenetrable forests stretching towards the south as far as the eye can reach, altogether form a picture that at once contributes to warm the imagination and to elevate the mind. Though we viewed the prospect to disadvantage, the weather being hazy, yet the coup-d'ceil made an impression on our minds that will not be easily eradicated. Descending from the summit we returned to Shankha Kunda, and from thence proceeded to view some figures cut in the rock on the north-west side of the hill; their appearance was singular. After descending a range of 16 steps, we entered the rocky bed of a watercourse,
extending along the side of the mountain, and presently reached an assemblage of projecting rocks that overhung us. In the centre of this assemblage was a huge and hideous figure, or rather its head only, for the body does not appear below the neck; it is of larger dimensions than life, cut out of the rock, which has been hollowed on both sides for the purpose, and a flight of stone steps leads up to it from the channel below. The native pandita who inhabit the mountain, as likewise some panditas whom we brought from the Masudan Math in the plain below, informed me that the figure was a demon, and was called in their Puranas by the name of Madhu Raksha. It is stated in the Markandeya Purana, that this demon was produced on the mountain Mandara from the ears of the god Vishnu at the creation of the world, and having shortly after his birth attempted the life of Brahma, or the creating power, was, together with another demon, punished for his presumption, and driven from the world above to the depths below. The figure now seen was cut to represent this occurrence, but by whom I could not learn. Near the figure of the demon is another large figure cut in the rock, called by the natives Vanman; it is connected with one of the Hindu avatars, or incarnations of the divinity, which is named from the dwarf, whose form Vishnu had assumed. Another figure, lower down the rock, is also to be seen, called Narasinha.

About 20 yards eastwards of Madhu Raksha is an excavation in the rocks, forming one of the Kundas or cisterns, which abound in this singular mountain: it is called Akash Gangā (or sky river). In it is a perpetual spring of clear and sweet water, but of shallow depth. The natives affirm that it is never dry, but that, if it be completely emptied, it will fill again of itself: a curious circumstance, if correct; for the bed of the nearest river must be at least a thousand feet from the place where this cistern is found. The name is emblematic, meaning in Sanskrit "sky river." Near this cistern is a cave on the side of a rock, in which a faqir [yogi] constantly resides.†

of hearing, as likewise my eye-sight, have failed me, and neither wisdom nor understanding remain; my body is wasted and my flesh and blood decay! Acquaint me, therefore, O Brahman, in what manner I shall obtain relief from these infirmities." Bhagarān replied, "Know, O Raja, that there is a heart-attracting place of worship, where the wind blows with violence on all sides; a temple yet hidden from the view of mankind. It is Mandara, the greatest in the world; there Vishnu resides for ever: he who destroyed the well-known malignant demon Madhu. It was Bhagarān who cast him under ground, and without difficulty placed the mountain Mandara on his head, an everlasting burden! Therefore, O Raja, is Vishnu the sovereign of all the Devatas. Manduan Math is also well known; it is permanent on its own mountain of Mandara: the sinner and the sin shall find equal absolution at Manduan."

† Whoever, O Raja, shall in future visit Mandara with reverence, that person shall be acceptable to the god, and be absolved from his sins by the grace of Vishnu. In Jambudvipa there are many places of worship. Bhagarān produced everywhere: he resides in no particular place; neither here in Mandara, nor in Kail, nor Prabhās, nor Guwahati, nor Desroka, nor in Prayag. Here he is everywhere. At this place the spirit of Bhagarān was produced, where he assumed the form of Rāma, the omnipotent in the house of Dvārakā; here he released imprisoned souls from their sins and slew the demons. Repair thither, O Raja, for thine own benefit."  

The Raja answered, "O Bhagarān, in what manner shall I reside there? Relate this to me at length, thou art the protector of those who reverence thee." Bhagarān replied, "Mandara is conspicuous for a spacious reservoir, situated at the foot of the mountain, wherein those who bathe shall be united to Vishnu. The water flows from the rock of holy quality, glittering like light derived from one source. O Raja, that reservoir is nimmuk (heart-attracting). At that place sinners who bathe therein, along with their relatives and descendants, are absolved from sin and sickness; fast therefore, O Raja! for one day, and then bathe, and be united to Vishnu. The act of ablution is equivalent to the sacrifice of an Aranyaka yaga at the place where Rama mourned his deceased father. Here, half way up the mountain, another reservoir, whose water is like golden; at sight of that water grief is dispelled from the heart. It flows from the mountains. Whenever thou visitest this mountain, be thou abominous in thy soul, O Raja, and bathe therein before the great gandian of mankind (Yagat guru), whose residence is on the summit on the south side of the mountain. He who shall yield up his soul at this place shall be absolved from his sins; and he who shall voluntarily relinquish the pleasures of this world, shall acquire
At 11 a.m., reached our breakfast tent at the foot of the mountain, highly pleased and gratified with this day's work. It may be better imagined than described what an appearance the collected waters of those respective reservoirs, when overflowed at the period of the solstitial rains, must present to the view, traversing the sides of the mountain in all directions, flashing with a violence totally irresistible, over the surface of the rocky declivities and other parts, until their final discharge into the 'Poughur' and other receptacles in the plain below.

Kamdhenu or the Parent Cow.—About a mile to the east, on the skirts of the hill, stands the Kamdhenu Math or pagoda, being a small square temple built of stone with a roof of brick. The temple contains the figure of Kamdhenu, or the parent cow of the Hindus, well known in Sanskrit records to have been one of the fourteen ratnas (or gems) produced by the churning of the ocean in the white sea, in which operation the mountain Mandara served as a churning-staff.

The figure of the cow is in height 3 feet 4 inches; in length, from the forehead to the tip of the tail, 6 feet 3 inches; in girth 5 feet. Round the hump of the animal is a necklace of flowers by way of ornament; two small calves, in stone, are taking milk from the mother. The figure is cut out of a solid block of light grey stone, and stands on a pedestal; its execution, though proportionate in its parts, is rude, and evidently of high antiquity. The temple is now mouldering fast to ruin.

Near this temple is another in ruins, which consists of large blocks of stone: the emblem of Mahādeva is to be seen in the remains of a small stone chamber. The building is called Kamdhenu Nath, and is connected with the worship of the other temple. To a considerable extent around the mountain are the remains of ruined temples, which in ancient times, and during the splendour of the Hindu Government, must have greatly contributed to enhance the beauty and amenity of the situation of Mandara hill. The tradition prevalent asserts, that there was a large city in the neighbourhood. East of the Math Kamdhenu is a mutilated image of the goddess Kali, of blue stone, near 7 feet in height. Though the principal figure in the centre has been destroyed by bigot hands, the head only remaining, several of the figures of smaller dimensions on the sides remain entire: some of them are well executed.

A thick forest encompasses the hill Mandara on three sides: it is only accessible from the southeast. I conjecture its circumference to be about 4 miles, and its height from the base to the summit 1 mile 2 furlongs.

Near 'Poughur' talāv, a short distance up the rock to the N.W., are several very large inscriptions cut in the rock, but in a character of which I could procure no account†. There are other inscriptions to be seen, both above and below, in different parts of the mountain. I should suspect, if they are ever deciphered, that they were found to relate to the worship of the temple called Mandara Math. The natives call them Devata Khat or the character of the gods.

NOTES ON THE GONDS MET WITH IN THE SATHPURĀ HILLS, CENTRAL PROVINCES.

By Mr. C. Scanlan, Assistant Surveyor.

The Sathpuras extend to a mean breadth of about seventy miles. They are inhabited by the Gonds and Kirks, who are a shy, ignorant, and very primitive race of men; their predilection for hilly and forest ridden tracts is so great, that I think nothing could induce them to leave their abodes. The Kirks is a perfect Hindu, though he indulges in fowls; while the Gonds, who styles himself a Hindu, is a hybrid between him and a Musalmam, for he appretiates his beef. The Gonds

* Of these Kundas the first six are on the sides and near the summit of the hill, the others are below.

† The author here gives a fac-simile on a smaller scale than the original for the investigation of the learned. Of this inscription, Babu Rajendra Nath Mitra remarks, that judging from its character and subject, he is satisfied that it was a Buddhist record and commemorated the dedication of a statue or a chaitya. The character is intermediate between the Gupta and Kutila, and was inscribed probably in the sixth century of the Christian era. The 5th letter of the 3rd line was doubtful, so were the last two letters of the last line, but he read the record as follows:

Paramabhattacharyka mahārājaśīnam hir.
ja sihā Gupta (?) vasya deśīkāya (?) or deya dhamma.

"The highly venerated, the great king, the king of kings, Shri Ugraharāvāda dedicated this."—Proc. Assut Soc. Ben. Nov. 1870, pp. 294, 295.—Ed.
claims his descent from a deity. It is said that while a Rajput prince was once out hunting, he espied a goddess perched on a rock enjoying the wild scenery of the country. They became enamoured of each other, and were blessed with a son. From this man the Gonds are supposed to be descended, and since he claimed his origin from a goddess and a Rajput prince, they style themselves Raj-Gonds and Gond-Thakurs. Both the men and women, especially the latter, have a peculiar cast of countenance, which is broad and high-cheeked, with oblique eyes and a rather flatish nose. They appear to be of a very lively disposition, and are honest and well-behaved to us. During the Holi festival, the women throw off all reserve, and do not scruple to detain for baksheesh any one going through their villages or encamped near them; they will surround him and keep dancing and singing in a ring till their claims are complied with. On a moonlight night both men and women assemble round their village fires and enjoy themselves by discoursing music.

The Bhumkas are the constituted priests of the Gonds and Kirkus, and preside at all their religious ceremonies. Each village has its Bhumka. These men have their special Lares and Penates, which are called the Bhumka and Phatak Devas, the latter being the gods they place in a road over which visitors to shrines pass, and through these tutelary deities, they levy a sort of blackmail on all who go that way. The chief gods of the people appear to be Bara Deo, Mahadeo, Narayan Deo, Matá, and Khandarao; in fact, almost every hill-top has on it the stone individuality of some one of their many mythological powers. To them are offered up the narial, khajur, sindur, pach-khaja, chandtal, incense, eggs, limes, and fowls. The last named god plays a prominent part during the Holi festival. He is to be seen in almost every village, represented by a long red-colored pole, which is driven vertically into the ground. A ladder leads to the top of the pole, a few feet below which is a platform made of bamboo work, on which two men can take their places. On the extremity of the pole is placed a cross-piece which revolves round: to the ends of it men and women allow themselves to be attached and swung round—fanatics submitting to the hook. This is what they call the Gdańsk. At the foot of this pole are placed stone or earthen images, which are called Kham and Khami, the former being the male, the latter the female representation. As I have before, it is during the Holi this god calls his votaries in large numbers, when they bring their offerings, which are always cocks and hens—men presenting the former and women the latter. The Bhumka decapitates them; the offerer takes the trunk and sprinkles the posts and stones with the warm blood, when, from a basket, little pieces of cake are broken and put before the deities. On the Gdańsk day each village sends out its men and women in procession, the men ahead beating their drums, and the women behind singing—the former lustily carolling totally different airs. When they reach Khandarao and his wife, the men sit down in a ring and keep chanting on, while the women form their usual arc of a circle and gyrate round the pole.

The birth ceremonies of the Gonds and Kirkus are alike, both give a dinner; but in their death ceremonies they differ. I can best draw the distinction by describing each. The Gonds burn their adults and bury their children. After a few days they offer up to their memory a bull or cow, which they place right over the threshold and knock over with a blow from the blunt end of a hatchet. This they call the Pat. The widows are not allowed to marry without the consent of the Patia, who is the high priest of the Baradeva, and one is attached to every Got [gotra], which I shall hereafter describe. The Patia, in technical language, sells the widow for five rupees to the man seeking her hand: in other words, five rupees are used in the ceremony.

The Kirkus, like the Gonds, burn their adults and bury their children. They offer goats and fowls to their Gata-Peri—which are their Lares and are made of wood—supposed representations of the deceased, who are thus incorporated into their polytheistic category. The ceremony itself is called Sido [Sido] or Phuljari. On the day appointed, friends are invited, a great deal of eating, drinking, dancing, and merry-making is gone through. From the cross beam of the roof a thread is suspended, and its lower end hangs directly over a small cup of brass or clay, and to the upper end a finger-ring is attached so as to run down at the slightest oscillation; after a short time it begins to move and drops into the receptacle below, with a clanging sound, then the wandering spirit is supposed to have returned to his former haunts, and ceases to molest any one; for so long as his relations do not propitiate him, the restless spirit, they say, will annoy them—either sickness, want, or ravages by wild animals on their cattle will keep afflicting them.

When Gonds marry, a dinner is given, and the food consists of dal and kutki. The bride gets, as a present, a cloth and a pair of anklets. When a man makes his overtures and is accepted, if able, he gives the bride's parents 9 rupees, 160 sers of kutki, 40 sers dal, 160 sers kodo; if not able to supply these, he makes terms of servitude for a period of 5, 7 or 12 years, and though he may soon get married afterwards, still he goes on working at his father-in-law's house. This is called lamjhana.

When among the Kirkus a marriage is settled on, the asker gives a good supply of liquor to the bride-elect's father; this binds the contract. If he cannot give 20 rupees or their value (if he be a widower Rs. 40, or their equivalent), he is obliged...
also to do lamjhana. At the marriage, the bridegroom gives the paternal aunt and the mother of the bride a cloth each, and the paternal uncle a pagri. Among both the Gonds and Kirkus, the money is not given to defray the expenses of the marriage cheer and paraphernalia of the bride but for the marriage contract.

The Kirkus are divided into four chief divisions of caste: The Bapcha, Baoria, Rumba and Bondoi,—the last being the highest. These castes do not intermarry, eat, drink, nor smoke the huká amongst themselves.

The Gonds divide into two sections, which call themselves Raj-Gonds and Khatola Wala Gonds—the latter wearing the Brahmanical thread or janvi across the shoulder. These two divisions hold nothing common among them.

The Gots which I have alluded to above, I find to be clans, something after the manner of those among our Scottish brethren, and in no instance is intermarriage permitted between men and women of the same Got, but cousins are permitted to marry each other. How this finds sanction I shall explain: I shall instance a brother and sister of the Wika Got. The sister marries, say, a Dhurwa: She accordingly becomes of the Dhurwa clan, while her brother, of course, still retains his chanship; thus the sister’s children being Dhurwas and the brother’s Wikas, they can intermarry.

From this precise explanation it will at once be seen that the marriage of two brothers’ children is interdicted, because they are of the same clan.

I was not successful in collecting the names of many of the Gondi Gots worth recording, but I think I have got a good number of the Kirku clans which are as follows:—Kasa, Beche, Chuthar, Masis, Busum, Dharna, Sakoma, Ataker, Akhundli, Totu, Bheenda, Tandil, Kolasa, Suwati, Selu, and Atkom.

This year I met with no archaeological remains which invited my attention; there is only one place which has its local tradition.

I have briefly attempted to enter into the chief points of interest regarding these wild tribes, without detailing the many other minutiae which relate to them, such as their dancing, their dress, their villages, and many of their customs.—Report on the Topographical Surveys for 1868-69.

EXPLANATION OF VEDIC WORDS.

By PROF. TH. AUFRECHT.

(Translated from the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Bd. XXIV. pp. 205-6.)

I. NISH TUR.

Nishkur is found in the Rigveda only in the two forms nishture and nishiturah. The pada divides thus, nih-ture and nih-turah, and thus it is regarded as compounded of tur and the preposition nis. Roth takes this view, and translates it, “He who has no conqueror (the unvanquished one).” He forgets that this translation yields no sense in VIII. 32, 27, and that no passage occurs in the Veda, in which the root tar is combined with nis. In my opinion it should be resolved into ni-stur, which I derive from nis tar, to strike to the ground, prostrate. In the former passage nishtur is active, “felling to the ground”; in the latter, passive, “to fall to the ground.” VIII. 32, 27.

“To the mighty conqueror, to the unvanquished victor cries
Your god-suggested hymn.”

VIII. 66, 2—

“Then spake to him Čavasi: the deadly hater, the cloud-son
My child, these cast to ground do thou.”

This interpretation receives confirmation also from nishturita in VIII. 33, 9.—

“The gallant, never-vanquished hero, fearlessly equipped for fight,
Hears Indra gladly the singer’s call, no longer tarrying he draws nigh to us.”

Also from the use of nis tar, II. 11, 20.—

Aṣyā suvanāsya mandinas tritisya u đbrudam vāvīldhānā āstāḥ 
“Arbuda, the enemy of this lavish, joyous Treta, he violently strikes down.” VII. 18, 11.—

ekam cha yō vīṇaṇīm cha āgravaśyā vaikarnāya jānān rāja ny āstāḥ 
“As the king from desire for fame slew one and twenty men of the two Vaikarnas.”

2. AČVABUDHYA.

This word occurs three times, and indeed only in the first Ashītaka. Roth translates it, “notable on account of horses—distinguished,” and Benfey, “recognisable by horses.” This interpretation, in which budhya is derived from the root būd, is unsatisfactory both etymologically and with reference to the sense. Etymologically, because the analogous formations brazmachārya, pūrbhīdya, prakāmōdya, brahmōdya, brāhmavādyā, mantracṛtṛya, adnasādyā, talpasādyā, rājasādyā, devahūya, and others, have the accent on the last portion. As regards the sense,—because in 92, 7 the distinction between ačvabudhya and goagra is unmistakable. The true account of the matter is, that
budhya is either directly a corruption from budhnya or it comes from a form budha—no longer extant, but corresponding in meaning to the word budhna. Ávabudhya means “grounded (established) on horses depending on horses.” I. 92, 7.

prajávato nívatō áväbudhyan úsho
góegrán Ṛpa māśi vājān

“Aurora, bestow upon us, together with posterity and sons, possessions which shall have their foundation in horses, and their summit in cows.” Agra and budhna are also opposed to each other in III. 55, 7. X. 115, 6 and Agni in I. 96, 6, is called the foundation of all property and the procurer of treasures. In I. 92, 8 we have—

úsahas tám áyṣam yaṣṣam suvraṃ
dāsapravargam rayim áyväbudhyām

“O Dawn, may I attain to the glorious prosperity which is accompanied by excellent sons and numerous slaves, and is supported on horses.”

I. 121, 14.—

prá no vājān rathyō áväbudhyān
ishē yān dhī yāvasē sunīśītāyai

“Give us possessions accompanied with chariots, supported on horses, for power and renown and delight.”

REVIEWS.

THE DASARATHA JATAKA, being the Buddhist Story of King RAMA. The original Pāli text, &c. by W. FAUSBÖLL. Copenhagen : 1871. 48 pp. 8vo.

Prof. Weber’s essay Über das Rāmāyana, published about a year and a half ago, proved almost beyond doubt that the well-known Indian epic, the Rāmāyana, is based on a Buddhist legend, and drawn up in its present form, not more than 1600 years ago, chiefly under Greek influences. This result of his researches must have startled many, and though the argument is supported by vast learning and copious quotations, it must be a great satisfaction to all interested in Indian literature to see the authentic text critically edited and translated by so well known a scholar as Dr. Fausböll.

The original Rāma-saga forms one of the numerous Jātaka stories which Buddha is said to have related in illustration of his doctrine, and which get their name from the events related having occurred during former existences of Buddha. In this case Buddha had existed as Rāma. Among the Jātakas are to be found most of the legends we meet with in Sanskrit literature, and even tales which exist in the Sanskrit Pancha-tantra; the value of the collection is thus very great, and especially because these tales here occur in a much older and less corrupt form than can be found elsewhere.

This Buddhist Rāma-saga forms a striking contrast to the complicated and perverted version of the Rāmāyana, its supernatural trumpery. Dasarattha is here said to have had three children, Rāma, Lakkha, and Sītā by his first, and a son Bhārata by a second wife. By intrigues in defeat of Bhārata, the second wife gets Rāma banished for twelve years. His brother and sister attend him, and serve him dutifully. In the ninth year Dasarattha dies, and Bhārata, refusing to profit by his mother’s wickedness, goes in search of Rāma, and tells him the news of his father’s death. The philosophic Rāma displays the apathetic disposition assigned to him in the Rāmāyana, but breaks the news gently to Lakkha and Sītā who give way to grief. Bhārata asks Rāma the cause of his indifference, and is answered by some Gāthās, which are evidently intended to be sung to a simple accompaniment, and thus to relieve the monotony of the prose recital for a popular audience. One cannot help comparing the Jātakas to the Arabic romances of Antar, &c., which may be still heard in Cairo and Algiers, and which, like the Jātakas, are essentially popular as opposed to the exclusive spirit of the general literature. The most striking, perhaps, are—

3. “What cannot be preserved by man, even if much bewailed, for such a thing’s sake why should the intelligent (and) wise (man) distress himself.”

5. “As ripe fruits always are in danger of falling, so born mortals always (are) tending to death.”

6. “In the evening some are not seen (any more), (although) in the morning many were seen; (and) in the morning some are not seen, (although) in the evening many were seen.”

7. “If by lamenting The fool, who (only) injures himself, gains anything, — let the wise (man) do the same too.”

8. “(But) he (only) becomes lean (and) sallow, (while) injuring his own self, (and) the dead are not saved, lamentation (therefore) is of no avail,” &c.*

Lakkha tries to persuade Rāma to return as king; he, however, refuses to do so before the end of the twelve years, and sends his straw shoes which are placed on the throne, and by their striking together the ministers knew when injustice was done. At the end of the twelfth year, he returns, is throned as king, and makes his sister his queen. The statement that Sītā was at once Rāma’s sister

* Compare Pājñāvalkya-sūtra, iii. 6–11, where similar gāthās occur.
and wife is a striking proof of the authenticity of of the Buddhist Sāga, and agrees entirely with the results of recent research regarding primitive marriage.

It is thus evident that the Rāmāyāṇa consists of an original sāga as above, with the addition of a mythological fiction chiefly consisting of the rape of Sītā and war with Rāvana. As the paltry results of the eumérist interpreters are based on the last part, they deserve but little attention; if the original saga has any historical basis, the additions are certainly recent and spurious. It is much to be regretted that Orientalists habitually content themselves with a far lower standard of historical evidence, than their fellow-students who occupy themselves with Classical and European antiquities. Few in the East have got beyond the long exploded eumérisms, and they have not spared the two Indian epics. To extract history out of them at present, when the texts and recensions have not been critically edited, is at least premature, even though the inferences were legitimate in method; but recourse to a vicious system is inexcusable when means are at hand, such as Professor Weber's essay and the work now noticed, by which the historical development of the Saga may be studied.

Though Professor Weber has been able to fix pretty nearly the oldest date for the redaction of the Rāmāyāṇa, it is by no means so easy to say how late this may have occurred.

The story of Rāma is told in a number of works, of which Professor Weber has noticed several (p. 53 ff.): but in every case, it is the Rāmāyāṇa version. The Kathā-sārīt-sāgara (12th cent.) and the perhaps still older Brihatkathā of Kshemendra evidently copy the Rāmāyāṇa with the Uttarākāṇḍa. The Tamil Rāmāyāṇa of Kāmpan, assigned to the 11th cent. by Dr. Caldwell (Comparative Grammar, p. 88) is divided precisely like the Sanskrit poem. The story must, therefore, have been thus told before the 10th cent., but the remark in the Kātakā commentary (the oldest we now possess, but which is certainly by no means an old work) that "the nectar of the tīrtha of the Rāmāyāṇa has been made muddy by the dust of unsuitable comments"—proves that a difference of text was early noticed. The author of this, being a Telugu, cannot be put earlier than the 11th century. He follows the usual Southern text, but does not include the Uttarākāṇḍa. The number of verses he puts at 24,000. It is remarkable that there is no allusion to Rāma in Hiuen-Thang, except the name Rāma-grāma be held to refer to the hero of the sāga.

Dr. Faussboll has added an admirable critical commentary, to justify his renderings of the many difficulties in the text. To his remarks (op. 25) regarding lancha, it may be added that this is probably a Dravidian word; it is current everywhere in the South of India with the meaning of tribe.

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Short as Professor Weber's essay and Dr. Faussboll's Dasaratha-Jātaka are, it would be difficult to mention two more important contributions to a critical study of Sanskrit literature since 1861, when Professor Goldstücker's Pāñini appeared.

A. BURNELL.

THE SAPTASHTI OR CHANDI PATH, being a portion of the Mārkandeya Purāṇ, translated into Gujarati from the English Version of Kavali Venkat Rāmaswāmi Pandit. 78 pp. sm. 16mo. Bombay: 1871.

The Saptashtī is held in greatest esteem by the devotees of Kālī, and was translated into English and published at Calcutta in 1823. From this version it has now been rendered into Gujarati by a Parsi—Merwanji Nushirwanji Wādia, who does not seem to be aware of the Gujarati poetical version made long ago by the famous Ranchodji Diwān of Junāgadh.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

"Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1870-71."

This part of the Journal contains:—1, A paper "On methods of taking impressions of Inscriptions," by T. W. Rhys Davids, C. C. S.; 2, A Prose Translation of the Introductory Stanzas of the ‘Kusa Jātaka’ by Lionel F. Lee, C. C. S., 3, Notes on a Sannas, by the same. This Sannas, the writer says, is a copper-plate 15 by 4 inches, with an ornamental border of silver, having the sun and moon in the margin on one side and the royal sign Śrī between them, and on the other side the figures of the lion and leopard. Among the interpretations assigned to the leopard "the most remarkable seems to be that the figure stands for the word dieśi, signifying 'life' as well as 'leopard.' The interpretation then of the four figures would be 'as long as the sun and moon endures, and as long as life remains to the Royal Lion race.' The Śrī or royal sign, is of gold, and so are portions of the other figures." The translation runs thus:—

"The command issued from the grandeur and light of divine knowledge and benevolence of our most excellent, most gracious, and most high lord, anointed king of all men. 'Whereas Vijjasundara Rājā Karunayaka Herat Madyannehē has from his earliest youth remained most true and faithful to the most high royal family, and has also contracted..."
an auspicious marriage in obedience to our royal instructions, with the view of perpetuating hereafter the Kshatriya caste, of which the line has remained unbroken since we established our sovereignty over men at Shriwardanapura, formerly Senkada Sila, the most prosperous and wealthy of all cities; and whereas Vijjyaasundara Rajakarunayaka Herat Mudiyannehé is descended from the Brahman Shri-Váneá Chandraya, who was a descendant from the Brahmins summoned from Dambadiya by the King Dapuhessenam, and was afterwards called by his majesty Bhuwanéka Bahu who reigned at Dambadiya, after having built the temple of Vishnu at Alut-newara, and removed there the divine image from the city of the gods, and was appointed Basnayaka Nilama of the Mahá-devala, as instructed by Vishnu in a dream, after having received a grant of land and a she-elephant and various offices of state, together with lands at Lewuke, and having married a lady of the family of Widagama Terunnáé—a favourite of the great and victorious Sirí-Prákama-Báhu on account of his faithful services, and the recipient of many emoluments and offices, lived at Lewuke to be (here follow the names of the lands and their boundaries) possessed by Mudiyannehé and his children and grand-children derived the name of the village of Hakmana. The ancient colonnades. From this Sakmana is between Galle and Matara, there are two Viháres: a Galsannas of very modern date; the other is a very ancient Bó-tree and large Dahgoba at this place, but for a Viháre only a small modern building, corresponding to the wording of the sannas, which speaks only of a Sakmana or covered corridor for priests to walk in—corresponding to the ancient colonnades. From this Sakmana is derived the name of the village of Hakmana. The inscription is on a stone built into the wall round the dahgoba, and is translated by Mr. Davids as follows:

"In the sixth year of the revered Lord Emperor Siri Sangabo Siri Bhuwanaika Bahu,* the minister named Kalu Parákarama having given wages to the workmen, and having given in perpetuation the four gifts to the two priests who reside economizing in this (cloister) common to the priesthood; and also—in order that the gifts might be given for a day to the reverend priesthood coming from the four directions—(having given) ten amunas sowing extent of paddy-field which he had bought and a fruit-bearing cocoa-nut garden, and ten slaves and a yoke of oxen, and round torches and go betes with spouts, and a row of lamp-stands (for illumination) and palaunquis, *doli-kunan and leather, and cushions, and mattresses, and cloths woven with silk and hemp to spread over (seats for guests), and tubs and iron basins together with other things of this kind proper for the priesthood . . . . it is proper for all good men who in the future shall be, to maintain without dispute this cloister (Sakmana) or viháre, improved by the king's family, which (cloister) has been made to add merit to the revered king Bhuwanaika Bahu who brought me up, and (thus) to obtain the bliss (moksha) of release in heaven."

6. "Dondra inscription No. I, Text, Translation and Notes," by the same. This inscription was on an upright slap of granite resembling a gravestone, and standing under the cocoanut palms on the sea shore at Dondra. It was removed by Mr. Davids to a place of safety. The translation records the grant of lands "in Náwadunne (now Naatunne) and Patégama, and the produce of Bat-gama, where the Atupatto Arachi made the dam," that it might continue for ever as the places "now included in the Parawásara" (now Parawera) to the Nagarisa Nila (Vishnu) temple in Dondra, by Siri Sangabo Siri Vijaya Bahu in the Shaka year 1452."

7. "On the second species of Zosterops inhabiting Ceylon," by W. V. Legge, Hon. Sec.; 8, "Further notes on the Ornithology of Ceylon," by the same; 9, "On various Birds of the Western Province," by the same; 10, "On the Origin of the Shri-Páda or Sacred Foot-print on the summit of Adam's Peak," by W. Skeen, Esq. This is an elaborate paper of fifty pages, 11, "The Romanized Text of the first five chapters of the Balávatára, a Pali Grammar, with translation and explanatory notes," by L. L. Lee, C.C.S; 12, "Specimens of Sinhalese Proverbs," by Louis de Zoysa, Mudaliyar. These are one hundred in number, from which we may give as specimens:

'Like the mad-woman's basket of herbs,'—an ill assorted mixture; 'Cannot drink as it is hot, and cannot throw away as it is Kanji'—an unpleasant dilemma; 'The idle man has divine (prophetic) eyes'—forbodes and magnifies difficulties no one else sees; 'He murders saints but drinks water after straining'—straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel; 'When the deer trespasses on his field, he comes home and beats the deer's skin'—not able to punish the real offender he vents his anger on the inoffensive; 'One puts on the head to pluck out the eyes'—flatters to injure; 'If the dog bite your leg would you bite his?' 'The rat who was returning home drunk with toddy, said, if I meet a cat, I will tear him to pieces; 'If one personates a dog he must go where he is whisked for?' 'Like placing a ladder to the jumping monkey'; 'Even
THE OLD SANSKRIT NUMERALS.

At the monthly meeting of the Bombay B. R. Asiatic Society, held Thursday, 11th January, Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A. presented a Devanāgaritranscript of a Valabhi copperplate grant, * with a paper of considerable length on the reading of the ancient Indian numerals. The following is an abstract of his remarks:—

In this copperplate, put into his hands, he said, by Mr. Burgess, the date is given in figures thus—

\[ \underline{\text{300}} \]

The first figure in this was formerly understood to signify 300 in all cases; but Mr. Thomas found variations in the form and number of the side strokes, whence he inferred that the value of the symbol was in some way modified by them.† The exact signification of these was given by Dr. Bhaubhai Daji,‡ who has pointed out that this symbol without the right hand strokes represents 100; with one stroke, its value is 300; and with two, 300. His conclusions are based chiefly on the numerals found in the Nāsiṅcave inscriptions. He (Mr. Bhandarkar) had examined Mr. West's copies of these,§ and was convinced of the truth of the opinion, which is also confirmed by the numerals on the Surāshtran coins.† And in the fac-simile of one of Dr. Burn's Gurjara plates, given by Prof. Dowson,‖ in which the date 386 is given in words as well as figures, the first symbol has a loop at the lower end similar to that in the present plate. For these reasons the first figure in the present case stands for 300.

Now, as to the value of the second figure:—We know the symbols for 10, 40, 80, and 90. Dr. Bhaubhai Daji quotes an inscription from Kārleq in which a symbol somewhat resembling the second in this plate is given with its value in words as 'twenty'; and it occurs twice in the Nāsiṅ inscription No. 25** which is considered to be a deed of sale, executed at the orders of Gotamiputra in some year represented by this and another symbol. In another inscription (No. 26), in which Gotamiputra's exploits are enumerated, his wife assigns the cave in which it occurs for the use of religious mendicants in the 19th year of Padumayi. And as these events took place shortly after each other, the symbol most probably stands for 20.

The same figure occurs on a coin of Vishaṅ Śāṅ, the 15th king in Mr. Newton's list,¶ while the second figure on his other coins we know represents 10, the whole date being 217, the other symbol, therefore, must stand for 20. The last figure in this grant resembles our modern \( \underline{\text{6}} \), and that has generally been considered its value.* The date of the present grant is therefore 326.

This grant is by Dhrārasena IV, the great grandson of Dhrārasena II; but the figure—

\[ \underline{\text{300}} \]

on the copper plate of this latter monarch as deciphered by Mr. Wathen, was considered by Prinsep†† and Mr. Thomas‡‡ as equal to 300 + some undetermined quantity, and the Rev. P. Anderson thinks it to be 330.§ Dr. Bhaubhai Daji has given five dates from Valabhi plates, but none of them resembles the date in any of the three known grants, though one, which somewhat resembles that on Mr. Wathen's plate, is interpreted by him as 332, while in another paper,¶ he assigns to Dhrārasena II. the dates 322 and 326. If, then, the date in the present case is correctly interpreted, these readings would make Dhrārasena IV. to have reigned four or six years before his great grandfather, or in the same year, or only four years after him. But on examining Mr. Wathen's plate in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Museum, it is found that the figure representing hundreds has only one side stroke. ** It thus appears that the first figure in the grant of Dhrārasena II. represents 200. Now the same minister Skandabhata executed the grant of Dhrārasena IV., and

the present one; and we now know the values of the symbols for 10, 20, 40, 80, and 90. The second figure in Mr. Wathen’s plate which resembles none of these, must then be 30, 50, 60, or 70, and, as the last figure in it consisting of two simple strokes clearly represents 2, the most probable date would be 272—giving a value of 70 to the second symbol. A tenure of 54 years would not be too long for a single holder of a hereditary office. The symbol too shows a sufficient resemblance, making allowance for the difference of age, to that for 70 in Rudra Dama’s Ginnar inscription, in which the date 72 is given in words and figures.*

Mr. Wathen’s second plate, in the Museum of the Bombay Society, resembles Dr. Burn’s No. 4: the grantor in both cases is the same—Shiladitya II., the third king after Dharasena IV, and the date in both‡ is the same, viz.—

The first figure is equal to 300, and the second symbol has generally been taken for 70—a value just assigned to a different one. Now the minister who prepared Shiladitya’s deed was Madana Halta, the son of Skandabhaṭa; but there is probably no instance in history of a father and son holding an office for 104 years,—which period the date 376 here would place between Dharasena II. and Shiladitya II.; and the only tens now available for the symbol are 30, 50, and 60. Now 30 would limit the duration of three reigns to ten years; 60 would give too long a period to Skandabhaṭa’s son; but if not, the dates on the Saḥ coins support the interpretation of the symbol as 50 rather than 60. For after Rudrasaḥ, the 12th in Mr. Newton’s list,‡ reigned his two sons Vishva Sinha and Atri Dāma, then Vishva Sinha the son of Atri Dāma, and, after an interval, Rudra Saḥ’s third son, Asha Dāma. One of Rudra Saḥ’s coins is dated 197, one of Atri Dāma’s 214, one of Vishva Saḥ’s 227, and one of Asha Dāma’s a date, the second symbol in which is the one under consideration. The value of 30 has been rejected on other grounds; 50 ranks next in probability, as 60 would render Asha Dāma’s reign too long and make him live at least 33 years after his second brother. The date on Mr. Wathen’s 2nd plate and of Dr. Burn’s thus appears to be 356. The conclusions here drawn are—that J stands for 50, and J for 70; that the date of the grant of Dharasena II. discovered by Mr. Wathen is 272; of Dharasena IV, 326; and of Shiladitya II. is 356. The interval between Dharasena II. and Shiladitya II. is thus 84 years,—and there is no imposibility in the circumstance of a father and son holding between them the office of minister to all the kings for 84 years.

Mr. Thomas and Dr. Bhaū Dāji think the aera used in these dates is the Shaka, and we find the words Shaka-Kāla used in those records of the period in which the aera is specified; and the name Shaka-nipa-kāla and the very existence of such an epoch show that there was a great king from whom it originated and who belonged to a tribe known as Shaka. Now from cave inscriptions and coins, it appears that Gujarāt and a great part of Mahārāshtra were for about three centuries governed by kings calling themselves Kshatrapa—a name of foreign origin, and the same as the Persian word Satrap. The earliest known of these is Nahapana, the Kshatrapa of a king named Kshaharat, and another was called Chashanta—all three names of foreign origin, as also the name Saḥ of the Satrap dynasty of Surāshtra. Nahapana, or his sovereign, or whoever conquered this part of the country, and established the dynasty, must have been the Shaka king with whom the aera originated. And Ushavadata, the son-in-law of Nahapana, is called a Shaka in one of the Nāsik inscriptions.§ When the Satraps were succeeded by the Valabhīs in Surāshtra, the same aera must have continued in use. From what has taken place in later times, after the Marathas succeeded the Muhammadans, we should also expect to find the Valabhīs and the Chalukyas using the aera of the Satraps whom they succeeded—especially when they had no other.

And if we refer the Valabhi dates to the aera of the Shaka king, we arrive at an intelligible starting point for the Valabhi aera itself, ascertained by Col. Tod to have commenced in 319 A.D. If the date 272 of the grant of Dharasena II. be referred to the Shakakāla it corresponds to 350 A.D., and shows that he was reigning in the 31st year of the family aera. Now Bhataraka and his first son did not assume the title of king, but were called Senapati or ‘commanders of forces.’ Dronasinha the second son is the first to whom the title of Mahārāja is given in Mr. Wathen’s first plate, and he is spoken of as having been crowned by ‘the only sovereign of the whole world’—whoever he may have been. The independence of the Valabhi kings therefore dates from this event. Dronasinha also must have received the title of Mahārāja some years after he succeeded his brother; and therefore 31 years is a sufficiently long period for a portion of the reign of Dronasinha and the reigns of his two brothers and Guthasena.

The conclusions then are—that the date of the grant of Dharasena II. discovered by Mr. Wathen is 272 Shaka, or 350 A.D., that of the present grant is 326 Shaka, or 404 A.D., and that of those of Shiladitya II. is 356 Shaka or 434 A.D.

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THE HILL TRIBES OF THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER.

It will not be out of place perhaps to give some account of the tribes that inhabit our North-Eastern frontiers, regarding whom very little is known by many.

The land we propose to notice is bounded on the North, East, and West by large branches of that river, and on the South by the whole range of the various wild tribes that inhabit our North-Eastern Territories. In other respects, they nearly resemble the Mikirs and the Munipuris. The Mikirs wear moustaches, and have a peculiar dress. It is a sack put on like a shirt, consisting of two pieces of cotton cloth, each about three feet long by one and a half broad, dyed with red stripes parallel to the rows of the weave. If they decline, the sentry managed. When wooing has gone on for some time, the lovers send a friend to the parents of the damsel with a stoup of liquor; if they fail to answer it the man is unfriendly; if they decline it, the sentimental lover must give up all hope and seek his bride elsewhere, a fact which demonstrates that parental authority is a natural law, as distinctly defined and understood among these savages as amongst the most civilized nations. It is superfluous to state that early marriage is unknown among the wild tribes. Old Kukis have a long list of duties, many of whom are malignant. The feeling against the gods is intense; they are mere objects of terror, and if the savages could only get a chance, they would most likely betake themselves to beating the gods. New Kukis are a short sturdy race, the women more squat even than the men, but strong and lusty. The face as broad as it is long; the cheeks hollow, broad, and prominent; the eyes small and almond-shaped; and the nose short and flat, with wide nostrils. New Kukis differ slightly in manners from the Old Kukis. Their marriage costs the poorest two or three years of bondage, or about thirty rupees in gifts. There is a solemn marriage ceremony preceded by feasting and games, especially among the rich. The parties, clothed in their best, both drink from a stoup of liquor—that being the common mode among these tribes of pledging truth and fidelity. A stoup is presented to the couple by the thumpu or priest, who in this particular, the New Kukis much resemble the North American Indians. The practice of burial prevails in all countries where the belief of the resurrection is entertained. Among the New Kukis, Buthen is the Supreme Deity, the author of the universe. His wife is named Thila. Thila's wife is named Gamu, and she has the power of causing slight distempers, such as headache, toothache, &c. As their system of medicine is closely connected with their theology, the physician is generally the priest, whose business it is to offer sacrifices in addition to administering medicine. The Luhupas, who reside near Manipur, are not very savage. They are of superior stature to the tribes around them. They shave off their hair on both sides of the head, leaving a ridge on the top like that of a helmet. In war, they wear a broad dress like that of the Tangkuls, and as ornaments, tresses of women are allowed to dangle on all sides. They use unusually long spears, in wading which they are very expert, being with these and shields more than a match for all the neighbouring tribes with their spears, bows, and poisoned arrows. The name of the Luhupas踊跃 terror even into the far Burmese territories. In other respects, they nearly resemble the Mikirs and the Munipuris. The Mikirs wear moustaches, and have a peculiar dress. It is a sack put on like an ashirt, consisting of two pieces of cotton cloth, each about three feet long by one and a half broad, dyed with red stripes and fringed at both ends, sewed together like a bag with holes for the head and arms. They look upon marriage as a matter purely of civil contract, unconnect-
ed with any religious rite, a feast to all the villagers being the chief part of the ceremony. The Nagas, so called from the phrase naga or naked, are a lazy and savage race. They go almost undressed, their sole covering being a small piece of cloth tied round the waist. They load themselves, however, with ornaments made mostly of brass wire, shells, or cowries. An armlet which they wear is peculiar to them, though it has now been adopted also by the Kukis. It is a brass rod twisted some eight or ten times in the shape of a wire-spring, and fitting tightly on the flesh between the shoulder and the elbow. They all wear ear-rings of brass wire, and their chief weapon is the spear. They have a great many deities, one of whom is blind, and he is systematically cheated by his worshippers. He is worshipped at cross-roads, where the Nagas place large baskets with small offerings in them, trusting that he judges of the quantity of the contents from the largeness of the receptacles. It is supposed that the population of the hills in North Kachar has accumulated from the successive waves, from the north side, of fugitive Tatars; and from the south and west sides from similar waves, of the inhabitants of Chitangang and Tipera, and the plains of India, giving place to conquerors, and retreating into the hills and jungles before them. They would appear to be either of pure Tatar origin, or an intermixture of Tatar and Malay. Such are the hill tribes of North Kachar and the Barél.—Bengal Times, Dec. 30.

THE MINES OF MEWAR.

Some twenty miles from Udepur, towards the south, you enter the beautiful Valley of Jowara, more famed for its mineral wealth than for its natural beauty. Yet, in truth, rarely does one see a more magnificent vale than this. In the rains a foaming river roars past a ruined town, temples of hoar antiquity, and many a spot hallowed by associations of past heroism and glory. Here it was that the noble Pratāp Singh, the saviour of his country, paused awhile to recruit his strength, ere he made a burst upon the foe, which was as unexpected as it was irresistible; and, as the result, to plant the new standard of his race in the new capital—the beautiful city of Udepur. Around Jowara, hills, clothes up the verdant plains, and dress a height on every side; and the eye is attracted by a picturesque fort, temple, and cenotaph on almost every prominent elevation. Yet, though there are so many indications of a large population, life is wanting; for Jowara was deserted when the fortunes of the country fell. At the south corner of the valley stands a temple dedicated to a Devi, a goddess (so her votaries say) of wonderful power; but some are found to own that they have their doubts as to her being present in this particular shrine in these days of degeneracy and disipation. The high priest is there, whom it would be difficult to find one of more clerical cut. But he, with doleful countenance, because of glory departed, will assure you, in trembling accents, that the goddess has withdrawn her patronage from the caste of miners, hence they have forgotten their business. Be this true or not, the miners no longer exist—probably enough because they fled when the war-cry of the Maratha invader re-echoed through the land. There remains in Jowara a temple which is well worth examination. The dome of the anti-chamber is of considerableness, and the carving is in wonderful preservation, although the building is close upon three hundred years old. But this is not the oldest temple. At the north-east of the valley stands a temple older than this by a hundred years, and it, too, though standing amid the ruins of the town, is in a good state of preservation. Rāмānāth and Bhairavnāth occupy the most prominent positions whilst Hanuman, Rāma’s monkey-general, is placed in front, in a posture of adoration. A noble tank, surround...
**The Indian Antiquary.**

**Queries.**

**Mode of Dating in Orissa.**

1. In Orissa, it is the custom in all Zemindary accounts, receipts, leases, and other documents to denote the month by the sign of the Zodiac, instead of by the familiar names of asterisms used by the whole Aryan race in India. Thus—

   Baṣākha is called—क्रष्ण गुढ़... Mesha. Aries.
   Jeṣṭha .................. युधिष्ठिरा... Vrishra. Taurus.
   आश्विन................. युधिष्ठिरा... Vrishra. Taurus.
   Ashāh .................. मिथुन... Gemini.
   Śrāvan.................. कृत्रिम... Kākṣa. Cancer.
   Bhādra.................. सिंह... Sinha. Leo.
   Asin...................... कर्क... Kanyā. Virgo.
   Kārtik.................. तुला... Tula. Libra.
   Mārgal (Agrahana)... बीच्हा... Biebhā. Scorpio.
   Paush (Pūša)... भद्र... Dhanu. Sagittarius.
   Māgh .................. मकर... Makara. Capricornus.
   Phāguṇ.................. कृष्ण... Kumbha. Aquarius.
   Chaitra.................. माष... Meena. Pisces.

2. I should be glad to know if this curious custom prevails in any other part of India. The singular thing is that the months are lunar, although thus indicated by solar names. Weber, in a valuable essay on the Vedic Nakshatras, reprinted from the Journal of the Berlin Scientific Society, points out the existence of several systems of names for the months, which I have hitherto believed to be obsolete. It may be, however, that some of them are still preserved in remote corners of India. Chand, in one of his earlier chapters, speaks of the month of Sahas (सहस्र), which I believe to be Kārtik. As I am writing from camp I cannot give the reference either to Chand or Weber.  

**John Beames.**

Balasore, January 15th, 1872.

**Clearing Inscriptions.**

3. In deciphering inscriptions on stone tablets, my efforts have often been completely frustrated by a practice that the natives have of smearing the stones with oil. The oil forms a cake on the stones, often a quarter of an inch thick, thus obliterating all traces of the writing underneath. Can you or any of your readers inform me of any application by means of which the oil may be successfully removed without any risk of injury to the inscribed tablet? 25th January 1872.

John Beames.

All oils and oxidized oils may be removed by Benzine, and were the crust nothing more, that solvent would answer; but no doubt contact of lime, red-lead, &c. has converted it almost into a mineral incrustation, and the best plan would be to apply carefully either concentrated acetic or nitric acid—having first ascertained that the stone will not be acted on by these. Constant application of a mixture of turpentine and benzine is very good for searching out and removing traces of oil. But if the stone could be kept for some time in a hot solution of washing soda or pearl ashes, it would take out almost anything.  

D. S. K.
SKETCHES OF MATHURÂ.

By F. S. GROWSE, M.A., B.C.S.

I.—THE BRAJ MANDAL.

THE modern district of Mathurâ is in its form the result of political exigencies, and consists of two tracts of country which have little or nothing in common beyond the name which unites them. Its outline is that of a carpenter's square, of which the two parallelograms are nearly equal in extent, the upper one lying due north and south, and the other at right angles to it, stretching eastward below. The head-quarters of the local administration are situated on the line of junction, and are therefore more accessible from the border district of Aligarh and the independent state of Bharatpur than from the greater part of their own territory. Yet the position is the most central that could be determined in an area of such eccentric outline.

The eastern parallelogram, comprising the parganas of Jalesar, *S'adâbâd,† and half of Mahâ-ban, is a fair specimen of the ordinary character of the Doâb. Its luxuriant crops and fine orchards indicate the fertility of the soil, and render the landscape not unpleasing to the eye; but, though far the most valuable part of the district for the purposes of the farmer and the economist, it possesses few historical associations to detain the antiquary. On the other hand, the western parallelogram, though comparatively poor in natural products, is rich in mythological legend, and contains a series of the master-pieces of Hindu architecture. Its still greater wealth in earlier times is attested by the one solitary specimen which has survived the torrent of Muhammadan barbarism. Yet widely as the two tracts of country differ in character, there is reason to believe that their first union dates from a very remote period. The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who visited India in the seventh century after Christ, describes the circumference of the kingdom of Mathurâ as 5,000 li, i.e. 950 miles, taking the Chinese li as almost 1/2 of an English mile. The soil, he says, was rich and fertile, and specially adapted to the cultivation of grain and cotton, while the mango trees were so abundant that they formed complete forests. The fruit was of two varieties; the smaller kind turning yellow as it ripened, the larger remaining always green. From this description it would appear that the then kingdom of Mathurâ extended east of the capital along the Doâb in the direction of Mainpuri, for there the mango flourishes most luxuriantly and almost every village boasts a fine grove, whereas in western Mathurâ it will not grow at all, except under the most careful treatment. In support of this inference it may be observed that, notwithstanding the number of monasteries and stupas mentioned by the Buddhist pilgrims as existing in the kingdom of Mathurâ, no traces of any such buildings have been discovered in the western half of the modern district, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. In Mainpuri, on the contrary, and more especially on the side where it touches Mathurâ, fragments of Buddhist sculpture may be seen lying in heaps in almost every village. In all probability the territory of Mathurâ, at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, included not only the eastern half of the modern district, but also some small part of Agra, and the whole of the Shikohâbâd and Mustafâbâd parganâs of Mainpuri; while the remainder of the present Mainpuri district formed a portion of the kingdom of Sankisa, which extended to the borders of Kanauj. But all local recollection of this exceptional period has absolutely perished, and the mutilated effigies of Buddha and Maya are replaced on their pedestals, and adored as Brahma and Devi by the ignorant villagers, whose forefathers, after long struggles, had triumphed in their overthrow.

It is only the western half of modern Mathurâ, considered as the birth-place and abiding place of Jesus, which has escaped the ravages of time. The tomb of Saiyid Ibrahim, who fell on the field, is still shown and venerated as a sacred shrine, an annual fair called 'the urs melâ being celebrated at it in the month of Shâhâdān.

* Jalesar, a slight modification of the original form Jalesvar, "Lord of water," is very appropriate to the position of the town, which stands between two branches of the river Sarsa, on an artificial hill formed by excavation of the surrounding country. Hence in the rains it is often a complete island. The fort, which rises from its centre, is locally said to date from the time of Kutb-ud-din (which should probably be corrected to Ala-ud-din), and to have been founded by the Râna of Chitor, (the then capital of Mewâr), who, being vanquished by the Muhammadans in his own country, fled into these parts across the Jamunâ near Mahâ-ban, routed Saiyid Ibrahim, the local Governor, in a pitched battle, and took possession of the town. The tomb of Saiyid Ibrahim, who fell on the field, is still shown and venerated as a sacred shrine, an annual fair called 'the urs melâ being celebrated at it in the month of Shâhâdān.

† S'adâbâd was founded by an eminent historical character, Sudâlîsh Khan, the able minister of the Emperor Shâhjâhân. He died in 1655 A. D.
ing home of Vaishnava Hinduism, that forms the subject of the present papers. It is about 42 miles in length, with an average breadth of 30 miles, and is intersected throughout by the river Jamuna. On the right bank of the stream are the parganas of Kosi*, and Chhatta†, so named after their principal towns, with the home pargana below them to the south; and on the left bank the united parganas of Nojhali and Mata‡ with half the pargana of Mahaban as far east as the town of Baldeva. This extent of country is almost absolutely identical with the Braj-mandal of Hindu topography, the circuit of 84 kos* in the neighbourhood of Gokul and Brindaban, where the divine brothers Krishna and Balaram grazed their herds. On the west a low range of sandstone hills forms a barrier between English territory and the independent state of Bharatpur; and one of the twelve sacred woods, viz., Kamaban, is beyond its border. To a very recent period almost the whole of this large area was pasture and woodland, and to the present day many of the villages are surrounded by broad belts of trees variously designated as ghada, jhari, rakhyan, ban, or khandi. These tracts are often of considerable extent; thus the Kotilabhan at Great Bathan covers 373 acres; the rakhyā at Kamar| more than 1000

*Kosi is a populous and thriving municipal town on the high road to Delhi, with the largest cattle market in that part of the country. The name is said to be a corruption of Kusasthali; though it may be surmised to have rather some connection with the sacred grove of Kothan which is close by.

† The local pandits, who are determined to find a reference to Krishna in every name throughout the whole of Braj, derive Chhata from the Chhattradhāranalila, which they say the god celebrated there. But the town has no genuine tradition nor reputed sanctity, nor appearance of antiquity.

‡ Both legends are now as implicitly credited as the fact that Krishna was born at Mathura; while in reality the name Nandgān'a, the hill of Brahma, is almost an exact translation of the name Nandishwar, a title of Mahādeva, and Barasāna is a corruption of Brahmaśīna.

* Noh-jhil is a decayed town about 30 miles from Mathura, situated on the borders of a very large jhil, some 6 miles in length, which is said to have been the original bed of the Jamuna. The banks of the river are now some 4 or 5 miles distant. The name of the patriarch Noh may have been given to the place with a reference to its flooded appearance. There is a ruined fort with high and massive earthen ramparts constructed by the Jats, and also a Mahomedan dargah which includes in its precincts a covered colonnade, consisting of some 20 or 30 Hindu pillars, the spoils of an older temple.

‡ Mat, though the head of a pargana, is merely a small and nearly-built village on the left bank of the Jamuna, a little above Brindaban. It is one of the stations in the ban-jātira, and is the reputed scene of Krishna's childish frolic in upsetting Josala's milk-pails (mat). The name is probably connected with a simple natural feature, there being at all these places dense thickets of the karil plant.

* Bhubhospisayo is, in the local patois, a common expression for hungry and thirsty; and Pissay is said to be so called because Radha one day met Krishna there fainting with thirst, and relieved him with a draught of water.

† Karhela is locally derived from kar kīna, the movements of the hands in the Rās lila. At the village of Little Bhrana a pond bears the same name—Karhela kund—which is there explained as karmā, a form of karma, and therefore peculiarily appropriate, if Krishna be regarded as the Indian Apollo. Thus the magnificent temple in Kashi dedicated to the sun under the title of Martand has a colonnade of exactly 84 pillars.

** Kamar in the Kosi pargana is still a populous Jat town, but in the early part of last century was a place of much greater wealth and importance, when a daughter of one of the principal families was taken in marriage by Thakur Badan Sinha, the father of the famous Suraj Mal, the first of the Bharatpur Rajas. On the outskirts of the town is a large walled garden with some monuments to his mother's relations, and it is said to be a spacious masonry tank filled with water brought by aqueducts from the surrounding rakhyā. The little distance is an artificial lake with unimpeached stone ghats, the work of the raj; this is called Durvasa-kuti, after the famous saint of that name, but there is no tradition to connect him with the locality.

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‖ The number 84 seems originally to have been selected as a sacred number in consequence of the number of months in the year with the number of
as the tutelary divinity at all three hill places. A similar displacement would seem to have occurred at another locality in yet earlier times; for one of the twelve sacred woods, mentioned even in the Bhāgavat Purāṇa, viz., Bhadrabān, betrays, in the name, its original dedication to Mahādeva, but now acknowledges the presence of no god but Krishna. Again, Bhagāṅw, on the bank of the Jamunā, was clearly so called from Bhara, one of the eight manifestations of Shiva; but the name is now generally modified to Bhaygāw, and is supposed to commemorate the alarm (bhay) felt in the neighbourhood at the time when Nanda, bathing in the river, was carried off by the god Varuṇa. A masonry landing-place and temple on the water's edge, called Nand-ghat, dating only from last century, are the foundation and support of the local legend. The village names of Bhādāwal and Bisambhara may also be quoted as shewing that Mahādeva was once a more popular divinity in the country than at present. Of a still more obsolete cultus, viz., snake-worship, faint indications may be detected in a few local names and customs. Thus at Jait, on the high-road to Delhi, an ancient five-headed Nāga, carved in stone, rises beside a small tank in the centre of a low plain, to the height of some four feet above the surface of the ground, while its tail is supposed to reach away to the Kalimārdan Ghāt at Brindā-ban, a distance of 8 miles. A slight excavation at the base of the figure has, for a few years at least, dispelled the local superstition. So again at the village of Paigāw, a grove and lake called respectively Paī-ban and Paī-ban-kund, are the scene of an annual fair known as the Nāg-mela. The name is probably derived from the large offerings of milk (payas) with which it is usual to propitiate the serpent-god.

It was towards the close of the 16th century A.D., under the influence of the celebrated Bengali Gosains at Brindā-ban that the Vaishnava cultus was first developed in its present form, and it is not improbable that they were the authors of the Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa, the recognised authority for all the modern local legends. It was then that every lake and grove in the circuit of Brāj received a distinctive name, in addition to the some seven or eight spots which alone are mentioned in the earlier Purāṇas. In the course of time small villages sprang up in the neighbourhood of the different shrines bearing the same name though perhaps in a slightly modified form. Thus the khadrā-ban, or acacia grove, gives its name to the village of Khaïra, and the anjan-pokhar, on whose green bank Krishnā pencilled his lady's eyebrows with anjan, gives its name to the village of Ajnokh, occasionally written at greater length Ajnoḵhārī. Similarly when Krishnā's home was fixed at Nandaṅw and Rādhā's at Barsāṅa, a grove half-way between the two hills was fancifully selected as the spot where the youthful couple used to meet to enjoy the delights of love. There a temple was built with the title Rādhā-Rāman, and the village that grew up under its shelter was called Sanket, that is, the place of rendezvous. Thus we may readily fall in with Hindu prejudices, and admit that many of the names on the map are etymologically connected with events in Krishnā's life, and yet deny that those events have any real connection with the spot, inasmuch as neither the village nor the local name has had any existence for a longer period than at the most 300 years. The really old local names are almost all derived from the character of the country, which has always been celebrated for its wide extent of pasture-land and many herds of cattle. Thus Gokul means originally 'a herd of kine'; Gobardhan, 'a rearer of kine'; Māṭ is so called from mūṭ, 'a milk pail'; and Dādhīgāṅw, (contracted into Dāhīgāṅw,) in the Kosi Pargana, from dādhī, 'eards.' Thus too Mathurā is probably connected with the Sanskrit root math 'to churn,' the churn forming a prominent feature in all poetical descriptions of the local scenery; and Brāj in the first instance means 'a herd' from the root vṛaj, 'to go,' in allusion to the constant moves of nomadic tribes. In many cases a false analogy has suggested a legendary derivation, thus all native scholars see in Mathurā an allusion to Mailānumathan a title of Krishnā. Again the word Baṭhān is still current in some parts of India to designate a pasture-ground, and in that sense has given a name to a very extensive parish in Kosi; but as the term is not a familiar one thereabouts, a legend has been invented he was probably unaware of the exact date of the Mathurā propaganda. The popular Hindi authority for Rādhā's Life and Loves is the Brāj Bilās, a poem written by one Brājāśāi Dās in the year 1743, A.D.
in explanation, and it is said that here Balaram sat down (baitha) to wait for Krishna. The myth was accepted; a lake immediately outside the village was styled Balabhadra Kund, was furnished with a handsome masonry ghāt by Rūp Rām, Katāra of Barsāna, about the middle of last century, and is now regarded as positive proof of the popular etymology which connects the place with Balaram. Of Rūp Rām, the Katāra, further mention will be made in connection with his birth-place Barsāna. There is scarcely a sacred site in the whole of Braj which does not exhibit some ruinous record in the shape of temple or tank of his unbounded wealth and liberality. His successor in the fourth descent, a most worthy man, by name Lakshman Dās, lives in a corner of one of his ancestor's palaces, and is dependent on charity for his daily bread. The present owners of many of the villages, so munificently endowed by Rūp Rām, are four cousins, residents of Calcutta, the representatives of a Bengali Kayath founder, by name Krishan Chandra, but better known as the Lāla Babu, who, in the year 1811, made a disastrous visit to this district, and by an affected regard for the holy places and assumption of the character of an ascetic cajoled the old Zamindars out of their landed estates, in several cases purchasing them outright for a sum which is less than the rental of a single year. Property so lightly acquired is, it seems, lightly esteemed; and its present condition pointedly illustrates the evils supposed to be inseparable from absenteeism.

As might be inferred from the above sketch, the country possesses no relics of hoary antiquity. Excluding for the present any reference to the four large towns, Mathurā, Brindāban, Gobardhan and Mahāban, the earliest buildings are probably the three Sarais, along the line of the Imperial road from Agra to Delhi; at Chaumuhā, Chhātā, and Kosi. These are generally ascribed by local tradition to Shirsāh, whose reign extended from 1540 to 1545 A.D.; though it is also said that the one at Kosi was built by Itibar Khān, and that at Chhātā by Abd-ul-Majid, better known by his honorific title of Asaf Khān. He was first Humayun's Diwān and subsequently Governor of Delhi under Akbar. The style of architecture is in exact conformity with that of similar buildings known to have been erected in Akbar's reign, such for example as the Fort at Agra; and, on other grounds also it may be inferred that the whole series is due to that monarch rather than to his predecessor Shir Shāh. For at the entrance of the civil station of Mathurā is a fourth Sarai, now much modernized and of somewhat inferior character to the other three, though probably of the same date. This, with the little hamlet outside its walls, is known by the name of Jalāl pur in honour of Jalāl-ud-din Akbar, who was therefore, presumably, its founder. Similarly the Chaumuhā Sarāi is always described in the old topographies as at Akbarpur. This latter name is now restricted in application to a village some three miles distant; but in the 16th century local divisions were few in number and wide in extent, and beyond a doubt the foundation of the imperial sarāi was the origin of the local name which has now deserted the actual spot that suggested it. The formation of Chaumuhā into a separate village dates from a very recent period, when the name was bestowed in consequence of the discovery of an ancient sculpture, supposed by the ignorant rustics to represent the fourheaded (Chaumuhā) god Brahma. The stone is in fact the base of a Jaina pillar or statue, with a lion projecting at each corner and arade figure in each of the four intermediate spaces. The upper margin is rudely carved with the pattern commonly known as the Buddhist rail.

From the description given by John de Liet, in his India Vera, written in the year 1631, we find these sarāis were managed precisely as our modern Dák Bangalās. He says,—"They occur at intervals of five or six kos, built either by the king or by some of the nobles, and in them travellers can find bed and lodging: when a person has once taken possession he may not be turned out by any one." They are fine fort-like buildings, with massive battlemented walls and bastions, and high-arched gateways. Though primarily built merely from selfish motives, on the line of road traversed by the imperial camps, they were at the same time enormous boons to the general public; for the highway was then beset with gangs of robbers, with whose vocations the law either dared not, or could not interfere; and on one occasion, in the reign of Jehāngir, we read of a caravan having to stay six weeks at Mathurā, before it was thought strong enough to proceed to Delhi, no smaller number than 500 or 600 men being deemed adequate to en-
counter the dangers of the road. Now, the solitary traveller is so confident of legal protection, that, rather than drive his cart up the steep ascent that conducts to the portals of the fortified enclosure, he prefers to spend the night unguarded on the open plain. Hence it comes that not one of the sarais is now applied to the precise purpose for which it was constructed. At Čhátá one corner is occupied by a school, and another by the offices of the Tahsildar and local police, while the rest of the broad area is nearly deserted; at Chaumuhá, the solid walls have in past years been undermined and carted away for building materials; and at Kosí, the whole area is occupied with streets and bazars forming the nucleus of the town.

Till the close of the 16th century, except in the neighbourhood of the one great thoroughfare, the country was unreclaimed woodland, with only here and there a scattered hamlet. The tanks and temples which now mark the various legendary sites were either constructed by Rūp Rām of Barsāna, about the year 1740, or are of still more recent date. Many of the sacred groves however, though occasionally disfigured by the too close proximity of the village, are pleasant and picturesque spots; one of the most striking being the Kokila-ban at great Bhātan. The prevalent trees are the pilu, ber, chhonkur, kadamb, pasendu, papri, and other species of the fig tribe, which are always intermingled with clumps of karīl, the special product of Brāj, with its leafless evergreen twigs and bright-coloured flower and fruit. Somewhat less common are the arni, kingot, ajān, rukh, gondi, bara and dho; though the last named, the Sanskrit dhara, clothes the whole of the hillside at Barsāna. In the month of Bhādona, a series of melas, where the rāv-līla is celebrated in commemoration of Krishna's sports with the Gopis; and the arrangement of these dances forms the recognised occupation of a class of Brāhmans very numerous in some of the villages, who are called Rāsdharis, and have no other profession or means of livelihood.

The number of sacred places, woods, groves, ponds, wells, hills and temples, which have all to be visited in the course of the annual perambulation, is very considerable; but the twelve bāns or woods and twenty-four groves or upābans are the characteristic feature of the pilgrimage, which is thence called the Banjātra. Further notice of this popular devotion must be reserved till our next chapter.

(To be continued.)

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF VARIOUS PLACES IN THE KINGDOM OF MAGADHA VISITED BY THE PILGRIM CHI-FAH-HIAN.

BY A. M. BROADLEY, B.C.S., BIHAR.

(Continued from page 21.)

PART II.

"Leaving the south side of the city and proceeding southwards four li, we enter a valley between five hills. These hills encircle it completely like the walls of a town. This is the site of the old city of king Bimbisāra." This valley is clearly identical with the narrow tract of country surrounded by the five mountains of Rājgir, a little less than a mile due south of the fortifications previously described. This spot is of the greatest archaeological interest. Here once stood, according to tradition, the impregnable fortress of Jarasandha, outside whose walls was fought the celebrated battle of the Mahābhārata; centuries later the valley was the scene of many of the episodes in the life of the Tathāgata; and lastly—during the palmiest days of Muslim rule in Bihār—its solitudes became the abiding place of Makhdum Sharif-ud-din, one of the greatest saints amongst the faithful in Hindustān.

These five hills are by no means solitary; they form a portion of a rocky mountain chain stretching nearly thirty miles from the neighbourhood of Gayā, north-west as far as Giryak in Bihār. Their sides are rugged and precipitous, and are mostly covered with an impenetrable jangal, broken only by irregular pathways overgrown with brushwood, which are yearly trodden by hundreds of Jaina pilgrims from Murshidābād, Banāres, and even Bombay, who throng to Rājgir during the cold and dry seasons to do homage to the sacred charanas or 'foot-prints' of their saints enshrined in the temples which crown the mountain tops.

* Beal's Fah Hian, Chapter xxviii. p. 112.
The north side of the valley is bounded by Mount Baibhār—a rocky hill running three or four miles north-west, and terminating at its eastern side in the hot wells of Rajgir. Here the valley is entered by a narrow ravine through the midst of which the Sarasvati rivulet forces its way into the low country to the north of the hills. On the eastern side of the stream rises the lofty ascent of Mount Vipula, a branch of which runs as far as Girya, a distance of six miles. Hardly a quarter of a mile from the western side of the hill it is joined at right angles by a third mountain running from the north called Ratnagir. This hill is of considerable length and terminates in a narrow ravine branching away to the east. On the opposite side of this ravine rises Mount Udayagir, a less important hill, running due south and terminating in the ancient wall and fort of Bangangā—the southern gate of the ancient capital of Magadha. To the west of the torrent the other at the western extremity of Mount Sonār. These rivulets join a short distance to the south of the ravine which forms the entrance to the valley. The sides of the hills and the plain at their feet are covered mostly by a tangled mass of flowering shrubs and wild tulsi.

* Mahābhārata, II. 20 v. 7:19, 800.
† Lassen suspects the reading Vaihāra by Turnour to be incorrect and proposes to read Vaihāra in accordance with the Mahābhārata. "It is surprising," he adds, "that the first and last names are Buddhistic, and we may, therefore, suspect they were given to these mountains only after the time of Buddha.—Alterth. vol. II. p. 79.—Ed.
§ Beal's Fah Hian, ut sup. Chapter xxviii. p. 112.
MARCH 1, 1872. GEOGRAPHY OF MAGADHA.

A staircase of brick, with walls on either side, led to the inner hall. The walls appear to have been strengthened, and the roof at the same time provided with supports, by the erection of gray stone pillars, about four feet apart, with plain square bases and capitals. This passage led to a room about 12 feet square, containing twelve pillars similar to those in the staircase—ten of which are imbedded in the brickwork and two support the roof in the centre of the chamber. The centre hall is directly underneath the Jaina temple, and it consequently has been impossible to uncover it. I think the precise nature of the original building is doubtful; the position of the entrance leads me to the conclusion that it was most likely a house or tower—not a religious edifice. The doorway seems to have been surmounted by a long basalt slab containing figures twelve inches high. I brought away two pieces of this to Bihar. Several other figures were found in this place years ago, when it was pierced by an avaricious road-contractor in the hope of finding treasure. If he ever learned the Jaina traditions connected with the place, his hopes must have been high, for they make out the tumulus to be the ruin of the house of Danajī and Sathadrāji, twosethsor bankers, in whose honour, they say, a small temple still exists on the eastern slope of Mount Baibhār. If the priests made their story known to this enterprising secon of the Department of Public Works, they cannot solely blame him for the disaster which followed on his researches, namely, the collapse of the stucco pagoda and its sacred chaṇana, towards the end of the succeeding rains.

About a mile to the south-east of the mound is a long piece of rampart known as "Barghāon." In the centre of this was the southern gate of Kusāgaṇapura—flanked by two towers. The view from the top of the ruin is very striking, for you see at once both entrances of the valley and all the five hills. A little to the west of this, at the foot of Sonārgir, is a ridge of rock called the wrestling ground of Bhim, and various indentations in its surface are pointed out as the marks of the feet of the combatants. Beneath this, to the west of the city walls, and between Mounts Baibhār and Sonār is Rāṁbhum, the traditional scene of the great battle of the Mahābhārata.

A rugged path leads from this place to the southern outlet of the valley at Bāngaṅgā. Certain marks on the stones are considered by Captain Kitto to be inscriptions, but if this be the case, the letters are far too imperfect to admit of being deciphered. The valley terminates in a rocky ravine of the most inconceivable width, having Sonārgir to the west and Udayagir to the east. The Bāngaṅgā torrent, which rises at the foot of the former, rushes over the slippery rocks into the southern plain of Hisun-Nowāla. The pass is literally only a few feet wide, and its entrance was jealously guarded by fortifications of enormous strength, which will be fully described when I come to speak of the antiquities of the hills.

The first mountain I ascended was Bāibhār to the north-east of the northern entrance of the valley. At the foot of the hill runs the Sarasvatī, from the banks of which a large stone staircase leads to the sacred wells and temples, which, though still venerated by the Hindus of Bihar, yield but a scanty subsistence to the numerous Brāhmans who attend them. The wells are vaults of stone, about 10 feet square and 12 deep, approached by steps; and the temples are quite modern, and of the poorest proportions and workmanship. Most of them contain fragments of Buddhist idols, mouldings, cornices, &c. and here and there I noticed a chaitya, now doing duty as a linga. All of these carvings, however, are very inferior to those found by me in the mounds of Bargāon, Rōhōi, and Kālyān-pur. The wells at the foot of Bāibhār are seven in number, and are all clustered round the great Bhāma-kuṇḍ which is larger, deeper and more highly esteemed than the rest. The one nearest the ascent of the mountain is the Ganjū-Jamunśī-Kund. The water is warm, and enters the vault by means of two stone shoots, the ends of which are carved to represent the heads of tigers or lions. They remind one strangely of the gargoyles of early English Architecture. These pipes were clearly mentioned by Hwen Thsang in the narrative of his travels. He says "à toutes les ouvertures par où s’échappe l’eau des sources, on a posé des pierres sculptées. Tantôt on a figuré des têtes de lions, etc." Below this are the Anand...
which covered it during the rainy season, I failed to find it. General Cunningham, however, was fortunate enough to light on it during his recent visit, and I have since completely cleared and excavated it. It is of oval shape, and has an opening to the east. Its floor was considerably below the surface, and was reached by a flight of eight or nine brick steps, several of which I uncovered almost entirely. The chamber measured 36 feet from east to west, and 26 from north to south. The roof (most of which has fallen in) was 18 or 20 feet high. The whole was lined, as it were, by a brick wall about 2 feet thick. In the midst of the rubbish which filled up the bottom of the cave I found a very perfect standing figure of Buddha in black basalt. I can, I think, satisfactorily identify this cave and platform with the account of Fah-Hian and also with that of Hwen Thsang. Fah-Hian says—“skirting the southern hill” (and it is to be noted that this part of Baibhā runs almost due south) “and proceeding westward 300 paces, there is a stone cell called the Pipal Cave, where Buddha was accustomed to sit in deep meditation after his mid-day meal.”

This corresponds exactly with the position of the cave in question, and this view is supported strongly by the succeeding sentence,—“going still in a westerly direction five or six li, there is a stone cave situate in the northern shade of the mountain, and called Che-ti.” This description applies with singular accuracy to the Som-bhāndār Cave in the northern shade of Mount Baibhār, and almost exactly a mile from the baithak of Jarāsandha. Hwen Thsang’s account is still more striking,—“A l’ouest des sources thermales, on voit la maison en pierre du Pi-po-lo (Pippala). Jadis, l’honorable du siècle y faisait son séjour habituel. La caverne profonde qui s’ouvre derrière ses murs était le palais des ‘O-sou-lo-Asouras’ [of Jarasandha?]”

Pushing 800 feet further up the mountain side, I found another platform or baithak, almost identical in size and shape with that of Jarāsandha. The Rājwar call it Sitimāri, but I could discover no special legend concerning it. Leaving it and climbing up a steep ascent to the west for a distance of about 1300 feet, one comes, quite suddenly, on a small Jaina temple built some few years ago by one Hakumat Rai.

* Idem. † Beal’s Fah-Hian, Ch.xxx. p. 117. ‡ Memoires, Tom. II. p. 24.
Between the last baithak and this temple there are marks of an enormous wall 14 or 15 feet thick, and this forms the pathway which leads up the mountain side. The Rājwars—the almost sole inhabitants of the wild of Rājgir—call it Jarāsandha's staircase, and tell you that he built it in a single day to assemble his troops on the mountain tops on the approach of his enemies from the west. The temple contains (besides the usual charana or footprints) two very fine and perfect figures of Buddha. The first is three feet high. Buddha is represented sitting on the lotus throne (padmasana) in the attitude of meditation. Beneath this, the Sīdhāsana is divided into three compartments—the two outer containing lions and the middle one the 'Wheel of the Law,' (very elaborately carved,) supported by two shells. The second figure is a smaller one and is surmounted by a canopy.

Eight hundred feet to the west of this temple is a similar building containing nothing of interest. Twelve or fourteen paces to the south of it, I found the ruins of a very small Buddhist temple covered with the densest jangal. It appears to have contained twelve gray stone columns about six feet high. The entrance was to the east, and in digging out the centre I found a very curious image of Buddha—very roughly carved. The main figure was surrounded by smaller ones, each depicting some chief episode in his life. Piercing the jangal 400 feet to the south-west of this ruin, I found the remains of a very large temple almost perfect. The cupola had fallen down on all sides, forming a mound about 500 feet in circumference and 16 or 17 feet high. The entrance was to the east, and leads to a passage some 14 or 15 feet long, the roof of which was formerly supported by gray stone pillars about 6 feet high. This leads to a square chamber or hall some 23 or 24 feet square. Its roof is supported by twelve columns in the chamber, and eighteen more let into the brick work. These columns are each 7 feet high, with square bases and capitals and octagon shafts. They rested on a detached square plinth a foot high. A sur-capital, separate from the shaft, and cruciform in plan, supported the roof which was composed of enormous granite slabs laid transversely. From this room a massive doorway and a flight of three steps leads to the inner chamber—somewhat less in size than the other, but considerably loftier—the total height of its roof being 13 feet. The columns are of the same description as those in the outer hall, but more lofty. The detached capital are each a foot high, the base is 2, the octagonal shaft 6, and the second capital 3 feet in height. The lintel of the doorway is 2 feet broad and is carved with a rude moulding. In the centre of the lintel, is a figure of Buddha. I found no images in the temple, but it is by far the most perfect building of the kind I have yet seen. Its situation is magnificent, commanding at once a view of the highly cultivated plain of Bihār, the "solitary rock," the tops and temples of Nālanda, the walls of new Rājgir, the five hills, and the valley of Kuśānagarapura.

A short distance to the south of this is a very small Jaina temple dedicated to Dharmānātha and Shantiānātha, the 15th and 16th Tārthankaras. It contains two images and a charana, with an inscription about 200 years old. The pujdrī has corrupted the names to 'Dhānaji' and 'Sathadraji,' and describes them as two wealthy bankers who lived in the house at the Nirmul Kunj, i.e. the mound in the south-west corner of the ancient city.

Continuing to ascend the eastern slope of the hill for nearly a quarter of a mile, we arrive at a Jaina temple of very considerable dimensions, it is square in form, and is surmounted by four handsome minarets and a cupola. It was built by one Pratāp Singh of Murshidābād, and a passage (pradakshinā) encircles the central shrine. There is also a small octagon chapel containing charanas at each corner. The doorway has been taken from a Buddhist temple, and is covered with exquisite carving. The temple is 51 feet by 58. Some two hundred yards to the west of this is the largest temple of the group, built by one Mānikchand Seth in the middle of the last century. Mānikchand was a well known character in Calcutta, and his dedication is recorded on the charana. The building consists almost entirely of Buddhist materials. It has a vestibule, the roof of which is supported by pillars somewhat smaller in size, though of the same shape as those in the temple I have described above in detail. At the north side are the remains of a Buddhist temple, probably larger than any other on the hill. Its pillars, &c., lie about in all directions, and it seems to have served as the quarry from which Mānikchand built his. A quarter of a mile further on, and near the crest of the hill, I had the good fortune to find another Buddhist temple in the jangal, about
five paces to the north of the path. Its details resemble very much those of the great temple below, but a figure of Buddha still occupies the centre, and the foundations of a court-yard can still be traced.

Proceeding still westwards for nearly half a mile, the highest peak of the hill is gained, where is an enormous tank, covered with brushwood, and crowned with a Jain temple. The view from the top is magnificent, especially towards the valley, the whole of which Baibhār commands.

Descending the almost precipitous southern face of the mountain, I arrived at the Sonbhāndār cave, which is situated in the "northern shade" of the hill, as nearly as possible a mile to the south-west of the hot wells. I have little difficulty in identifying this with the Sattapānni cave spoken of both by Fah-Hian and Hwen Thsang. In doing so it must be borne in mind that the Baibhār hill runs due south-west—not west—and that the Sonbhāndār is near the northern end of the mountain. Fah Hian* says, that "going in a westerly direction five or six li" (i.e. from just above the hot-springs) "there is a stone cave situated in the northern shade of the mountain, and called Che-ti. This is the place where 500 Rahats assembled after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books." This coincides exactly with the position of the Sonbhāndār cave, and it also agrees with Hwen Thsang,† who places it five or six li to the south-west of the Karandavēnuva clump of bamboos, which both authors represent as being close to the hot-springs. The words of Hwen Thsang are as follows—"au sud-ouest du Bois des Bambous, il était cinq à six li. Au nord d'une montagne située au midi," (this I have previously explained) "au milieu d'un vaste bois de bambous il y a une grande maison en pierre. Ce fut là qu'après le Nirvāṇa de Jaulai, le venerable Mahā Kāśyapa et neuf cent quatre-vingt-dix-neuf grands Arhats formèrent la collection des trois Recueils sacrés. En face de cette maison, on voit encore d'anciens fondements. Le roi Ajātashatru avait fait construire cet édifice, &c." The cave appears to have been formerly approached from the south by a staircase or sloping path, which has now almost entirely disappeared, and to have been faced by a broad platform nearly 100 feet square. This space was occupied by an extensive hall, the rafters supporting the roof of which rested in cavities in the rock that still exist. Piles of bricks and stones lie in all directions. The face of the cave has a naked surface of rock, as smooth and even as if built of brick. It is 44 feet in length and 16 feet high, and is bounded on the west by a protruding rock and on the east by a narrow staircase of twenty steps cut in the cliff. The rock is pierced in the centre by a door 6 feet 4 inches high and about 3½ feet wide. The thickness of the wall of rock is exactly 3 feet.

At 11 feet 10 inches west from the door, and in a line with it is an opening in the cliff 3 feet high by 8 feet wide, which serves to light the vault. The interior is a vaulted chamber 33 feet long by 17 feet wide, with a semicircular roof 16 feet high. The floor has been spoiled by the water which constantly falls from the roofs. Outside the door, and three feet to the west of it, is a headless figure of Buddha cut in the rock, and close to it an inscription, in the Ashoka character, recording the visit of some holy man to the cave in search of quiet and solitude. There are also some Devanāgari inscriptions inside. Inside there is a square "chaitya" three and a half feet high, on each side of which is a figure of Buddha and various emblems.

Leaving the cave and going a mile to the north-east one again comes to the banks of the Sarasvati and the hot-springs.

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THE JUNGLE FARIS OF NORTHERN ORISSA.


(Continued from Page 36.)

The date of the building of these forts is, like that of every building in India which has no marked architectural features and contains no inscriptions, very uncertain. In the present case, however, the uncertainty is to some extent limited by considerations derived from their geographical position. If it be assumed that they were the work of kings of Orissa,—an assumption which I shall consider immediately,—then there are only two brief periods within which they could have been built.
been built—those, namely, in which the limits of the Oriya monarchy extended so far to the northward as the banks of the Subarnarekha river. The general absence of historical data in India prior to the coming of the Muhammadans is, in Orissa, relieved by the scanty and untrustworthy panni or daily record of occurrences kept in the national temple of Jagannath,—the omissions or inaccuracies of which may occasionally be corrected or supplied from the panniis and Vanaśālīs kept in the minor temples and monasteries throughout the province, and by one or two connected histories written on palm-leaf, which are in the possession of private families.

The chief interest of Oriya history centres round the great cities of the southern part of the province—Katāk, Jajpur, and Puri. Northern Orissa is seldom mentioned. Only twice in the annals of the country is it asserted that its boundaries extended beyond the Kānsbāns, a small stream near Sohroh at that point where the hill-ranges trend eastward to the sea. The long narrow slip between the Kānsbāns and Subarnarekha appears to have been for centuries a forest. This supposition is confirmed by the frequency of names of places in which the word ban (Sansk: vana) occurs as Baṅchā, i.e. “forest-tilth,” Baṅhār, i.e. “forest-enclosure,” Baṅpadα, i.e. Baṅpadα—“forest-clearing,” Baṅkätī—“forest-cutting,” and the like.

In the reign of Gangeshwar Deb (A. D. 1151), the Orissan monarchy is said to have extended from the Ganges to the Godāvari. By the Ganges is here of course meant, as always in Oriya history, the branch which flows by Hugli. Whether this is merely an exaggeration or not we cannot tell; it probably is so, as in the celebrated speech of his great-grandson Anang Bhīm Deb, the most illustrious prince of the Gangābānsi dynasty (A. D. 1196), recorded by Stirling, the king is reported to have said that he had extended the boundaries of his kingdom on the north from the Kānsbāns to the Datāi Burhī river (the modern Buḍā Balang, which flows past the town of Balasor). The Gangābānsi were great builders, and their temples, palaces and tanks still adorn the southern part of the province. I do not think it probable that they would have been contented with so comparatively clumsy and inartistic forts as those now under consideration. I shall show presently another reason for assigning those forts to a much later epoch.

In 1550 the throne of Orissa was occupied by a prince from the Telugu or Telinga country, celebrated under the name of Telinga Muṅkund Deb. He was the last independent sovereign of Orissa, and of him again it is recorded that his sway extended to Tribeni Ghāt on the Hugli river, where he built a temple and bathing-steps. In his reign northern Orissa became for the first time important, for then the invasions of the Musalmans, hitherto few and far between, just began to be constant and successful. “Sulimān Gurzani, the Afghan King of Bengal,” waged a long war with Muṅkund Deb, who, to oppose him, built a strong fort in a commanding position in the northern frontier. This fort, or chain of forts, I apprehend to have been those we are now discussing. No more commanding situation could well be found than Raibaniyān on its laterite ridge overlooking the passage of the Subarnečka, and backed by the impenetrable forest. This position too is on the edge of the country inhabited by the Oriya-speaking race. The situation of the main entrance, and the much greater strength of the fortifications on the northern side, seem to show that it was from that direction that the danger came. Seven miles west of Raibaniyān is the fort of Deṅlgon “temple-village” which—as will be seen from the appendix—is in still better preservation than Raibaniyān, and, as evidence of its date, contains the two stone horsemen so celebrated in Orissan legend. It is related that when Rājā Purśottam Deb was marching (circa A.D. 1490) southwards to the conquest of Kanjiveram (Kanjikaveri), his army was preceded by two youths, one on a black and the other on a white horse, by whose auspicious aid he gained the victory. The youths then disappeared after declaring themselves to be Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva.* The fort which contains these two images cannot well be older than the legend which they preserve.

Further, it may be urged that, in the early times of Gangeshwar Deb, there existed no necessity for strong forts on the northern frontier, which was then inhabited only by wild forest tribes, and whose possession seems to have been little cared for by the Rājās themselves. It was not till the encroachments of the Musal-

* The similarity of this legend to that of the appearance of “the great twin-brethren,” Castor and Pollux, so vividly related in Macaulay’s “Legs of Ancient Rome,” must strike every classical reader.
mans of Bengal rendered some resistance necessary that forts would be built and garrisoned so far away from the capital, nor in the earlier times had the Oriya race penetrated so far to the north as to have settlements on the banks of the Subarnarekha.

On the other hand, if we cannot place the date of the erection of these forts earlier than 1550, we cannot assign to them any later date. After the ravages of the terrible Kalāpahār Orissasank into a condition of anarchy and disorganisation. Neither the invaders from Bengal nor the national rulers had any interest in keeping up forts at a place which was no longer important to either, and we find the Afghans immediately afterwards, and for a long period, firmly established at the strong post of Garihpad, fifteen miles to the south of Raibaniyan.

An important result follows from the above considerations, namely, that the Oriya language is not—as a certain party among the Bengalis would persuade us—an offshoot of their own tongue, but an independent variety of Aryan speech. We have every reason to believe that the march, or frontier between the two provinces, was occupied by a dense forest peopled by non-Aryan tribes, and that there was absolutely no communication between Orissa and Bengal in that direction; when the forest was penetrated and the communication opened, the Oriya language was already formed, and Upendra Bhanj and Din Krishnadas had written many of their still celebrated poems. Orissa had more intimate dealings with her southern neighbours, and one at least of her dynasties came from the banks of the Sān-Gangā or Godāvari. Even to this day the course of trade from the ports of Orissa tends more towards Madras than Bengal.

**APPENDIX.**

After returning from Raibaniyan I received the following note from the Revd. J. Phillips, the well-known missionary to the Sonthals, whose settlement is at Santipur, two miles south of Raibaniyan:

"Camp Bahiāshihá, Dec. 11, 1871.

"On the 2nd instant we were at Deilgaon, about 7 miles to the north-west of Santipur, where are the remains of an old stone fort. It is 75 paces long and 60 broad inside the walls. The walls are 12 feet in height composed of the common laterite, hewn as are the stones in Bahiāshihá. The walls are perforated on all sides with loopholes near the top, and there were entrances on the four sides with bastions over the gateways. In one corner of the enclosure there is a small tank and a walled-up well in the opposite corner.

A large laterite stone was pointed out to me as containing inscriptions, but if such ever existed, it had become quite too much defaced to be at all legible. Two large stone images of horses with their riders, cut from solid blocks of the "Mugani" stone (chlorite), stand near the centre of the fort. When we were there two years ago these lay partially covered with rubbish, but have since been exhumed, and now they receive some attention, though I did not discover signs of their being worshipped. The natives told us that these were living animals in the Sātya Yug, and engaged in battle, and pointed out scars and bullet marks on their mutilated bodies. The fact of gunpowder being a modern invention seemed no obstacle to their theory as far as I saw."

**BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF GRANDEES OF THE MUGHUL COURT.**

By H. Blochmann, M.A., Calcutta Madrasah.

The greater part of the following notes, which I hope to continue, are taken from a Persian work entitled *Mādīṣir ul Umārd*, or the ‘Deeds of the Amirs,’ by Shah Nawāz Khān of Aurangábād, whose family had come, during the reign of Akbar, from Khawāf in Khurāsān. The work underwent several editions. The original compilation was enlarged by the renowned Ghalam 'Ali A'zād, and the third edition, which contains the lives of 730 nobles, was written in A. H. 1194, or A. D. 1780, by 'Abdul Hai Khān Čamgām-ul Mulk, son of Shah Nawāz Khān. MSS. are very rare. The library of the Royal Asiatic Society of London possesses one (No. CIII. of Morley's Catalogue); the Asiatic Society of Bengal has two, of which one (MS. No. 77) is very excellent. It is so free from errors and so carefully corrected, that it looks like an autograph. "The biographies," says Mr. Morley, "are very ably written, and full of important historic detail; and, as they include those of all the most eminent men who flourished in the time of the Mongol Emperors of the house of Timūr, down to A. H. 1194 (A. D. 1780), the *Mādīṣir ul Umārd* must always hold its place as one of the most valuable books of reference for the student of Indian history."

There are but few notices of the Amirs who

* Vide ante p. 47.
served under Bābār and Humāyūn; most of them refer to the period between the reigns of Akbar and Farrukh Siyar. Many of the biographies, however, are not merely biographies of one grandee, but of his whole family. The last edition, which is the only valuable one, enumerates no less than thirty histories and biographical treatises, from which 'Abdul Hai has drawn the materials for his own portion of the work;" he has also added numerous incidental notices from inscriptions on tombs and family histories.

The biographies of the Amirs who served under Akbar have nearly all been given in my translation of the A'in. I shall therefore select biographies of the Amirs that belong to the subsequent reigns.

The grandees of the Mughul Court were divided into two classes, of which the first comprised the Umard i khār, or great Amirs. The emperor's service was strictly military, and the titles of the several ranks indicated the strength of the contingent which each Amir had to furnish. As commanders of contingents the Amirs were called Mançabdārs. The lowest mangab, or command, which entitled an officer to the title of Amir, was, under Akbar, a command of Two Hundred, and from the time of Shāhjahān, a command of Five Hundred. Commanders of Two Thousand and upwards were looked upon as 'great Amirs.' The highest command was that of Five Thousand; but the princes, several Maharājahs, and grandees related to the emperors, held higher commands. The princes often held commands of Thirty Thousand. Under Akbar, commands of Seven Thousand were given to a few, as to Mānsingh and Mirzā Sháhrukh. Under Shāhjahān the highest command was that of A'qaf Khán, the father of Muntáz Mahall, Shāhjahān's wife who lies buried in the Tājat Agrá. He held a command of Nine Thousand; but on his death, no grandee was promoted to his post. Jai Singh held, only towards the very end of Shāhjahān's reign, a command of Seven Thousand. The weak emperors after Aurangzib again conferred high mançabs.

During the time of war, many grandees kept up much larger contingents than their rank indicated. Thus A'qaf Khán I., the conqueror of Gondwāna, had under Akbar for some time a contingent of 20,000 men, recruited by himself. In times of peace, the rule was to maintain only the fourth part of the nominal command, so that a command of Five Thousand kept up 1250 men. On account of the frequent rebellions of powerful Amirs, the emperors continually lowered the actual commands, and increased the strength of the standing or imperial army. Thus Shāhjahān, during the Balkh war, lowered the strength of the contingents from one-fourth to one-fifth. The troops of the Amirs were called tābinān, or followers. Cavalry alone was counted. The recruiting and officering of the contingents rested entirely with the Amirs. The men of the standing army of the emperor were called Dikhili troops. For the payment of their contingents the Amirs received lands as tuyūl, or jäğer. The former term is generally restricted to lands held exclusively for military purposes; the word jäğer has a more general meaning, and refers mostly to lands granted as rewards to distinguished officers. Hence we often find in histories that Amirs held certain lands as tuyūl and other lands, often far away, as jäğer.

The contingents of the Amirs consisted mostly of troopers who joined their service with one horse each. Troopers who furnished two horses were called duaspah, and such as came with three, sihaspah. This will explain such titles as Panjakhārī, chahār hazār suwar, sihaspah diaspāh sihaspāh, 'a commander of five thousand, four thousand horse, three thousand Duaspah and Sihaspah troopers,' which means that the Amir held a personal rank of 5,000, with a contingent not exceeding 4,000 horse, of which 3,000 should be troopers with two and three horses. Horses killed when on service were replaced by the state.

When grandees were old, they were excused attendance at court (takhīzi bār); they lost their tuyūls, and were sent to their jäğer, or received pensions in cash. At death, their whole property lapsed to the emperor.

There are several other points of interest connected with the salaries, promotions, and titles of the Amirs, and certain court-ceremonies, which will be described hereafter.

I now commence the biographical notices with

I. SHAIKH DĀÚD QURAIŠĪ.

Shaikh Dāúd was the son of Bhikan Khán, and belonged to a family of Shaikhzādahs settled in Hiýár Firuzah. The word 'Quraišī' signifies 'tracing his descent from the Arabian tribe of Quraish,' to which the Prophet belonged; but the term is often applied in this country to Hindā converts to Islám. Dāúd's father had
been in the service of the renowned Khán Jahán Lodi, and was killed in the beginning of the rebellion of his master, in the fight near Dholpur. Dáud entered the service of Prince Dárá Shikoh, and distinguished himself in the field and in council. In the 30th year of Sháhjahán's reign, when the executive of the government was in Dárá's hands, Dáud was Faujdar of Mathurá, Mahában, Jalesar, and several other districts. On the death of Sa'dullah, he was put in charge of the Prince's tégul, and received orders to guard, with two thousand horse, the roads between Agra and Shahjahánábad. In the same year, at the request of the Prince, the emperor made him a Khán; hence he is best known in history as Dáid Khán. At the outbreak of the war between Dárá and Aurangzib, Dáid held an important post and, together with Satr Sal Hárá, commanded Dárá's vanguard. In the first battle, which was fought near Sanogar, 9 miles east of Agra, (6th Ramazán 1068, or 28th May 1658, A.D.) Dáid's brother Shaikh Ján Muhammad was killed. Dárá was defeated and retreated to the Panjāb, and ordered Dáid to guard the Guzar i Talwan, a well-known ford of the Satlaj south of Jálindhar; but when Dárá fled from Láhor to Multán, Dáid crossed the river, burned and sunk the ships, and joined the Prince. Seeing that his cause was hopeless, he left him near Bhakkar, and went through Jaisalmir to Firüzah, his ancestral home. He had not been there long, when Aurangzib sent him a khiltat, in order to win him over to his party. Dáid accepted it, and, on Aurangzib's return from Multán to the capital, paid his respects at Court, when he was appointed to a command of Four Thousand with 3000 horse. He served immediately afterwards in the war with Shuja', and pursued that Prince under Mir Jumlah. When Shuja' had fled, Dáid was sent to occupy Patna, and during his stay there was appointed Governor of Bihár. For some time he continued his operations against Shuja', who was forced to retreat from Tándah, near Gaur, to Eastern Bengal; but when the Prince had withdrawn beyond the frontiers of the empire, Dáid returned to Patna, and prepared to subject several refractory zamindars of Bihár. He also received orders to invade Palámanâ, which he finally conquered in the end of December 1660.* Dáid had scarcely returned from Palámanâ to Patna, when he was called to Court. On his arrival, he was appointed, together with Mirzá Rajah Jai Singh, to take the field against Sívá Bhonslâ. Aurangzib also raised him to the rank of a commander of Five Thousand, with 4000 horse, 3000 dussagh and sivasagh troopers, and made him governor of Khándesh. He conquered Fort Rudraulâ, and marched with Jaisingh to Fort Purandhar, during the siege, devastating Sívâ's country with 7000 horse, especially the districts of Râjgarh and Kundanâ. Returning from his excursions to Jai Singh, he took the command of the right wing of the Imperial army, and attacked A'dil Shah of Bijnâpur.

In the 9th year of Aurangzib's reign, he was recalled from Khándesh to Court, but was in the following year sent as Governor to Barâr, and not long afterwards to Barhânpur. In the 14th year, he went again to Court, and was appointed Governor of Ilâhâbâd.

The date of his death is not recorded. *—Maosir.

His son Hamid Khán also distinguished himself as a brave soldier. He died in the 25th year of Aurangzib's reign (beginning of A. H. 1093, or A. D. 1682). The Bibl. Indica edition of the Maosir i' A'lamgiri calls him (on p. 217, l. 8) Hamî'd Khân, and in the last line, Jamshed Khânam.

Colonel E. D. Dalton lately favoured me with a short biography of Dáid Khán, written by one of Dáid's descendants. According to that biography, Dáid is the son of Kabir Khán, son of Farid Khán, and the (younger) brother of Bhikan Khán. The Mâosir ul Umarâ makes Bhikan Khán Dáid's father. The paper contains no notice of the various services which Dáid performed; but it mentions that the town of Dáudnagar in Bihár was founded by him in A. H. 1083, or 1672-73 A.D., and that he died at Rohâjsgâph on the 19th Zil Hajjah 1084, or 17th March 1674. It concludes with a few verses in the long hâzaj metre, the last of which contains the Târikh of Dáid's death.

Chu jân bispur u imám hurd dar râh i jamînarmdd, batârikhaâh khirod gufta ba-imám raft marandanah.
As he gave his life, but carried off his faith, on the road of valour.

The mind (of the poet) selected as târikh the words 'Ba-limân raft marandanah' (he left the world bravely and piously.)

The values of the letters in the last three words, when added up, will be found to give 1084.

* The details of the conquest are given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1871, p. 127.
THE INDIGENOUS LITERATURE OF ORISSA.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., BALASOR.

There is a general impression abroad amongst scholars that the modern Indian vernaculars are mere jargons which suffice for the colloquial needs of imperfectly civilized races, but that they possess nothing which can fairly be called a literature. Even those who are better informed are prone to disparage the mediæval poems which are to be found in most, if not all of these languages, though in Panjâbi and Sindhi they do not rise above the rank of ballads. Now, before a judgment is delivered on this class of books, it may fairly be demanded that they be read. I fancy very few European or Indian scholars have any practical acquaintance with the real middle-age literature of the Hindus. In fact the very names of the books themselves are hardly known. Three characteristics are common to them all, and deprive them of much of the interest that would otherwise attach to them. Firstly, they are all of inordinate length; secondly, they are mere repetitions, more or less embellished, of the old fables of the Brahmanical religion,—rechauff's of the Purânas and Mahâ-bhârata; thirdly, they are all in verse. But with all these drawbacks they are often valuable for the light they throw on the growth of the languages in which they are written. They are in many cases still intensely popular in rural districts, and a study of them will often supply the key to curious and apparently inexplicable peculiarities of native thought and manners. Some few indeed possess higher merits, and may be read with pleasure for the beauty of their poetry, their stores of history and geography, or the purity and loftiness of their morality. Under the first head come such works as Tulsi Dās's Rāmâyaṇa, and the Satsai of Bihâri Lâl, under the second Chand and the other Rajput bards, under the third Kabir, Mamdeva, Tukârâm, and occasionally Vidîyapati and other writers of the Chaitanya school.

On the whole, then, it may be said that this literature is worth preserving. It shows us the people as they are and were,—not as the English schoolmaster would have them be,—and possesses a value even in its faults, quite above and apart from the spurious unnatural literature composed of works written to order by Fort William pandits and mulavis; such as the Prem Sâgar, a farrago of nonsense in equal parts of bad Hindi and disguised Gujârâti.

What we want is, first to find out what books exist in the various languages; secondly, to have them read with a view to finding out which are worth preserving and printing; and thirdly, to get scholars to edit such as may be worth the trouble.

We should then be able to place in the hands of the student real genuine native works from which he could learn what the language he was studying really was, instead of, as at present, misleading him by trash like the Bagh-o-Bahar or Baital Pachisi, composed in a language which no native ever speaks, and which he can with difficulty understand. The change which this would cause in, and the impetus it would give to, the study of Indian languages would probably be comparable only to the new life which was imparted to the schools of Europe when Virgil and Cicero first began to supersede, as text books, the crabbed Latin of Cassiodorus and Erigena.

As a contribution to the above objects I here append a list of works known to exist in Oriya, and propose, as opportunity offers, to read the most celebrated, and see what they are worth, and to report my discoveries from time to time through the medium of the Indian Antiquary. I am aware that Oriya holds a low place in its group of languages, but this is owing chiefly to its obscurity. I consider it in many respects one of the most interesting languages of the

* From Mr. T. F. Peppe's Report, Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, December, 1871, p. 262.
Aryan group, especially because, owing to its long isolation from the rest, it has preserved words and forms which have perished from them, and exhibits at times very singular developments of its own.

The following list is the result of much enquiry, and is believed to be nearly, if not quite, exhaustive. The Rasakalloa or "Waves of Delight" by Dinkrishna Das, a work of the early part of the sixteenth century, is the most celebrated Oriya poem, and is still well-known; its songs are even now frequently heard at village meetings, and most educated Oriyas know whole cantos by heart. I propose to give some notices of it at a future time.

List.

[N.B.-The following ancient Oriya works are known to be in existence, and copies of them written on tuliastra or palm leaf, may probably be procured in different parts of the province. Those markedº can be obtained in Balasor, but Puri and Katak are better places to search for them, in especially Puri.]

1. Subhadra parinaya An epic poem.
2. Rasa manjari A tale.
4. Rasa rasapanchak Poems.
5. Rasikahravali Poem.
7. Shobhavati do.
8. Chitrakavya Alliterative poem.
10. Doppai Completions.
11. Shoppai Verses.
15. Shrid ritu Poem on the six seasons.
17. Labhanayatki do.
20. Submandara do.
23. Chitra lekhnayi Poem.
24. Hemmanjari do.
25. Rasalekha do.
27. Premashita do.
29. Muktabati do.

The above thirty works are by the celebrated Upendra Bhanj of Gunser.

TRANSLATION AND REMARKS ON A COPPER-PLATE GRANT DISCOVERED AT TIDGUNDI IN THE KALADGI ZILLA.

By Shankar Pandurang Pandit, M.A., Acting Professor of Sanskrit, Puna.

The following inscription is engraved on three thick rectangular sheets of copper, each 12½ by 9½ inches, strung together by a ring about the middle of one of the shorter sides, and weighing in all a little more than seven teen pounds. The ring passes through the handle of a solid hemispherical seal, about the size of half of an ordinary orange; and upon the flat side of the
Second Side

सिंदूर ने यासिन्धु साल यहि यांति श्रीकुमार मुख में काल से व यान पुष्प सही-लहसुन पुष्प में दू हैं व यान पुष्प में मानने जिल्हा का तिक सुजू पुष्प पालन दिया जाता त न याद यज्ञ के विनो मुंड मही णन न या पूर्णा क न यु मे अगे दे या वियति सिंदर टू में यु द व ० नाले जैं ५ झु न नाट्यमें मान न द री कु ल न खीं।

ए लोको शू नर्मिन र यां यहि व ल धरं सिंदूर।

आ नामने सुने सुर तक मही णन या पुष्प घो र द सि सन विना थंते त म हा ना हु मही मजू ले भुर ज हो जा र नीच प र नमय न ह ल उं दे ० ज ह ब नालकु ल तिल क ल सिंदूर के मल माता भू न ल उके व ज द ज न ले म इ लीक जरा घायना माला लीस मालं क्रि त न महा मजू ले शु मही मुंड मारे त सा जी व खन पलन खादीयाँ थे व खवलियाँ भ व न विकै दै वें म
ला सक ही भावांक मन येष भूर तु पती दृष्टी वालबू रामालिं ;
नायुंब वात के के ल बाष्क के वालानिव विदा दिं भाग विदा विच वी दियं बुझीतवा भूमीया भहितवत दि।।
जि जि मु
हमही वातक व विपुर्वी के सु न न ही न तारां
इतिहास के तिन विदा ही तु नू लेला वही रिहाना आ जूर ता
व दिय दिया निपु निक विया सु दा दि विसा कल्ले लत
लिं यहि व से तु व तिन तियु से वना ती से वादि
ली।। तन ते से के ल है।।
तपर वर्ष साकं दि
हो सा मंदि वीर ले बूरी कों तपर वि कों नसर 
ल कि सो नसर दि सा म नगसर बि विशा 
के नए विचारं तंत्रा के साधिषा मन वाले कां प्या 
च व शी तिन वाल संं वहा वें वे व लाद वाले का र
पति किना यह न बलि त ने यहि जा गये हो बिन मे कम हो वही वस ह से धसे यह तुन स्वाग न त विका त कीन देव देव मुझे द व न नन हु व या दाम व कीम के बन सा में स न हु जा है बचन निर्दृशु ही या की हो वे सो द या द पो द इन नाथ युँ लाटो के न ट क स ही हि न्यान निकी न क ना न सेवक ये दर न पुरे ह क मा मी यम

इसे य सामी का यह द दुर द हरिन फार त्रान भा द ट कुल द कार द न हरान पुरे ह क से या द ट कुल का दिन के न गरम द हि ता ही न या भ द अनगुत य जह या कन मु कस य क्षमा 3 बिगड़ा ह इ ब्रह्म या य कल क द यला य क ये ब्रह्म मह या य विन मह बहु द पर र न न दे ब्रह्म न ह न्यान नासना संस्कार या द डॉन ह 9 ने त भिन द प द ह व न यह हि ह स ह की लिति या या:
A CHALUKYA GRANT.

March 1, 1872.

Kaladi Collectorate.

Vishnu and a lion, and the allusion isto the Man-lion avatara of Vishnu. 

In the form of a Boar, that agitated the ocean, and on the tip of the right tusk of which, somewhat worn out, though they offer no difficulty to the reader.

churned out of the ocean, by which his throat was blackened resembling a white lotus, perched upon by a line of snakes, indistinct relief, of a lion, the sun, a half moon, the palm of an expanded hand, a cobra di capella with its hood expanded, a svastika cross, a palm tree, and what appears to me to be a spear. The inscription is engraved on four of the six sides, the two outer ones being left blank.

This copper-plate grant was found about twelve years ago, by a Mang in tilling his field, at the village of Tidgundi, about twelve miles to the north of Bijapur, in the district of Kaladi. It was shown about by the Mang in hopes that it might be deciphered, being supposed by him to relate to a hidden treasure; but not finding any one who could read and explain it, though it was taken as far as Nipani and Kolhupur, he pawned it to a Marwadi at Managoli in the Bagevadi Taluka. When I accidentally heard about it, it had changed hands several times, and I had not a little difficulty in getting possession of it, by finding out the several persons through whose hands it had passed, and by satisfying the claims of all concerned. The set of plates is now in my possession. The inscription is well preserved, except in one or two places at the edge of one side, where a few letters are somewhat worn out, though they offer no difficulty to the reader.

Translation.

Victory to that body of Vishnu, which was manifested in the form of a Boar, that agitated the ocean, and on the tip of the right tusk of which, resting in the form of a Boar, that agitated the ocean, and on the tip of the right tusk of which, who shook off his hand in disappointment, and then laughed, seeing the Demon, his foe, fallen before him on the ground like a grain of dust. He who has a threat resembling a white lotus, perched upon by a line of snakes, indistinct relief, of a lion, the sun, a half moon, the palm of an expanded hand, a cobra di capella with its hood expanded, and what appears to me to be a spear. The inscription is engraved on four of the six sides, the two outer ones being left blank.

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The translation given above is a guess.

* The original is Jagatpipanamarvatalamankrita, which appears to be a mistake for Jagatpipanamarvatalamulankrita.

§ This refers to Shiva, who attempted to swallow the poison churned out of the ocean, by which his throat was blackened.

† This was Hiram fakashipw, to destroy whom Vishnu became a Man-lion avatara of Vishnu.

§ This refers to Shiva, who attempted to swallow the poison churned out of the ocean, by which his throat was blackened.

1 This was Hiram fakashipw, to destroy whom Vishnu became a Man-lion avatara of Vishnu.

2 Here there is a play upon the word Hari, which means both Gods and Demons.

3 This refers to Shiva, who attempted to swallow the poison churned out of the ocean, by which his throat was blackened.

4 Mahakaleshwar means an art or magical power, whereby the effects of fire are averted, and by the help of which one may rush into fire and come out unscathed. And so also of vishtistambha, which is applied to the magical powers supposed to be possessed by snake-charmers.

5 This bridge here referred to is the bridge-like range of rocks connecting Lanka or Ceylon with India, supposed to have been built by the hero of the Ramayana. Of its exact position it is ordinarily used to signify "from one end of India to the other."

whether Guwda is the name of an individual or of a people.
By him. In the circle of his vassals [there is Kanna Sāmanta] whose titles are Prosperity, he who has obtained the fire great words, the Mahāsā, beloved of victory, death to the forces of his enemies, disperser of hostile fellow-vassals as a gust of wind is of the clouds, a lion among his elephant-like inimical Sāmantas, the Bantara, Magarakirti, the Bantarabhāra,\footnote{\textit{Bantarabhāra}—\textit{Banta} is a Canarese word, and means a hero. \textit{Bantara} is its genitive plural, and with the Sanskrit honorific \textit{bha}, the epithet seems to mean the \textit{honourable hero}, or rather \textit{the essence (bhava) of the heroes}, i.e. the greatest hero.} Turagarevata,\footnote{\textit{Tura} is rather doubtful if not a mistake for \textit{tra}.} brave as a lion, propitiator of the feet of Shrīmat Tribhuvana Mallendra, Kanna Sāmanta, good worshipper of Truth like the son of Yama, Revana, who has obtained the fire great words, the Mahāsā. 

\[\text{\footnote{\textit{Revana} or \textit{Revanadeva} may be a mistake for \textit{Rahavanę dvarakavanę}.}}\]

This is a benediction for him:—Victory to Shri Kanna Sāmanta, devoted to the worship of the feet of Ilara, who manipulates the breasts of the Princess of the Låtas, and who is ever death to his enemies.

To him are sold for the full consideration and delivered (literally given) the twelve villages of Vāyṛat, the village called Takkaliká being excepted from them. His (Munja's) ministers [being] due to Krama, Mathurā Nāya, Bhāmaya Nāya, the minister entrusted with War and Peace, Bhāmaya Nāya, Nimbaya Nāya, in their presence, having caused this copper-plate grant to be written by Nannapai, the assistant to the Minister of War and Peace, King Shri Munja by his own hand delivered it to Kanna Sāmanta. [Now] that stanza: 'Whoever should resume land whether given by himself or by others lives as an insect in filth for sixty thousand years.'

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Remarks.}
\item At first sight the words Shri Vikramakāla Samvataraṃśhukhaṣṭaṣṭaṣṭiṣṭhāpiṃsudevamulūkamūlaṃvatāṣe pravartamāne might be supposed to indicate the Samrat era of Vikrama, and the inscription states that the 6th year of the era having passed, and the seventh having commenced on the first day of the Shukla half of the month of Kārtika, the grant was made on that day. Now the Samvat year commences from the first of the Shukla half of the month of Kārtika; further more this day falls on Sunday in the seventh year of the era, and Dundubhi is also the name of the seventh year of the cycle according to the method of naming the cycle of years followed north of the Narmadā. I
\end{itemize}
and the date of his accession to the throne is given as Shaka 998. This Kali Vikrama is described in one of Mr. Elliot's inscriptions as having set aside the ancient Shaka, and established the Vikrama Shaka in his own name, &c. Tribhuvana Malla, therefore, mentioned twice in this grant is most probably the same as that of Mr. Elliot's list, and the Vikrama Samvat of the grant is the era established by that prince. From the fact that he called himself Vikramaditya, gave the name of Vikrama Samvat to the era he established, and lastly, that he began it on the first tithi of the Shukla fortnight of Kārtika, the day on which the year of the old Vikrama epoch commences—one of two inferences may be drawn. He may have set his era in opposition to that of the Shaka King, Shālivāhana, which was then, as now, prevalent in the Dekhan, and attempted to supersede it the more effectually by giving his own the appearance of a revival of the older era of Vikrama, the great rival of the Shaka King,—i.e. by calling himself Kali Vikrama or Vikrama of the Kali or modern age, and commencing it on the same day of the month of Kārtika as the older era of Vikramaditya. This is probable from the fact, that, according to Mr. Elliot, he is described in an inscription as “rubbing out the Shaka,” and instituting the Vikrama Era in its stead. The other inference is, that wishing to perpetuate his own memory by the establishment of a new era, he set himself in opposition to the older Vikramaditya, and attempted to blot out the older era. But whatever might be his object, the fact of his institution is placed beyond all doubt by some of the inscriptions collected by Mr. Elliot.

Referring then the date given in the grant to the era commenced by Tribhuvana Malla, we find that the cycle year Dundubhi, which is mentioned in the grant as falling in the seventh year of the era, fell in Shaka 1004, according to the Dekhan or Telingana method of calculation; but in that year the first of the Shukla fortnight of Kārtika falls on Tuesday. The coincidence of Sunday on the first tithi of Kārtika takes place in 1005, but the year Dundubhi cannot be made to agree with the Shaka year 1005. As, however, the coincidence of the day of the week with the tithi of the month is more important, as not being likely to have been wrongly stated, than the coincidence of a given year of any era with a certain year of the Bārhaspatya cycle, which, at different courts of kings, has from time to time been subjected to different methods of calculation,—it may safely be assumed that the grant was dated upon the first tithi of Kārtika of the Shaka year 1005, or 15th of October, 1083, N.S. The choice of Shaka 1005 as corresponding with the seventh year of the new Vikrama epoch of the Chalukya prince is strengthened by a statement that, according to Mr. Elliot, appears to be contained in an inscription at Galaganātha,† that the Shaka year 1003 corresponds with the fifth year of his reign, in which “he overcame Bālavarāja of the Palavanya or Palarace.”

The inscription purports to record a grant of twelve villages made by Munja Mahipati, or King Munja to Kanna Sāmanta. Bhima is the first mentioned ancestor of King Munja, and is described as born of the race of the Sind kings. His eldest son was Sindra Jája. His son Munja Rája is the grantor of the Shasana. The grant accordingly makes mention only of the father and the grand-father of Munja. Bhima is further described as being pratyandakachatu’s sahasradeshādhipatih, about the meaning of which I am not quite certain. Pratyandaka might be a square measure of land, and the epithet may mean, ‘lord of four thousand pratyandakas of land.’

One of the titles of Munja is ‘Bhogavatipuraparameshvara,’—lord of the city of Bhogavat.' As no other place is mentioned that appears to have been his capital; but I have not been able to identify this city with any town in the Dekhan. Another epithet of King Munja is Phanindravamahoteswara, or ‘born in the family of the serpents’ or the ‘Nāgas.’ Bhima, the grand-father of Munja, is described as depending for his subsistence on the lotus-like feet of King Tribhuvana Malla Deva, from which, as also from the manner that that prince is mentioned in the grant, it appears that he was a chief under, or a Raja paying tribute to Tribhuvana Malla Deva.

The grantee is Kanna Sāmanta, one of the chiefs subordinate to King Munja, and is also described as being a worshipper of the feet of Tribhuvana Malla Deva, from which it appears, that, besides being subordinate to Munja, he also owed allegiance to the Chālukya king. He is further described as a devotee of Śiva and was married to a daughter of the Lāṭas. The grant is silent as to the country or residence of Kanna Sāmanta, though he probably belonged to the Karnātaka, as some of his titles are taken from the Canarese language.

The grant records the conveyance by sale of twelve villages which, if I am not mistaken, went by the collective name of Vāyvada, which appears quite distinct in the plate. Out of the Vāyvā village villages, the grant states that one village named Taḳkalikā is excepted. It is interesting to note that there is still a village called Taḳkalik in the Bāgevḍī Tāluka of the Kālīgiri district, not far from the place where the copper-plate was discovered. There is also a village called Taḳli on the northern bank of the Bhimā about fifteen miles north of Tiḍgundī, and near the village of Dhūlkhed.

† Noticed by Mr. Elliot in his paper on Hindu Inscriptions, printed in the Journal Royal Asiatic Society vol. IV.
However strange it might appear, from the inscription being a mere deed of sale—if the interpretation of the inscriptions be correct—it appears that the grantor was more than a mere chief; otherwise the mention of his Ministers, and among them a Minister of Peace and War, could hardly be satisfactorily explained. It is probable, however, that the grantee Kanna Sama was no more than a petty chief.

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DARDU LEGENDS, PROVERBS AND FABLES.

By G. W. LEITNER, M.A. Ph. D.

I.—DARDU LEGENDS.

A—DEMONS—YACH.

DEMONS are of a gigantic size, and have only one eye which is in the forehead. They used to rule over the mountains and oppose the cultivation of the soil by man. They often dragged people away into their recesses. Since the adoption of the Muhammadan religion, the Demons have relinquished their possessions, and only occasionally trouble the believers.

They do not walk by day, but confine themselves to promenading at night. A spot is shown near Astor at a village called Buldar, where five large mounds are pointed out which have somewhat the shape of huge baskets. Their existence is explained as follows. A Zamindar at Grukot, a village further on, on the Kashmir road, had with great trouble sifted his grain for storing, and had put it into baskets and sacks. He then went away. The Demons came—five in number—carrying huge leather sacks, into which they put the grain. They then went to a place which is still pointed out and called "Gué Gutumé Yacheyn gau boki," or the "place of the demons' loads at the hollow"—Gué being the Shina name for the present village of Grukot. There they brought up a huge flat stone—which is still shown—and made it into a kind of pan (tawa) for the preparation of bread. But the morning dawned and obliged them to disappear; they converted the sacks and their contents into earthen mounds which have the shape of baskets and are still shown.

1.—The Wedding of Demons.†

"A Shikari was once hunting in the hills. He had taken provisions with him for five days. On the sixth day he found himself without any food. Excited and fatigued by his fruitless expedition, he wandered into the deepest mountain recesses, careless whether he went so long as he could find water to assuage his thirst, and a few wild berries to allay his hunger. Even that search was unsuccessful and, tired and hungry, he endeavoured to compose himself to sleep. Even that comfort was denied him, and, nearly maddened with his situation, he again arose and looked around him. It was the first or second hour of night, and at a short distance he descried a large fire blazing—a most cheerful welcome to the hungry, and now chilled, wanderer. He approached it quietly, hoping to meet some other sportsman who might provide him with food. Coming near the fire, he saw a very large and curious assembly of giants, eating, drinking and singing. In great terror he wanted to make his way back, when one of the assembly who had a squat in his eye, got up for the purpose of fetching water for the others. He overtook him and asked him whether he was a "child of man." Half dead with terror, he scarcely could answer that he was, when the Demon invited him to join them at the meeting which was described to be a wedding party. The Shikari replied, "You are a Demon and will destroy me;" on which the spirit took an oath by the sun and the moon, that he certainly would not do so. He then hid him under a bush and went back with the water. He had scarcely returned when a plant was torn out of the ground and a small aperture was made into which the giants managed to throw all their property, and, gradually making themselves thinner and thinner, themselves vanished into the ground through it. Our sportsman was then taken by the hand by the friendly demon, and, before he knew how, he himself glided through the hole and found himself in a huge apartment, which was splendidly illuminated. He was placed in a corner where he would not be observed. He received some food and gazed in mute astonishment on the assembled spirits. At last he saw the mother of the bride taking her daughter's head into her lap and weeping bitterly at the prospect of her departure into another household. Unable to control her grief, and in compliance with an old Shina custom, she began the singing of the evening by launching into the following strains:

Song of the Mother.

Ajayn Biranii mir poir, shikk sané, 〈(Tay) mother's Birani; my little darling ornaments will wear, 〉
Jane Buldar Bûche angai topp bey hani, 〈[Whilst] here at Buldar Bûche the heavens dark will become, 〉
Nojarsi Phal Chache Kani miri ñe, 〈Nagari (of race) Phal Chache of Khans, the prince will come, 〉

The Nagari (of race) Phal Chache of Khans, the prince will come,

† The father's name was Mir Khan; the daughter's name was Birani; the bridegroom's name was Shado Malik of Nagyr of Phal Chache race; and the place of the wedding was Buldar Bucha.

‡ Yach means "bad" in Kashmiri.

○ This Legend and that of the origin of Gilgit have appeared before, but without annotations.
Thy Mirkan father from, new corn will be distributed.

Sati Yabeh zeg bo! Shadu Malik bojum thum.

Seven rivers water be! Shadu Malik a going will make,

Thy Mirkan malo che gi bage,

Thy, Mirkan, father, now ghee will distribute.

Translation.—" Oh Birani, thy mother's own; thou little darling wilt ornaments, whilst to me, who will remain here at Buldar Buche, the heavens will appear dark. The prince of Lords of Phal Chache race is coming from Nagyr and Mirkan thy father, now distributes corn [as an act of welcome].

"Be (as fruitful and pleasant) as the water of seven rivers, for Shadu Malik [the prince] is determined to start, and now thy father Mirkan is distributing ghī" [as a compliment to the departing guest.

The Shikari began to enjoy the scene, and would have liked to have staid, but his squinting friend told him now that he could not be allowed to remain any longer. So he got up, but before again vanishing through the above mentioned aperture into the human world, he took a good look at the Demons. To his astonishment he beheld on the shoulders of one, a shawl which he had safely left at home. Another held his gun; a third was eating out of his own dishes; some had his many coloured stockings on, and another disported himself in Pijamas [drawers] which he only ventured to put on on great occasions. He also saw many of the things that had excited his admiration among the property of his neighbours in his native village being most familiarly used by the Demons. He scarcely could be got to move away, but his friendly guide took hold of him and brought him again to the place on which he had first met him. On taking leave he gave him three loaves of bread. As his village was far off he consumed two of the loaves on the road. On reaching his home, he told his father what had happened. In the season of Sharò (autumn), a sufficient store of flour had been placed for the use of the family during the winter. Strange to say, that half loaf of which the old man ate half. His mother, a good housewife, took the remaining half and threw it into a large granary, where, as it was the season of Sharò (autumn), a sufficient store of flour had been placed for the use of the family.

On his departure, the demon gave him a sackful of coals, and conducted him, through the aperture made by the tearing up of the reed, towards his village. The moment the demon had left, the boy emptied the sack of the coals and went home, when he told his father what had happened. In the emptied sack they found a small bit of coal which, as soon as they touched it, became a gold coin, very much to the regret of the boy's father who would have liked his son to have brought home the whole sackful.

B.—BARAI—PERIS OR FAIRIES.

They are handsome, in contradistinction to the Yachs or demons, and stronger; they have a beautiful castle on the top of the Nanga Parbat or Dyarmul (so called from being inaccessible.) This castle is made of crystal, and the people fancy they can see it. They call it "Shel-batte-kót" or "Castle of Glass-stone."

1.—The Sportsman and the Castle of the Fairies.

Once a sportsman ventured up the Nanga Parbat. To his surprise he found no difficulty, and venturing farther and farther, he at last reached the top. There he saw a beautiful castle made of glass, and pushing
one of the doors, he entered it, and found himself in a most magnificent apartment. Through it he saw an open space that appeared to be the garden of the castle, but there was in it only one tree of excessive height and which was entirely composed of pearls and corals. The delighted sportsman filled his sack in which he carried his corn and left the place, hoping to enrich himself by the sale of the pearls. As he was going out of the door he saw an innumerable crowd of serpents following him. In his agitation he shouldered the sack and attempted to run, when a pearl fell out. This a serpent at once swallowed and disappeared. The sportsman, glad to get rid of his pursuers at any price, threw pearl after pearl to them, and in every case it had the desired effect. At last, only one serpent remained, but for her [a fairy in that shape?] he found no pearl, and, urged on by fear, he hastened to his village—Tarsing, which is at the very foot of the Nanga Parbat. On entering his house he found it in great agitation; bread was being distributed to the poor as they do at funerals, for his family had given him up as lost. The serpent still followed and stopped at the door. In despair, the man threw the corn-sack at her, when lo! a pearl glided out, which was eagerly swallowed by the serpent which immediately disappeared. However, the man was not the same being as before. He was ill for days, and in about a fortnight after the events narrated, died—for fairies never forgive a man who has surprised their secrets.

2.—The Fairy who Punished Her Human Lover.

It is not believed in Astor that fairies ever marry human beings, but in Ghilgit there is a legend to that effect. A famous sportsman, Kilá Lori, who never returned empty-handed from any excursion, kept company with a fairy to whom he was deeply attached. Once in the hot weather, the fairy told him not to go out shooting during "the seven days of the summer,"—the "Caniculars,"—which are called Bardál, and are supposed to be the hottest days in Dardistan. "I am," said she, "obliged to leave you for that period, and mind you do not follow me." The sportsman promised obedience and the fairy vanished, saying that she would certainly die if he attempted to follow her. Our love-intoxicated Niurold, however, could not endure her absence. On the fourth day he shouldered his gun and went out with the hope of meeting her. Crossing a range he came upon a plain, where he saw an immense gathering of game of all sorts and his beloved fairy milching a "Kill" [markhor], and collecting the milk in a silver vessel. The noise which Kilá Lori made caused the animal to start and to strike out with its legs, which upset the silver vessel. The fairy looked up, and to her anger beheld the disobedient lover. She went up to him and, after reproaching him, struck him in the face. But she had scarcely done so when despair mastered her heart, and she cried out in the deepest anguish, that "he now must die within four days." "However," she said, "do shoot one of these animals, so that people may not say that you have returned empty-handed." The poor man returned crest-fallen to his home, lay down and died on the fourth day.

C.—Dayals—Wizards and Witches.

The gift of second sight, or rather the intercourse with fairies, is confined to a few families in which it is hereditary. The wizard is made to inhale the fumes of a fire which is lit with the wood of the chilli (Panjáhi, padder) a kind of firewood which gives much smoke. Into the fire the milk of a white sheep or goat is poured. The wizard inhales the smoke till he apparently becomes insensible. He is then taken on the lap of one of the spectators who sings a song which restores him to his senses. In the meanwhile, a goat is slaughtered and the moment the fortune-teller jumps up, its bleeding neck is presented to him, which he sucks as long as a drop remains. The assembled musicians then strike up a great noise and the wizard rushes about in the circle, which is formed round him, and talks unintelligibly. The fairy then appears at some distance and sings, which, however, only the wizard hears. He then communicates her sayings in a song to one of the musicians who explains its meaning to the people. The wizard is called upon to foretell events and to give advice in cases of illness, &c. &c. The people believe that in ancient times these Dayals invariably spoke correctly, but that now scarcely one saying in a hundred turns out to be true. Wizards do not now make a livelihood by their talent which is considered its own reward.

D.—Historical Legend of the Origin of Ghilgit.

There are few legends so exquisite as the one which chronicles the origin or rather the rise of Ghilgit. The traditions regarding Alexander the Great, which Vigne and others have imagined to exist among the people of Dardistan are unknown to, at any rate, the Shiná race, excepting so far as some Munshi accompanying the Mahárájá's troops may, perhaps, accidentally have referred to it in conversation with a Shin. Any such information would have been derived from the Shikandarnáma of Nizámí, and would therefore possess no original value. There exist no ruins, so far as I have seen, to point to an occupation of Dardistan by the soldiers of Alexander. The following legend, however, which not only lives in the memories of all the Shin people, whether they be Chilásis, Astorís, Ghilgitís, or Brokhsas,—[the latter, as I discovered, living actually side by side with the Baltís in Little Tibet], but which also an annual festival comme-
morators, is not devoid of interest either from an historical or a purely literary point of view:—

"Once upon a time there lived a race at Ghilgit whose origin is uncertain. Whether they sprung from the soil or had immigrated from a distant region is doubtful; so much is believed that they were Gayupi, i.e., spontaneous aborigines, unknown. Over them ruled a monarch who was a descendant of the evil spirits, the Yach, who terrorized over the world. His name was Shiri-badat, and he resided at a castle in front of which was a course for the performance of the manly game of Polo. His tastes were capricious, and in every one of his actions his fiendish origin could be discerned. Thp natives bore his rule with resignation, for what could they effect against a monarch at whose command even magic aids were placed? However, the country was rendered fertile, and round the capital bloomed attractive gardens.

"The heavens, or rather the virtuous Peris, at last grew tired of his tyranny, for he had crowned his iniquities by indulging in a propensity for cannibalism. This taste had been developed by an accident. One day his cook brought him some mutton broth, the like of which he had never tasted. After much inquiry as to the nature of the food on which the sheep had been brought up, it was eventually traced to an old woman, its first owner. She stated that her child and the sheep were born on the same day, and losing the former, she had consoled herself by suckling the latter. This was a revelation to the tyrant. He had discovered the secret of the palatability of the broth, and was determined to have it. However, the intention was confined to the two elder ones. The three strangers were brothers, and none of them had been born at the same time. It was their intention to make Azr Shamsher, the youngest, Kijâ of Ghilgit, and, in order to achieve their purpose, they hit upon the following plan. On the already noticed prairie, which is called Didingé, a sportive calf was gambolling towards, and away from, its mother. It was the pride of its owner, and its brilliant red colour could be seen from a distance. 'Let us see who is the best marksman,' exclaimed the eldest, and saying this, he shot an arrow in the direction of the calf, but missed his aim. The second brother also tried to hit it, but also failed. At last, Azr Shamsher, who took a deep interest in the sport, shot his arrow, which pierced the poor animal from side to side and killed it. The brothers, whilst descending, congratulated Azr on his sportsmanship, and on arriving at the spot where the calf was lying, proceeded to cut its throat and to take out from its body the titbits, namely, the kidneys and the liver.

"They then roasted these delicacies, and invited Azr to partake of them first. He respectfully declined, on the ground of his youth, but they urged him to do so, in order, they said, to reward you for such an excellent shot. Scarcely had the meat touched the lips of Azr when the brothers got up, and vanishing into air, called out, 'Brother! you have touched impure food, which Peris never should eat, and we have made use of your ignorance of this law, because we want to make you a human being who shall rule over Ghilgit; remain therefore at Doyur.' Azr, in deep grief at the separation, cried, 'Why remain at Doyur, unless it be to grind corn?' 'Then,' said the brothers, 'go to Ghilgit.' 'Why,' was the reply, 'go to Ghilgit, unless it be to work in the gardens?' 'No, no,' was the last and consoling rejoinder; 'you will assuredly become the king of this country, and deliver it from its merciless oppressor.' No more was heard of the departing fairies, and Azr remained by himself, endeavouring to gather consolation from the great mission which had been bestowed on him. A villager met him, and, struck by his appearance, offered him shelter in his house. Next morning he went on the roof of his host's house, and calling out to him to come up, pointed to the Ko mountain, on which, he said, he plainly discerned a wild goat. The incredulous villager began to fear he had harboured a maniac, if no a worse character; but Azr shot off his arrow, and, accompanied by the villager (who had assembled some friends for protection as he was afraid his young guest might be an associate of robbers, and lead him into a trap), went in the direction of the mountain. There, to be sure, at the very spot that was pointed out, though many miles distant, was lying the wild

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*Eating meat was the process of "incarnation."
goat, with Azru's arrow transfixed its body. The astonished peasants at once hailed him as their leader, but he exacted an oath of secrecy from them; for he had come to deliver them from their tyrant, and would keep his incognito till such time as his plans for the destruction of the monster should be matured.

"He then took leave of the hospitable people of Doyur, and went to Ghilgit. On reaching the place, which is scarcely four miles distant from Doyur, he amused himself by prowling about in the gardens adjoining the royal residence. There he met one of the female companions of Shiribadat's daughter—(golf in Hill Punjabi, shadriy in Ghilgit) fetching water for the princess. This lady was remarkably handsome and of a sweet disposition. Her companion rushed back and told the young lady to look from over the ramparts of the castle at a wonderfully handsome young man whom she had just met. The princess placed herself in a place from which she could observe any one approaching the fort. Her maid then returned and induced Azru to come with her to the Polo ground—the Shavaran—in front of the castle; the princess was smitten with his beauty and at once fell in love with him. She then sent word to the young prince to come and see her. When he was admitted into her presence, he for a long time denied being anything else than a common labourer. At last, he confessed to being a fairy's child, and the overjoyed princess offered him her hand and heart. It may be mentioned here that the tyrant Shiribadat had a wonderful horse, which could cross a mile at every jump, and which its rider had accustomed to jump both into, and out of, the fort, over its walls. So regular were the leaps which that famous animal could take, that he invariably alighted at the distance of a mile from the fort, and at the same place. On the very day on which the princess had admitted young Azru into the fort, King Shiribadat was out hunting, of which he was desperately fond, and to which he used sometimes to devote a week or two at a time. We must now return to Azru, whom we have left conversing with the princess. Azru remained silent when the lady confessed her love. Urged to declare his sentiments, he said that he would not marry her unless she bound herself to him by the most stringent oath; this she did, and they became in the sight of God, as if they were wedded man and wife. He then announced that he had come to destroy her father, and asked her to kill him herself. This she refused; but as she had sworn to aid him in every way she could, he finally induced her to promise that she would ask her father where his soul was.

"Refuse food," said Azru, "for three or four days, and your father, who is devotedly fond of you, will ask for the reason of your strange conduct; then say, 'Father, you often stay away from me for several days at a time, and I get distressed lest something should happen to you; do reassure me by letting me know where your soul is, and let me feel certain that your life is safe.' This the princess promised to do, and when her father returned refused food for several days. The anxious Shiribadat made enquiries, to which she replied by making the already named request. The tyrant was for a few moments thrown into mute astonishment, and finally refused compliance with her preposterous demand. The love-smitten lady went on starving herself, till at last her father, fearful for his daughter's life, told her not to fret herself about him as his soul was [of snow?] in the snows, and that she could only perish by fire. The princess communicated this information to her lover. Azru went back to Doyur and the villages around and assembled his faithful peasants. They asked to take twigs of the fir-tree or chi, bind them together, and light them—then to proceed in a body with torches to the castle in a circle, keep close together, and surround it on every side. He then went and dug out a very deep hole, as deep as a well, in the place where Shiribadat's horse used to alight, and covered it with green boughs. The next day he received information that the torches (talen in Ghilgit and home in Astori) were ready. He at once ordered the villagers gradually to draw near the fort in the manner which he had already indicated.

"King Shiribadat was then sitting in his castle; near him his treacherous daughter, who was so soon to lose her parent. All at once he exclaimed, 'I feel very close; go out, dearest, and see what has happened.' The girl went out and saw torches approaching from a distance; but fancying it to be something connected with the plans of her husband, she went back and said it was nothing. The torches came nearer and nearer, and the tyrant became exceedingly restless. 'Air, air,' he cried, 'I feel very, very ill; do see, daughter, what is the matter.' The faithful lady went and returned with the same answer as before. At last the torch-bearers had fairly surrounded the fort, and Shiribadat, with a prescience of impending danger, rushed out of the room, saying 'that he felt he was dying.' He then ran to the stables and mounted his favourite charger, and with one blow of the whip made him jump over the wall of the castle. Faithful to its habit, the noble animal alighted at the same place, but alas! only to find itself engulfed in a treacherous pit. Before the king had time to extricate himself, the villagers had run up with their torches. 'Throw them upon him,' cried Azru. With one accord all the blazing wood was thrown upon Shiribadat, who miserably perished. Azru was then most enthusiastically proclaimed king, celebrated his nuptials with the

* The story of the famous horse, the love-making between Azru and the Princess, the manner of their marriage, and other incidents connected with the expulsion of the tyrant, deserve attention.
fair traitor, and, as sole tribute, exacted the offering of one sheep, instead of that a human child, annually from every one of the nations. This custom has prevailed down to the present day, and the people of Shin, wherever they be, celebrate their delivery from the rule of a monster, and the inauguration of a more humane Government, in the month preceding the beginning of winter—a month which they call Dawki or Dayki—after the full moon is over and the new moon has set in. The day of this national celebration is called 'nos chili,' the 'feast of fire.' The day generally follows four or five days after the meat provision for the winter has been laid in to dry. A few days of rejoicing precede the special festivity, which takes place at night. Then all the villagers go forth, having a torch in their hands, which, at the sound of music, they swing round their heads, and throw in the direction of Ghilgit, if they are at any distance from that place; whilst the people of Ghilgit throw it indifferently about the plain in which that town, if town it may be called, is situated. When the throwing away of the brands is over, every man returns to his house, when a curious custom is observed. He finds the door locked. The wife then asks: 'Where have you been all night? I won't let you come in now.' Then her husband entreats her and says, 'I have brought you property and children, and happiness, and anything you desire.' Then after some further parley, the door is opened, and the husband walks in. He is, however, stopped by a beam which goes across the room, whilst the eldest lady of the place serves him. The man finds the door locked. The wife then says: 'I have brought you property and children, and happiness, and anything you desire.' Then after some further parley, the door is opened, and the husband walks in. He is, however, stopped by a beam which goes across the room, whilst the eldest lady of the place serves him.

When Azru had safely ascended the throne, he ordered the tyrant's place to be levelled to the ground. The willing peasants, manufacturing spades of iron, (kili,) flocked to accomplish a grateful task, and sang whilst demolishing his castle:—

"Káro têyto Shiri-nga-Badat yâ kurô
[I am] hard said Shiri and Badat † why hard!
Dem Sing's Khotô kárô
Dem Sing's Khotô [is] hard;
Ná chumáre kíllle té râke phâla thêm
[With] this iron spade thy palace level I do.
Châkô! títô Sachô Malîka Dem Singé
Behold I thou Shacho Malika Dem Sing's.
Khotô kurô na chumare killejî
Khotô hard; [with] this iron spade
Tê râke - ga phâlatêm, châkô!
Thy palace very I level, behold!

Translation.

"My nature is of a hard metal," said Shiri and Badat. "Why hard? I Kho'to, the son of the peasant Dem Singh, am alone hardy; with this iron spade I raze to the ground thy kingly house. Behold now, although thou art of race accursed, of Shacho Malika, I, Dem Sing's son, am of a hard metal; for with this iron spade I level thy very palace; look out! look out!

During the Nauroz [evidently because it is not a national festival] and the 'Id, none of these national Shin songs are sung. Eggs are dyed in different colours, and people go about amusing themselves by trying which eggs are hardest, by striking one against the other. The possessor of the hard egg wins the broken one. The women, however, amuse themselves on those days by tying ropes to trees and swinging themselves about on them.

E.—LEGENDS RELATING TO ANIMALS.

1.—A Bear and a Corpse.

It is said that bears, as the winter is coming on, are in the habit of filling their dens with grass, and that they eat a plant called ajilt, which has a narcotic effect upon them and keeps them in a state of sleep.
of torpor during the winter. After three months, when the spring arrives, they awake and go about for food. One of these bears once scented a corpse, which he disinterred. It happened to be that of a woman who had died a few days before. The bear, who was in good spirits, brought her to his den, where he set her upright against a stone, and fashioning a spindle with his teeth and paws, gave it to her one hand, and placed some wool in the other. He then went on growling "mā-mū-mū" to encourage the woman to spin. He also brought her some nuts and other provisions to eat. Of course, his efforts were useless, and when she, after a few days, gave signs of decomposition, he ate her up in despair. This is a story based on the playful habits of the bear.

2. — A Bear Marries a Girl.

Another curious story is related of a bear. Two women, a mother and her little daughter, were one night watching their field of Indian corn (makkay,) against the inroads of these animals. The mother had to go to her house to prepare the food, and ordered her daughter to light a fire outside. Whilst she was doing this, a bear came and took her away. He carried her into his den, and daily brought her to eat and to drink. He rolled a big stone in front of the den, whenever he went away on his tours, which the girl was not strong enough to remove. When she became old enough to be able to do this, he used daily to lick her feet, by which they became swollen and eventually dwindled down to mere misshapen stumps. The girl who had become of age, had to endure the caresses of her guardian by whom she eventually became enceinte. She died in childbirth, and the poor bear, after vain efforts to restore her to life, roamed disconsolately about the fields.

3. — Origin of Bears.

It is said that bears were originally the offspring of a man who was driven into madness by his inability to pay his debts, and who took to the hills in order to avoid his creditors.

4. — The Bear and the one-eyed Man.

The following story was related by a man of the name of Ghalib Shah, residing at a village near Astor, called Parishing. He was one night looking out whether any bear had come into his tromba (field) when he saw that a bear was there, and that he.

5. — Wedding Festival among Bears.

A Mulla of the name of Lal Muhammad, said that when he was taken a prisoner into Chilas, he and his escort passed one day through one of the dreariest portions of the mountains of that inhospitable region. There they heard a noise, and quietly approaching to ascertain its cause, they saw a company of bears tearing up the grass and making bundles of it which they hugged. Other bears again wrapped their heads in grass, and some stood on their hind-paws, holding a stick in their forepaws, and dancing to the sound of the howls of the others. They then ranged themselves in rows, at each end of which was a young bear; on one side a male, on the other a female. These were supposed to celebrate their marriage on the occasion in question. My informant swore to the story, and my Gilgit corroborated the truth of the first portion of the account, which he said described a practice believed to be common to bears.

6. — The Flying Porcupine.

There is a curious superstition with regard to an animal called Hargin which appears to be more like a porcupine than anything else. It is covered with bristles, its back is of a red-brownish, and its belly of a yellowish colour. This animal is supposed to be very dangerous, and to contain poison in its bristles. At the approach of any man or animal, it is said to gather itself up for a terrific jump into the air, from which it descends, on to the head of the intended victim. It is said to be generally ever, which is exercised over prisoners, as they are being moved by goat-paths over mountains, cannot be a very effective one and, therefore, many of them escape. Some of the Kashmir Maharajah’s who sipahis invaded Dardistan, had been captured and had escaped. They narrated many stories of the ferocity of these mountaineers; e.g., that they used their captives as fireworks, &c., in order to enliven public gatherings. Even if this be true, there can be no doubt that the sepoy retaliated in the fiercest manner whenever they had an opportunity, and the only acts of barbarism that came under my observation, during the war with the tribes in 1866, were committed by the invaders.
about half a yard long and a span broad. Our friend Lal Muhammad, a saintly Akhunzada, but a regular Munchhausen, affirmed that he once met with a curious incident with regard to that animal. He was out shooting one day, when he saw a stag, which seemed to look intently in one direction. He fired off his gun, which, however, did not divert the attention of the stag. At last he found out what it was that the stag was looking at. It turned out to be a huge Hargin which had swallowed a large Markhor with the exception of his horns! There was the porcupine, out of whose mouth protruded the head and horns of the Markhor! My Ghilgiti, on the contrary, said that the Hargin was a great snake “like a big fish called Nang.” Perhaps, Hargin means a monster or dragon, and is applied to different animals in the two countries of Ghilgit and Astor.

7.—A Fight between Wolves and a Bear who wanted to dig their Grave.

A curious animal something like a wolf is also described. The species is called Kó. These animals are like dogs; their snouts are of a red colour, and are very long; they hunt in herds of ten or twenty, and track game which they bring down, one herd or one Kó, as the case may be, relieving the other at certain stages. A Shikari once reported that he saw a large number of them asleep. They were all ranged in a single long line. A bear approached, and by the aid of a long branch measured the line. He then went to some distance, and measuring the ground, dug it out to the extent of the line in length. He then went back to measure the breadth of the sleeping troop, when his branch touched one of the animals, which at once jumped up and roused the others. They all then pursued him and brought him down. Some of them harassed him in front, whilst one of them went behind him and sucked his stomach clean out ab ano. This seems to be a favourite method of these animals in destroying game. They do not attack men, but bring down horses, sheep, and game.

II—BUJONI—RIDDLES, PROVERBS AND FABLES.

A.—RIDDLES.

1. The Navel.—Tishkóreya ushkūrey halól.”—“The perpendicular mountain’s sparrow’s nest—the body’s sparrow’s hole.”

2. A Stick.—Mey sazik kéyn, sûreo peréyn, bós dárre potó bûja.”—“Now listen! My sister walks in the day-time and at night stands behind the door;” as Ses, sazik also means a stick, ordinarily called kunali in Astori, the riddle means: ‘I have a stick which assists me in walking by day and which I put behind the door at night.’

3. The Ghilgitis say “mey kâšte tre pay; dashtea”—‘my brother has three feet; explain now,’ This means a man’s two legs and a stick.

4. A Radish.—Astorí mió dâdo dimm dâng-lok; dâng sarpa-lok, buja. My grandfather’s body [is in] Hades, his beard [is in] this world; [now] explain!

This riddle is explained by ‘a radish,’ whose body is in the earth and whose sprouts, compared to a beard, are above the ground. Remarkable above all, however, is that the unknown future state, referred to in this riddle, should be called, whether blessed or cursed, “Dâwalok” [the place of gods] by those nominal Muhammadans. This world is called “Sarpalok,”—the world of serpents. “Sarpe” is also the name for man; lok is “place,” but the name by itself is not at present understood by the Shins.

5. A Hooka.—G. Mëy Dadi shishkéi agár, tâpenu, —‘my father’s mother on her head fire is burning.’ The top of the hooka is the dadi’s or grand-mother’s head.

6. A Sword.—Tetáng gotjó rúi nikai—“Darkness from the house, the female demon is coming out,” i.e.: “out of the dark sheath the beautiful, but destructive, steel issues.” It is remarkable that the female Yach should be called Ráì.

7. Red Pepper.—Lolo bakuro shé chd láihā—bûjal “In the red sheep’s pen white young ones are many—attend! This refers to the redpepper husk in which there are many white seeds.

B.—PROVERBS.

8. Dotage.—To an old man people say,—Tû jarro múto shûdung:—thou and old brains delivered. “You are old and have got rid of your senses.” Old women are very much dreaded and are accused of creating mischief wherever they go.

9. Duties to the aged—(Gh.) Juwani keneru digasus, jarebolobechumus.—In youth’s time I gave, in old age I demand. “When young I gave away, snow that I am old you should support me.”

10. A burnt child, &c.—Ek dam agâr dâdo dûgëni shang thë!—Once in fire you have been burnt, a second time take care!

11. Evil Communications, &c.—Ek khaç layche bilo bûdo donate she.—One bad sheep if there be, to the whole flock is an insult.—“One rotten sheep spoils the whole flock.”

12. Ek khaç manâjö budote sha;—‘one bad man is to all an insult.’

13. Advice to keep good company.—A mishto manâjö—kachi béyto, to mishto sîchë. Kacho maujo—kachi béyto, to kacho sîche. When you [who are bad?] sit near a good man you learn good things; When you sit beside a bad man you learn bad things. This proverb is not very intelligible, if literally translated.

* Words inviting attention, such as “listen,” “explain,” &c., &c., are generally put at the end of riddles.

† The abbreviation “G.” and “A.” stand respectively for “in the Ghilgiti dialect” and “in the Astori dialect.”
14. Dimmi con chi tu pratchhi, &c.—Tás māte
rā: mey shughulo ro hun, mas tute rām: tu ko
hanu.—“Tell me—my friend is such and such a
one, I will tell you who you are.”
15. Disappointment.—Shāharé kéru gé shing
shēm thē—konna chiñey tchiñey tyanu.—“He went
to acquire horns and got his ears cut off.”
16. How to treat an enemy Di dé, puch kīk—
“give the daughter and eat the son,” is a Ghilgit
proverb with regard to how one ought to treat an
enemy. The recommendation given is “marry
your daughter to your foe and then kill him,”
by which you get a male’s head which is more
valuable than that of a female. The Dards have
sometimes acted on this maxim in order to lull the
suspicions of their Kashmir enemies.

C.—FABLES.
17. The woman and the hen.—Ek chákeyn kokoi
ek ašil;i; sēse soni thāl (hanē) deli; sēchey-
se kohoi te muma lōo wēi; tule ēyī dē thē; sēkēnu
lang bīli; kokoi dēr pāy mūy.—A woman had a
hen; it used to lay one golden egg; the woman
thought that if she gave it much food it would lay
two eggs; but she lost even the one, for the hen
died, its stomach bursting.
Moral.—Anezey muni an hānt. Lōo arēn the
apejo lang bilo. To gain much the little is lost.
18. The Sparrow and the Mountain.—“Shunutur-se
chishē—satipºſijadem thendre go. A sparrow how
tried to kick the mountain himself to toppled over.”
19. The bat supporting the firmament.—The bat
is in the habit of sleeping on its back. It is be-
lieved to be very proud. It is supposed to say as
it lies down and stretches its legs towards heaven.,
—“This I do so that when the heavens fall down I
may be able to support them.”
Tīllo rate suto to pēy hinte angai-
wart them; angāi wā ti to pēy gi
ward does; the heavens when falling with my feet
sanarem them.
uphold I will.
20. “Never walk behind a horse or before a
king”—as you will get kicked in either case.
Aspe patami nē bo; rojo muchani ne bo.
Horse behind not walk; raja in front not walk.
21. Union is Strength.—“A kettle cannot bal-
ance itself on one stone; on three, however, it does.
Ey pūch il ēk gutur-ya ēāh nē gurīy-in; tre †
Oh son! one stone on a kettle not stops; three
guturey a dek gurīyn.
stones on a kettle stop.
The Ghilgiti instead of ga—“upon,” say ja.
Guter is, I believe, used for a stone [ordinarily
bit] only in the above proverb.
22. The Frog in a Dilemma.—“If I speak, the
water will rush into my mouth, and if I keep
silent I will die bursting with rage.”
This was said by a frog who was in the water and
angry at something that occurred. If he croaked,
he would be drowned by the water rushing down his
throat, and if he did not croak he would burst with
suppressed rage. This saying is often referred to
by women when they are angry with their hus-
bands, who may, perhaps, beat them, if they say
anything. A frog is called manok.
Tos them—to ñey jya † very boje; ne them
Voice I do—if mouth in water will come; not do,
to ñey mūo
then bursting I will die.
23. The Fox and the universe.—When a man
threatens a lot of people with impossible menaces,
the reply often is—“Don’t act like the fox Løyn
who was carried away by the water.” A fox one
day fell into a river: as he was swept past the
shore he cried out, “The water is carrying off the
universe.” The people on the banks of the river
said, “We can only see a fox whom the river is
drifting down.”
24. The fox and the pomegranate.—
Løyn danu ne uchatte somm
The fox, the pomegranate not reached on account
chamm thu tsaurko hanu.
sour spitting it is sour.
“The fox wanted to eat pomegranates: as he
could not reach them, he went to a distance, and
biting his lips [as chamm was explained by an
Astori, although Ghilgiti call it chappē] spat on
the ground, saying, they are too sour.” I venture
to consider the conduct of this fox more cunning
than the one of “sour grapes” memory. His biting
his lips and, in consequence, spitting on the ground,
would make his disappointed face really look as if
he had tasted something sour.

REVIEWS.
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* Not very many years ago, the Albanian robbers in at-
    tacking shepherds used to consider themselves victorious if
they had robbed more sheep than they had lost men.
† “Tre”—“three” is pronounced like “che.”

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of Comparative Architecture. Indian Architecture,
Dolmens or Cromlechs, Circles, Avenues, or Men-round the mystery of the Rude Stone Monuments."

These monuments—whether Tumuli, for the Joss of any poetry which has hitherto hung from the pages of history—must be allowed to be an ample compensation to adopt the more prosaic conclusions of the present age. If, however, this represents the truth, the cumulative character of the evidence becomes very powerful. And it perhaps deserves all the more attention because the results are not those of fancy, till recently, when an attempt has been made to tow the wreck into the misty haven of prehistoric antiquity. If ever she reaches that nebulous region, she may as well be broken to pieces, as she can be of no further use for human purposes. Further, as he remarks elsewhere, some of these remains cannot belong to prehistoric, while the others belong to the historic period;—"all belong to the one epoch or to the other. Either it is that Stonehenge and Avebury and all such are the temples of a race so ancient as to be beyond the ken of mortal man, or they are the sepulchral monuments of a people who lived so nearly within the limits of true historic times, that their story can easily be recovered." And if the author has proved any point, it is that most of the European remains of this class have been erected since the Christian era, and most of those in England, at least, between the fifth and tenth centuries. Stonehenge, for example, belongs to the period of the struggle between the Saxons and the Britons under Ambrosius, and most probably to the years 466 to 470 A.D. The argument he advances is backed by the results of extensive reading, and from the cumulative character of the evidence becomes very powerful. And it perhaps deserves all the more attention because the results are not those of predilection:—"When I first took up the subject," says Mr. Fergusson in his preface, "I hoped that the rude stone monuments would prove to be old,—so old, indeed as to form the 'incunabula' of other styles, and that we might thus, by a simple process, arrive at the genesis of styles. Bit by bit that theory has crumbled to pieces as my knowledge increased, and most reluctantly have I been forced to adopt the more prosaic conclusions of the present volume. If, however, this represents the truth, that must be allowed to be an ample compensation for the loss of any poetry which has hitherto hung round the mystery of the Rude Stone Monuments." Regarding these monuments—whether Tumuli, Dolmens or Cromlechs, Circles, Avenues, or Menhirs,—Mr. Fergusson sets himself to prove—1st, that they "are generally sepulchral, or connected directly, or indirectly, with the rites of the dead; 2nd, that they are not temples in any usual or appropriate sense of the term; and lastly,—that they were generally erected by partially civilized races after they had [in the west] come in contact with the Romans, and most of them may be considered as belonging to the first ten centuries of the Christian Era."

It is not to be expected that all that the author advances will stand the test of a rigid criticism, or be confirmed by future discoveries, but this book has the great merit of, for the first time, presenting a distinct and positive view of the age or use of these megalithic remains, and if suggestions on many minor points have been offered, which it might be difficult to establish by proof, he avows he has put them forth "because it often happens that such suggestions turn the attention of others to points which would otherwise be overlooked, and may lead to discoveries of great importance; while if disapproved, they are only so much rubbish swept out of the path of truth, and their detection can do no harm to any one but their author." We need scarcely add that a writer who has added so much to our knowledge can afford to be corrected if it should turn out that on some minor point he has not divined the truth.

We cannot attempt to follow the author over the whole of the British Isles, Scandinavia and North Germany, France—so rich in these remains, Southern Europe, Northern Africa, the Mediterranean Islands, and Western Asia, in all of which regions such monuments are found; but we must pause at India to make a few brief extracts.

"The number of rude-stone monuments in India," says Mr. Fergusson, "is probably as great or even greater than that of those to be found in Europe, and they are so similar that, even if they should not turn out to be identical, they form a most important branch of this enquiry. Even irrespective, however, of these, the study of the history of architecture in India is calculated to throw so much light on the problems connected with the study of megalithic monuments in the West that, for that cause alone, it deserves much more attention than it has hitherto received."

The first tribe noticed as erecting rude-stone monuments are the Khassias, in whose country they exist in greater numbers than perhaps in any other portion of the globe of the same extent. All travellers who have visited the country have been struck with the fact and with the curious similarity of their forms to those existing in Europe." . . . . . "The natives make no mystery about them, and many were erected within the last few years, or are being erected now, and they are identical in form with those which are grey with years, and must have been set up in the long forgotten past." The top of one dolmen "measured 30 feet 4 inches by 10 feet in breadth, and had an average thickness of 1 foot;"
—this great stone weighed 23 tons 18 cwt., and another is described as still larger, probably weighing about 40 tons, and others are of nearly the same dimensions. These "are frequently raised some height from the ground, and supported on massive monoliths or pillars.

While this is so, we need not wonder at the masses employed in the erection of Stonehenge or Avebury, or any of our European monuments. Physically the Khassias are a very inferior race to what we can conceive our forefathers ever to have been. Their stage of civilization is barely removed from that of mere savages, and their knowledge of the mechanical arts is of the most primitive description. Add to all this that their country is mountainous and rugged in the highest degree. Yet with all these disadvantages they move these great stones, and erect them with perfect facility, while we are lost in wonder, because our forefathers did something nearly equal to it some fourteen centuries ago."

In Western India "there are some groups of rude-stone monuments similar to those found in the Khassia hills, and apparently erected for similar purposes. They are, however, much less perfectly known, and are described, or at least drawn, by only one traveller." The most conspicuous of these is one near Belgam. It consists of two rows of thirteen stones each, and one in front of them of three stones—the numbers being always uneven, as in Bengal—and on the opposite side four of those small altars, or tables, which always accompany these groups of stones on the Khassia hills. These, however, are very much smaller, the central stone being only about 4 feet high, and falling off to about a foot in height at the end of each row."

When we turn to the sepulchral arrangements of the aboriginal tribes of India, the analogies to those of western Europe "are so striking that it is hard to believe they are accidental, though equally hard to understand how and when the intercourse could have taken place which led to their similarity." The examples adduced by the author are certainly very remarkable.

As the writer remarks—"nothing would tend more to convey clear ideas on the subject of Indian dolmens than a map of their distribution, were it possible to construct one . . . The following sketch, however, is perhaps not very far from the truth regarding them. They do not exist in the valley of the Ganges, or of any of its tributaries, nor in the valleys of the Narmadâ or Tâpi, not, in fact, in that part of India which is generally described as north of the Vindhya range of hills. They exist, though somewhat sparsely, over the whole of the country drained by the Godaveri and its affluents. They are very common, perhaps more frequent than in any other part of India, in the valleys of the Krishna and its tributaries. They are also found on both sides of the Ghâts, through Koinibâtor, all the way down to Cape Comorin; and they are also found in groups all over the Madras presidency, but especially in the neighbourhood of Conjeveram."

To help towards clearing up the question as to the race of the Indian dolmen builders, as well as to throw light on other points connected with the history of Indian architecture in all its stages, we need to know more than we do of the Haidarâbâd territory. As Mr. Ferguson states—"In so far as the history or ethnography of the central plateau of India is concerned, or its arts or architecture, the Nizam's dominions are absolutely a terra incognita. No one has visited the country who had any knowledge of these subjects, and the Indian Government has done nothing to enquire, or to stimulate enquiry, into these questions in that country. Yet, if I am not very much mistaken, the solution of half the difficulties, ethnological or archæological, that are now perplexing us, lies on the surface of that region, for any one who will take the trouble to read them. Till this is done, we must, it is feared, be content with the vaguest generalities."

Leaving these extracts, to speak for themselves, we commend this beautiful and most instructive volume to all who have any real taste for the scientific study of antiquities, in the hope that it will give a fresh and powerful stimulus to research in a field almost new in India and of uncommon interest.


Mr. Broadley is an enthusiastic and energetic archaeologist, and is, by good fortune, located in the district which, beyond all others, is the richest in India in historic associations and ancient Buddhist remains. His contributions to our pages testify to his earnestness and ability, and this little brochure illustrated with two plans—of an excavated temple at Bargâon, and of a sketch plan of the ruins there, with two lithographs of inscriptions—is further proof of the extent and thoroughness of his researches. Printed unfortunately at a distance from its author, it is disfigured by many typographical errors. The account of the excavations undertaken by Mr. Broadley occupies little more than 10 pages, and is followed by the description of fully seventy Hindu and Buddhist sculptures found in the ruins; then follows an inscription on a door, in his remarks on which we fear Mr. Broadley has been misled as to a date, which his translator seems to fancy is concealed in the words aṇi-rāgha-deâra, and which extremely interesting in an ethnographic point of view, if some further information could be obtained regarding these stone rows.
he makes 913 of the Samvat of Vikramaditya. The date is probably either the 1st or 11th of the reign of Shrimat Mahipála Deva of Bengal. We hope the examples of Mr. Bradly and the late Mr. Boswell of the Madras Civil Service will be followed by many others, each in his own province adding something to our knowledge of the antiquities of the country.

THE SEA OF MEWAR.

It is not often that a white face is seen on the band at Debar, albeit that marble structure possesses no equal, as historians say. The main road through Mewar leads not past Debar, hence the limited number who see those fine piazzas in which the breezes revel, or those placid bays in which sport fish of no great flavour but of enormous size, and alligators said to be possessed of an unbounded stomach. Travellers wishing to visit the Debar Lake must leave the Ahmadabad and Udepur road at Prásád, a small pal, or village, some twenty miles from Khéjwádja. From Prásád to Debar the way is rough, but on every hand beautiful jungle and beautiful birds fascinate the eye of the artist and the sportsman. A long and narrow nal, or pass, winds round the foot of the great hill at Prásád, one of the stations of the Trigonometrical Survey of India. Then the road opens out to the plain of Chapan, the South-West Province of Mewar. Chaond, the principal village, is reached at about an hour and a half from Prásád. Chaond is perhaps hardly worthy of being remembered, except for the circumstance that it at one time afforded refuge to the great Prátaip, the patriot Ráná of Udepur. At Chaond he lived, after having been driven from the hill fort of Komalmer, by the treachery of the Thakur of Mount Abu. At Chaond, Prátaip cut in pieces the army of Khan Ferid, the trusted general of Akbar. rolling back the tide of invasion towards the plains, and proving to the great Emperor of Dihli that some valour yet remained in the hills of the Rajput. The ruins of an old palace and fort rise from a ridge a short distance from the village, and here and there stands a fine chabutra, or temple, to show that a large population once occupied the place.

Ten or twelve miles from Chaond, towards the north-west, is the Debar Lake. A few ruined houses, palaces, and temples beyond the village of Jharol are first noticeable, and then the fine palace overlooking Debar itself rivets the eye. The whole of the northern side of the plain is bounded by an immense rocky natural wall; towards the east end alone can you descry a break. Across this, a massive barrier of stone has been thrown to keep the waters of the Lake within the bounds prescribed for them by the machinations of man and nature combined. A great pool always existed towards the North: its waters escaped by a large and noble stream through the “fault” in the range. Jesingh, the ruler of Mewar, about the year 1681, when all his resources were taxed to the utmost, and while Aurângzeb pressed him hard, still found means of executing this splendid work. The name “Jaya-Samudra,” or “Sea of Victory,” which he gave to the former pool of Debar, served a double purpose: it served alike to celebrate the triumph over the forces of nature, and to immortalize the designer. The enormous proportions of the grand wall strike the observer with wonder and admiration. The outer embankment, 350 paces in length, and some sixty or seventy feet in height, rises abruptly from the plain. A road cut on the left side of the hill leads to the top. Massive stones, one piled above the other, form the wall; yet time has not been idle.

It is a long pull to the top of the inner band. But, once you are there, a view opens out before you which well rewards your toil. You stand upon a magnificent rampart: below you, steps stretch away to the water’s edge: right and left, are rugged hills, crowned with ruined forts and palaces; and far away before you, stretches the lake until it touches the outlying spurs of the mighty Aravalis. Islands and hills covered with verdure, sweet bays silent beneath the glorious sky, marble temples, piazzas, and terraces on the band itself, with the water dashing underneath—where could you look for a more lovely scene? Yet how seldom has an English eye gazed upon it! Thirty-seven steps, by three flights, descend to the water. Piazzas of marble stand at each end of the bund, their roofs supported by thirty-two columns. In the space between the two, rises a splendidly carved quadrangular temple; the building has never been completed, yet it is magnificent even now. Eight small chabutras, once surmounted by domes, fill up the intervening spaces, each of these buildings standing upon the uppermost of a tier of platforms. Elephants rise up near the piazzas; their mouths are some twelve or fifteen feet above the level of the water. The natives say that when the water in the lake rises so far as to lave these elephants’ tusks, an opening in the hills allows the overplus to escape towards the east, upon the plains beneath. In ordinary seasons the rainfall would appear to be some five or six feet below the greatest capacity of the lake. The numerous platforms on the band have carved upon them, in bas relief, figures of elephants vanquishing wild beasts; and all around lie loosened stones upon which the images of the gods, in good condition, are engraved. Every stone in the band bears upon it the name of the master mason. In a niche below the great temple is beautifully represented Namanyra, or Vishnu, resting on Shesha; the god Brahma springing from a lotus, which rises from his navel, whilst Lakshmi is seated at his feet. It is as though Jesinha had said—"By the power of the gods this great work has been accomplished; by Vishnu the Preserver, and it shall remain." Yet, alas! as remarked above, neglect bids fair to destroy the noble structure; massive stones have been forced from their places by the roots of the numerous trees and shrubs which spring from every crevice on the steps. The tiger, the panther, and the boar haunt the gardens and palaces of the Lion of Victory, whilst the very lake itself seems
A princess of the Pramara race, strangely also called elder queen, mother of the heir apparent, naturally quarrelled; and, to make peace, or rather to prevent retain the splendid distinction of being the largest domestic "scenes," Jesinha himself retired with his summit of this hill stands the splendid palace built of inglorious ease, until the misconduct of his regent two hills which the embankment unites; on the artificial sheet of water in the world. The Ruta Rani, or "testy queen." She and the by Jesinhā for his favourite wife, Umalā Devi, favourito Debar, and lived in seclusionsome years of infelicitous ease, until the misconduct of his regent and heir-apparent at Udépur compelled him to resume the reins of government. The principal building of the palace rises abruptly from the rock; domes surmount the building, and from these magnificent views can be obtained. Numerous rooms and courts, small and inconvenient, are crowded together. Upon the walls of the apartments devoted to the Rani are paintings still in fair preservation—scenes from the Ramayana, the Great War, &c. A wall of stone surrounds all the attached buildings, as well as the palace itself. On a higher eminence arising from the eastern margin of the principal arm of the lake stands another palace, from the walls of which the grandest view of the lake can be obtained. The greatest length of Debar is from east to west, whilst the principal, and deepest arm, runs towards the bund, from the north. This arm is comparatively narrow, so that from the embankment the great mass of water cannot be seen, especially as the view is limited by the presence of a large island stretched across its opening. Away to the north, the waters extend, during the rains, almost to the foot of the hills, leaving, as they subside, immense tracts of the finest rice land in Rajputana. In the summer small streams can be seen meandering through the plains, to lose themselves in the lake itself. Twelve villages are dotted along the banks, the inhabitants of which support themselves by cultivation of the soil and fishing, which last is a lively occupation. Casting the eye far away to the south, one can see Salumbra, the home of the most powerful chief present at darbar to do honour to His Highness of Mewar on his installation, and the hereditary councillor of Mewar, whose symbol, the lance, must be borne before every state document that bears his signature.

FAMED RIKHABNĀTH.

Although Debar Lake is so seldom visited, this is not the case with the famous shrine of Rishabanāth, ten miles south of Prasād, on the Udépur and Ahmadabad road. Thither flock thousands upon thousands of Hindus from Gujarat, Mewar, Marwar, and all Rajwāli, to pay their devotion to the shrine of the protecting lord. Rikhabnāth is a walled village in the midst of the hills; it contains numerous houses, and a large dharmashala for the accommodation of strangers. The temple, the centre of attraction, is surrounded by a large stone rampart, and is shut off from the town by enormous gates. Tradition states that, nearly a thousand years ago, a husbandman one day found in his field one of his cows giving forth milk lavishly and spontaneously. Upon observation as to why this waste, it was ascertained that it occurred only over one spot. There the spade and pick-axe were manfully pried, and there they discovered a statue of the god. Afterwards it was revealed to the priest that it was the wish of the deity to found a house at Rishabanāth. A small temple was first erected; and, as worshippers increased in number, other and more magnificent buildings followed, until the pile is now large, beautiful, and exceedingly wealthy. The Bull swears by the god, and hence one is led to believe that this is only a temple where Krishna is worshipped under one of his many forms. A large and ancient naubatkhāna (room for musicians) overhangs the great gate. The temple itself is made up of a series of temples, all connected; in each are images of the Jain lords. Of course the great image is there. The inner shrine is shut off from the rest of the building by gates plated with silver. Each full moon from the bhūndar, the high priest brings forth a dress valued at a lakh and a half of rupees, wherewith to deck the god, whilst gold and silver vessels are used in puja. All day long devotees lie prostrate before the shrines, whilst others offer saffron upon pillars, upon which are supposed impressions of the feet of the god. All the rulers in Rajputana send gifts to Rishabnāth—saffron, jewels, money; and, in return, receive the high priest's blessing.—*Abridged from the Times of India.*

A NEW JAINA TEMPLE AT PALITANA.—About three years ago when Mr. Kesavji Nayak, a Bhattia merchant of Bombay, was at Palitānā, he contributed #1,50,000 for the erection of a temple there. The temple has now been completed, and the ceremony of opening performed last month.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Note on Query 2, p. 64.*

With regard to Mr. Beames's enquiry as to whether the custom of denoting the months by the signs of the Zodiac prevails in other parts of India, I find that in this part of the country (Hasan District, Mysore) it is the custom among astrologers always to use in documents drawn up by them in addition to the usual month and date, that of the corresponding month according to the "Sankrama" style. For instance the 15th February would be given as the 7th day of the bright half of Magha, and the 5th day of the month "Kumbha," the "pauchanga" or native almanack gives both styles.

J. S. F. MACKENZIE.

Hassan, 15th Feb. 1872.

*Query 4.*

Many figures of Buddha holding the bhikshu's bowl, have on the base a monkey making an offering, while another is disappearing, head foremost down a well or bucket! (See plate Jour. Bengal. Ass. Soc. vol. XVI p. 78) What does this mean or allude to?

Bihār, Feb. 9th. A. M. B.
Tamil Popular Poetry.

By Robert Charles Caldwell, M.R.A.S.

First Paper.

The number of Europeans in South India possessing a fair knowledge of common Tamil is not inconsiderable. Yet I have always remarked with wonder how few of these have thought it worth their while to make themselves acquainted with one or two of the popular Tamil poets, just to gain thereby a little insight into Hindu customs, Hindu characteristics, Hindu fancies, and Hindu creeds. Now I feel certain that popular Tamil poetry would be far more widely studied by such Tamil-speaking Europeans, were it not for two considerations. In the first place, it is supposed that these poems—merely because they are Tamil poems—do not possess such inherent beauty of thought, fancy, or expression, as we Europeans understand beauty in literary compositions, to repay the labour of their perusal by a cultivated reader acquainted with the splendid and sublime literatures of Europe. In the second place, it is imagined that to peruse, so as to understand and appreciate these poems, is a matter of great difficulty, and that these popular lyrics are couched in the same difficult language as nearly all the great poetical works in Tamil are.

With reference to the latter of these two suppositions, I beg to submit that popular Tamil poetry is written, as a general rule, in clear, plain, mellifluous Tamil. Stanzas here and there may be met with, containing verbal difficulties. But supposing, in the first place, the reader is bent, not upon a critical study of such poems, but upon a lighter course, and merely wishes to run through them for his amusement and information,—then, in the majority of instances, he will find these poems intelligible on their first perusal. Indeed, I have repeatedly noticed that, with scarcely any exceptions, stanzas in the works of popular Tamil poets are most beautiful in the thoughts they contain, when the language in which these thoughts are expressed is simple and not stilted. Poets, such as Siva Varkiyar, Pattanatu Pillai, and Puttiria Giriyar generally—as far as it appears to me—betake themselves to difficult phraseology and intricate involutions of style, when they are giving utterance to some trite or trashy sentiment. It seems as if consciousness of poverty and weakness in matter, had the direct effect of urging them to adopt a strained and affected manner.

In the second place, I can assert with confidence, and I trust I shall be able to prove, in this and a subsequent paper, that Tamil popular poetry is full of really beautiful fancies, similes, metaphors, aphorisms, and thoughts. And I hold—and I trust I shall be able to convince the reader that I am right in holding—that Tamil popular poetry contains gems of art of which any European language might be proud.

In this introductory paper my aim is to prove a portion of this thesis to the best of my ability, without entering at any length into the very wide field of discussion which will present itself in connection with my subject. I shall only take a few—a very few—instances of the beautiful thoughts embodied in poetical language to be found amongst the immense stores at every Tamil scholar's disposal. The difficulty which meets me when about to treat of this subject is, not what specimens of Tamil poetical writing I ought to select, but what striking examples I ought not to select. The abundance of materials at my disposal makes me hesitate and almost wish that the garden were smaller from which I have undertaken to cull a few flowers.

But, before proceeding further, I wish the reader to consider one important point regarding my subject. It must be remembered that I am translating; and that upon which I base my argument is translated poetry. Take up the best translations the English language possesses; take up Chapman's Homer, Connington's Virgil, or Cary's Dante,—suppose these translations had appeared as original poems in English, would they have become celebrated? Perhaps as literary curiosities they might, but would they have passed into the household literature of England and left such a mark upon English literature as their originals have upon the literatures of Greece and of Rome? It is impossible to answer this in the affirmative. And the reason for this lies in the very nature of the case.

In the first place, the subject of such poems is of no national interest to Englishmen. It is like olives—it requires a trained taste in an Englishman to appreciate it, whilst a Greek, or an Italian, might take to it naturally, as it is
a natural product of his fatherland. A certain course of education is necessary before an Englishman can appreciate the 'ox-eye' of Athena, before he can see any force in Aeneas being styled 'father,' and before he can believe in the existence of an Il Purgatorio. And I hope the reader will reflect that if the themes of the poems of Homer, Virgil and Dante do not possess many fascinations for Englishmen, how much less likely are the subjects of the poems of a rude non-European nation to do so. In the second place, the language of Chapman, Connington, and Cary, though undoubtedly very fine, cannot be well supposed to be as good English as Homer’s language was good Greek, Virgil’s good Latin, and Dante’s good Italian. And in my own case, I have keenly and constantly felt, whilst engaged in translating from Tamil popular poems, how utterly impossible it was for me to reproduce the infinite harmonious iteration of sound and sense of the original. I therefore have to ask the reader to judge merely of the poetical thoughts in Tamil popular poetry from my translation; for, if he wishes to ascertain the beauty of the language, he must go to the original and to that alone.

But it has sometimes been considered that there is one certain advantage, amongst many disadvantages, resulting from the judgment of a poet’s writings being based upon their accurate translation, and not upon his writings in the original. Without adopting any of the various definitions of poetry, let us consider for a moment what pleases us in any writing and forces our intellectual discriminative faculties to pronounce it poetry. The prime source of pleasure always ought to be the thoughts contained in the writing—"thoughts that shake mankind,"—original, deep, suggestive, and sublime thoughts,—thoughts fanciful, playful, or grotesque,—thoughts that cheer or thoughts that elevate,—thoughts that in any way exercise a vis medicæ on the mind of the reader. Such ought to be the prime source of pleasure: but in a great measure it is not. Englishmen now-a-days seem to prefer sound to sense. If a man can dress a trite thought in a novel manner he is a poet. The mysterious utterances of the Delphic Oracle of the past were nothing to the ambiguous phraseology patronized by the Rossettis and Swinburnes of the present. Extraordinary involutions of style, bristling with metaphor and glittering with rhyme, constitute 'poetic diction.' It appears to be the aim of most modern English poets to say a thing "not only as it never has been said before, but as no one else would have been likely to think of saying it." Even a real thinker, like Browning, often clothes his thoughts in language which is anything but plain English. Thus the vicious taste is daily gaining ground in England of regarding the dress more than the person, poetic phraseology more than poetic thought.

But let one of our English poets be translated into a foreign language, or better still, into English prose, and the real value of his writings will be at once apparent. In the crucible of translation all petty adornments of rhyme and rhythm are separated, like dross, from the pure precious metal of the thought. The thought remains, and the reader is obliged to judge by it, and by it alone, of the value of the poet’s work, and his real position as one of the sweet singers of the world. “Dryden said of Shakespeare, that if his embroideries were burnt down, there would be silver at the bottom of the melting pot.” Göethe says:—"I honour both rhythm and rhyme, by which poetry first becomes poetry; but the properly deep and radical operative—the truly developing and quickening—is that which remains of the poet when he is translated into prose. The inward substance then remains in its purity and fulness; which, when it is absent, a dazzling exterior often deludes with semblance of, and when it is present, conceals."

But, on the other hand, it cannot for a moment be denied that poetic expression is a great gift, a gift necessary to a poet. When beautiful thoughts are couched in beautiful language, there is an additional beauty which springs from the amalgamation of the two. The thought appears lovelier because of the musical language; the language appears lovelier because of the pleasing thought. There is a reflection of bright beauty from one to the other, and this reflection doubles the brilliance which emanates from both. And this is especially the case, so far as regards the thoughts and expressions in the popular poetry of an Asiatic people like the Tamilians. Ardent thoughts are expressed in glowing language; the thoughts breathe of a tropical sky; the words burn with all the fire of oriental imagery.

With these prefatory remarks, I beg to draw the attention of the reader to the following
translations from the poems of two Tamil popular poets, SIVAVAKKIYAR and PATTANATTU PILLAI. I have shown these translations to several Tamil scholars. One of the most eminent of such scholars in this Presidency has assured me that, in his estimation, my translation is almost absolutely accurate, although I have written in rhyme. I do not however desire the reader to lay any stress whatever upon this. But I would draw attention to the fact that, in parallel columns with the stanzas of my translation, I have placed the Romanized form of the Tamil text from which I translate. Thus if my translation be in any particular unfaithful, the scholarly reader will be able at once to detect the flaws.

SIVAVAKKIYAM.

Pāṇḍu nāṇ pariṭ' erinta
Pan malargal ettinei;
Pālē jebittu viṭṭa
Mantirangal ettinei:
Tēṇdanāy vilunt' uruṇḍu
Kōngā kōlam ettinei;
Tēr ilukka, vūr alētu,
Mār adittat' ettinei:
Mipdanāy terinta pōtu
Ireita nirgal ettinei;
Mīlavum Sivālayangal
Sāntu vantat' ettinei:
Andarkōn iruppidam
Arint' uṇarnā gaunigal,
Kōnda kōvil āvām endru
Kēi yeduppat'illāyē.

I would draw the special attention of the reader to these verses. The musical flow of them and their sonorous Homeric conclusion cannot be caught in any translation. The beauty of the thoughts they contain, however, must shine through any language. That there may be no misapprehension I shall now give the exact verbal translation of the original.—

"How many various kinds of flowers did I of yore
cull and scatter.
How many mantras have I said in vain.

SIVAVAKKIYAM.

Nāṭu veitta dēvarum
Nadāmal veitta dēvarum,
Suṭṭu veitta dēvarum
Sudāmal veitta dēvarum,
Kāṭṭu veitta dēvarum
Katt' avīka vallārō?
Īṭu veitt' idattīlē
Kidapat' andri, yen sceyvār?

THE SHEPHERD OF THE WORLDS.

A Detached Piece from the Poems of Sivavakkiyar.*

How many various flowers
Did I, in bye-gone hours,
Cull for the god, and in his honour strew;
In vain how many a prayer
I breathed into the air,
And made, with many forms obeisance due.

Beating my breast, aloud
How oft I called the crowd
To drag the village car; how oft I stray'd
In manhood's prime to lave
Sunwards the flowing wave,
And circling Saiva temples, my homage paid.

But they, the truly wise,
Who know and realize
Where dwells the Shepherd of the Worlds,
To any visible shrine,
As if it were divine,
Delight to raise hands of worship or of prayer.

EXTRACTS FROM THE POEMS OF SIVAVAKKIYAR

Gods set up, Gods not set up,
Lords baked, and unbaked Lords,
And Deities bound securely
(To sacred cars) with cords.

Say, are these even able
To free themselves when tied?
When placed somewhere, what can they
But in that place abide?

---a rendering which represents the inner spirit of the
original, and which, by the way, has the sanction of my
father, the Rev. Dr. Caldwell.

* Notice the beautiful epithet Shepherd of the Worlds! This word Andarkōn is often simply rendered Monarch of the Gods, but I have taken the more magnificent rendering,
With flowers of bush and creeper,
Tank-flowers, and flowers from boughs,†
Why deck ye stones, and round them
Stand, paying mumbled vows?
Can idols speak, though in them
The Omnipresent dwell?
Say, of the curry's flavour
Can the pot's ladle tell?
Stones resonant ye fashion
To idols; then adore,—
With flowery wreaths adorn them
With ashes smear them o'er:
The stone before your threshold
Grows worn out, being trod;—
But of those two stones, neither
Affords delight to God!

Fools! with continual searching,
"The gods, the gods," ye cry;
Even the way ye know not
To seek for them whereby.
Tell me, is it religion
To say "the gods are three"?
To attain to God, within you
Your search for him must be.
The tether'd ass, becomes it
A swan if God's adoredºf
Ye sinful fools, can Siva
Become the one true Lord 2
A wholly spiritual Object
In the Henceforth He stands,
The Original, the Endless,
Whom no mind understands!
Not Vishnu, Brahma, Siva,
In the Beyond is He,
Not black, nor white, nor ruddy,
This Source of things that be:
Not great is he, not little,
Not female and not male,_
But stands, far, far, and far, beyond
All beings' utmost pale'S
Dumb fools, whom physical principles,
Shall I not laugh when ye tell me
Of deities petrified?

* The Tamil scholar will notice an emendation of the text
here, which seems to me absolutely necessary. The stanza,
as it stands in all editions of Sivavakkiyar, presents a
strange grammatical medley. The alteration I have adopt-
ed, though but a slight one, seems sufficient.

† Literally—the four kinds of flowers. Tamilians divide
all flowers into flowers that grow on low bushes, flowers of
creepers, flowers that grow on trees, and flowers that grow
in water.

‡ Literally—"By the offering of burnt offerings."
§ The poet here uses the Saiva-siddhanta word Duriam.
This term signifies a high state (for the highest) of exist-
ence. God, he says, stands beyond Duriam, far, far, far away.
According to the Saiva-siddhanta philosophy there are five
states of existence:—1. The state of vigilance and activity.
2. The state of suspended mental condition, like that of
deep dreamless sleep. 4. The state of entire quiescence. 5.
The state of supreme quiescence completely free from cor-
poreal entanglements. This stanza is the most beautiful
and the most famous one in the writings of Sivavakkiyar.
Mūvarālum ariyonāta
Muttoośi pagapporul,
Kāvālākka ummulē
Kalant' irrupat' unmeiyē.

Indra máqu tan kaluttil
Ittapottanangalpål,
Mândru nãlusileiyei
Mudint'avilkum mudarkål,
Undri, ēndri, nîr mudintā
Unmei yenna unmeiyē?

Vējamittu mani kilukki,
Mikka tubam iṣṭumē,
Tēdi veitta sambellām
Tiralpadapparappīyē;
Adu kondru, pangu veittu,
Araṭṭur maru pōlavē,
Pōdu putpum, iṣṭa pujei,
Pujei yenna pujeiya?

Tantirangal ettiēi!
Davangal seytu nirkīnum,
Mantaritai ṛdaruttu,
Mandapangal tedīnum,
Antirattil ninda Joti
Yaśvarum arintilā,
Sin teiyil telīn tīdīl
Sīva patangal sērālām
Pāvum nirum yen manum;
Poruntu kōvil yen ulum;
Avī pīda lingamāy
Akaṇdātum ānātē;
Mēvakindra ēvarum
Vīlangu tība tābāmāy,
Adukindra kuttanukkōr
Andi sandi illeiyē.

Idangal panni sutti seytē
Itta pīda mītilē
Adanga nīrum puje seytu
Arun davangal pannuvīr
Odungukindra nāthinār
Uīkkum Gnanam ēvidām?
Adangukindra tēvītam?
Ariystu pujeiyē?

He who createth all things
Preserveth, layeth low,
The Indivisible Substance,
Whom the Triad cannot know,
Himself to thy hearts safe keeping
He truly can bestow.

When cows have calved, with bundles
Their throats ye idly deck;
Thus, fools, your oft-wrapt lingas
Ye carry round your neck.
Intent, heart-fixed, thus can ye
Enkerchief, and sustain
The Light whom earth and heaven
And hell cannot contain!

Your garb, your bells' quick tinkle,
Your incense floating far,
Your copper gods, that by you
Array'd in order are—
As men arrange in markets
Mutton in lumps, and bawl!—
The flowers ye cast,—this worship
What is it after all?†

How many your devices!
Although ye mortify
Your bodies, go through mantras,
To temple-choultries hie,
Ye will not know the Splendour
Who hath in space his seat;
They with minds cleared can only
Reach the true Śiva's feet.

My thoughts are flowers and ashes,
In my breast's fane enshrined,
My breath too is therein it
A linga unconfined:
My senses, too, like incense
Rise, and like bright lamps shine,
There too my soul leaps ever
A dancing-god divine†

Clearing a place, an altar
Ye raise upon the site,
And heaping ashes on it
Perform ye many a rite:
Austerities perform ye;
But tell me this I pray
The god whom ye thus limit,
Where dawn's his wisdom's ray?
How localized this wisdom?
Know this—then homage pay.

† This, in my opinion, is one of the finest stanzas penned by Sivavakkiyar. The drift of it is this:—You popular Hindus, you have your temples, you have your flowers and sacred ashes, you have your phallic, or emblem of divine creative power,—you have also your incense and lamps, and you have your divine dancer, Śiva,—I too have my flowers and ashes, but they are of the mind! I too have my linga, but it is my breath or spirit! I too have my incense and lamps, but they are my five senses! And I too have my deity leaping in divine sport within me, but that is my soul. In a word, mine is the true spiritual worship!
"Kāsi, Kāsi" endru nīr
Kal kadukka vodurir,
Kāsi ōdi ādinum
Karuppu vellei akumō?
Aseibaam vittu nīr
Elvarum odunginal,
Kāsi nirum ummulē
Kānalākum unneiyē.

PUTTIRAGIRIYAR PULAMBAL.
Manatei woru villākki,
Vān poriyeinänūkki,
Yenatariveiambākki,
Yeyvat'ini—Ekkālam?

Ayum kaleikal ēlām
Arāntu pārttatinpin
Ni andri yondum ilā
Nisang kānbat'—Ekkālam?

Ganjā abin mysakkam
Käljundu vālāmal
Panjā vamirtam nī
Pagaruwatum—Ekkālam?

Pattrattru nīrīl
Yadar Tāmarci ilei pōl
Sutrattei nikki manam
Dūra nīrpa't—Ekkālam?

Angāramum adakki,
Eimbulanei suttatru,
Tāngāmal tāngi
Sugam peruvat'—Ekkālam?

Māyā piravi
Mayakateti ēdrutru
Kāya puri kōttei
Kei kolva't—Ekkālam?

Sattirattei nūtту
Sathur mareyi poy ākki
Sōttirattei kāndo
Sugam peruvat'—Ekkālam?

Sattirattei kātti
Sathur mareyi poy ākki
Sōttirattei kāndo
Tuyararupañ—Ekkālam?

* Kasi, this is the Tamil name for Benares.

† The Tamilians speak of five bodily organs just as we do. 1. The feeling—of the surface of the body. 2. The taste—of the mouth. 3. The seeing—of the eye. 4. The smelling of the nose. 5. The hearing—of the ear.

‡ Literally—Ganja, a plant with narcotic properties.

§ It is supposed that ambrosia contains the following five delicacies—Milk, ghee, sugar, curds, and honey.

|| This author alludes to a supposed natural fact. Although the leaf of the lotus lies outspread on the surface of the water, yet water adheres not to it, nor interpenetrates it. Water poured upon the leaf leaves no apparent moisture behind. The Tamil scholar would do well to compare with this stanza one in the Nalvaris beginning—"Ellāppadiyā-ummninātivruvāmbu, " &c.

To Kasi, still to Kasi
Ye haste in foot-sore plight,
Although you go and bathe there
Will black be changed to white?
If, all allurements slumbering,
Your senses be repressed,
The sacred wave of Kasi
Will well within your breast!

STANZAS FROM THE LAMENTATION OF
PUTTIRAGIRIYAR.

When, ah when,
Shalt thou, O Lord, bend as a bow, my mind;
And like a string, thereto, my senses bind;
That all the arrowy thoughts within my heart
To thee alone, by thee impelled, may dart?

When, ah when,
Shall I perceive, after that I have pored
O'er all the wisdom in all writings stored,
The truth—that nothing is, save thee O Lord?

When, ah when,
To me, whose lips narcotic drugs have stain'd,
Who have eat opium, and have spirits drain'd
Wilt thou, that I may without withering live,
The five-fold sweetness of thy nectar give?

When, ah when,
Like lotus-leaves, which o'er the water grow
Yet to the water no adherence show,
From those who my own kith and kindred are,
Shall I in mind stand separate and far?

When, ah when,
Will the blest time of bliss attained arrive
When I annihilate these senses five,
Suppress my pride, and my tir'd being steep
In that existence which is sleepless sleep?

When, ah when,
Cleaving through all this birth's illusions vain
Shall I to my last spiritual state attain?

When, ah when,
Burning the Shastras, deeming the Vedas four
Mere lies, shall I the Mystery explore,
And perfect bliss attain for evermore?

When, ah when,
Laying aside, bound fast, the Shastras' lore
Wholly distrusting, too, the Vedas four,
Shall I the Mystery know, and grieve no more?

* This is the most famous of all Puttiragiriyar's stanzas. In one edition of his Lamentations occurs the same verse in an altered form,—the translation of which I also give. (See the subsequent stanza, and notice that he is made to say not that the Shastras should be burnt, but that they should be bound up.)

† This expression is the Tamil equivalent for our English phrase "shelving a book." The Tamil book is written on palm leaves: these leaves are strung together by a cord. When you open the book, you first undo that portion of the cord which is bound round the whole. When you close it, you reverse this operation. Thus when Puttiragiriyar speaks of "binding up the Shastras," he means—close and shelve them as useless in your search after the great Mystery of Future Existence.
When, ah when,
Though I the Vedas four may hoarsely shout,
The secret of the heavens shall I find out?

When, ah when
Shall this poor soul, within this body set
Disquieted like fish within a net,
Find the true Priest, and offer as is meet
Perpetual homage to his sacred feet.

When, ah when,
Will all my carnal lusts have uttered end,
And I, with eyelids dropt, to heaven ascend,
And with God's being my own being blend.

ON THE NON-ARYAN ELEMENT IN HINDI SPEECH.

BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., OXON, B.C.S.

The precise character of the relationship which connects the modern Braj Bhāshā with the ancient Sanskrit of the Vedas and the medieval Prākrits of the classic dramatists, and how far its vocabulary has been adulterated by the introduction of a foreign element, are matters regarding which a considerable diversity of opinion still exists among the most eminent philologists. Lassen says:—"The few words in Prākrit which appear to be of extraneous origin can, for the most part, be traced to Sanskrit, if the investigation is pursued on right principles," an opinion which Colebrooke has stated in equally emphatic terms by declaring that "nine-tenths of the Hindi dialect may be traced back to the Sanskrit." On the other hand, a third writer maintains that "the line taken by Professor Lassen of treating all Prākrit words as necessarily modifications of Sanskrit words is one which he has borrowed whole from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, and however excusable in those ancient commentators seems unworthy of an age of critical research." Dr. Muir, in the second volume of his Original Sanskrit Texts, republished within the last few months, holds, as is usual with that most impartial of critics, a middle course between the two extreme views. He says:—"Lassen may not underrate the number of purely indigenous words in the Prākrits, as they are exhibited in the dramas, polished compositions written by Pandits, men familiar with Sanskrit; but his remarks are not certainly correct if applied to the modern vernaculars, in which words not derived from the Sanskrit, and which must have come down from them to the vernacular Prākrits, are very numerous." For my own part, a resident of Braj, and writing of the Braj Bhāshā, the typical form of modern Hindi, which I hear spoken about me, I discover every day stronger arguments for agreeing to the very full both with Lassen and the ancient commentators. The maxim 'stare super antiquas vias' is one which has often proved sound in application, and is never rashly to be discarded. After a lapse of 1800 years the sūtras of Vararuchi, if rightly handled, seem to me as accurate an exponent of the variations from classic form which characterise the modern dialect as they were of the peculiarities of the vulgar speech at the time when they were first enuntiated. No more satisfactory proof could be desired of the essential identity of the Indian vernacular from its Vedic birth to its present rustic degradation. Out of Sanskrit arose the Pāli, from that the Sauraseni Prākrit, and from that again the Braj Bhāshā; each supplanting its predecessor so imperceptibly that neither contemporaries were conscious of the transition, nor can critics at the present day determine its period.

I specially omit from the above table of descent the language of the Buddhist Gāthas, which appears to be entirely exceptional. Used by the early teachers of Buddhism, men for the most part sprung from the lower orders of the people, it is described by Bābu Rājendralāla Mitra, who is of all men best competent to speak on the subject, as differing from the Sanskrit more in its neglect of the grammatical rules of the latter than from inherent peculiarities of its own: "it professes to be Sanskrit, and yet does not conform to its rules." A fitting and indeed a singularly close parallel to such a style is afforded by the barbarous Latin of some of the medieval
ecclesiastical historians. Take for example the following passage from a chronicle of the tenth century: —"Otto rex veniente Italic regno, tanta pene multitudo gentis in Italia, que sic impleverunt faciem terre, sicut situle. Habebat antem secum gentes nationes quorum lingua non agnoscebant gentis. Insuper hanc habsbant gens que Guinula vocabantur, sarcinas et carros et machina portantes. Erat enim aspectus eorum orribilis, et curbis properantes, carpentes iter et ad prelium ut ferro stantes." To use the very words of the learned editor of the Lalita Vistara, it professes to be Latin and yet does not conform to its rules: though at the same time the similarity is sufficient to render the meaning of the barbarous jargon tolerably intelligible.

In my present remarks I do not propose an exhaustive discussion, but merely to suggest—1stly, an answer to a prominent argument; 2ndly, to depreciate prima facie conclusions on the part of the non-Aryan school; and 3rdly, to indicate a mode of illustration which I conceive may be employed with great effect in support of the opposite theory.

It is asserted that the earliest native grammarians distinctly recognise the presence of a des'ī or non-Aryan element in the different Prākrits; as for example, the line in the Kāvyā-chandrikā: Tadbhavam, tat-samam, desity, anekam prākritam viduh, upon which the scholiast's remarks are as follows: "Tadbhava Sanskrita-bhavah, khanggādi s'abdah," "Tad-bhava means derived from Sanskrit, as Khaṅga for Khadga, and so on." Tatsamah Sanskrita-prakritayoh samah, hindira-handi ityādi s'abdah. "Tatsama means the words which are alike in Sanskrit and Prākrit, as hindira, a cuttle fish bone, hande, a mode of address, &c." Des'ī iti mahārāṣṭriyādi. "Des'ī is the name of the Māhārāṣṭri, &c." We may confine our attention exclusively to the above passage, since it appears to be the original authority upon which the comments of all later writers have been founded. The text is generally understood to mean that Prākrit words are of three kinds; 1st, tad-bhava,—derived from the Sanskrit; 2ndly, tātsama,—identical with the Sanskrit; and 3rdly,—des'ī, i.e. provincial, or rather—to obviate all ambiguity of expression—non-Aryan; since in the sense of local corruptions of correct speech the tad-bhava words are considered to be provincial. But the illustrations given by the scholiast appear to me to necessitate a very different conclusion. It may be presumed that in his time no Sanskrit word passed into the Prākrit without undergoing a change; the large number of purely Sanskrit words in the modern vernacular, and which I imagine the non-Aryan school of philologists would designate as tat-sama, never entered into the scholiast's imagination as an element of Prākrit speech, being all of very recent introduction. The two examples that he gives of tat-sama words are such as it would be difficult to connect with any Sanskrit root. The one is the name of a natural object, the other a colloquial exclamation; and both would appear to have been borrowed not from the Sanskrit, but by the Sanskrit from the dialect of the vulgar. In fact they are really what would now be ordinarily called des'ī; only with this material difference, that although of vulgar descent they have been formally adopted into the Sanskrit family. Thus it will be observed that the scholiast does not, as with the other two classes, give a word as an explanation of the term des'ī, but a dialect, the Māhārāṣṭri. Hence I infer that the original text of the Kāvyachandrikā involves two orders of subdivision, the one of words into tātsama and tad-bhava, the other of dialects as Māhārāṣṭri, Sauraseni and the like, according to the country (des'ī) in which they prevailed.

To sum up, there are in all Prākrits two kinds of words: the one called tad-bhava, corruptions from the Sanskrit; the other called tātsama, words of vulgar origin, and mostly signifying local customs or productions, adopted into Sanskrit from the want of any exactly equivalent terms in that language. Thus mediæval and ecclesiastical Latin, after it had become a dead tongue, like classical Sanskrit, borrowed from the popular dialect, itself a corruption of Latin, many technical terms, which would be unintelligible to a Roman of the Augustan age, while they have also ceased to correspond with the current forms of every-day speech. Thus if the division is exhaustive, every Prākrit word, though not necessarily derived from the Sanskrit, still exists there; allowance being made in the modern vernacular for the fact that a Prākrit term, when once transferred into Sanskrit composition, was stereotyped, while in current speech it continued subject to the influence of progressive phonetic decay. The above considerations clearly explain why it is that Lakshmīdhara in his Shad-bhāshū-chandrikā treats only of tad-bhava and tātsama terms; since a third division with the title of des'īya had never been recognized. Thus much in
answer to the argument drawn from the language of the ancient native grammarians in support of the view that the Indian Prākrits contain a large non-Sanskritic element. Their language, it is shown, is capable of an exactly opposite interpretation, and rather indicates that the classic and vulgar speech were both confluent from two identical sources. But again it is said all argument and theory may be dismissed as unnecessary, since it is a positive fact, and one obvious at a glance, that the Hindi vocabulary is, to a large extent, essentially different from the Sanskrit. Thus Dr. Muir writes:—

"There are in Hindi words which have no resemblance to any vocables discoverable in Sanskrit books, such as bāp, father; betā, son; per, tree; chauki, a chair; chuk, a blunder; khirki, a window; jhagra, a dispute; bakhera, a dispute; atā, flour; chatai, a mat, and a multitude of other instances." A few pages further on he gives a tabular list of such Prākrit words, with their modern vernacular equivalents, as are not found in classical Sanskrit or are of doubtful origin. This list is composed of the ten words above mentioned, together with fourteen more, viz., gor, the leg; pet, the belly; chhināl, a harlot; khonta, a peg; jholna, to look; harthārāna, to tremble; bārma, to sink; dūbna, to sink; dhakna, to cover; gharna, to fabricate; ghuntāna, to gulp; sin, a shell; chamakna, to glitter; and thokār, a blow or stumble. To this total of 24, he is careful to add at the end of a long comparative vocabulary of Pāli and Prākrit, extending over 14 pages, two other supplementary words, viz., os, dew, and dhona, to carry a load,—thus increasing the specification to 26. Now I am far from asserting that there are not in Hindi many more than 26 words, which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to connect with any Sanskrit forms; but from the pains with which Dr. Muir has made up even so short a list, it may be concluded that "the multitude of instances" did not readily occur to him; and secondly, even though the connection may not be discoverable, it is rash to assert positively that no such connection ever existed; witness the extraordinary manner in which, at the present day, English names are distorted by Indian pronunciation beyond all possibility of recognition. Even among the 26 words, so carefully selected, I detect several that, at a glance, appear to betray their Sanskrit origin; and I cannot doubt that a rigorous scrutiny would yield further results in the same direction. Thus I would connect os 'dew' with the Latin ros, the Greek ῥός, the English drop, and the Sanskrit ḍraṣa from the root ḍru or ḍraṃ, 'to run.' Again the derivation of pet, 'the belly,' from the Sanskrit peta, 'a basket,' appears to me by no means inconceivable, when we have the English slang term 'bread-basket' applied to that part of the body. Bakhera, again, which also occurs in the verbal form bakherna, 'to scatter,' as in the phrase bij bakherna, 'to sow seed,' is, I think, almost beyond a doubt derived from the Sanskrit kship with the prefix vi. So too, chauki would seem to be connected with chatur, 'four,' a seat, being ordinarily of square shape; while an 'outpost' (chauki) is most conveniently situate at a quadrivium or chatvāra; and a man may be called chaukas, 'vigilant,' who keeps a good lookout on all four sides. Again, chhināl is unquestionably the same word as chhina, 'perforate,' from the root chhid; and equally certain the Prākrit hūre for a 'dog,' is connected with the Kashmiri hūn, the English hound, the Greek ὑεῦ, Latin canis, and Sanskrit śvāna. Nor do I see the slightest improbability in the suggestion which Dr. Muir himself makes, that gharna or ghaḍna is from the root ghat, since Vararuchi expressly recognizes the substitution of ḍ for a non-initial ţ. But, without labouring to establish any further identification, we are justified in declaring that the system of hermeneutics adopted by Lassen, in conformity with the ancient grammarians, is an eminently judicious one, and less likely to result in error than the hasty assumption of the non-Aryan school that every unfamiliar form in vernacular speech is necessarily of barbarous extraction.

A skilful dissection of the village names that prevail in Upper India would probably illustrate in a very interesting manner the successive changes which the language of the country has undergone. And perhaps no district is better adapted for such a purpose than Mathurā. A mere glance at the map proclaims it to be of almost exclusively Hindi character. In the two typical parganas of Kosi and Chhātā there are 173 villages, not one of which bears a name with the familiar termination of -ābdid. Not a score of names altogether betray any admixture of a Muhammadan element, and even these are formed with some Hindi ending, as -pur, -nagar, or -garhi; for example Shalipur, Shernagar, and Shergarh. All the remainder, to any one but a philological student, denote simply such and such a village, but have no connotation whatever,
and are at once classed as barbarous Hindi. Yet an application of Vararuchi's rules will, in many cases, without any great exercise of ingenuity, suffice to discover the original Sanskrit form, and explain its corruption. Thus Maholi is for Madhu-puri; Parsoli for Parasurāma-puri, (Parsa being the ordinary colloquial abbreviation for Parasurāma) Dham-siṅha for Dharmasiṅha,* Bāti for Bahula-vati; and Khaira for Khadira. So far as I am aware, the true explanation of these common endings -oli, -audi, -auri, -āvar, has never before been clearly stated. They are merely corruptions of -puri or -pura, combined with the prior member of the compound, as explained by Vararuchi, in Śūtra II. 2, which directs the elision of certain consonants, including the letter p, where they are simple and non-initial; the term 'non-initial' being expressly extended to the first letter of the latter member of a compound. The practical application of the rule was first suggested to me by observing that two large tanks at Barsâna and Gobardhan were called indiscriminately in the neighbourhood, the one Kusum-Sarovar or Kusumokhar (for Kusuma-pushkara), the other Bārthī or Bhān-okhar. As the rule was laid down by Vararuchi 1800 years ago, I can only claim credit for its practical resuscitation; but it is of great importance, and at once affords a clue to the formation of an immense number of otherwise unintelligible local names.

The foregoing considerations demonstrate the soundness of the proposition laid down at the outset, viz., that the proportion of words in the Hindi vocabulary not connected with Sanskrit forms is exceedingly inconsiderable; such fact appearing—1st, from the silence of the early grammarians as to the existence of any such non-Sanskrit element; 2ndly, from the discovery that many of the words hastily set down as barbarous are in reality traceable to a classic source; and 3rdly, from the unconscious adherence of the modern vernacular to the same laws of formation as influenced it in an admittedly Sanskritic stage of development.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF VARIOUS PLACES IN THE KINGDOM OF MAGADHA VISITED BY THE CHINESE PILGRIM CHI-FAH-HIAN, IN A. D. 415.

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(Cotinued from page 74.)

PART III.

Since writing the last part of my notes, I have paid another visit to the Som-bhāndār cave, and carefully examined the chaitya I found there. It appears to me so curious that I propose to describe it more particularly. Its form is square with a conical top surmounted by a large knob. Each side is 1 foot 10 inches broad, and its total height is 4 feet 9 inches. On each face there is a pillared canopy, underneath which is a standing figure of Buddha on a lotus-leaf pedestal, with a miniature attendant on either side, each holding a torch. The hair on the head is knotted, and the body is covered by a long cloak. The hands, instead of being raised in the usual attitude, are held down close by the side. The attendant figures are elaborately dressed and ornamented. At each corner of the arch of the canopy are figures holding scrolls. In the centre of the canopy, and immediately above the head of Buddha, rises a pipal tree surmounted by three umbrellas. The bases vary in design; on either side, beneath the pedestal, is depicted the Wheel of the Law, supported on one side by elephants, on another by caparisoned horses, (with saddles of almost European shape), on the third by elephants kneeling, and on the fourth by bulls. The conical top of the chaitya resembles the cupola of a temple.

To return to Mount Vipula. This hill rises about three hundred yards to the east of the hot springs previously described. Its direction is due north-east. The northern face of the mountain is a rugged cliff, and its western slope is but a little less precipitous. At the foot of the hill there are six wells,—some of which contain hot, and some cold water. They resemble in shape those of Mount Baibhār, and are called respectively Nānā-kund, Sītā-kund, Sūmakund, Ganesakhund, and Rāma-kund. Nearly a quarter of a mile from these

Umrao, while another village in the Kosi Pargana has the fuller form Umrau, for Umrao-pura.
wells is a spring immediately under the northern face of the mountain. It is surrounded by a large enclosure, and its water is tepid. Passing through a courtyard, the visitor arrives at a small stone cell in the rock, and immediately above this a flight of some eighty steps leads up the side of the hill to a platform paved with brick. This is the celebrated Mahadhum-kuṇḍ of the Muhammadans, and Srīnggā-rikhik kuṇḍ of the Hindus. This well is held in extraordinary veneration alike by Hindus and Musalmans, and is thronged by pilgrims all the year round. The spot is celebrated as the residence of Mahadhum Shah Shaikh Saraf ud-din Ahmad, a saint, not only revered by the Muhammadans of Bihār, but by the followers of the Crescent all over India. The date of his sojourn at Rājgir was, as far as I can ascertain, about 715 A.H. The stone cell is said to be his "hujra," i.e., the scene of a forty days' meditation and fast [ver: chillah], and the platform above, the place of his morning and evening prayers. General Cunningham has been led into a strange error about this spot, and states it to have been the dwelling of Saint Chillah, a converted Hindu. I trust at a future time to be able to give a complete history of the life and writings of Saraf-ud-din, in connection with the history of Muhammadan rule in Bihār.

About two hundred feet from the foot of the hill, almost immediately above the northern gate of the ancient city, and nearly half a mile south-west of the Mahādeva, are the remains of an enormous brick Stūpa or "tope," now surmounted by a small temple of Mahādeva. There is a similar ruin opposite this at the foot of Baibhār, and the bed of the ravine is also strewn with débris. I clearly identify these ruins with the description of Hwen Thsang;

"En déhors de la porte septentionale de la ville, il y a un Stō̄pa... au nord-est de l'endroit où fut dompté l'éléphant ivre il y a un Stō̄pa."

Leaving this place, and going some few hundred yards to the north-east, one arrives at two small Jainas pagodas, built on a peak of the hill. The first is dedicated to Hemantu Sādhu, and the second to Mahāvira, the 24th Tirthankara of the Jainas, who is said to have lived, and died at Pawapūri, eight miles north-east of Rājgir. Continuing to ascend the western face of the hill, one looks down on a rocky defile which separates Mount Vipula from Ratnagir.

There is little difficulty in identifying this from the remarks of Hwen Thsang as well as by those of Fah-Hian. The former says,† "Au nord de l'endroit où Che-li-tseu (S'āripouttra) avait obtenu le fruit du Saint (la dignité d'Arhat), tout près il y a une fosse large et profonde à côté de laquelle on a élevé un Stō̄pa... Au nord-est de la fosse ardente, à l'angle de la ville entourée de montagnes il y a un Stō̄pa. En cet endroit, le grand médecin Chi-po-kia (Djivika) bâtît en faveur du Bouddha, une salle pour l'explication de la loi." Fah-Hian writes:‡ "To the north-east of the city in the middle of a crooked defile, Djivika erected a Vihāra... Its ruins still exist." I believe these places to be identical with the remains which I shall presently describe.

Nearly a quarter of a mile to the east of the pagoda of Mahāvira one arrives at the summit of the hill, which is exactly above the centre of the "crooked defile." At this place is an enormous platform 130 feet long by 30 wide, and about 6 feet above the surrounding rocks. It is constructed almost entirely of the materials of Buddhist buildings [I counted more than 30 pillars in the floor alone], and this is easily accounted for by a large pile of ruins at either end of the platform. The mound to the east is nearly 30 feet high, and its surface is bestrewn with pillars and stone slabs. The ruins to the west are undoubtedly those of a temple or vihāra, and several gray stone columns are still erect. The modern Jainas temples on the platform deserve some notice, as all of them abound, more or less, in Buddhist ornamentation. The first of the series of four is only about 10 feet square, and is surmounted by a simple semi-circular cupola. It is dedicated to Chandraprabha, the 8th Tirthankara. The doorway is a fine specimen of Buddhist art. In the centre is a figure of Buddha under a canopy, and three parallel rows of exquisite geometrical pattern run round the sides. Above the door, a large ornamental slab, about five feet long and eight inches wide, is inserted in the masonry. It is divided into seven compartments. The first of which, on either side, contain figures of elephants, and the remainder—groups of figures in the attitude of the dance. This is almost identical with the ornamentation of a very beautiful doorway excavated by me from the mound at Dapthu, and which is now in my collection of Buddhist sculp-
tures. The next temple is divided into two chambers, and is of considerable size. It is dedicated to Mahāvīra, and both the inner and outer doors are very fine. The cornice of the latter is divided into nine compartments, in the first of which a man is represented in the act of dedicating a chaitya. The others are filled with the usual Buddhist devices. The top of the temple is pyramidal in shape. The next pagoda is faced by an open court, to the right and left of which are two slabs, the one covered with the representation of the ten Incarnations of Vishnu, and the other with those of the Nine Planets. The vacant space at the base of the carving is covered with a modern inscription in Nāgari. The doorway is surmounted by a comparatively plain moulding. This temple is dedicated to Munisuvrata—the 20th Jaina Tirthankara, who is said to have been born in Rājgir. Inside the fourth temple are four charanas—two of them being of white marble. They are dedicated respectively to Mahāvīra, [or Wardhamāna] Pārshwanātha, Shanthanātha, and Kunthankunātha—the 24th, 23rd, 16th and 17th Tirthankaras respectively.

Leaving the temples and skirting the north side of the ravine, you cross a narrow ridge which brings you to Mount Ratnagir. The summit is crowned by a temple decorated with some small black basalt columns, elaborately carved. From this a stone staircase or pathway leads down the western slope of the hill to the plain beneath.

Between Ratnagir and Udayagir lies a narrow valley covered with jangal, situated, as nearly as possible, due north-east of the ancient city, and stretching away as far as Giryak—a distance of six or seven miles. I shall now proceed to establish if possible an identification of this valley, connected with the writings of both the pilgrims. Hwen Thsang writes as follows*: "Au nord-est de la ville, il fit de quatorze à quinze li" [2½ or 3 miles], "et arriva au mont Ki-li-tho-kiu-ta (Grifdhakouia Pārvata) qui touche au milieu de la montagne du nord, et s'élève isolément à une hauteur prodigieuse. . . Le roi P'in-pis-so-lo (Bimbisāra), voulant entendre la loi, leva un grand nombre d'hommes ; puis, pour traverser la vallée et franchir les ravin, depuis le pied de la montagne jusqu'au sommet, il fit assembler des pierres, et pratiqua des escaliers larges d'environ dix pas, et ayant une longueur de cinq à six li.

* Mémoires, Vol. II. p. 20-21

† Beal's Fah-Hian, Ch. xxix. p. 114.
nearly as possible, one mile. The south and west side of the hill are covered with the débris of houses, &c., and the solitary peak which crowns the hill is surmounted by an enormous brick stūpa. Though there is no natural cave in the southern face of the hill, as might reasonably be expected, the other features it presents are so remarkable as to put its identification beyond a doubt, and everything tends to show that the caves and grottoes of Rujgir were mostly artificial.

Parallel with Ratnagir and Devaghāt runs Udayagir. Two ramparts or walls seem to have traversed the valley. The first to the west now called the Nekpai-bänd, and the second stretches from the foot of Devaghāt, as before described, to the centre of the valley, and this seems to have been continued as far as the foot of the Udaya hill. The slopes of this hill are more gradual than any of the others, and this accounts for the fortifications which surmount it. The steepest side of the mountain is towards the west, and it is through a narrow ravine at the foot of it, that the valley is entered from the south. The passage is very narrow, and in the centre runs the Bângañgå rivulet, which rises from beneath Sonārgir. The pass was strongly fortified, and the ramparts and bastions are still remarkably perfect, although they have been exposed to the devastation of the rain and sun for many centuries. Just within the valley are the ruins of the two towers, and at the entrance of the pass, where the width of the ravine is little more than twenty feet, two forts of considerable size—one on the slope of Udayagir, and the other facing it, at the foot of Sonārgir. The former measures 111 feet from the north to south, and 40 from east to west. From this point a massive wall, 16 feet thick, (and still having an elevation of some 10 or 12 feet), stretches in a direct line due east to the summit of the mountain. I measured it to a distance of 4,000 feet from the commencement, and it thus appears to continue its course for more than two miles on the crest of the hill, then to cross over towards the north, and finally to pass down the northern slope, and into the narrow valley between Udayagir and Ratnagir, just opposite the staircase of Bimbisāra, which leads to the summit of the Devaghāt hill. The wall is composed of huge stones on either side, closely fitted together without cement, the centre being filled up by a mass of pebbles and rubbish. There are traces of Buddhist ruins on the top of the hill, and I found several images, and the remains of two large stūpas, and one temple similar to that on Baibhār. There is also a large enclosure containing five modern Jain temples—the centre one square and the others triangular in shape. Each of the small ones contains a figure of Buddha bearing the creed, “ye dharma hetu etc.” There are large numbers of gray stone columns at the foot of the mounds abovementioned, and the spot has evidently been once the site of a Vihāra.

Although five hills are stated both in poetry and history to have surrounded the ancient capital of Magadhin, this can hardly be considered literally correct, and to maintain the old description, several peaks must be considered as forming part of the same mountain. Thus the rocky cliffs of Chhata or Chhakra must be deemed the eastern extremity of Baibhār, and the various parts of Sonārgir must be considered as portions of one great hill. Sonārgir, the most extensive, though the least lofty of all the hills, begins at the south-east corner of the valley, and runs due east from this point till it reaches the centre of the valley just above the plain of the Ranbhum. From this point three branches stretch eastwards; the first inclining slightly towards the north, and forming the southern boundary of the valley of the five hills, the second runs due east and forms the western side of the ravine which leads into the Hisua-Nowāda plains, and the third turns first south, then again almost due east, and finally terminates, as I have before described, in the rocks and torrents of Bāṅgāṅga. This was evidently the weakest point in the natural defences of the city, for an enemy who had once gained the entrance of the valley, (which appears to have been still further protected by a semi-circular wall outside it,) could easily pass up the gentle slope between the two last mentioned branches of the hill, and descend by an equally easy road on the northern side of the hill into the very heart of the valley. I ascended the hill on this side, and soon gained the summit, which, like that of Udayagir, is occupied by an enormous pile of ruins, and a modern Jain temple. Inside the pagoda is a large figure of Buddha, bearing the creed, and also a comparatively modern inscription on the unoccupied portions of the pedestal. Several columns are lying about, and also portions of cornice and other ornamental carving. This was once, evidently, the site of some great vihāra or temple. Thirty paces south of the
pagoda, one comes quite suddenly on the great wall—almost unbroken and entire. It is uniformly sixteen feet thick, but its height differs at various places. It commences in the Ranbhūm plain, and then runs in a direct line to the summit of the hill, a distance of 2300 feet. From this point an enormous embankment runs across the valley to the foot of Baihār, and now bears the name of Jarāsandha's band. At the top of the mountain the wall turns to the east, following the crest of the central branch of Sonargir, which now takes an almost semicircular form, to a distance of 4100 feet. The wall at this point runs down the ravine, crosses it close to the source of the Bāngañga torrent, then ascends the slope of the southern branch of the hill, and passes first along its ridge and then down its western slope till it ends in the foot of the stream, as nearly as possible 12,000 feet from its commencement in the Ranbhūm plain. The fort at which it ends is about half the size of the one on the opposite side of the torrent. I have thus succeeded in tracing the great wall which formed the artificial defence of the valley, but strange to say, popular legends, so far from connecting it with any such purpose, make it the evening walk of the Asura king—the spot where he used to enjoy the cool mountain air after the fatigues of the day.

Before giving some account of the wild ravine to the west of the valley, it may be interesting to say something of the Jaina pagodas which still adorn the hills. They are maintained and repaired by subscriptions collected all over India, and are yearly visited by thousands of pilgrims from Gwalior, Bombay, Calcutta and Murshidābād. They all contain charanas, or, impressions of the sacred feet of the Tirthankaras—generally carved in black basalt, but sometimes in marble, and invariably surrounded by a Nāgari inscription. I have taken copies of the whole of them, but many have become very indistinct, on account of the oil, ghi, &c. with which they are appointed. The following are specimens of them.* In the temple dedicated to Munisuvrata, on the Vipula-hill, I found the following:—“On the 7th of the waxing moon in the month of Kārtika, this statue of Mukhitigupta, the absolutely liberated sage, was made by Śri Sangha, on the Śri Vipulachala hill, and consecrated by the preachers of salvation.”

The Charana on Ratnagir bears the following:—“Om, Salvation. On the 6th of the waxing moon in the month of Māgha, Samvat year 1829, Shā Manikchand, son of Bulakidasa of the Ganghigotra, and Osa family, an inhabitant of Hugli having repaired the temple on the Ratnagiri hill in Rajāgriha placed the two lotus-like feet of the Jina Śri Pārśvanātha there.”

I conclude with the oldest inscription, which is on Sonārgir:—“On the 9th of the waxing moon in the month of Phalguna, in the Samvat year 1504 . . . of the Jātada Gotra, Rānāmāla Varma Dasa, son of Sangha Manikadeva, son of the wife of Sangha . . . barāja, son of Sangha Būnarája, son of Sangha Devarāja.”

The most recent of the inscriptions is dated on late as Samvat 1912, or A. D. 1855. I purpose in the next part to trace the route of Hwen Thsang amongst the hills and valleys to the west of Rajāgriha.

(To be continued.)

* These readings and translations were made by Babu Rajendralala Mitra, for whose valuable assistance I cannot be too grateful.
ON THE CHANDIKÂŚATAKA OF BÂNABHÂTTA.

By G. BUHLER, PH. D.

In the learned preface to his edition of the Vásavadatta, Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall gives (pp. 8 and 49) extracts from two anonymous Jaina commentaries on the Bhaktímaraśastra of Mânatunga, which contain curious details regarding the life of Bâna bhaṭṭa, the famous author of the Kādambari and of the Harshacharitra. Amongst other matters, it is stated there that Bâna and Mâyâ, the author of the Sûryas'ataka, were related to each other by marriage, and that each of them composed a SÂtaka or century of verses in honour of a patron deity and obtained thereby liberation from great evils. Mâyâ, it is said, who had suddenly become a leper, was cleansed of his disease by Sûrya, whom he propitiated with the Sûryaśataka. Bâna, jealous of this feat of his brother poet, thereupon cut off his own hands and feet, composed a SÂtaka in honour of Chändikâ, and through her favour obtained the restoration of his limbs.

Dr. Hall, in giving this story, observes that, whatever its absurdity, it may have an historical basis in making Mâyâra and Bâna contemporaries, and that it deserves attention for that reason. This surmise has also been confirmed by Bâna's own statement in the Harshacharitra, where he names Mâyâra amongst his friends. I have lately found that it contains another element of truth, viz. that it is right in ascribing to Bâna bhaṭṭa the composition of a Chândikâśataka.

Not long ago, I acquired for the Government of Bombay a book bearing this title, which, according to its colophon, had been composed by a Mahâkâvi S'râvaṇa or S'rîvaṇa bhaṭṭa. As no great poet of this name was known to me, and Dr. Hall's Jaina attributed a Chândikâśataka to Bâna, I at once concluded that S'râvaṇa or S'rîvaṇa must be a mis-spelling for S'î Bâna. This surmise was fully confirmed, shortly afterwards, when I obtained a copy of the commentary mentioned by Dr. Hall at p. 49 of his preface: for the latter work quotes the first verse of Bâna's Chândikâśataka, which agrees with the beginning of the soi disant S'râvaṇa's production.

The manuscript of the Chândikâśataka acquired by me is written on nine folios. Besides the text, which consists of 102 S'lokas, it contains a short commentary on S'lokas 1-84, written on the margin of each page. It has been written by a Jaina Lekhak, who, unfortunately, was neither careful, nor a good Sanskrit scholar. Though clerical errors and even omissions are frequent, still it is possible to restore the text of most verses.

Bâna's address to Chândikâ is composed in the S'ârdûlavikrīditā vṛ̥̃̄tta and its style, as becomes a poet like the author of the Kâdambari, is made to harmonise with the difficult metre. The tortuosity of the construction, the double-entendres and puns, and the quaint similes in which it abounds, will make it dear to the heart of every true Pandit. But these qualities make it rather an object of serious study than of enjoyment on first hearing or reading, and they render it improbable that European critics will accord to it the epithet of—"uttamā kavītā,"—"first rate poetry," which—according to the opinion of my learned native friends, to whom I showed the poem—is its due.

It is somewhat difficult to give an exact analysis of the contents of the S'ataka, as the poet himself seems to have followed no fixed plan in its composition. Every stanza contains an allusion to, or a description of an incident from Chândikâ's great battle with the buffalo-shaped demon Mahîṣâsura, and winds up with a prayer to the goddess to protect the hearers or readers from evil, to bless them, or to destroy their enemies.

That a Chândikâśataka should celebrate the victory of the goddess over Mahîṣâ, is no more than might be expected; for the Purânas state that the Chândikâ form of S'iva's wife, or Sakti, was expressly created for the destruction of that demon. In the Devimâhâtmya,* the story of Chândikâ's creation, and of her contest with Mahîṣâ and his army of fiends, is narrated at great length. According to that authority, the gods over whom Indra rules, were driven by Mahîṣâ out of heaven. They went to Brahma, Vîshṇu, and S'iva to complain and to ask for help. On hearing of the Asura's boldness, these deities were moved by anger and emitted from their bodies a great lustre. That lustre, united with the flames which Indra

* Mârkandeya Purâna, Adhy. 80 seqq.
and his followers emitted, and filled the whole world. It then assumed the shape of a three-eyed female, Chandikā-Devi. The gods, selected her to do battle with Mahişa, and provided her with arms for the combat. Siva drew a new trident forth from his own favourite weapon, Vishnu produced a new Chakra from his Chakra, Varuṇa gave a conch-shell, Agni a spear, Vāyu a bow and arrows, and Indra a thunder-bolt forged out of his own Vajra. The Himālaya presented a lion to be the Vāhana of the new deity. When Devi had thus been honoured with presents by all the gods, she uttered a great cry which shook the universe. The gods answered it with a shout of victory. Alarméd by the noise the Asuras sallied forth from Heaven and prepared at once to do battle with their newly created foe. After a furious fight the army of the demons was routed with great slaughter by Chandikā. Next the goddess had to undergo a series of single combats with Chikshura, the general of the Asura host and other leaders. When they had all been slain, Mahāṣa himself came forward. He assumed his buffalo-shape, attacked the Pramaṭhas, who accompanied Chandikā and routed them. Emboldened by this success, the Asura attempted to kill Devi's Vāhana, the lion. The goddess met his onslaught by entangling him in her Pāśa, or snare. He then turned himself into a lion. But Devi cut off his head, upon which he assumed human shape. Pierced by the arrows of the goddess, the demon assailed her in the shape of an elephant. Punished again by the loss of his trunk, he returned to his buffalo form and tried to bury Chandikā under the mountains which he uprooted with his horns. The mountains were rent to pieces by the arrows of the goddess. But, before attacking him more actively, she rested and refreshed herself by repeated draughts of nectar. Thus fortified, she jumped on the monster, drove her trident into his neck and finally cut off his head. The remainder of the Daitya army fled, the gods re-obtained possession of Svarga, and sang the praises of Chandikā, humbly acknowledging her power and supremacy.

It would seem that Bāna, when writing his Chandikās'ataka, had this legend, or some very similar story before him. He mentions the flight and helplessness of the gods, the circumstance that the goddess jumped on Mahiṣa and pierced him with the trident, and similar incidents; but he does not describe the combat with Mahiṣa at full length. He contents himself with taking out some of its most prominent features, and with placing before the mind of his hearers, again and again, the final tableau, where the victorious Devi appears standing on the body of her vanquished enemy. This picture gives him repeated opportunities of exalting the miraculous power of Chandikā's feet, and of recommending to his hearers the adoration of those limbs. A translation of a few verses will, however, give a better idea of the character and contents of the poem than the most minute analysis. I subjoin, therefore, some of the first Slokas as well as the concluding one.—

Text.

Mā bhānkṣhir vibhrānam bhrūradhara vidhuratā keyam āśyasya rāgam pāṇe prānyeva nāyaśū kalayasi kalahaśraddhaya kiṃ triśūlam ītyudyatkopaketūn prakṛtim avavāvān āppayantevyave devyā nyastō vo mūrdhni mushyānanmarudāṣūrdaśā sūn sāhārann anghri prāśah \( 1 \)

Humkāre nyakkritodanvati nudati jite āśinjāntair nūpusasya āśishyachchhringakstatāṭprakṛtharaspaḍēṣijī niñjālaktaubhruntibhāji \( 1 \)

skandhe vindhyādrībdhūtyā nikashati mahiṣhāyābhītosānāhāshīk śājānādeva yasyāścharanā iti śivami sā śivā vaḥ Karotu \( 2 \)

Jāhnavyā yā na jatānunayapariharakshityā kṣhālayantyā nūnā no nūpūreṇā glapitaśāśrcharuḥ jyotināyāḥ nākhnām tāsūvobhām ādadhānā jayati nijam ivālaktakaṃ piḷayītvā pādenaivakhipitāvah nishānaṇaṇiśhāyātmāḥ āryā \( 3 \)

Mrītyus tulyam trilokīṃ grātimatārasā nishkṛtiḥ kiṃ nu jihvāḥ kiṃ vā krishnāngriḥpadmadyutibhirarunītā vishnupadyāḥ padavyah \( 4 \)

praptāḥ samdhīyāḥ smarāreḥ svayam uta nutibhisthīra ityūhyamanā devaiv devirudrå Śāhāṣhajuṣho raktdhārā jayantī ||

* The MS reads, sliṣhyachchhringakśhitīpi, but I am unable to extract any sense out of this reading.
Datte darpāt prahāre sapadi padabharotpishṭa- 

dehāvasihtām

ślīṣṭāṁ śringasya koṭim mahishasurariyor 

nāparagranthisiṁni | 
mushyādaṁ kalmashāñi vyatikaraviratāvā- 

 ādadānāṁ kumāro 

mātṛḥ prabrhaśtalālākuvalalyakālākārnāpū- 

rādaṛēṇa ||

Trai lokyātankaṁśye pravis'ati vivasē dhātārī 

dhyānatandrām 

indrāyēshu dravatsu draviṇapatiyaya- 
pālalānaleśu |

sparśenaivātra pishṭvā mahisham atirushāṁ 

trāsayaṁta jaganti 

pātu tvām pancha chāndyāscharāṇanakham 

ime nāpāre lokapalāḥ ||

Kunte dantairruddhē dhanushī vimukhitajye 

vishāṇeṣa mūlā- 
lāṅgulena prakōṣṭhe valayīnī patite tatt- 

kripāṁ svāpānēḥ |

śūle lāṅgurghāṭāit laritakaratalāt prachyute 

dōram urvāyam 

sarvāṅgīpañcī lāyāmī jayaṁ charaṇatāśa cha- 

ndikā chuṛṇayantī ||

(102).

Translation.

1. “O brow, do not interrupt thy coquettish 

play! O lip, what mean these contortions! O 

face, throw off the (expression of) passion! O 

hand, why brandishest thou the trident in ex- 

pectation of strife. He is no longer alive.”

Speaking thus Devī reduced, as it were, to 

their natural state her limbs that showed signs 

of rising anger. May her foot that stole the 

vital spirits of the enemy of the gods, being 

placed on your heads, take away your distress. 

2. Whilst his bellowing of defiance, that 

surpassed the roar of the ocean, was conquered 

by the jingling of her anklets, and whilst the 

blood, flowing from the wound inflicted by his 
enecircling horn, was mistaken (by the goddess) 

for the lac dye of her foot-soles, she placed, by 
mistake, her foot on the shoulder that resem 

bled a touch-stone, and took the life of Mahisha. 

May that female Siva give you happiness.

3. The worshipful goddess assumes, through 

her anklets that make the hare-bearer’s bright- 

ness fade, or through the moon-like brilliancy of 

her toe nails, such a splendour, which Jahnû’s 

daughter, who was flung into her course by the 

affection of a son and who certainly purifies us, 

* Lāṅgulena prakōṣṭhe valayīne tattkripāṁsvāpānēḥ. 

—MS. against metre and sense.

† Though the commentator does not mention his name, or 

time, it is very probable that he lived at the beginning of the 

does never wear.—Glory to her, who crushed 

with her foot Mahīṣa like the lac dye of her 

soles and who threw him away, when he had be- 
come worthless through the taking of his life-juice. 

4. Glory to those jets of blood that issued from 

Mahīṣa, when he was struck by Devī’s 

trident, and that made the gods ask themselves 
in perplexity, ‘Has Death, greedy to swallow 

the three worlds put forth his three tongues at 

once? Or are the roads, which Viṣṇu steps on, lit up by the brilliancy of Kṛṣṇa’s lotus 

feet? Or have the three Sandhyās appeared 

(at once) in consequence of the devotions of the 

enemy of Cupid?’

5. When Mahīṣa, the enemy of the gods, 

struck out of pride, the tip of his horn, which 
became the sole remnant of his body, that was 

crushed by the weight of (Devī’s) foot, became 

entangled in the knot of her anklet,—May 

Kumāra who at the end of the combat took 
it up, supposing it to be the bud of a lotus fallen 

from his mother’s ear, take away your sins.

9. May the five toe-nails of Chāndikā—not 

these other guardians of the world—protect you, 
since by their mere touch they crushed the over- 

furious Mahīṣa, who made the worlds tremble, 

while the Creator, who was to be exiled for the 

torment of the world, helpless entered weary 

meditation, and Indra, with the other gods, 

the Lord of Wealth, the Guardian of the Ocean, 

Yama and Agni, took to flight.

102. His teeth held firmly the spear, his horn 

had entirely unstrung the bow, his tail, like a 

bracelet, encircled the elbow, from her hand, 

her sword had fallen, by the spasmodic blows 

of his feet the trident had been flung from her 

graceful hand, far away on the ground—Glory 

to Chāndikā, who (then) crushed all the 

limbs of the buffalo with her foot.”

As the story of the Jaina commentator† has 
gained a fresh interest by the recovery of the 

Chandikā Sataka and as it is not improbable 

that other statements which it contains may 

prove of use of students of Sanskrit literary his- 
tory, I give in conclusion a translation of the 

introductory Kathā which describes the origin of 

the Bhaktāmarastotra, as far as it relates to 

Mayāra and Bāṇa. It runs as follows:—

“Formerly there lived in Amāravati Ujjayini, 

Śrī Ujjayini, a Pandit, named Mayāra, who had 

15th century, as he names Śrītālaka Śāri as the predecessor 

of the reigning Paddadhāri Gunaḍhara, in the Vamsāvali, 
at the conclusion of the book. Śrītālaka of the Abhayā- 

devaramma was the teacher of Rajaekka, who wrote the 

Prabandha Kosa in 1547.
studied the Sástras and was honoured by the 
elder Bhoja. His son-in-law was Bāna. The latter 
also was clever. The two were jealous of each 
other, for it is said,—

"Donkeys, bulls, steeds, gamblers, Pandits, and 
rogues cannot bear each other and cannot live 
without each other."*

One day they were quarrelling. The king said 
to them, 'Ho Pandits, go to Kashmir. He is 
the best whom Bhārati who dwells there, 
considers to be the better Pandit.†

They took food for their journey and set out. 
They came on their road to the country of the 
Mādhumatas (Kashmir). Seeing five hundred 
oxen which carried loads on their backs, they 
said to the drivers, 'What have you got there?' 
The latter answered, 'Commentaries on the syllable Om.' Again they saw, instead of five hun-
dred oxen, a herd of two thousand. Finding 
that all these were laden with different new expla-
nations of the syllable Om, they lost their pride. 
They slept in some place together. 
Mayūra was awakened by the goddess Sarasvati, 
who gave him this 'thema' for a verse, 'The sky 
filled with a hundred moons.' He half raised him-
self, bowed and gave the following solution,—

'Chāhuramalla, stunned by the blow of Dāmo-
dara's hand, saw the sky filled by a hundred moons.'

The same question was addressed to Bāna. 
He growled and worked the thema in the follow-
ing manner:—

"In that night, on account of the lotus-faces 
that moved to and fro on the high terraces, the 
sky shone as if filled by a hundred moons."‡

The goddess said, 'You are both poets who 
know the Sástras. But Bāna is inferior, be-
cause he growled. I have shown you that quanti-
ty of commentaries on the syllable Om. Who 
have ever attained a complete knowledge of the 
dictionary of the goddess Speech. It has been 
also said, "Let nobody assume pride saying, 
'I am the only Pandit in this age. Others are 
ignorant.' Greatness of intellect is only com-
parative.'

Thus Sarasvati made friendship between the 
two. When they arrived at the outer wall of 
Ujjayini) they went each to his house. One 
after the other they paid their respects to the 
King as before. It has been also said,—"Deer 
herd with deer, kine with kine, steeds with 
steeds, fools with fools, wise men with wise ones. 
Friendship (has its root) in the similarity of 
virtues and of faults."

Once Bāna had a lover's quarrel with his 
wife. The lady, who was proud, did not put off 
her pride. The greater part of the night pass-
ed thus. Mayūra, who was taking his constitu-
tional, came to that place. Hearing the noise, 
made by the husband and his wife through the 
window, he stopped. Bāna fell at the feet of 
his wife, and said, "O faithful one, pardon this 
one fault, I will not again anger thee." She 
kicked him with her foot which was encircled 
by an anklet. Mayūra, who stood under the 
window, became sorry on hearing the sound of 
the anklet, and on account of the disrespect 
shown to the husband. But Bāna recited a 
new stanza—

"O thin-waisted one, the night that is nearly 
past, escapes swiftly like a hare; this lamp nods 
as if it were sleepy; O fair-browed one thy heart 
also has become hard on account of its vicinity 
to thy breasts, so that, alas, thou dost not put 
off thy pride and thy anger at the end of my 
prostrations."§

Hearing this Mayūra said—"Don't call her 
fair-browed but passionate, (chandi) since she is 
angry." Hearing this harsh speech that faith-
ful wife cursed her father, who revealed the 
character of his daughter saying, "Mayest thou 
become a leper by the touch of the betel-juice 
which I now have in my mouth." At that 
moment lepra-spots appeared on his body. In 
the morning Bāna went as formerly to the Court 
dressed as a Varaka and made with reference to 
Mayūra, who also came, the following speech con-
taining a pun, "The Varakoṣha has come."||

The King understanding this, and seeing the 
lepra-spots, sent (Mayūra) away, saying, "You 
must go." Mayūra fixed himself in the temple 
of the Sun, sat down, keeping his mind concen-
trated on the deity, and praised the Sun with

* Na sahanti ikkamikka na vinā chithanti ikkamikkena 
rāsadavaasabaturga juyāra paṭiḍiṇyāḍambā.
† A journey to Kashmir and a presentation of books to 
Sarasvati is frequently mentioned as a test for poets by 
the Jaina authors.
‡ Jāgiritomayūro vànyā s‘atachandramnabhastalaim 
samasyapadain invadantyā ardhotthitenanatena 
Dāmodarakarāghata vivhalikritachetasa.

Iti samasyā purītaḥ | Bānopi tathāva prītaḥ | hūnkaśtra 
krīva tenajī kathā | TASYām uttaravānadhuṣṭrīlavoḍaṇāmbuṣajī |
Vīrārāja viṭhabavyām s‘atachandraṁ nabhastalam.||
§ Gataśrāyaṇaṁ kriṣṭatun s‘asīyataturva 
Pradippayāma ṕrāṣṭānam upagato gāṁnaṁ īva |
Prāṇamante manāh tyajaśa na yatihaṁ kruḍhāṁ abha 
Kuchaparivātātvaḥ bhaṭṭavām api te subhāṁ kathānam īva |
I am unable to translate the term Varakoṣha. The words of 
the text are—Varakavastram, pariḥvāya sametam mayūram 
prati (avau varakoṣha) iti s‘ishtam vacha uvaccha.
the Rapti, Nepal, and after uniting with the Mahanada to fall into the Ganges. 

Stan, Julien (II., 325) and Beal (Fa-Hian p. 89) translate the end, and later also Hwen Thsang mention a land belonging on, Kapilavastu called Sākyavatthu (Kapilavatthu) and Koliya. 

Contemporaneously therewith Fa-Hian (Chap. 22, at stºpg) as existing in the time of Asoka, and belonging to the Koliya (Cf. also Bigandet, Ind. L. G., p. 181). The legend had already been made known by Turnour, Csomá Körösi, and Hardy, if not textually, at least in substance. See also Emii Ätta W. 

Now, whatever points of difference the legend here presents, the mutual relations of these three forms of the story cannot be mistaken. In the Dekdaka-forests, in addition to the reasons for the exile and the intermarriage of the brothers and sisters, we find mention made of the names Dāsaratha, Lakhman, Bharata, and Sítá; and Ráma is spoken of, not as a prince who was unacquainted with the exiled family, but as one of the number and occupying the chief place among them. And the poet of the Rámacáñana, following the main idea of the story thus presented, has not only represented Ráma and Sítá as lovers, but, what is most important, has added the rape of Sítá and the expedition to Lanká. He has also changed the place of the exile from Váranasí to Ayodhyá, and, on the other hand, he has shifted the scene of the banishment from the Himavánt to the Dekhán (Dandaka forest, &c.) 

Now, when we consider this question of the change of locality, it becomes evident that the removal of the place of the exile to the Dekhán can easily be explained by the poet's intention to describe an expedition to Lanká; while the alteration of Váranasí into Ayodhyá is perhaps connected with an older form of the Ságas, in which both Brahmá and Sítá are represented as having themselves sprung from the Brahmanical race, and as having by their penances won the favour of Brahma, Agni and other gods; and in this representation there may lurk an allusion to the Aryan origin of the royal race of Ceylon. And it is at least quite as consistent with the circumstances (if not even more so) that an Indian poet writing about the beginning of the Christian era (and the work of Válmíki can hardly date earlier than this, as we shall presently see) should have taken as the subject of his representation the conflicts with the Buddhists, which were by that time being fiercely waged, and have depicted a conquest of their chief seat in the South—as that he should have selected for his theme an idea so abstract as a picture of the spread of Aryan civilisation. The Monkeys of the poem, too, which are undoubtedly to be regarded as the representatives of the aborigines of the Dekhán, appear throughout (with the single exception of Bálina) as the allies of Ráma, and therefore as already brought completely within the influence of the Aryan culture. This holds true also of king Gúhá with his Nisháda. And though Wheeler certainly presses his theory too far when, for instance, he talks of the molestations which the sages of Chitruká there is and of the Dandaka-forest suffered at the hands of the Rákshasas and to save them from which Ráma took them under his protection, and makes these refer solely to the Buddhists; yet it must be allowed that 

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Ind. Stud. V 415 ff. Ind. Streifens I, 235 ff., and Rogers, "Buddhaghosa's Parables" p. 175. The legend had already been made known by Tourneur, Cosma Corosi, and Hardy, if not textually, at all events in substance. See also Emil Schlagintweit, Die König von Tibet (München, 1866) p. 13 32ff.

† In the Maháráman, p. 184-185, mention is made of a place Rámagámana on the banks of the Gangá (with a sacred stupa) as existing in the time of Asoka, and belonging to the Koliya (Cf. also Bigandet, Life of Buddha p. 346.) Contemporaneously therewith Fa-Hian (Chap. 22, at the end) and later also Hwen Thang mention a land bordering on Kapiḷavastu called Láma, which Stan. Julien (II, 261) and Beal (Fa-Hian p. 80) translate by Rámagáma.

‡ "By Klaproth said to come from the mountains of Nepal, and after uniting with the Mahananda to fall into the Kapiḷi, near Gorakhpur."—Hardy.
Sita's speech in favour of the ahimsa, especially the protest which she raises against the attack on the Rākṣaṣa as inconsistent with Rāma's character as a devotee† may be fairly regarded as a reflex from an old Buddhistic legend embodying this idea that‡ a Kāhatrīya was not justified "in interfering in the disputes between the Brāhmans and the Buddhists," so long as the latter, that is the Rākṣasa of the poem, have not shown towards him any feeling of hostility. There is nothing, however, in the representation of the town Lankā and its inhabitants that can be regarded as having a direct reference to Buddhism; on the contrary, the same gods§ are invoked alike by Rāvana and by Rāma, just as is done by the Greeks and the Trojans in Homer. The red turban and the red garments of the priests who officiated at Indra's magical sacrifice|| and they are consequently not to be connected with the yellowish-red garments of the Buddhists (kāshaya, rāktapata). And finally, the solitary passage in which Buddha is directly, referred to, and then indeed only to be likened to a thief,oo has been pointed out by Schlegel as being probably a later interpolation. Any one, therefore, who may be disposed, notwithstanding the preceding considerations, to adopt Wheeler's view must be prepared to draw this further conclusion, from the great caution with which the poet has veiled his intention to depict the struggle with and the conquest of the Buddhists of Ceylon,—that he himself lived under a Buddhistic power, and therefore found himself compelled to conceal his real purpose—and that besides, to secure his own safety, he just took an old Buddhistic legend, and modified it to suit the object he had in view!

In addition to this tendency, whether it be specially political or having reference to the history of cultivation in general, which unquestionably runs through the Rāmayaṇa, and secures for it its character as a national Epic, it has still another purpose which may be said to lie on the very surface, namely, to represent Rāma as an incarnation of Vishṇu, and to confirm the supremacy of this god over all the other gods. With respect to this matter, however, it is difficult to decide in how far Valmiki himself had this purpose in view, or whether it may not have been introduced in later additions to the poem. On account of the loose connection in which the portions that bring out this idea stand with the general structure of the work, it is well known that the latter view has been most generally adopted.† But if Wheeler's opinion as to the anti-Buddhistic tendency of the poet should be positively established, then the view of those who believe that he had himself given this Vaishnava complexion to his work‡ would undoubtedly receive no inconsiderable support, inasmuch as this view so completely harmonises with the anti-Buddhistic theory. As a matter of fact, at least, the result was that by means of the Rāmāyana, and especially by means of the Vaishnava elements in it just referred to, assistance of the most important kind was rendered to the efforts of the Brāhmans, which were directed, by the clothing of their divinities and of the worship, of their gods with new life, to the recovering of the ground which Buddhism had won among the people. And it is at all events a remarkable phenomenon that the old Buddhistic Sāga of the pious prince Rāma, which glorified him as an ideal of Buddhistic equanimity, should have been cast by the skilful hand of Valmiki into a form§ which, whether in accordance with his own plan or through the introduction of subsequent elements, has so powerfully contributed to the suppression and overthrow of Buddhism—the Buddhistic elements so favourable and gratifying to the popular spirit being preserved, and merely clothed in a garb subservient to the Brahmanical pretensions.

In addition to the Buddhistic legend, it is beyond question that Valmiki must have had access to other materials for his work, which enter into its composition, and which must from the very first have secured it a favourable reception among the people. It is very obvious, for instance, to trace a connection between Rāma, the hero of his work, and the agricultural demi-god of the same name, the Rāma Halāhrīt of the Brāhmans. I have already called attention to this elsewhere|| and have laid special stress on this point, that in the versions of the Rāma-Sāga which are found in the Mahābhārata, and some of which are of considerable antiquity¶, a special prominence is given almost throughout to the fact that the reign of Rāma was a Golden Age, and that cultivation and agriculture were then vigorously flourishing. The

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* III, 13, 2 ff.
† rakṣaṇādūtaṁ vinā vairam būdhāṁ vīnaṁ na yujate[222]
§ Vide Muir, IV, 419 ff. Cf. also Rāma, V, 16, 41
Γ vide Ilmu, 19, 42, 21.

† Vide Ind. Stud. I, 51, 52, borrowed no doubt from the Vṛatam.
** II, 105, 33, Ed. Schl.
†† Vide Lassen, Ind. A. K. I, 488-489; Muir, Orig. S. Texts IV, 142 ff. 377 ff.

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† Gorresio, vol. X. p. xliii, is at least undecided.
‡ This Buddhistic germ of Rāma's personality is still in fact apparent enough in the Ramōyana in its present form; and in opposition to Monier Williams, who supposed that we were to find here later Christian influences, I had already pointed out this fact in my treatise on the Rāma Tīp. Ėp. p. 275 (1864), even before D'Alwis had made us acquainted with the contents of the Dāsarathajātaka.

|| Vide Ind. Stud. I, 115, 277. II, 392, 410. Vorles. über Ind. Lit. Græc. p. 181. Rāma Tīp. Ėp. p. 275, (where at the same time I have made mention also of the Rāma Ḫvāstra of the Avca; his genius of the air who as the friendly genius of taste, but also as a brave hero is represented as wearing golden armour.}

¶ Vide infra.
exile of Rāma seems intended to represent the winter-time, during which the activity of Nature, and especially the operations of agriculture, are at a stand-still. Any other direct evidence, however, of such a connection between these two is not in the meantime forthcoming. But on the other hand, as regards Rāma’s wife Sītā, there are two points that are all the more deserving of notice—namely, first, her mythical character itself; secondly, and especially her relation to the similarly named goddess of the Vedic ritual, the symbol of the field-furrow (śītā); and indeed the significance of both these points should be so fully recognised as that it could hardly be called in question. The accounts in the Rāmāyana regarding her being born from a ploughed field and regarding her return into the bosom of her Mother Earth; the name of her sister Urmilā, which can be explained as “waving seed-field,” finally, the surname of her father Janaka; Śraddhāyā “bearing a plough on a banner”: are alone decisive of her mythical, symbolical character. Fortunately, besides, for the working out of the conception, there was available the glorified representation of the similarly named spouse of Indra or Parjanya in the gṛhya texts, which picture her appearances in such plastic youthful beauty that the pencil of the poet needed only to add a few touches here and there. Endowed with these characteristics of the national goddess, the representation of the wife of Rāma must have awakened the widest interest; and this conception of her was admirably fitted either for purely poetical uses, or for the purpose of bringing back the hearers to their allegiance to the Brahmanical gods. Valmiki has besides introduced an additional element into his representation of Sītā, by making her the daughter of the pious Vīrāha king, Janaśa, highly honoured on account of his relations with Yajnavalkya in the Brahmana of the White Yajus, and in various legends of the Mahābhārata, a circumstance which is no doubt partly due to the desire of giving, by means of this paternity, a decidedly Brahmanical colouring to her descent, and which in fact may easily be understood as in some measure favouring an earlier conjecture of my own—namely, that Valmiki himself belonged to that part of India which corresponds to the kingdom of Kosala, bordering on the region of the Vīrāha, and standing in the closest relations with them—in the chief city of which kingdom, Ayodhya, the scene of Valmiki’s work is laid. It is also deserving of notice that Asvapati, the king of the Kekaya, who appears in the Rāmāyana as the brother-in-law of Daśaratha, is mentioned in the Brahmana of the White Yajus as being nearly contemporary with Janaśa. The name of Sītā herself occurs in a Yajus-text as even then in use as a proper name: though the bearer of it appears there in a relation

* Ram I, 66, 14, 15, (25) Schulte: atha me krishnah kṣetram gāndāla udātī tataḥ | kṣetram śūrayatvā labdha nāmāḥ Sītā viśvāta, hīḥ bhu tā lā udātī śā tu, vṛdha mānāḥ tāmaṇāḥ | vīraḥ udātī me kanyā eśātipate ānyojā || bhu tā lā udātī tām tu...†

† First mentioned indeed in the Utrarākanda.

† First, so far as I have been able to discover, in the Utrārākhandhāra.

†§. Cf. my Abh. über Omnia und Portenta pp. 370, 373.

†§ Sūryāja piṭaka udātikā are the words so early as in the Kāvya, 106, naturally, however, without any reference to the later position of the Vīraḥ udātī, and in the Utrārākhandhāra.

†§ Cf. my Abh. über Ominia und Portenta pp. 370, 373. With regard to this special reference to glorified names in the White Yajus, it should be added that Valmiki’s own name, as is well-known, appears among the teachers who are mentioned in the Tattvīrīya-Pratī. And indeed it appears in one passage (1, 2, 4) as coming next to that of Agnivesa, vide Ind. Stud. I, 117, where I have called attention to the fact that a Rāmāyana is also ascribed to one Agnivesa. It is apparently, therefore, quite a modern composition (vide Aufrecht, Catal. Cod. MSS. Sanskrit, 1216), bearing the name Rāmāchandracharitamahāvastram, and composed in 10,2 śārdūlākṛtita-verses; but the indication of this name is certainly significant, especially when we consider that Bārāhakīti Jātanakaputra (for the form of this name vide Sātap XIV, 5, 4, 30) who celebrated Rāma’s exploits in a dramatic form, belonged to a Brahmanical family which studied the Tattvīrīya in the Bhūy, Pur. IX, 2, 21, ed. Burnouf, p. 191; Jātanakaputra-Agnivesa; that further there exists a drama called mehandakritam (vide Taylor; Catalogue of Or. MSS. XI. 11, Madras 1857) composed by Bādhyānacarhi (Bādhyānacarhi?) in sōka and corresponding to the first six sānqā of the Rāmāyana; and that, finally, the names of the Sages Bādhyānacarhi, Aṇkṣṭa, and Atri, which are so remarkably prominent in Valmiki’s description of the exile, appear also among the teachers of the Tattvīrīya. From all this, then, it appears to be fairly presumable that the Rāma-Seṣa was very carefully preserved among the followers of the Yajus, especially of the Tattvīrīya; though this is perhaps to be accounted for only on the ground that Valmiki, the first who made a poetical use of the Seṣa, was one of themselves, and bore a name peculiar to them. According to the tradition of the Adhyatma Rāmāyana II, 0, 0, 0, vide Hall in the Ind. Stud. II, 0, 83 and Wheeler p. 312, Valmiki was “of low caste”! But neither in his work itself nor in Bārāhakīti is there anything to be found that bears out this assertion.

quite different from that which is found both in the grihyasūtras and in the Rāmāyana, namely, as the daughter of Sāvitar, that is, of Prajāpati, and as enamoured of the Moon, who on his part looked on another of the daughters of Sāvitr (Faith); by the help of her father, however, she succeeds in winning his love.† It seems to me that in this Sūtra, too, we may find an element that has been made use of by Vālmiki; in so far only, however, as the garland (accompanying the action with the recitation of various sentences,) and on account of the virtue of which, as a love-charm, the whole legend has been narrated, may probably have served as a direct model for the angarāga (philter) which Anasuya, the wife of Atri, pours out in the form of an ointment, over the limbs of Sītā. A still further parallel is indeed offered here to zealous mythologists. For since Rāma is, at a later period, called also Rāmakandra and indeed is called also by the name Chandra itself, the mildness, which is so prominent a feature in his character may, perhaps be explained in this way, that originally he was nothing more than a Moon-genius, and that consequently the Sūtra found in the Taitt. Br., regarding the love of Sītā (that is, the field-furrow) for the Moon actually represents the first germ out of which the Sūtra of the Rāmāyana has grown—that the angarāga—ointment of the Rāmāyana, the sthākkara alamkāra of the Taitt. Br., is just the fragrant vapour or the dew which rises out of the furrow, and in which the Moonlight is reflected. This would be indeed genuinely poetical, and perhaps also quite possible, if it were not that the designation of Rāma as Rāmakandra, or simply as Chandra is only found for the first time at a so late a date, that rather the converse asumption is far more probable, namely, that a poetical spirit among the Brāhmans connected Rāma with the Moon just on account of the gentleness of his character†; though by this view a reflex reference by the learned to the Sītā-Sūtra of the Taitt. Br., is by no means excluded.‡

EXCURSUS.

As the version of the Atanagaluṇḍaṇa by D’Alwis is rarely to be met with, I subjoin an extract from that work (p. 176 ff.), containing the substance of the Dasaaratha-Jātaka. This is evidently based, in part at least, on a metrical version of the story; and the verse quoted at the close about the 16,000 years that Rāma reigned after his happy return from exile has an almost exact counterpart in the Rāmāyana itself (though the number of years there is only 11,000), as well as in several of the Rāma legends in the Mahābhārata. And it is very possible that an acquaintance with the whole of the Pali text, which is therefore greatly to be desired, might bring to light still further coincidences of a similar nature.

**In afor'times there was at Bārana a king named Dasa ratha. He reigned righteously, free from the four causes of ajāti (favour, anger, fear, and ignorance). His queen-consort, who was at the head of 16,000 wives, became the mother of two sons and a daughter. The eldest was called Rāmapandita (Doctor), the second was named Lakkhana, and the daughter Sita-devi. Some time afterwards the queen-consort died. Upon this event the king was afflicted for some time; and being consealo by his ministers he performed what was necessary to be done, and married another queen. She bore him love and affection, and in process of time conceived and bore him a son p. 9 n. 46. Although according to the accounts in recent Burmese writings, the names Rāmakandra and Rāmasinha are found among those of the last princes of Srikhetra, which town is said to have been destroyed in the year 94 A.D.; yet Lassen, II. 1032 probably goes somewhat too far when from this circumstance he infers "with tolerable certainty that subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era, Vishnu was honoured there under the name of Rāma." On the contrary, these names, which are evidently understood as having some relation to the Rāma of the Rāmāyana, may be supposed rather to enter a very emphatic protest against the authenticity of these Burmese accounts, and especially against their having any validity with regard to the period in question.**

† In Bhavabhuti, l. c, he is addressed "apānavatāla jaçajnanañkalkalam°.

‡ In the Bhagavata Purāṇa, for instance, it is well known that many similar learned reminiscences can be pointed out. That the disciples of the Tātirīya-Śādo have even to the most recent times bestowed a remarkable amount of attention on the history of Rāma is, as we have remarked in note p. 123 referred to above, evident enough. And when, as we find it stated in Wheeler, " the ointment given by Anasuya to Sītā, which was to render her more beautiful, is supposed by some pundits to mean pity or grace in Rāma, which renders all women beautiful," it is probable that weans to look here also for a faint reflection of the Sūtra in the Taitt. regarding the love of the Moon for Sūdrā.
(laddhagabbhapanirhārdā). He was named prince Bharata. From the love which he bore to the son, the king said to the queen: "Dear (bhadda), I shall confer a boon; accept (it)." Behaving as having accepted it,† or as if she were pleased at it, she (was silent for a time) and went up to the king (one day), when the boy was seven or eight years of age, and said to the king: "Please your majesty, a boon was conferred by you upon my son; give it to him now." "Dear, take it," replied the king. "Sire, give the kingdom to my son." The king snapping his fingers wrathfully said: "Wretch (vasali), I have two sons as resplendent as two flames of fire, and dost thou wish me to kill them and give the kingdom to thy son?" (Whereupon) terrified, she quietly entered her bed-chamber. On subsequent days (nevertheless) she repeatedly asked the king to bestow the very king dom (on her son). The king, still refusing her the boon, and reflecting,—"that women were ungrateful and envious, and that either by means of forged writings (kiyapanna) or by means of a dishonest bribe (kiyulanche), the queen might procure the death of his sons," caused them to be summoned (to his presence), communicated the same (his misgivings) to them, and said: "Children, some calamity might befall you if you live here; go (therefore) to a foreign country or to the woods; return at the time of my funeral obsequies (dhümakāle), and assume the sovereignty to which you are linearly entitled." So saying, he sent for astrologers (nimittaka), and enquired of them how long he would live; and having learnt that he would live a further period of twelve years, said: "Sons, return after twelve years from hence, and ascend the throne." The princess saying: "Well," saluted the king, and went down the mansion weeping. Sītā (hearing this) said: "I too will go with my brothers," saluted the king and proceeded with them weeping. Whereupon  Rāma thus pondered:—"These are children. They have not, as I have, the wisdom of pariganhana.† If at once it be said to them; your father is dead, unable to bear the grief, their hearts will be rent. I shall (therefore) by some device get them to descend into the water, and shall then cause the intelligence to be conveyed (to them)." He then, pointing to a pond opposite to them, spoke in a couplet thus: "You have come very late, let this be a punishment for you. Get down into this water and stand. Lakkhana and Sītā have gone to the woods. He met Rāma at the door of his residence, in the enjoyment of health, and quietly seated like a firm golden statue. Having accosted him and taken his respectful distance, Bharata informed him of the news regarding the king, and wept with his ministers falling down at the feet of Rāma. But Rāma neither wept nor sorrowed. In him there was not the slightest emotion. In the evening, whilst Bharata was (yet) weeping, the other two returned with herbs and fruits. Whereupon Rāma thus pondered:—"These are children. They have not, as I have, the wisdom of pariganhana. If at once it be said to them; your father is dead, unable to bear the grief, their hearts will be rent. I shall (therefore) by some device get them to descend into the water, and shall then cause the intelligence to be conveyed (to them)." He then, pointing to a pond opposite to them, spoke in a couplet thus: "You have come very late, let this be a punishment for you. Get down into this water and stand. Lakkhana and Sītā have gone to the woods. He met Rāma at the door of his residence, in the enjoyment of health, and quietly seated like a firm golden statue. Having accosted him and taken his respectful distance, Bharata informed him of the news regarding the king, and wept with his ministers falling down at the feet of Rāma. But Rāma neither wept nor sorrowed. In him there was not the slightest emotion. In the evening, whilst Bharata was (yet) weeping, the other two returned with herbs and fruits.

From thence Rāma was altogether at home and the others nourished him with herbs and fruits. Whilst they were thus dwelling, king Dāsaratha, owing to the grief for his sons, died (a premature death) in the ninth year (after the departure of his sons). His queen, after the rites of cremation, said: "Give the kingdom (chatta) to my own son prince Bharata." The ministers saying:—"those who are entitled to the kingdom are in the forest," did not comply. (Whereupon) prince Bharata (resolving)—"I will bring my brother Rāma from the woods and will set him upon the throne," proceeded with four-bodied army and the five-fold royal insignia (pancha rājakulahādātha) to the locality where Rāma dwelt; and pitching their tents near it, Bharata with several ministers went to his residence at a time when Lakkhana and Sītā had gone to the woods. He met Rāma at the door of his residence, in the enjoyment of health, and quietly seated like a firm golden statue. Having accosted him and taken his respectful distance, Bharata informed him of the news regarding the king, and wept with his ministers falling down at the feet of Rāma. But Rāma neither wept nor sorrowed. In him there was not the slightest emotion. In the evening, whilst Bharata was (yet) weeping, the other two returned with herbs and fruits.

* D’Alwis has Baratha throughout.
† petition (pahh?) koted (thopetē)—"behaving as if (she had) accepted it; i.e. inducing him by her manner to believe that she would accept the offer hereafter," (the gerund, thopetē has usually the meaning, priester: properly, "putting aside.")
‡ With reference to this word, conf. Ind. Streifen, II. 337-9. In addition to the passages quoted there regarding letters and the like, numerous proofs are to be found in

§ In this respect the demeanour of the Madri-devi in the Vessantara-Jātaka (vide Hardy’s Manual, p. 117) corresponds much more closely with the account in the Ramayana.
| Conf. Fausböll, Dhammapada, p. 222 (where rājakulabha-dhāthas).
| * Contrast Rāmay, II. 168, 169.
* The wisdom of taking things easy, of accepting all things with complaisance, of submitting to every condition of life.
and wept and bewailed. Bharata (however) pondering,—"this brother Lakkhana and sister Sita, from the moment they heard the intelligence of their father's death, are unable to restrain their grief; but Ramas sorrows not and weeps not; I shall, therefore, enquire of him the cause of his non-sorrowing"—uttered the second stanza for the (purpose of) that enquiry.—

"Having heard the death of a father, sorrow distresses thee not (na ten pasakati) Rama. By what power (pabhava) dost thou not grieve for that which should be grieved for?"

Rama then addressing him explained the reason why he sorrowed not:

1.—"If a person by great grief cannot protect (pālītum) a thing, wherefore should a wise (vināu) and discreet (medhā;ī) man distress himself?

2.—"The young as well as (dahārā cha) the old, the ignorant as well as the wise, and the poor as well as the rich—all are (alike) subject to death (maccchuparyāyana).

3.—"The ripe fruit is ever in danger of dropping down (japatana); so likewise man that is born (of a woman) is always in danger of death.

4.—"Many people are seen in the morning (of whom) some disappear in the evening (savam) and again many people are seen in the evening (whom) some disappear in the morning.

5.—"If a stupid person, who weeps (tena) afflictive himself, can derive any profit (kimchīd attham) then indeed should the wise man do the same (kaicmenan[?] vichakkhana).

6.—"He who torments himself (attissan attano) (by sorrow) becomes lean and (colourless) cheerful; by sorrow (tena) the dead are not saved (na palettī), it is vain (niratī) (therefore) to weep.

7.—"As a house (saranam) involved in flames is extinguished with water, so likewise the steady, well-informed, intelligent and learned man speedily destroys the sorrow that is begotten (the feels sorrow) samyogaparamatho va cha dukkham.

8.—Alone is man (eko'wa machcho) born in a family—alone does he depart; the chief end of the enjoyment of all beings is their very association together (for a time) (sambhogaisavvapāninam).

9.—Wherefore the heart (hadīyam maṇam cha) of the wise and well-informed, who sees both this and the world to come (passato imam cha param cha lokam), and who knows the dhammat (annaya, i.e. ājñaya dhammam) is not inflamed even by exceeding sorrow.

10.—Thus I know exactly what should be done shall, seeing and enjoying (so 'ham dassam cha bhokkham cha) nourish (my) relations, and protect all the rest.

The attendants who heard this sermon of Pandit Ramas, declaring the transientness of things, were consoled. Afterwards prince Bharata, saluting Rama, said: "Accept the kingdom of Bārānāsi.

"Child, take Lakkhana and Sita and rule the kingdom."

(Why not) your Highness?"

"Child, my father said to me: 'Assume the kingdom by returning after twelve years. If I go now, I would not be acting up to his word. I shall therefore go after the expiration of the remaining three years?"

"Who will reign until then?"

"Do ye."

"We cannot."

Then (saying)—"Until I come these shoes will reign," he took out his shoes made of grass (straw), and gave them (to Bharata.) Those three people, taking the shoes, and saluting the pandit, went with their retinue to Bārānāsi. The shoes reigned for three years. The ministers placing the straw shoes on the throne, administered justice. Whenever they committed an act of injustice, the shoes struck each other. From that warning (sign) they reheard the case. But whenever they adjudicated justly, the shoes remained silent.

The Pāṇḍiṭ, after the expiration of three years, left the wood, and, having reached Bārānāsi, entered the royal park. The princes learning his arrival entered the park attended with ministers, installed Sita (in the office of) queen-consort, and performed the ceremony of consecration on both. The Mahāsattā, who had been thus consecrated, ascended an ornamented carriage, entered the city with a large retinue, and after receiving reverential salutation, ascended the upper storey of his magnificent mansion called Sukandaka. From thence he reigned royally for 16,000 years and went to heaven.

das a vassasakassāni sarhind vassassatāni cha |
kambugioś mahabahi Ramo rajyam akārayati ||
Buddha having delivered this sermon, applied the true explanation as Böhtlingk-Roth, s.v. As an epitaph given to Rama in the Rām. 1, 11, 11. V. 32, 10.

† The Sanskrit form of this verse differs only in the third patha, and, as already remarked above, in this respect also, that only ten hundred years are spoken of, instead of sixty hundred (making therefore altogether only 11,000 years instead of 16,000); but as regards the remainder, there is perfect identity. In the Sanskrit version the sentence runs as follows:

das a varșasakasāni das a varșasatāni cha |
kambugios mahabahi Ramo rajyam akārayati ||

This is how it occurs in the last chapter of the Ra-
Dinajpur, 16th February 1872.

I should be glad if some of the readers of the Indian Antiquary would supply some information as to the history of the district of Dinajpur. The only work to which I have access on the subject is Dr. Buchanan’s Report, and the writer unfortunately omits to state from what authorities his information was derived, so that I am able to form no estimate of its value. There are scattered about the district numerous pieces of carved stone, hewn-blende I think, of some them highly ornamented, and apparently of the same date, which local tradition declares to have been brought from Bânnagar, a place now a jungle, but said to have been the royal residence of Râja Bân, or Van, mentioned in the Mahâbhârât. Bân-nagar is situated about sixteen miles south of the town of Dinajpur, on the Purnabhoa river, and four or five miles further down is the mark of Kordoho (“hand-burning”), said to derive its name from the burning of 998 of Bâna’s thousand arms by Krishna. I know of the remains of at least four highly carved doorways, and some plain ones, besides numerous stones, generally hewn on one or more sides, often with mouldings, and the marks of metal clamps for holding them together. There are also, in different places, some score of pillars, of similar workmanship, though by no means uniform pattern. Four of them are set up at the four corners of the tomb of Sultan Shah, in the middle of the Bân-nagar jungle, where there are also a number of the carved stones to which I am referring, though evidently not in the position for which they were cut, but taken by the Musalmans from some earlier building.

Some time ago I sent to the Bengal Asiatic Society a transcript of an inscription on a pillar, more richly carved than any of the others that I have seen, now lying at the Rajbari Dinajpur, and to which I hope to find the fellow, as it is said to have been broken when in course of removal in consequence of some alterations, thirty or forty years ago. The inscription,† in three lines, is as follows:—

Durvârâri-varûthini-pramathane dâne cha Vidyâdharaî sâ nandam divi
yasya márgganéga-grâma-grahâ gyâte | Kâmbojânvayajena Gaunda-pati
nâ tenendu-maullernyâm pâtâdî nirâmâyî kursjara ghatâ varshaeva bhûthâhahab, ||

Bâbu Rajendralâla Mitra has been good enough to send me the following translation:—

"By him, whose ability in subduing the forces of his irresistible enemies, and liberality in appreciating the merits of his suitors, are sung by the Vidyâdhara in celestial spheres, by that sovereign of Gauda, by him who is descended from the Kambojan line. This temple, the beauty of the earth, was erected for the selene-cephalous (Shiva) in the year 888." Babu Rajendralâla further remarks:—

"The figures I derive from the words kunjara ghata, kunjara being equal to 8, the eight elephants of the quarters, and ghata three-fold or plural. The two dots at the end might be allowed to remain to make it correspond with the masculine praasadâh, though the word bhûshana does not take the masculine affix. This appears to me to be the true meaning. But if the word varshbe is a mispronunciation of warshmano, it would mean a temple which has many elephants carved on it." The pillar in question has eight elephants carved upon it, two on each face, crouching each under a tiger, or some similar animal, which is rampant upon it. The Bâbu afterwards told me that the date 888 must refer to either the Samvat or the Shaka era, and would be either A. D. 833 or A. D. 967, more probably, judging from the style of writing, the later, and that he attributed it to one of the Shaiva dynasty of Bengal.

This, if correct, shows that the remains can have nothing to do with Bâna, whose story is told in

upâsyena Sera, upâsîtvâ, Schl. Bombh, rájyam upâsîtvâ sa, B. sec. m. for brahamalokam—vishnulokam ABC, Sera, brahma-lokan Bomb, and for ganishyatâ—prayâsyatai Schl. Bomb.

This refers to Buddha’s telling the story of Râma (as the introduction of the Jataka informs us) for the comfort of a husbandman who had lost his father, and who “overcome with grief, left off all his avocations and began to lament”; the story is told as an example from the olden time:—“wise men of old, who knew the eight realities of a parent.” We are probably to find here therefore “a test of true Buddhism” (Max Müller on Buddhist Nikhils). This subject was undoubtedly a favourite theme in Buddhist preaching; compare on this point the legend (in Fausboll, Dhammap. p. 359, 386) of the father mourning over the death of his son, as also the legend of Kâsi-gotami.

† See Plate VII.
in the Mahābhārata, and I should like to know more about the Shaiva dynasty, and its connection with the district of Dinajpur.

I think it quite possible that the original temple to Shiva, of which these are fragments, was erected, not in Dinajpur, but in Gauda, the capital of its founder, and that its fragments were thence brought by the Muhammadans who had a large frontier post at Bān-nagar, or thereabouts, not being in possession of the country to the north. One reason for thinking so would be that there is no tradition of any such great rāja as the founder of this temple would be, or of any important personage between Bāna and the Muhammadan conquest. On the other hand, it is from Bān-nagar that the fragments have been distributed over the district of Dinajpur, and if it had been a Muhammadan, and not a Hindu building, which was there constructed of them, we should scarcely find, as we do, that the Muhammadans had plundered it for the decoration of the tomb of Sultan Shah. It appears to me possible that in Buchanan’s time, 1805, tradition may have confused some Shaiva-worshipping Bān-raja, or “King of the Forest,” with Bāna of the Mahābhārata, and that the date of the former may have been about A.D. 900, or not very long anterior to the Muhammadan occupation. The absence of all written history renders such confusion possible. Then further explanation is required, why a king of Gauda, of the Kambojan race, should have set up a costly temple to Shiva at Bān-nagar, forty or fifty miles north-east from Gaur. Buchanan tells a curious story of a stone which lay in one of the sacred pools at Bān-nagar, and which was said to be a dead cow thrown in by the infidel Yavanas, to pollute the water. He had it pulled out, and it proved to be an image of the bull Vrishabha, usually worshipped by the Shaivas. In another place he says that by the protection of Shiva, and the assistance of jungle fever, Bān-raja was enabled to repel the attacks of Krishna, who had a family quarrel with him, but that afterwards Krishna sent the Yavanas, enterers of beef, whom Buchanan believes to have been the Macedonians of Baktia, to attack Bāna, and that they succeeded in defeating him, after delving his sacred ponds by a bit of beef tied to the foot of a kite. This legend of the beef, and the other of the dead cow, correspond curiously with the fact of the finding in 1805 of the image of Vrishabha, and I think point very clearly to the overthrow of the worship of Shiva, and to its previous existence at Bān-nagar. Buchanan says that the story rests on the authority of one of the Purānas attributed to Vyāsa, and I find from Small’s Handbook of Sanskrit Literature, that the earliest date ascribed to the Purānas is the 8th or 9th century, while some are as late as the 16th. If Babu Rijendralāla Mitra’s date is correct, the Shiva temple at Bān-nagar was erected, and presumably the worship of Shiva was at its height, about A.D. 950, and the Muhammadan conquest was in A.D. 1203, or only 250 years later. The image of Vrishabha cannot have been allowed to remain dishonoured, while Shaiva worshippers were in the ascendant, and therefore must have been pitched into the water after the erection of the great temple. Who, then, were the Yavanas to whom tradition points as having defeated the Shaiva-worshippers, and thrown the image of the sacred bull into the water? Can the author of the Purāna have so confused tradition as to indicate by the Yavanas the Muhammadan conquerors? or was there a conquest before that of the Muhammadans, and yet subsequent to A.D. 833 or A.D. 967, whichever date is selected for the Bān-nagar temple? E. Vesey Westmacott.

Bengal Civil Service, Dinajpur.

Note on the above.

Bābu Rijendralāla gives no authority for taking ghaṭā as equivalent to threefold; and supposing that was its meaning,—‘threefold eight’ would be 24. But the instrumental varṣhena is a serious objection, I think, to his interpretation of kūnjaraghaṭavarsheṇa,—for if the last word of the compound meant the ‘year,’ and the other two 888, varsha ought to be in the locative case. When a noun denoting time is in the instrumental case it indicates the period occupied in doing a thing (Pan. II. 3, 6), and thus the sense of the above expression, if it referred to time, would be ‘the temple was constructed in 888 years,’ or at least that it took the 888th year to be constructed. But the construction is awkward, and if it represented a date the compound would be difficult to separate grammatically. I think the expression means ‘he who pours forth an array of elephants,’ or, if the va is to be taken as dhatu—‘the defier of the ranks of elephants.’ Varsmano does not agree with the metre and is consequently inadmissible: besides the compound would be ungrammatical. The word has two forms varṣhman and varṣhman; if the former be taken, the final word of the nominative singular of the compound would be varṣhmano, if the latter varṣhman, but even were it not so—the meaning would be “a temple in which there are bodies or carcases of many elephants.”

The idiom of the language does not admit of such a word as “carved” being understood, except when a double sense is intended. R. G. Bhandarkar.

Gonds and Kurkus.


I would beg to offer a few remarks in reference to a notice of the hill tribes of Gonds and Kurkus, which appeared in the Indian Antiquary, pp. 54-56. I have given some account of these tribes in my Settlement Reports on the Baitul and Chindwārā districts of the Central Provinces. Just now I wish...
INSCRIPTION UNDER THE KATARA OF DAMBULA CAVE TEMPLE, CEYLON, p. 140.

T W Rhys Davids, 14th Jan 1869.

INSCRIPTION FROM DINAJPUR, p. 127.

(Reduced to 1/5th of the Original.)

Govt Litho Press, Bombay 1872.

W Abraham, Litho.
only to touch on certain general points as regards these tribes. The Gonds and Kurkus are radically distinct, almost as much so as Hindus and Musalmans. Their languages are quite different, and have hardly anything in common, as I shall show by some examples. In the main, too, they inhabit different localities though they do intermix a good deal along the frontier line. The proper habitat of the Kurku is in the wild country between Asirgarh and the Pachmarhi hills. Westward of Asirgarh he is replaced by the Bhill. The chief seat of the Gonds is in the Baitul, Chhindwara, and Seoni districts, mostly east of the Pachmarhi hills; further east, he is replaced by the Baiyars of Mandla, a cognate, but still quite distinct, tribe. As regards religion the Kurku is a Hindu, a worshipper of Mahdeva and the Linga, a venerator of the cow, conforming to certain Hindu usages, and claiming descent from a Rajput race. On the other hand, the Gond admits none of the Hindu divinities into his pantheon, and is moreover bound on occasions of death to slay a cow and pour its blood on the grave to ensure peace and rest for the manes of the departed. In my experience, Gonds almost always bury their dead. Sometimes in the cases of Gonds of good position, who rather ape Hinduism, burning is practised.

The Gond deities are numerous; hill tops defiled are the favourite objects of adoration. The whole race is primarily divided into classes according to the gods whom they worship; those of seven, six, and three gods; it is doubtful if there are worshippers of four or five, but it is very difficult to get any accurate information, as even the Pradhans, or Gond priests, seem to have little knowledge on the subject. These primary divisions are again subdivided into numerous gots or clans which do not intermarry. There are said to be 12½ gots, after the manner of the Hindu castes, but the number actually existing is very much larger. I have been given the names of upwards of thirty. One god seems common to all the Gonds, viz., Buralpen, or the great god, though he is known by different names in different places.

The Gonds were once a powerful nation, and the Gond Raja had his seat on the hill of Deoga in the Chhindwara district; being ousted by the Marás has of Nagpur, he became a sort of pensioned prisoner, and he still remains a pensioner of the British Government. In former days the Gond Raja averted complete subjugation at the hands of the Delhi Emperors by adopting Muhammadanism, and to this day the Raja is apparently a Muselman; he sends for a pure Gond wife from the Chhindwara hills, and she conforms to the religion of her husband. It is common to hear of the Gonds as divided into Raja Gonds, viz., those of the royal stock, and common Gonds, but this I believe to be a fanciful distinction; but, on the other hand, there are two well recognised original branches, viz., the Dhurwas and Wikas; each of these has its got sub-divisions and its distinctions of worshippers of distinct gods.

With the Kurkus, the sub-division into gots is by no means so well established a fact as it is among the Gonds, and the idea was probably derived from the latter. As regards religion, that of the Kurkus is essentially one and the same, the same deities being worshipped under various forms as is the case with all Hindus. Both Kurkus and Gonds worship the manes of their deceased ancestors, and both perform ceremonies analogous to the Sraddha of Hindus. But it is undoubtedly true that customs vary immensely in different places, and what may be a true account of a Baitul Gond would not be equally true of one from the Seoni district, and it is also true that where the Gonds and Kurkus are in immediate juxtaposition, they have mutually borrowed some of each other’s customs. And again the Gond Thākurs of the Chhindwārā hills have adopted many Hindu customs quite unknown to their wilder brethren of the Baitul forests,—hence it may be that notices of the tribe may vary very much, and yet each present a true picture of the varying circumstances. The social customs of these people are very peculiar, but I cannot enter into an account of them now. As an example I append the numerals up to ten in Gondi and Kurku.—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gondi</th>
<th>Kurku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Wandu (Undiy).................. Miyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Runa (Rand) .................. Bariyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mund.......................... Aphiyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Nālum (Nalung)............... Uphanyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Siyum (Siuyung)............... Munyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sārum (Sarung)............... Turyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Yerum (Yedung)............... Eyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Irmul (Yermud) ............ Eyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Anna .......................... Arya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Pad ......................... Gulyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Kurku words are undoubtedly of Aryan origin as Bap (father), Mai (mother), Bētyā (son), Bete (daughter), gai (cow),—almost pure Hindu words, but these are exceptional. The corresponding Gond terms are radically different as Dāo (father), Yerā (mother), Chonā (son), Turt (daughter), Tāle (cow).

W. RAMSAY

MSS. of the Atharvaveda.

In Lunawādā (Revākānthā) is a small colony of Atharvavedis consisting of three families, who are in possession of the books belonging to their Veda. They have already furnished some MSS. to Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari of Ahmadabad, who, about two years ago, placed a copy of the Gopātha-brāhmaṇa, procured from Lunawādā, at the dis-

* The names added in parenthese is those given in Hislop’s Vocabulary as the Gondi names of the numerals.—Kn.
posal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. This copy is
one of those used for the edition of the Gopātha
in the Bibliotheca Indica. I have now obtained
the consent of the owners of the books to have them
catalogued, and the promise of a copy of the
Atharvaveda Pratisakhya. The copy at Lunawādā
is the third known to exist,—one being in the
Royal Library at Berlin and one in the Government
Collection at Bombay; the latter I obtained last
year at Bharoch.

One of the Lunawādā Atharvavedas says that a
commentary on four kandas of the Atharvaveda
exists in this Presidency, and that he has seen it;
he also asserts that a commentary on eight kandas
is in the possession of one Punākar, a pensioner of
Sindhiya’s at Lashkar. Is there any of the readers
of the Indian Antiquary about Gwalior who can
verify this latter statement?

Feb. 26, 1872.

G. BUHLER.

Note on Query 4, page 96.

The allusion apparently is to an incident in
Buddha’s life, mentioned by Hwen Thsang in
connection with one of the Mathurā stūpas. It is said
that while Buddha was pacing the margin of a
tank near that city, a monkey came and offered
him some honey, which he was graciously pleased
to accept. The creature was so delighted at this
act of condescension, that in his delight he fell
over into the water and was drowned. In his next
birth, as a reward, he assumed human shape. The
supposed scene of the event is within 100 yards of
the spot where I am writing.

Mathurā.

F. S. GROWSE.

Note on Valabhi.

Lunawada Feb. 24.

Sir,—On a late visit to Walleh, the supposed site
of the ancient Valabhipur, I obtained from one of
the officers of the Thakur the accompanying
Muhammadan coins, which had been dug up on the
morning of the day preceding my visit (Dec. 19,
1871), by the Kolis searching for Choras in the
ruins. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Mu-
hammadan coins to fix their age myself, and trust
that you will find among your contributors some
one able to tell us their exact date. As you are
aware, the destruction of Valabi is an event
around which there hangs more than one mystery,
and the question when it happened is one of the
most difficult to decide. The turning up of Mu-
hammadan coins among the ruins of the city ought
to help us to clear away some of the myths regarding
its fall. Besides these coins, I brought away
some other relics,—one of which, at least, is im-
portant from its bearing on the chronological
question. This is a small circular seal of clay,
that bears on one side the impression of the Bud-
dhist Creed Ye dharma hetu prabhava hetun, &c.

On the other side the seal shows a distinct impres-
sion of the human epidermis. It would seem from
this that the maker held the soft mud in the hollow
of his hand while stamping it. About three years
ago I was shown three similar seals by Mr. Richey,
who obtained them also from Walleh, and all of
them bore the same inscription. The Walleh of-
icials state that they occur among the ruins in great
numbers, and I have seen many in the possession
of gentlemen in Kathiawad.

We know that Valabhi was a seat of Buddhism,
and the frequent occurrence of these little seals or
madrás is therefore easily explained, as they were
most probably amulets worn by most Buddhists.
But the most interesting point is, as Mr. West (who
describes similar seals, obtained at Kanheri) cor-
correctly observes, that the letters imprinted on them
belong to the 9th or 10th century. (Vide Jour.
Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. VI. pl. LVII). Does
not this show that the ruins at Walleh were inha-
bited down to a much later date than is usually
supposed?—I have, &c.

G. BUHLER.

Query 5.

Can any reader oblige me with the correct bot-
nical names of the following trees, all common in
the Mathurā district, viz., the pilu or dungar,
chhonkar, pāsendu, pāpri, arni, hingot, ajan-ruk,
gondi, barna and dho? The names given are the
Hindi terms in common use.

F. S. GROWSE.

Pilu or Dungar is Salvadora Persica.
Chhonkar is Prosopis Spicigera.
Pasendu is Diospyros Cordifolia.
Pāpri is Holoptelea integrifolia. It is also the
name of Pongamia glabra.
Arni is Clerodendron phlomoides.
Hingot is Balanites Egyptiaca.
Anjan rukh is Hardwickia binata?
Gondi is Cordia myxa and species.
Barna is Crataeva Roxburghii.
Dho is Conocarpus latifolia.

16th March 1872.

NARAYAN DAJI.

The pilu is mentioned in the Amarakosha, Bk. II.
ch. iv. sec. 2 s.l. 9,—with the synonyms Guda-
phala and Sranai, and, according to Wilson, is the
name applied in some provinces to the Careya
arborea of Roxburgh, in others to the Salvadora
persica. The Barna is also mentioned in the second
half of sūloka 5, of the same section.

Varuno varanah setus tiktaś'ikah kumārakah | and is translated as the Crataeva tapia or Cap-
parīs trifoliata.

In sūloka 57, we have the karil,—

... karire tu krakar-granthilav ubbhau ||
and in s.l. 15, the Gondi,—

Seluh sleeshmatakah sita uddālo vahuvārakah ||

Ed.
THOUGH the number of bānas is invariably stated as twelve, and of upabānas as twenty-four, there is often considerable difference in the specification, and probably few of the local pundits, if required to enumerate either group off-hand, would be able to complete the total without some recourse to guess work. A little Hindi manual for the guidance of pilgrims has been published at Māthura, and is considered to embody the most authentic traditions on the subject. The compiler, however great his local knowledge and priestly reputation, has certainly no pretensions to accuracy of scholarship. His attempts at etymology are as a rule absolutely grotesque; as for example in the two sufficiently obvious names Khaira and Shergarh, the one of which he derives from khedma, "to drive cattle," and the other, still more preposterously, from sikara, "a marriage wreath." The list which he gives is as follows, his faulty orthography in some of the words being corrected:—

The 12 Bāns: Madhu-ban; Tāl-ban; Kumud-ban; Bahulā-ban; Kām-ban; Khadira-ban; Brindā-ban; Bhadra-ban; Bhāndir-ban; Bel-ban; Loha-ban; and Mahā-ban.


This list bears internal evidence of some antiquity in its want of close correspondence with existing facts; since some of the places, though retaining their traditional repute, have now nothing that can be dignified with the name either of wood or grove: while others are known only by the villagers in the immediate neighbour hood, and have been supplanted in popular estimation by rival sites of more easy access or greater natural attractions. But first to take in order the twelve Bāns:—

Madhu-ban is situate in a village, now called Māholi, some 4 or 5 miles to the southwest of Māthura. This forest, according to the Purānas, was the stronghold of the giant Mādhu, and from him derived its name. On his decease it passed to his son Lāvana, who, inflamed with the lust of universal conquest, presumed to send an insolent challenge to the most powerful monarch of the time, the great Rāma, then reigning at Ayodhyā. The god-like hero disdained the easy victory for himself, but sent his youngest brother Śatrughna to Madhu-vana, who vanquished and slew the monster, hewed down the wood in which he had trusted for defence, and on its site founded the city of Madhu-puri. This is uniformly regarded by native scholars as merely another name for Māthura, regardless of the fact that the forest is several miles from the river, while Māthura has always, from the earliest period, been described as situate on its immediate bank. The confusion between the two places runs apparently through the whole of classical Sanskrit literature; as for example in the Harivans'a, (canto) 93, where we find the city founded by Śatrughna distinctly called, not Madhu-puri, but Māthura, which, it is said, Bhumīa subsequently annexed, Bhumīa's own original capital being, according to this isolated legend, Gobardhan.

Śatrughna Lavānam hatvā chichchheda sa Madhor vanam
Tasmā Madhu-vane sthāne purīm cha Mathurām imām
Nīveśayānāsa vibhuh Sumitrā-nandi-vardhīnāḥ. Parīyāye chaiva Rāmasya Bharatasya tathāiva cha
Sumitrā-satayōs chaiva prāptayor Vaishnavaṃ padam
Bhumīyeyam purī tena rājya-sambandha-kārānāt Śvavānsa sthāpītā pūrvam svayam-adhyāsītā tathā.

But there are many very clear indications that the writer of the Harivans'a was a complete stranger to the country of Braj, the scene of his poem; for almost all the topographical descriptions are utterly irreconcilable with facts. Thus he states that Kṛishṇa and Balarāma were brought up at a spot selected by Nanda on the bank of the Jamuna near the hill of Gobardhan (canto 61.) Now Gobardhan is some 15 miles from the river, and the neighbourhood of Gokul and Mahāban, which all other written authorities and also ancient tradition agree in declaring to have been the scene of Kṛishṇa's infancy, is several miles further distant from the ridge and on the other side of the Jamuna.
Again, Tāl-bān is described (canto 70) as lying north of Gobardhan:

Go ā r d ha n as yottar to Yamunā-tiramsīrī

Dadrišā tato virāu ranyam Tala-vanam mahat-

In the Bhāgavat it is said to be close to Briṅḍā-bān; while in fact it is south-east of Gobardhan and, with the city of Mathrā, half-way between it and Briṅḍā-bān.

So also Bānābīra-bān is represented as being on the same side of the river as the Kālī-mār-dān Gṛāt, being in reality nearly opposite to it.

But to return from this digression; it is clear on etymological no less than topographical considerations that Mathrā and Mahantar were always distinct places; for Maholi, the traditional site of the Mahātana, is simply the Prakrit corruption of the Sanskrit Mahāpūri. By Vararuchi, II. 27. h is substituted for dh, (as bahira for budhira, 'deaf') which gives us Mahāpurī; and by Śūtra II. 2, the p of purī is elided (the initial letter of the last member of a compound being considered non-initial for the purposes of the rule), and thus we get Mahūrī, easily convertible into Maholi. Some faint reminiscences of its ancient importance would seem to have long survived; for though so close to Mathrā, it was in Akbar's time and subsequently for many years the head of a local division. By the sacred wood is a pond called Mahū-purī, and a temple dedicated to Krishnā-kūṇḍ, with a temple dedicated to Mahatana under his title of Chatur-bhuj, where a mela is held on the 11th of the dark fortnight of Bādon.

Tāl-bān is about 6 miles from Mathurā on the road to Bharatpur. The village in which it is situate is called Tārsī, probably in allusion to the ancient-wood, though locally it is referred only to the name of the founder, one Tarī-chand, a Kachhūwā Thākur, who, in quite modern times, moved to it from Satōha, a place a few miles off. The annual mela is held on the 11th of the light fortnight of Bādona. In commemoration of Balarāma's victory over the demon Dhanuk, who, as described in the Purānas, attacked the two boys in the form of an ass, as they were shaking down the fruit from the palm trees.

Kumud-bān and Bahulā-bān are in close proximity to each other, the one at Unchā-gāw, the other at Bāṭi, a contraction for Bahulāvati. The former has no special legend attaching to it, and the latter is only said to have been the scene of a terrific encounter between a cow and a lion, in which the cow came off victorious. There is a pond called Krischna-kūṇḍ, with a temple dedicated to Bahulā Gāe on its margin. Kām-bān is by the town of Kāma, the head of a Tahsili in the Bharatpur territory, 39 miles from Mathurā.

Khadirabān is some 4 or 5 miles from Chhātā, immediately outside the village of Khaira, which derives its name from it; the letter d, when simple and non-initial, being elided in accordance with Vararuchi's rule (II. 2), as for example ber for badara, the Zizyphus jujuba. The wood is at present of small extent, and consists of kadamb, pilu and chhonkar trees without a single specimen of the khadirā, i.e., the acacia. Hence probably the popular misconception of the name, which is unsucessfully spelt Khidir, and derived from the Hindi root khelā. Adjoining it is a large pond called Krischna Kūṇḍ, with a temple of Baldeva, and in the village another temple dedicated to Gopināth, said to have been founded by the famous Todor Mal of Akbar's reign. Bhdrabān occupies a high point on the left bank of the Jamunā, some 3 miles above Māt. With the usual fate of Hindi words under the present Muhammadanizing regime, it is transformed in the official map of the district into Bahādur-bān. It is the traditional scene of the Dāvānala, or forest conflagration, which Krischnā is described in the Bhāgavat as miraculously extinguishing. The neighbouring village is called Bhadamsa, i.e., Bhadra-pura. Close by, in the hamlet of

* At Satōha is a sacred tank called Santankaund, after king Santau, who, it is said, for many years practised the severest religious austerities here in the hope of obtaining a son. His wishes were at last gratified by a union with the goddess Gauḍa, who bore him Bhūsha, one of the famous heroes of the Mahābhārata. Every Sunday the tank is frequented by women who are desirous of issue, and a large melā is held there on the 6th of the light fortnight of Bādona. The tank, which is of very considerable dimensions, was faced all round with stone, early last century, by Sawāji Sīnh of Amber, but is now somewhat dilapidated. In its centre is a high hill, connected with the mainland by a bridge. The sides of the island are covered with fine cīva trees, and on the summit, which is approached by a flight of 60 stone steps, is a small temple.

Here it is incumbent upon the female devotees, who would have their prayers effectual, to make some offering to the shrine, and inscribe on the ground or wall the mystic device of the Sattu, Raja Santau is mentioned in several of the Purānas as the father of Bhishma by the river Gauḍa, and his name also occurs in the Nirukta: but the legend there related of him has nothing to do with his desire of progeny. The local superstition has probably arisen from a confusion of the king's name Santau with the Sanskrit word for 'children,' santina. Satōha is absurdly supposed on the spot to be derived from Sattu, as that was the royal ascetic's only diet; it is really a corruption of Santau.

* This illustration has not the authority of Vararuchi, who most unnecessarily, as it would seem, invents a special rule to explain the formation of ber from badara.
Chhâhirî, is Bândîr-bân, a dense thicket of ber and hina and other low prickly shrubs. In its centre is an open space with a small modern temple bearing the title of Bihârî Ji, and a well and rest house; and at the distance of a few hundred yards outside is a venerable Ficus Indica, called the Bhandir-bat, with a small shrine under it, dedicated to Sridâma. This was the favourite tree for the herdsmen's children to meet and take their midday repast under, and derives its name from the cups and plates (bhânda) used on such occasions. One day, according to the Purânas, the boys had made it their goal in a race, when the demon Pralamba, disguised as one of themselves, came to join them, and getting Sankarshana to mount on his back, ran off with him in hopes to destroy him. But the sturdy lad so crushed him with his knees and belaboured him with his fists that he soon brought the monster lifeless to the ground, and in commemoration of his prowess he was ever afterwards known by the title of Bala-Râma,* or Râma the strong.

Bel-bân is on the left bank of the Jamunâ in the village of Jahângir-pur, part of the endowment of the Bengâli temple of Sringâr-bat in Brindâban,—that town being just on the other side of the water. Loha-bân, in the Mahâban Pargana, some 3 miles from Mathurâ, across the river, probably derives its name from the lodha or lodhra tree. On the spot it is said to commemorate Krişhna's defeat of an otherwise unknown demon called Lohâsur. In consequence of the similarity of sound, offerings of iron (loha) are always made by the pilgrims. Of the two remaining bans—Brindâ-bât and Mahâ-bân more detailed notices will be given hereafter.

All the twelve bans are mentioned by name in the Mathurâ Mâhâtmya, and most of them, it will be observed, are connected with the Paurânik legends of Krişhna and Balarâma. On the other hand, the twenty-four upâbans refer mainly to Râdhâ's adventures, and have no ancient authority whatever. Of the entire number only three were, till quite recent times, places of any note, viz., Gokul, Gobardhan, and Râdhâ-kund. Of these, Gokul in all classical Sanskrit literature is the same as Maha-bân, which is included among the bans; Gobardhan is as much a centre of sanctity as Mathurâ itself, and is only for the sake of uniformity inserted in either list; while Râdhâ-kund, as the name

denotes, is the one primary source whence the goddess derives her modern reputation. We propose to pass them all briefly in review, excepting for the present the four first—Gokul, Gobardhan, Barsâna and Nand-gâñw, which will each in turn form the subject of a separate sketch. 5, Sanket, 'the place of assignation,' is halfway between Râdhâ's home Barsâna and Nand-gânw the residence of Krişhna's fosterfather Nanda; 6, Paramara is an obscure point in the Bharatpur hills. 7, Aring is a small town on the high road from Mathurâ to Dig. Till 1868 it was the head-quarters of a tahsili, though only 9 miles distant from the capital of the district. At the present time there is no vestige of any grove, and the only spot accounted sacred is a pond called Kikolkund. 8, Sesâi, for Sêsha-saya, is a village in the Kosi Pargana, where Krişhna and Balarâma are said to have revealed themselves to the Gopis under their heavenly form of Nârâyana and Sêsha. This is a good illustration of the disregard for ancient authorities which characterises the modern cycle of local legends; since the transfiguration in question is described in the Purânas, not as worked for the benefit of the Gopis, but as a vision vouchsafed to Akrûr, on the bank of the Jamunâ, the day he fetched the two boys from Brindâban to attend the tourney of arms at Mathurâ. Sesâi ought then to lie between these two towns, whereas it is in fact far away to the north of them both. 9, Mât.—In the town itself there is nothing whatever of interest or antiquity, though the two sacred woods, Bhandir-bân and Hadra-bân, are both on its borders. 10, Unchâ-gâñw is the old village site not far from the foot of the hill, the crest and slopes of which are now crowned by the temple of Lârliji and the comparatively modern town of Barsâna. Unchâ-gânw, corresponding to the English Higham, must originally have included in its limits the hill whence it derives its name. 11, Khel-bân is not far from the town of Shergarh. 12, Râdhâ-kund, or as it is occasionally called Srî-kund, i.e. Holy Well, is a small town adjoining Gobardhan, 15 miles to the west of Mathurâ. It has grown up on the margin of the sacred lakes, prepared according to the legend for Krişhna's expiatory ablution after he had

be one of the tutelary divinities of Mathurâ, a proof that the local cultus has a higher antiquity than is sometimes allowed it.
slain the bull Arishta. To avert the consequences of so ill-omened a deed, all the sacred streams and places of pilgrimage, obedient to the summons of the god, assembled in bodily form at the foot of the Giri-raj and poured from their holy urns into two deep basins, excavated for the purpose, now known as Krishan-kunj and Râdhâ-kunj. There Krishna bathed, and—by the efficacy of such concentrated essence of sanctity, was washed clean of the pollution he had incurred. And still, at midnight on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month Kârtik, the same spirits renew their visit to the auspicious spot; and every devout Hindu who then plunges beneath the wave acquires by the single act as much merit as if he had laboriously made a separate pilgrimage to each of the shrines there represented. The town which has arisen on the margin of these two famous lakes is of considerable extent, and is crowded with religious edifices, the pious foundations of princes and pilgrims from the most remote parts of India. One temple in particular may be mentioned as erected by the Râjâ of Manipur from the far east of Bengal. The two lakes are only parted by a broad stone terrace, and are both supplied on all four sides with long unbroken flights of steps of the same material. Ordinarily the water is so abundant that it washes nearly the highest tier, being the whole drainage of the adjoining ghanâ, or woodland, a tract of very considerable extent; and the charm of the broad and brimming basin is much enhanced by the unusual care that is taken to preserve it from all pollution. Till the beginning of this century the two reservoirs were simply as nature had designed them; the present stone Ghâts were completed in the year 1817 at the sole cost of the Lalâ Bâbû, whom we have before had occasion to mention. The whole quarter of the town most immediately adjoining is exclusively occupied by a colony of Bengalis.

The 13th on the list of upabânas is Gandhâr-bân, of which the precise locality is uncertain. 14, Parsoli, near Gobardhân, is styled on the maps and in the Revenue Roll, Mahmûdpur, a name barely recognized at all on the spot. On its borders is the Chandrasar o var, a fine octagonal sheet of water with stone ghâts, the work of Râjâ Nahr Sînh of Bharatpur. Here Brahma, joining with the Gopis in the mystic dance, was so enraptured with delight, that all unconscious of the fleeting hours he allowed the single night to extend over a period of six months. 15, Bilecha, 16, Bachh-bân, and 17, Adi badri are obscure places on the Bharatpur border. 18, Karahla, or Karhela in the Chhâtâ Pargâna, has been already mentioned for its magnificent Kudamb-Khanji. 19, Ajnokh or Ajnokhari, derives its name from the Anjan-pokhar, but is now often corrupted, both in writing and pronunciation, into the unmeaning form Ajnot. 20, Pisâyo, 21, Kokila-bân in Great Bañhan, and 22, Da'h gân w or Da'h-gân w have already been incidentally mentioned. 23, Koṭ-bân, beyond the town of Kosi, is the most northern point in the modern perambulation, and from the name would appear always to have been so; the extreme limit of a series of holy places being ordinarily designated Koṭi. Thus the city of Mathurâ has twenty-four tirthas along the bank of the Jamunâ, the highest up the stream called Utthar Koṭi, the lowest simply Koṭi rath. 24, Râval, (for râjâ-kula) Râdhâ’s reputed birth-place, according to a half obsolete legend, is a small village in the Mahâban Pargâna, with a temple of Lâlîji, the sanctity of which has been entirely eclipsed by the greater pretensions of its more modern rival at Barsâna.

In the Vârâha Purâna, or rather in the interpolated section known as the Mathurâ Mâhâtmya, the Mathurâ-Mandâl is described as 20 yojanas in extent.

Vinsati yojanānām cha Mathurâm mama mandâlam

Yatra yatra naraḥ snâto muchyate sarva-pâta-kâhiḥ.

And taking the yojana as 7 miles, and the kos as 1 ¼ miles, 20 yojanas would be nearly equal to 84 kos, the popular estimate of the distance traversed. In computing the length of the way, full allowance must be made for the constant ins and outs, turns and returns, which result in the ultimate perambulation of a comparatively circumscribed area. It is however sometimes said that the circle originally must have been of much wider extent, since the city of Mathurâ, which is described as its centre, is some 30 miles distant from the most northern point Koṭ-bân, and only 6 from Tarâsi to the south. Elliot moreover quotes in his Glossary the following couplet as fixing the limits of the Brâj-mandâl:

‘It Bar-hadd, ut Sona-hadd, ut Sûrasen kā gáñw,

Braj chaурâśi kôṣ mene Mathurâ mandâl mân.’

According to this authority, the original area has been diminished by more than a half; for
Bar is in the Agra district; Sona, famous for its hot sulphur springs, is in Gurgâw; while the ‘Surasen kâ gāw’ is supposed to be Bâsâr, a place of some note on the Jamunâ below Agra, the scene of a very large horse-fair held on the full moon of Kartik. But the lines above quoted cannot be of any great antiquity, seeing that they contain the Persian word hadd; the exact locality of an ideal centre need not be very closely criticized; and certainly all the places of legendary reputation fall well within the limits of the modern pâri-krama.

Attempts have been made to establish a connection between the earlier chapters of St. Matthew’s Gospel and the legends of Krishna as commemorated by the ceremonies of the Ban-jātra. There is an obvious similarity of sound between the names Krishna and Christ; Herod’s massacre of the innocents may be compared with the massacre of the children of Mathurâ by Kańsa; the flight into Egypt, with the flight to Gokul; as Christ had a fore-runner of supernatural birth in the person of St. John Baptist, so had Kriśna in Balârâma; and as the infant Saviour was cradled in a manger and first worshipped by shepherds, though descended from the royal house of Judah, so Kriśna, though a near kinsman of the reigning prince, was brought up among cattle and first manifested his divinity to herdsmen.* The inference drawn from these coincidences is corroborated by an ecclesiastical tradition that the Gospel which St. Thomas the Apostle brought with him to India was that of St. Matthew, and that when his relics were discovered, a copy of it was found to have been buried with him. It is, on the other hand, absolutely certain that the name of Kriśna, however late the full development of the cycle of legends, was celebrated throughout India long before the Christian era. Thus the only possible hypothesis is that some Pandit, struck by the marvellous circumstances of our Lord’s infancy, as related in the Gospel, transferred them to his own indigenous mythology, and on account of the similarity of name, selected Kriśna as their hero. It may be added that the Harivânsa, which possibly is as old† as any of the Vaiśhnavâ Purânas, was certainly written by a stranger to the country of Braj; and not only so, but it further shows distinct traces of a southern origin, as in its description of the exclusively Dakhini festival, the Punjâl; and it is only in the south of India that a Brahman would be likely to meet with Christian traditions. But after all that can be urged, the coincidences though curious are too slight, in the absence of any historical proof, to establish a connection between the two narratives. Probably they would never have attracted attention had it not been for the similarity of name; and it is thoroughly established by literary criticism that the two names had each an independent origin. Thus the speculation may be dismissed as idle and unfounded. To many persons it will appear profane to institute a comparison between the inspired oracles of Christianity and the Hindu scriptures. But if we fairly consider the Indian legend, and allow for a slight element of the grotesque and that tendency to exaggerate which is inalienable from Oriental imagination, we shall find it not incongruous with the primary idea of a beneficent divinity, manifested in the flesh in order to relieve the world from oppression and restore the practice of true religion.‡ As to those wayward caprices of the child-god, for which no adequate explanation can be offered, the Brahman may regard them as the sport of mâyâ: in western phraseology—sapientia ludens omni tempore, ludens in orbis terrarum.

ON THE TREATMENT OF OXYTONE NOMINAL BASES IN SANSKRIT
AND ITS DERIVATIVES.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., MAGISTRATE OF BALASOR.

The following remarks are intended to direct attention to a hitherto neglected point in the formation of nominal bases. It has been observed that the -α base in Sanskrit, as in nava, putra, &c., divides itself into two separate sets of bases in the mediæval and modern Aryan languages, and investigators seem to have been puzzled by this fact. Dr. Trumpp, writing on Sindhi, in the

* Hindu pictures of the infant Krishna in the arms of his foster-mother Jasodâ, with a glory encircling the heads both of mother and child and a back ground of Oriental scenery, are indistinguishable, except in name, from representations of Christ and the Madonna.

† It is quoted by Birûni (born 970, died 1038 A.D.) as a standard authority even in his time.

Journal of the German Oriental Society, thus expresses the difficulty: "The old Prakrit ending in -o has, in Sindhi, been split up into two great classes, one of which has corrupted the Prakrit -o into -u, the other has preserved it unchanged. No rule seems to have influenced this separation, at least I have not yet discovered any, but daily usage seems to have decided in favour of the one or the other ending. It is however noteworthy that many words which in Sindhi end in o, in Hindi end in a, the same remark holds good of Marathi, Bengali, and Panjabi, while on the other hand the short final u in Sindhi has in those languages been thrown away, or become quiescent."

The rule which Dr. Trumpp professes himself unable to discover appears to me to be this. A Sanskrit noun in -a which bears the accent on the last syllable, or, in other words, is oxytone, generally ends in the mediaeval languages in au, and in the moderns in o or a; while a noun in a which has its final syllable unaccented, or is barytone, ends in the mediaeval languages in u, and in the moderns in u, o, or a, or entirely rejects the final vowel.

With regard to the practice in each language —Hindi, Bengali, Panjabi, Urdu, and Marathi take a in oxytones, Gujarati and Sindhi take o.

It cannot however be said that every oxytone substantive in Sanskrit gives rise to a noun in a or o in the modern languages. On the contrary, the exceptions to the rule are as numerous as the illustrations of it. This leads to a further definition of much practical importance. The class of words called early Tadbhavas is, as a rule, faithful to the accent. This class consists of those words which were in existence in Sanskrit, and continued to be used in Prakrit, and have uninterruptedly retained their position in the mouths of the people down to the present time. These words may be recognized by their appearance. They have undergone the regular and usual phonetic corruptions and abrasions of all Prakrit words, and are often now only recognizable as of Sanskrit origin by the application to them of the rules of Vararuchi or other Prakrit and Pali grammarians. Inasmuch however as their use has been continuous, and as they were derived from the Sanskrit at a time when it was still spoken, they have always, so to speak, been pronounced by ear, and were so long before they were committed to writing. Consequently they have retained the accent which they bore in the older language.

In late Tadbhavas however the case is different; late Tadbhavas are those words which had entirely dropped out of use, and were only resuscitated and brought into vogue again at a period when Sanskrit had ceased to be known to the people. Being revived from books, they were spoken by the eye, if such an expression may be permitted; that is to say, they were pronounced as they seemed destined to be, the accent generally lying on a syllable already long by nature or position. These words are recognizable by the much smaller amount of corruption they have undergone, and by the corruptions which do exist being of a different nature from those demanded by the rules of Prakrit Grammar.

Moreover, these late Tadbhavas are generally words which are synonymous with already existing earlier words. They are the grand, high-flown words of the language, not so frequently used or so expressive of simple ideas as the early Tadbhavas.

The proportion of these two classes to each other varies in the different languages. In those which have been less cultivated, and which have been most under Muhammadan influence, they are not so frequent as in the more cultivated and more Brahmanical languages.

There are many other collateral and subsidiary considerations which further complicate this difficult question, a question which is rendered all the more difficult by the absence of continuous literature. When the mediaeval poets began to write, the languages were already so far fixed as to have passed the stage of formation of either early or late Tadbhavas, and to have got into the stage when the vast crowd of Tatsamas began to make its appearance.

The line of investigation thus briefly sketched in outline is of the utmost importance in the elucidation of the origin and formation of the modern noun, and I hope on a future occasion to give examples and illustrations.

It will be seen that it is in the determination of the treatment of the oxytone -a base that the real crux of the question lies, because the barytones naturally lose their final vowel, and thus fall under the same head as the late Tadbhava oxytones, except in Sindhi, where they retain the obscure final -u for masculines, and -a for feminines.

THE CAVE OF THE GOLDEN ROCK, DAMBULA, CEYLON.

By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, C.C.S., ANURADHAPURA,

INSCRIPTION FROM DAMBULA.

Sir Emerson Tennent has eloquently and yet very justly described this wonderful hill of stone "underneath which the temple has been hollowed out, which from its antiquity, its magnitude, and the richness of its decorations, is by far the most renowned in Ceylon." He has given two woodcuts which afford a good idea of its front and its entrance, but fail altogether to do justice to the effect created by its enormous size: and he has all the more strongly, because inadvertently, testified to the curious success of the paintings within, when he states that "the ceiling of this gloomy vault is concealed with painted cloths," for what seemed, even to so educated an observer, to be cloths is, in reality, the rock painted in fresco, and this is the more remarkable as those paintings were undoubtedly executed hundreds of years ago.

Sir Emerson Tennent mentions one inscription which was translated for Turnour by Mr. Armour, but I have discovered eleven others, and believe that still more would reward a careful search, and I venture to submit the oldest and for some reason the most interesting.

From this inscription it may be considered proved that the temple was originally founded, not by Walagam Bâhu about 86 B.C., as stated by Tennent, but in the time of Dewänâmiya Tissa (B.C. 246), the ally of Asoka and the friend and patron of Mahinda who introduced Buddhism into Ceylon.

It is possible that Walagam Bâhu repaired the temple, and it is certain that he built the Soma dagoba, in honour of his queen, in the plain to the south of the sacred hill; but the authority adduced by Tennent for his statement that that king first endowed it is of little value, being merely Upham's translation of the Rāja Ratnākara, although in the former the names of five, and in the latter the names of seven comparatively unimportant ones, made by his eight strong men, are given: but nothing is said about it in Rājawaliya, although a comparatively large space is devoted to that king's reign.

The inscription referred to is cut in the face of the rock, in one line, under the ledge or eave called 'katāra' in Ceylon—formed to cause the rain to drop off instead of trickling down into the cave. Owing to this position the inscription is in perfect preservation, and is only difficult to read from its great height above the ground, the katāra being half way up a precipice 200 feet high. My copy is therefore only an eye copy taken with an opera glass: but the characters being so simple it may, I think, be relied upon.


† The engraving in Forbes's Eleven Years in Ceylon, Frontpiece, Vol. II. is a striking but inaccurate view of one of the interiors.

† Appendix to Turnour's Epitome, p. 95, and Forbes, Ceylon, Vol. II. pp. 327, 330.

§ Loc cit. p. 578.

† I have ventured to substitute this date for B.C. 306 of the original on the point in question. Upham says:

"He (Waṭṭagāmini, in Sinhalese Walagam Bāhu) afterwards caused to be built the temple Dambooloo, and a monument 140 cubits high, and five temples: he also caused many hundreds of stone houses to be built, and did many other things of public utility."

The original words are:

Dambulu wihāraya da karawā, newata Soma nam ok siya hatalis riyan maha weherak karawā, newata pas maha wihārayak da karawā, boho siya ganan gal-lenawai katāra koṭāva, anik udu boho sāsanopakari wūsēka:—which literally translated is—

"And furthermore having made the Dambulu whehāra, and also having made the great Dādgoba 140 cubits high called Soma, and also having made five large whehāras, and having cut ledges in many hundred stone caves, he was of great assistance in other ways also to the Doctrine."

It is difficult to find the source from which Abhayarāja, the author of Rāja Ratnākara, derived the first statement, for nothing is said either in the Mahāwanso or in the Dipawansa about Dambula Whehāra being made by Waṭṭagāmini although in the former the names of five, and in the latter the names of seven comparatively unimportant ones, made by his eight strong men, are given: but nothing is said about it in Rājawaliya, although a comparatively large space is devoted to that king's reign.

The inscription referred to is cut in the face of the rock, in one line, under the ledge or eaves called 'katāra' in Ceylon—formed to cause the rain to drop off instead of trickling down into the cave. Owing to this position the inscription is in perfect preservation, and is only difficult to read from its great height above the ground, the katāra being half way up a precipice 200 feet high. My copy is therefore only an eye copy taken with an opera glass: but the characters being so simple it may, I think, be relied upon.

According to the Sinhalese chronology, by which Asoka is placed 60 years before the date usually assigned to him—Ed.

† This building is mentioned in Mahāwanso 206-8, but it has not been previously known where the dagoba was: the Revd. C. Alwis writes to me that it is supposed to contain the left canine tooth of Buddha, and to be somewhere near Trinkomali.

* Mahāwanso pp. v. seqq.

† Sacred and Historical Books, Vol. II. p. 43.

† From the MS. in my possession, verse 50.

§ Page 206, 13.

|| Verses 1142 and 1143 of the MS. in my possession.
The letters are a slight variation of the old Pāli alphabet deciphered by Prinsep.

The first sign is a symbol consisting of the swastika and another symbol joined then follows:—

Dawanā piyamaha rājasa Gamini Tisasamaha lene agata anāgata chatu disa śagasa dine.

Taking each word separately the first du may possibly be di: but we should expect neither, dēwānam being the Pāli form, and dēwēnī the Sinhalese; the third letter u nā may possibly be nā, but what appears to be the vowel stroke before the upright is probably a natural mark in the rock. Even in regular Pāli the m at the end of genitive plurals being often dropped, its absence here needs no remark; and possibly the long vowel nā is in compensation for the loss of the nasal.

The y of piyā is, at least in Ceylon, an older form than yā which also occurs here, and is the only form given in Thomas's edition of Prinsep.

The word rāja is remarkable. In the first place raja is the more usual form in the dialect of Ceylon cave inscriptions in which the vowel is seldom, I believe never, written separately as it is here, and the j is the sign given by Prinsep for the māprāna jh: but there is not the slightest doubt about the reading.

In Gamini Tisā the first letter may possibly be gu instead of a ga. The Sinhalese form of the Pāli name Gāmini is Gemunu (e to be pronounced like English a in hat, gap, &c). The name Tissa, so common in Pāli, is now unknown, except among a low caste of tom-tom beaters (herawo), and among them only in the Anurādhapura district, and only in the form Tisāra, which is probably derived immediately from the Sanskrit Tiśya. Who this Gāmini Tissa was is not mentioned in the books. He must be some 'relation to Dewānapiya Tissa, or the use of the genitive would be inexplicable, but it is expressly stated in Mahāwanso* that the king left no son: as, however, he reigned for 40 years, it is possible that he had a son who may have been sub-king of the Dambula district. Dutṭha Gāmini, Siṁhalese Dutu Genuṇa, calls himself in inscriptions Gāmini Abhaya; and uses a later form of the alphabet.

The sa of the genitive in this word is most remarkable, and was one of the greatest obstacles to a decipherment of the inscription: it

is not given by Prinsep, and has not I think been found in India, but I have since found it in many places in Ceylon, and there can be no doubt about the meaning of the sign. There is a slight mark at the bottom of the letter which may be a vowel mark for u, if so Sumaha Lene must be taken as the name of the cave. For the expression anāgata anāgata, one would expect anāgata anāgata, but I have subsequently found it in many places, and it is usually anāgata anāgata the Sinhalese understand the corresponding expression ātāvācū nātāvācū in the sense of all those who have come to this place, and those who have not come, but it may also mean all—in the sense of present and future. The expression is not noticed either in Bōhtlingk-Roth or in Mr. Childers' Pāli Dictionary. A gātāyapātā in Fausthōl's Dasaratha Jātaka, p. 31, means passers by.

Chutulīsa is the form always found on the caves for chutulīsa translated by Turnour† “who had come from the four quarters of the globe,” but it seems that the idea, “who had come” is not contained in the word, for in the Walligama Inscription‡ the corresponding Sinhalese expression is — sātara digin wādāna (sanghaya wahanse) which gives a present sense.

In sayasa the first sa is the same as the genitive of Tisa noticed above, and the genitive case sa is expressed by the letter given by Prinsep. These two characters are therefore interchangeable, and do not represent श and ष. The more usual sign of the genitive is ha, and in the double inscription at Mānā Kanda at the Mahānāma Pirivene (built by Agra Bodhi I. about A. D. 600) sa occurs on one and ha on the other side of the cave. There is no sign whatever for the nasal, and I have not found either the nasal or the aspirate expressed anywhere, either in the cave dialect, or in the later flat rock inscriptions of Ceylon. At first I thought that saṅgho in the Mahāwanso§ might be a transitional form, but it must be merely a misprint, for two MSS. in my possession, one belonging to Yātrāmulla Unnanse, and the one in the newly formed Government Library at Colombo all read saṅgho.

It is not easy to state with certainty what part of the Pāli verb is represented by dine, but it is probable the p.p.p. In a double inscription at Diwulwewa in Anurādhapura district, dine

* Turnour, Mahāwanso, p. 124. † Mahāwanso, 196, 3. ‡ Journal of Ceylon As. Soc. 1870-71, p. 21; and vide ante p. 59. § Page 207, 6. ¶ Whose recent death is an irreparable loss to Oriental literature, see p. 102.
in one case is distinctly dini on the other. In a cave inscription at Embulambe near Dambula dina is found, and at Koratola in the Colombo, Tonigula in the Puttalam, and Mihintale in the Anuradhapura districts, nigate which looks like the third person singular present dimatepadam, is the corresponding word. If d ine be taken as a nominative to agree with len the translation will be—

The great cave of Gamin i T i s a (son) of Dev an a p i y a T i s a is given to the priesthood present and future of the four quarters (of the world).

It is an interesting circumstance that the courteous and much respected chief priest of the temple, Girânagama Unnânse, was one of the leaders in the rebellion of 1848, but after being many years in hiding, is now a loyal though perhaps regretful subject of the English Government.

Anurâdhapura, 26th Feb. 1872.

AN OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTION FROM THE BELGÂM DISTRICT.

By J. F. FLEET, C.S.

The stone tablet from which the accompanying inscription has been transcribed stood originally in front of a small and curious temple of Śaṅkarâdeva in the bed of the river Ma lápra bhâ near Kâdâroli, which is about three miles from Mughatkhânhubli in the Sampgâm Taluqa of the Belgâm Collectorate. As the temple is completely submerged during the rains, and the stone tablet was every year becoming further buried in the ground, I have had the latter removed from its original site to a place of security in the village of Kâdâroli.

The tablet bears at the top the usual Châlukya emblems, viz.:-In the centre a Ling a on its pedestal, with a priest officiating at it; to the right of it, a figure of Basava with the sun above it; and to the left of it, a cow and calf with the moon above them. The average length of the lines is from 18 to 19½ inches, and the average height of the letters, which are old Canarese,* and are excellently preserved in spite of the stone having been so often submerged, is from one half to three quarters of an inch. The language, it will be seen, is almost entirely Śaṅskrit, but the idiom and inflections are old Canarese.

Translation.

Reverence to Śambhû, the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds, who is resplendent with his chaunri, which is the moon that kisses his lofty head.

Hail! While the victorious rule of the fortunate Bhuvanaikamalladeva,†—the asylum of the whole world, the favourite of the earth, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the forehead-ornament of the Śaṅkuyâkula, the glory of the Châlukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, he who flourished on the lotuses that were his feet (was):

The fortunate prime minister, Someśwara bhatta, the chief of the houses of Heri, Sandhi, and Vigrahi, the commander of the forces, who was possessed of all the glory of the names of 'The great chief of chieftains who has attained the five great Śābādas, the bold Danjanâyaka (commander of troops), the conferrer of happiness on good people, he who abounds in fame, he whose ornament is the welfare of others (or who labours for the good of others), the moon of the ocean of affability, he who abounds in the quality of bravery, he who restrains the fury of his foes, Nañna-(or, Añna)-gandhavâraṇa,' and others also.

At his command the fortunate commander of the forces, Keśavâdityadeva, possessed of all the glory of the names of 'The great chief of chieftains who has attained the five great Śābādas, the bold Danjanâyaka, he who confers boons upon Brahmans, he who is pure of lineage, the best friend of good people, the granter of all the desires of his relations, the crest-jewel of good people, he who is terrible to the forces of his foes, he who is a very mine for the jewel of truth, the impetuous Mâvanasinga,' and others, in the year of the Śaka era 997, being the Râkshasa samvatsara, at the moment of the conjunction of a vya tī pāta, with the sun's commencement of his northerly progress, on Sunday, the day of the full-moon of Pushya, gave as a yearly grant

* The accompanying transcript corresponds line for line with the original, but corrections and emendations are inserted within brackets. Here and there the requisite marks of punctuation have been supplied, where they are wanting in the original.

† The Châlukya king Someśwaradeva II. Śaka 991? to 998.

‡ The Châlukya race; the name of Satyāsrayakula is derived from that of one of the early Châlukya kings,—Satyas'ri, or Satyās'raya.
five golden gadyanas of Gaṅga in (out of) the customs of Vaijālaravula* for the purposes of the angabhogaf of the god Sāṅkaradeva of Kadāravarāli.

Whosoever preserves this act of piety, his reward is as great as if he had, at Vārāṇasī, or at Prayāg, or Arghyaṭirtha, or at Kurukshetra, fashioned out of the five jewels the horns and hoofs of twelve thousand cows of a tawny colour, and given to Brahmans who are well-versed in the Vedas the gift called Ubhayamukhidāna. But he who destroys this act of piety, commits a sin as great as if, at those same holy places, he had destroyed the same number of tawny cows.

The who appropriates land that has been bestowed either by himself or by another is born for sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure. "This general bridge of piety, which belongs in common to all rulers of mankind, should at all times be preserved by you,"—thus does Rāmaṇchandra make his earnest request to all future kings.

This is the writing of Singaja, the son of Sambhoja, a very bee at the lotuses which are the feet of the god Sāṅkaradeva. May the greatest prosperity attend it!

THE HOT SPRINGS OF UNAI.

By W. RAMSAY, B.O.M., C.S.

UNAI is a small hamlet in the territory of the Rājā of Bānsdal near the hills east of the Surat district. It is remarkable for a very copious hot spring, rising in a stone built tank about 30 feet square; it is the scene of a large fair held every year at the full moon of the month of Chaitra. There is also a temple dedicated to a divinity locally known as "Unai Mātā." The water is too hot for the hand to be held in it for above a second or two; yet at the time of the fair crowds enter it and bathe. A miraculous agency is of course attributed. On the afternoon of the 13th of the month the god descends and cools the waters, which remain so until the day after the full, after which period the heat returns. The more matter-of-fact interpretation of the phenomenon is, that the bathers enter the water in large numbers simultaneously, thus expelling from the tank the bulk of the water, and assimilating the temperature of the remainder to that of the human body. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur, but is not otherwise unpleasant. Cattle drink of the stream that issues from the tank, and grass and sedges grow on its banks in unusual vigour. The origin of the spring is told by the Sādhu or holy man who guards the mysteries of Unai Mātā was as follows:—Rāma on his return from the conquest of Ceylon halted at a place called Pātarwālā in the hills of Wānsdā, and held a "Jugun" (Yajna) or sacrifice. No Brahmans however were forthcoming, so the god collecting at once 18,000 men of the hill tribes created them Brahmans.

This done, he commanded them to wash and be clean, but these new acolytes, unused from birth to the use of cold water save as a drink, stoutly refused. Rāma promised them hot water, and thereupon created the Unai spring. Still another difficulty arose: the men refused to walk to the bath. This was overcome by Hanuman taking the whole of the men on his tail, and conveying them to the spring, whence after the due performance of ablutions he carried them back to Pātarwālā, where Rāma awaited them. A Hom or sacrifice was now offered, a recitation from the Vedas was made, and a feast given. Last of all, Rāma told the new Brahmans to go forth into the world, and to beg after the manner of the rest of their sect, but to this they had no mind, and positively refused, so Rāma relenting gave them permission to go and till the ground, and this they have done to the present day. Their descendants are the Anāwala Brahmans, so called from the town of Anāwal in the Wānsdā territory. They are the wealthiest of the cultivating classes in the Surat district, and are not found in any other part of India: they are otherwise called Bhātelās or Bhatthālīa, i.e. cross-grained Bhats, also Māstān, i.e. proud, overbearing. They are a corrupt intriguing set, ever at feud among themselves, and well bearing out the sobriquets they enjoy. They are looked down upon by other sects of Brahmans, and are themselves divided into two sects, who do not intermarry, viz., those termed Desais or hereditary district officers, and ordinary Bhātelās.
TRANSCRIPTION OF A CANARESE INSCRIPTION FROM BELCÂM

[Transcription of the Canarese inscription in Kannada script]

[Translation or description of the transcription in English]
OUDH FOLKLORE—a LEGEND OF BALRAMPUR.

By W. C. BENNETT, B.C.S., GONDÁ.

Not many generations ago there was a great Pahlwān in Balrampur named Bhawan Misir. He was passing the Sembar tree to the north of the town, and broke off a twig. Immediately Mirchi Dāno, whose home the tree was, attacked him. For a day and a night they wrestled, and the demon was finally beaten. He promised his conqueror a mān of wheat every day if he would let him go, on the condition that he would tell no one whom it came from. On the next day Dāno left a big bag with a mān of wheat at the wrestler's house. Now Dāno had a sister's son bigger and stronger than himself, and was persuaded by him to leave off the disgraceful tribute. The wrestler, missing his grain, went to the Sembar tree, and began to break it down, challenging the perfidious goblin to interfere. On this the goblin's sister's son came out, and offered to fight for his uncle. For two days and two nights they fought, and the sister's son was beaten. He bought his liberty by promising to grind the mān of corn provided by his uncle, with the same condition as to secrecy. For several days the flour was left at the wrestler's house, and he lived in great plenty. But he had a foolish wife who plagued him till he told her how he had got it. From that time he could neither get his flour again, nor induce Dāno or his sister's son to fight. As the Sembar tree is still standing, he does not seem to have taken his revenge by destroying that.

Such is the story, reminding one strongly of Grimm's Hausmärchen, which was told me by a Kuri of Balrampur, a town on the Râpti in Gondā district, as we passed the fabled cottontree. Dāno Baítāl is a personification of the ignis fatuus. His sāthāns are found in many places along the crest of the lower range of hills which divides Gondā from Nepal, and he is appeased by offerings of milk and rice. This terrible demon feeds chiefly on dung beetles, and sallying forth at dusk with a fire between his lips, tempts unwary travellers from their path, and destroys their reason.

BHAVA BHUTI IN ENGLISH GARB.

BY THE REV. K. M. BANERJEA, HON. M. R. A. S.

BHAVA BHUTI is deservedly reckoned among the great poets. This is a title which the Sanskrit Ars poetica (for such in reality is the Alankāra Sāstra) would not allow to be conferred on any writer as a mere compliment: it must be won, like an academical honour or diploma, by literary merits which satisfy certain definite rules.

But though universally allowed to be a great poet, but little is known of Bhava Bhumti's personal history. We have no biographical tradition or anecdotes about him such as we have in the case of Kālidāsa, Bhartrihari, &c. In the preludes to his two dramatic works, his lineage and parentage are given, and that is almost all we know of his personal history. The prelude to the Mahā Vīra Charita informs us "that in the south there is a city named Padmapura; in it dwell certain followers of the Black Yajur-Veda, descendants of Kaśyapa, chiefs of their school, making holy the company, keeping the five fires, holding vows, drinking the soma, most excellent, repeating the Veda. From their illustrious descendant who is highly esteemed, and makes the Vājeyya sacrifice, and is a great poet, the fifth in order, the grandson of one whose well selected name is Bhattagopa, and the son of the pure in fame Nilakanthā, is the poet whose appellation is Bhava Bhumti, surnamed Śrikanta (whose voice is eloquent) and whose mother is Jatukarnī, a friend of ours." The prelude of the Uttara Rāma Charita gives the poet's lineage to the same effect but more briefly. "There is truly a poet of the name of Bhava Bhumti, of the race of Kaśyapa, having as surname, the word Śrikanta. The Uttara Rāma Charita will now be represented, composed by him, on whom being a Brāhman this goddess Speech attends like an obedient wife." Bhava Bhumti's reputation is founded on his works.

The Sanskrit drama, like everything else in that language, is regulated by prescribed rules. The first ceremony is the devotional invocation of the gods for the successful issue of the play about to be acted. This is performed by the manager in the theatre itself, before the assembled audience, and is called Nāndī. It is something like the prayers which precede the business of Parliament, and testifies to the sentiment of piety animating the nation and the age, even though the ceremony itself may be perfunctorily gone through or indifferently listened to. The sentiment is observed in all branches of the Sanskrit literature, there being scarcely a single author who commences his work without a salutation to some god or supernatural power. And

* In Marathi, Sāmvar or Sāmvari, Sana. Sāmali, the Bombaz heptaphyllum or ceiba.—Ed.
The technical name for this is mangalāchara. The nāndi being concluded, the manager says audibly—"Enough, no need of enlarging on this." (nāṇḍyane śātrādhāra alamati vistāreṇa.) He then commences the prastavā—or the prologue, i.e. the propounding of what is going to be undertaken. He gives utterance to this not as addressing the audience, but as speaking to his own actors. The prastavā gives him the opportunity of manifesting his programme—in which he gives a succinct account of the author and subject of the drama about to be acted. After the prastavā, commences the actual performance of the play. But notwithstanding the prastavā which is a general introduction to the whole play, every anka or act, after the first, has its own peculiar prelude called the "vishkambhaka," which prepares the audience for what is coming on in the Act itself. The 'vīshkambhaka' in this sense somewhat corresponds to the Chorus in a Greek play.

The Sanskrit ārṣā poetics does not lay down distinct rules for tragedies and comedies. There is, in fact, no Sanskrit tragedy in the proper sense of the term. The destruction of Rāvana and his host in the Mahā Vira Charita might have been considered a tragedy, if the actors and auditors had been Rākhasas, but as the play is for the amusement of the followers of Brahmanism, that catastrophe of the demon race is celebrated as one of the most joyous events in Indian history or tradition. And except the death of the ethereal bird Jātāyu, there is no other really tragical event to produce any sensation in the audience.

The late Professor Wilson was the first to introduce the Sanskrit drama to the notice of the European public, though Sir William Jones had preceded him as the translator of Sakuntalā. But Professor Wilson only gave extracts from the dramas he summarized, and his translations were too free representations of the original.

We are now in a position to congratulate the Indian public on two translations from Bhavabhūti, by John Pickford, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Madras.

The principle Professor Pickford has observed in his translation is thus explained by himself:—"Desirable as it doubtless is to give a translation the best form of which circumstances will allow, still it would be wrong to give up fidelity to the original for a spurious affectation of elegance. The sense and character of the author's work must be retained as much as possible, even at the cost of the translator's style. The literature of one modern language may be translated into another with little difficulty, and the turn of expression retained without awkwardness, as it is generally possible to find words and phrases to denote the same conceptions and connote the same attributes. To translate a Greek or Latin author into English is, as every scholar is aware, a far harder task; yet an essentially true rendering may, in most cases, be obtained in good idiomatic English. The chasm is not too great to be bridged over. Oriental, and especially Sanskrit works, will not, however, admit of the same kind of treatment."

Professor Tawney's object was to supply a local and a temporary desideratum, and, as he states in his Preface, his object has been "to give the literal meaning of the original in tolerable English prose.

Notwithstanding these modest apologies of the two accomplished translators, however, we think that the one has rendered the original Sanskrit quite as closely as any author has ever translated Greek, and the other has presented the public with a book that scholars will value for its abiding merits.

We cannot admit without qualification Professor Pickford's implication that it is easier to give a literal translation of Greek than of Sanskrit into idiomatic English; and we need no other evidence to justify our dissent than his own Mahā-Vira-Charita as compared with an ordinary version of a Greek play. Elegant as it is, his translation cannot be charged with want of fidelity to the original. If disposed to find fault, we might criticise his views respecting some words and phrases in the original which we would interpret in a different sense; but where we have so much to admire we need not stop to notice what we consider to be a few errors. One, however, we must notice since it pervades the whole volume. The translator confounds the words siddha with prasiddha, and has invariably rendered the former in the sense of "famous:"—that may be the signification of prasiddha, but the meaning of siddha is very different. Its proper sense is perfected. When applied to persons, it implies the perfection or accomplishment of the exercises or efforts they had undertaken. In theology it would denote those who had been perfected by their devotion, and would be equivalent to the English Saint. The word siddhāsramā is therefore wrongly rendered "famous hermitage." Taking the expression as tapturusha samāśa, we would interpret it, "the hermitage of the Saints," or 'the sacred hermitage.' Professor Tawney has in a parallel passage (siddhashetra Janasthāna) rendered it, "the holy Janasthāna." In another place Professor Pickford has rendered siddha "well-known" (p. 12), but there the context itself drove him to explain by a footnote what he correctly guessed was the true meaning. He says "the meaning, I think, is—for the family of Rāghu is great already." This explanation would have been unnecessary if the proper meaning
of siddha had been given in the text, thus,—

"the excellence of the family of Raghu is indeed perfected."

If we take exception to the rendering of another word, it is to invite discussion as to its proper representation in English, of the Sanskrit vocable tapas. This word has been rendered penance by both translators in their translation of tapavana 'penance-grove.' We submit that:—(1) If tapas be penance then tapas must be penitent; but this derivative has been translated "ascetic" by both of them. (2) Students are often in the habit of rendering tapas "penance;" but should this rendering be stereotyped in scholarly versions? (3) The Hindu notion of tapas is simply, hard exercises of body or mind, or of both—i.e. self-inflictions, asceticism,—the very idea which the translators have given expression to in their rendering of tapasa. The root tap is doubtless the same as the root of the Greek ταπάς, and the radical meaning is also identical. Where a penitent submits to tapas (in the Roman Catholic sense) for the remission of sin, it may of course be called "penance," but where a god or a Rishi, held to be sinless and pure, practises tapas, and mortifies himself, it cannot be called 'penance' according to Hindu notions. It is then a work of supererogation—profligate of great merit and high supernatural power. The tapavana was never looked upon as penitentary; and although it might occasionally admit what might be called penances, yet it was venerated as a holy site—the scene of self-inflictions and mortifications in the sense of supererogatory works by which Rishis of great repute obtained large accretions of merit and righteousness, calculated to exalt them to an equality with the gods themselves.

The drama of Mahá-Vira-Charita is founded on the story of Ráma concluding with his return to Ayodhya after the destruction of Ravana and the installation of Vibhishana as king of Lankā. The sequel of the story forms the subject of the Uttara Ráma Charita.

The story of Ráma down to the death of Ravana and the recovery of Sita is so well known that it is unnecessary to repeat it here. Ráma's conflict with the demon-chief is recounted by the Hindus in all parts of India. It has occasioned the greatest annual festival in Bengal, the Durgapuja, when, for a whole fortnight, all business is suspended. Even thieves and rogues allow themselves a vacation at that period, for magistrates and policemen get but little custom during those holidays. On the day that the Bengalis consign their Durgá to the waters, Hindus of other provinces perform the Ráma-lilá, concluding with the death of Ravana, of which that day is the anniversary.

The sequel of the story is neither so popularly known nor are all the legends of it concurrent. The topic has always appeared to devote Hindus one of extreme delicacy. The banishment of Sita, without the slightest fault in her, and while she was in a condition requiring the tenderest care, is too solemn a subject for popular merriment or mimic shows. The description in the Uttara Ráma Charita is equally affecting and graphic. Ráma had scarcely returned to Ayodhya and resumed the reins of government amid the congratulations of his relatives, ministers, and spiritual guides, when Rishyasringa proclaimed a great sacrifice, which took away Vasishtha and his wife from the capital of the empire. The king received from them benedictory messages and injunctions—on the one hand (Arundhati pressing the advice) to pay to his queen Sita all the tender attention which a virtuous wife in a delicate state of health, could claim from a husband, and on the other hand (Vasishtha himself laying the command) to govern the kingdom consistently with popular approbation. Ráma was a good king as well as an affectionate husband, and willingly promised hearty compliance with both the precepts.

Meanwhile, with a view to ascertain the popular sentiment and the opinion of the public on his measures, he had employed a confidential emissary to bring him daily reports of the town-talk in his capital. He was thunder-struck on learning, immediately after his receipt and acceptance of Vasishtha's commands, that the citizens talked scandal about Sita, because of her capture by Ravana and compulsory stay at Lankā. Ráma, a little before this awfully scandalous report reached his ears, had answered Vasishtha's message by promising to guide himself according to the wishes of his subjects, to propitiate whom (Arundhati looking to meekness) he was ready to sacrifice everything—"affection, pity, and happiness," yea and if fate so will, the daughter of Jánaka herself, his beloved queen.

Bhavabhūti has represented, with all the pathos which the refined vocabulary of Sanskrit could impart, and his own extraordinary genius could conceive, the distractions produced in Ráma's mind on receiving the report of his Brahman emissary to the prejudice of his honoured and beloved queen. The indignation of posterity has affixed to the reporter of such a defamatory gossip the appellation of "Durmukha," or foul-mouthed. The poet, however, represents him as reluctantly and regretfully communicating the awful intelligence in the faithful discharge of a disagreeable office which he had undertaken at the king's own desire. With inexpressible mental pain, Ráma decided on following what policy and worldly honour required, rather than what real justice and conjugal obligations demanded. Pilate-like, he abandoned one whom he knew to be innocent, and stole away from a wife sleeping by his side, as guileless, as she was dutiful, and directed his brother Laksmana to conduct her to the woods. Sita was thus banished to the forests, and left unprotected in the
midst of noxious animals and "raw-flesh eating" cannibals, when she was about to become a mother. By the interference of supernatural agencies, Sītā was both preserved and also safely delivered of twin sons, who were entrusted to the fostering care of Vālmīki, the author of the Rāmāyana. Meanwhile an incident occurred, itself an index of social manners of the age, which led Rāma to a second visit of the forests of Dandaka, the scene of his previous exile. An infant son of a Brahman expired by an untimely, and therefore an unaccountable, death. His body, together with the guilt of his death, was laid at Rāma's door. It could not be believed that such a life would be cut off in its very bloom, without some national sin pressing on the empire through the king's misrule. Nor could Rāma himself disown a responsibility, which the sense of the age attached to the royal office. But then where was the misrule? What official neglect could be attributed to a monarch who had gone the length of sacrificing the wife of his bosom for the sake of the commonwealth? While he was thus musing in his mind, an "aerial voice" declared that a Sūdra of the name of Samba was practising religious austerities on the earth. "His head must be struck off by thee O Rāma! by slaying him, raise thou the Brahman to life."

Rāma now discovered the cause of the Brahman boy's untimely death. A Sūdra, who should have devoted his whole time to the service of the twice-born orders, had undertaken religious exercises which were forbidden to his class. Even a Brahman was subject to ex-communication if he performed any spiritual services for the benefit of a Sūdra. This invasion of the privileges of twice-born men by Sambūka was practising religious austerities on the earth. "His head must be struck off by thee O Rāma! by slaying him, raise thou the Brahman to life."

By an extraordinary combination of circumstances, brought about through supernatural agency, and after many painful and tantalizing adventures, Rāma at last discovers his much injured wife and recognizes his princely sons. The drama concludes with their happy reunion.

The most touching descriptions in this tragicomic drama are those pourtrayed in the scenes where the banished Sītā meets, and, herself being invisible, recognizes Rāma, who hears her voice and recognizes her touch, but (the supernatural powers having so managed it) without optical perception of her form. His distinctions on the occasion are vividly—perhaps too vividly described— for it is impossible to read the description without the most affecting emotions.

And here we must notice our author's incidental representation of an ancient Hindu custom which may surprise some of our readers. The learned Brahmins knew how to relish beef long before the English came into the country.

In the Vishkambhaka (or prelude) of the 4th Act, two Brahman pupils of Vālmīki are introduced—one of whom was an attentive student, the other, fonder of jests and witticisms than of lessons, and unable even to speak Sanskrit. The boys had got a holiday in consequence of the arrival of Vasishta on the very day which was to terminate with the happy re-union of Rāma and Sītā. The jester asks his more learned companion the name of "the guest that came to-day at the head of this great troop of reverend seniors." He was told it was Vasishta.

"Saundhataki—Ah, Vasishta is his name. Bhiṇḍīyana. Certainly.

S. I was thinking he must be a tiger or a wolf.

B. What do you mean?

S. Why, the moment he arrived he gobbled up that poor little calf that was only a month old.

B. Householders reverencing the holy text— "An offering of curds and honey must be accompanied with flesh"—when a sage, learned in the Vedas, arrives, slay in his honour a calf, a bull, or a goat, for that is what the writer on ceremonial law ordains.

S. Ha! you are caught out.

B. How do you mean?

S. Why, when Vasishtha and his companions came, the calf was slaughtered, whereas this very day when the royal sage Jānak a arrived, an offering consisting of curds and honey only was presented to him by the Reverend Vālmīki himself and the calf was left go unharmed.

B. The ceremony first mentioned is appointed by sages for those who do not abstain from flesh, but the revered Jānak a is under a vow of abstinence."

Abbe du Bois despaired of the extension of Christianity in India, simply because he thought the parable of the prodigal son, exhibiting the killing of the "fatted calf" on the return of the penitent, would itself disgust the Brahmins, and close their ears against the preaching of Christianity. But the Abbe did not know of the ancient Hindu custom of entertaining reverend sages in the identical way. The slaughter of a calf or bull on the arrival of a distinguished guest was as generally practised in India, as the slaughter of a horse among the Arabians for the purposes of hospitality. The custom was indeed so widely prevalent that goghna or "cow-killer" passed as a recognized term for "guest." Pāṇini the grammarian had to give the etymology of "cow-killer" in the sense of a guest. He did so in the Sutra (III. 4, 73) Dāsa-goghna sampradāne, which is
thus expounded in the Siddhanta Kaumudi. The university of Cambridge has added an interesting preface to the text translated by one of his students. The Nagananda was edited in Calcutta in 1864 by Mādhava Chandra Ghosha. MS. copies are scarce; yet the learned Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge has added an interesting preface to this translation made by one of his students. The Nāgānānda was edited in Calcutta in 1864 by Mādhava Chandra Ghosha. MS. copies are scarce; and it is not mentioned in Prof. Wilson’s list of untranslated plays. The play is quoted in the Sāhitya-darpana on pages 89, 184, 189 and 249; also in the Dīsa-rāpa pages 64, 65, 74, and 178. Now the author of the Dīsa-rāpa lived at the court of King Munja, uncle of Bhūja of Dvārakā, about the year 993 (see Mānuśham rūpamāstukapāvannā jahī sanyage. Sūntuṣṭah pradadau tasmāi rakṣaṇāya varam prabhū Naṁvīdehībhya bhutebhīya bhaya nāvātra mānushit. Tasmāi tasyā bāhūlo dhīto mānukṣebhīyaṃ paramāntaṃ).

REVIEW.


The learned Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge has added an interesting preface to this translation made by one of his students. The Nāgānānda was edited in Calcutta in 1864 by Mādhava Chandra Ghosha. MS. copies are scarce; and it is not mentioned in Prof. Wilson’s list of untranslated plays. Prof. Cowell, however, with Dr. Hall’s assistance, got two copies from the North-West; and these with one or two MSS. from Bengal enabled him to print an accurate text. Mr. Boyd translated this text, and the Professor, in his preface, gives an account of the date and authorship of the work.

The play is quoted in the Sāhitya-darpana on pages 89, 184, 189 and 249; also in the Dīsa-rāpa on pages 64, 65, 74, and 178. Now the author of the Dīsa-rāpa lived at the court of King Munja, uncle of Bhūja of Dvārakā, about the year 993 (see Mānuśham rūpamāstukapāvannā jahī sanyage. Sūntuṣṭah pradadau tasmāi rakṣaṇāya varam prabhū Naṁvīdehībhya bhutebhīya bhaya nāvātra mānushit. Tasmāi tasyā bāhūlo dhīto mānukṣebhīyaṃ paramāntaṃ.)
Other considerations show that the Nāgānanda and the Rātnāvalī and king Śrī Harsha Deva, who is mentioned as their author, must be dated anterior to the time of Bhoja or his uncle Munja. Professor Cowell argues that the Nāgānanda and the Rātnāvalī could not have been produced by the same author, and that while he agrees with Mr. Hall that Bābū Rājendra-rātrāla Mitra (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. 1864) conjectures he lived in the tenth century. "But I find," says Prof. Cowell, "from a notice in the first number of the Indian Antiquary (p. 30), that Dr. Biühler of Bombay has recently fixed his date in the twelfth century."

This delightful little volume is beautifully printed; and every line of the translation, the preface and the notes bears the trace of learning and conscientious accuracy.

In the first act, which has a prologue wherein, according to custom, some blessing from a deity is invoked upon the audience, and in which alone in Sanskrit literature the power thus-invoked is Buddha, Jñātavāhana falls upon the "tranquil charms of an ascetic grove." The basins and fuel are all right, whilst doubtful passages of the Veda are constantly discussed by the Munia. "Even these trees, taught respect for a guest, seem to utter a sweet welcome, with the murmuring of bees, and make, so to speak, an obeisance with their heads bowed down with fruit; sprinkling rains of flowers, they present one a propitiatory offering. I think we shall have peace while living here." Then enters the ground Malayavati, daughter of Visvavasu, who, after some talk with her maid, begins to sing, whereupon the hero and his friend begin to peep—the former exclaiming—"If she be a goddess, the thousand eyes of Hari have all they can wish. If she be a woman of the Nāgas, then whilst her face is there, the lowest hell is not without its moon. If she be of the Vidyadharas, then our race surpasses all others. If she be born of a family of Siddhas, then in the three worlds are the Siddhas glorious." His Vidushaka is of a similar opinion, and love-making immediately proceeds apparently to the satisfaction of all present. The entry of an ascetic announcing that the head of the family requires the heroine at the time of mid-day oblation closes the first act by separating the sighing lovers. In the second scene both are in great distress, raving about in love, till they overhear and matters become worse; the heroine thinks the hero is talking about somebody else, and gets a noose over her neck to hang herself. The hero comes to the rescue, and a full understanding and the Gāndharva marriage takes place. The third act gives a very graphic picture of the marriage merry-makings. The Vidushaka gets very much pulled about by a Vita or parasite, who is so drunk that he mistakes him for his sweet-heart. This is the more ludicrous because the jester is a Brahman.

There is a garden scene which closes with the entry of Mitrāvasu, son of the king of the Siddhas, who announces to the hero that Mabanga has attacked his kingdom. The action in Act IV. is stirring. The hero's companion explains how, lest the whole snake world should be destroyed through fear of the furious descent of Garuda, king of birds, the king of the lower world arranged with his implacable foe that, at the spot where the scene lies a Nāga should be ready daily for his dinner. "How well," says the hero, "were the snakes defended by their king! Amongst his thousand double tongues was there not one with which he could say—'my self is given by me this day to save the life of a snake?" and again, on seeing the heaps of Nāga bones he exclaims. "Wonderful! Fools commit sin even for the sake of a worthless body, which soon perishes, is ungrateful, and a storehouse of all uncleanness. Well, this destruction of the Nāgas will assuredly bring some judgment. Would that by giving up my own body I might save the life of a single Nāga!" An opportunity easily presents itself, for hereupon enters a victim Nāga Prince with his mother and servant, whom no entreaty will dissuade from assuming the red badge by which Garuda recognises his daily victim. The scene between the prince, the old woman, and the hero is pathetically put, and ends by the prince going to "walk round the southern Gokarna which is close at hand," so as to be better prepared to be born into a new state. He however leaves the red garment behind him, and this the hero joyfully seizes, for he says "through the merit that I gain to-day by protecting a Nāga, at the sacrifice of myself, may I still obtain in succeeding existences a body to be sacrificed for others!" Natural enough, as Mr. Boyd observes, for "to escape from the necessity of future birth and to obtain Nirvana is the supreme end of the Buddhist system." Here descends Garuda in blackness of darkness, and asserts that he must take the hero, "and ascend the Malayan mountain, there to eat him at my pleasure," and the curtain falls.

The fifth Act is by far the most striking, it opens with a universal lamentation for the disappearance of the hero on the part of his parents and wife and his father-in-law's ambassador and others—with whom the delivered Nāga prince at last consorts and explains how matters stand. They all proceed to the hill home of Garuda where they see "the enemy of the Nāgas, on a pinnacle of the Malay, making new gullies in the mountain-side as he rubs his gory beak. The woods around are all uprooted and burnt by the streaks of flaming fire from his eyes, and the ground is hollowed round him by his dreadful
The archaeological remains in this district represent well the successive periods of the country’s history and civilization, each period having its own distinct relics. These I classify as follows:

I.—Natural caves enlarged by the hand of man and used as dwelling places probably by the aborigines.

II.—Very ancient sculptures of serpents belonging probably to the Takshaks or Dasyus.

III.—Cromlechs, sepulchral tumuli, and stone circles, the remains of the early Scythic or Turanian races before the Aryan invasion.

IV.—The rock caves and temples and tope of the Buddhist era.

V.—The relics of the transition period when Brahmanism triumphed over Buddhism, represented by Brahmanical sculptures introduced into the old Buddhist caves, and sculptured stones taken from Buddhist buildings and used in the construction of temples to Vishnu and Shiva.

VI.—Temples of the Brahmanical period, with inscriptions which purport to be from 500 to 800 years old.

VII.—Forts illustrating the periods of the Uriya sovereigns, the Reddi Chiefs, the Bijayanagar or Royula dynasty, the Muhammadam conquest, the rise of Zamindars, and the power of the Marathas and Rohillas.

VIII.—The mahals or palaces of Zamindars constructed within the last century.

* This Report, from the Proceedings of the Madras Government, Revenue Department, of 7th Nov. 1870, contains so much interesting matter, that most of it seems deserving of being reproduced. We do not agree, however with some of the lamented author’s theories; for example the ethnological and chronological place assigned to the first three classes of remains does not appear tenable. Some paragraphs have been omitted (p. 151) as unnecessary; otherwise the report is given without material alteration.—Ed.
springs, filling a large basin in the rock, about 14 yards across. The place is now resorted to for sacred ablutions. The water is clear and limped, but there floats on the surface a white powder or formation of lime, which, when collected in a cloth and dried, resembles white sand. Beyond this point the cave has not been penetrated in the memory of man, but there are galleries running further on into the rock, and local traditions tell of underground passages to Banaras and Rameswaram. The rock through which the cave extends is disintegrated, and readily crumbles away, which will probably account for the natural formation of the cave by the action of water. It may be surmised that it was used as a place of habitation by the aboriginal races, whose descendants we probably see in the Yanadis and Yurakulas. There is also a tradition that it was at one time inhabited by a band of recluses, probably during the Buddhist era. About twenty years ago a Sanyasi, by name Lakshmi Narayan Appa, took up his abode here, and improved the passage leading to the spring, and revived its celebrity. Brahmanism found it desirable to give it a sacred tradition which runs to the following effect:—Machukandudu was a royal saint who belonged to the Solar race in the age before Rama. Wearied out with his exertions in carrying on a war with the Rakshasas—a term always used here as designating the Buddhists—he retired to this cave, and, like Rip van Winkle, indulged himself in a sleep for some centuries. Meanwhile, the war between the Devatas and Rakshasas continued, and, in course of time, the Rakshasas beset Krishna, who took refuge in the depths of this cave and disappeared. The Rakshasas entering the cave in pursuit of Krishna, disturbed the rest of Machukandudu, who arose like a giant refreshed and extirpated the descendants of his old foes.

The cave at Sanagallu I have not visited, but it is said to be entered by descending a sort of well. The galleries are said to run an immense length into the rock, but the passage is overgrown and has not been entered for many years.

At Stirugurata there is a rock-spring which never runs dry, and a natural reservoir. It is much resorted to on sacred days for bathing.

There are also other caves in the Palnad. I saw several in the banks of the Krishna, on the Haidarabad side, as I came down the river in a boat.

In other parts of the district the only other natural caves I have come across are at Mangalagiri and Undavalli in the Guntur Taluqa. These two places, seven miles apart, are said to be connected by an underground passage. All that is to be seen is a passage going into the rock, but it has not been explored in the memory of man, and is said to be infested with snakes.

II. Very ancient sculptures of Snakes, belonging probably to the Takshakas or Dasyus, or whoever may have been the races that inhabited the country before the Scythic or Turanian immigration. Of their great antiquity I believe there can be no doubt. They may be found in the enclosures of many temples. A number of them are either collected around a tree—very often the Ficus religiosa—affording corroborative evidence of the antiquity of tree and serpent-worship in this part of the country, or they are ranged along the outer wall of the temple, and are regarded with peculiar veneration by the lower classes of the people. In some villages I have seen an old serpent-stone which has probably been turned up in cultivating the ground, installed in a shrine of its own as the popular object of worship. These sculptures are of the roughest and rudest description; the forms of the snakes are very varied, and an interesting collection of photographs might be made from these stones, which are probably the earliest representations of native art existing in the country.

III. Scythic remains of Sepulture.—These consist of cromlechs, sepulchral tumuli, and stone circles, and are found in several parts of the Palnad, etc. My researches were made in the neighbourhood of Karunpudi. I found the cairns much resembling those in the Koimbatur district and on the Nilgiris. There is a large field covered with these cairns, many of which have been opened and examined. It may be desirable to issue some orders for the preservation of those that remain, as they are very interesting relics.

In every instance there is a large flat stone upon the top of the kist-vaen, which is formed with carefully selected flat stones placed on edge, so as to form a square or oblong chamber. In one of the sides there is often a sort of entrance left. Sometimes there is a hole in one of the side slabs, communicating with an adjacent chamber in which pottery, etc., is found. The kist-vaen is entirely underground, the upper slab being all that is visible. On removing this slab it is necessary to excavate about four or five feet through sand and stones. Then, if the kist-vaen be a large one, it will usually be found divided into two or four cells or compartments. In each of these is found a quantity of burnt human bone, and beside them—but not holding them—a collection of cinerary urns and vessels of baked clay of various shapes and sizes—pottery resembling the common chatties of the present day, as well as vases, basins, and cups of antique and graceful forms now quite out of use. In some cases the pottery is burnt red throughout; in some burnt black throughout; in some red outside and black within; and sometimes it is hand-glazed. These vessels were probably used to contain offerings or provisions for the dead. They are generally found in an inverted position. In one tomb I opened there was a portion of an ivory or bone bracelet, but I came across no iron implements, such as I have found in the Koimbatur cairns. The size of the bones, teeth, etc., show the race of men...
who employed this means of sepulture to have been, in physical configuration, much on the same scale as the present natives of the country, and gives no support to the local tradition, which is, that they are the remains of an extinct race of Pigmies who, being threatened with a storm of fire from heaven, built these stone structures and retired into them when the anticipated danger arrived, but were overwhelmed, buried, and burnt alive in the surrounding conflagration. The position in which the bones are found show, however, also, that the corpse was first burnt, and the bones collected and heaped in the stone cells.

It is said that many years ago a ryot dug up in this field of tombs a large bell-metal wheel, but he kept his discovery a secret, and had the wheel broken up. There are persons still living who say they have seen pieces of it. This must have been a Buddhist relic.

The kist-vaens are of all sizes from about three feet square to twenty feet square. One of the largest may be seen immediately behind the District Munsiff’s Court. The converging slab is an enormous mass about a foot thick.

These evidently appear to be the remains of the Scythian or Turanian race who first conquered the aborigines and settled in India, and must therefore be of very great antiquity. We do not know of any race of a subsequent period in this part of India, who employed both cremation and interment in their mode of disposing of the dead.

To the westward of Amravati on the Krishna, celebrated for its Buddhist remains, and near an unexplored mound known as kuchidi-bba, there are a great number of rude circles of stone which have been noticed by Mr. Ferguson in his Tree and Serpent-worship. A still greater number of these remains are found at a distance of four or five miles to the south-east, where they cover the roots of the hills. They range apparently from twenty-four to thirty-two feet in diameter, and when dug into, have always yielded cinerary urns, burnt bones, and other indications of being burning places.

On the left bank of the Krishna also in the Nandigama Taluqa these monuments are to be found in great numbers, extending for many miles in all directions, as noticed in a review of Mr. Ferguson’s work in the Edinburgh Review.

IV. Buddhist remains.—The most celebrated Buddhist remains in this district are the antique marble sculptures of Amravati, recently brought to the notice of the public, and illustrated by Mr. James Ferguson in his Tree and Serpent-worship. Amravati is situated on the right bank of the river Krishna, about twenty miles above Bejwaḥā.

These sculptures were first discovered by Captain C. Mackenzie in 1797. Some years previous to Captain Mackenzie’s visit, the Vasareddi Rāja of Chintapalli, attracted by the sanctity of the temple dedicated to Shiva under the title of Amarashwaraswāmi, determined to build a town here and a residence for himself. He had recourse to stone for the walls of Dharanekota, the ruins of an ancient city, about half a mile to the westward of Amravati. He also opened several mounds adjoining the spot, and among them the one known as Dipavali-dīna or the Hill of Lights, when the remains of an ancient Buddhist dagoba were found. Large quantities of the stone he removed and employed in building new temples and palaces, and many of the fine marble sculptures perished, being burnt for lime.

The Rāja discovered in his excavations a small relic-casket of stone with a lid—on opening which a crystal was found containing a small pearl, some gold leaf, and other things of no value. This was sent to the Madras Museum.

Captain (afterwards Colonel) MacKenzie, Surveyor General, first saw Amravati in 1797. He visited the spot again in 1816, and had eighty drawings made of the sculptures. He selected a number of the stones which were forwarded to Calcutta in 1819. Subsequently a number were brought to Masulipatam, with the view, it is said, of erecting some building, and they lay there for more than eighteen years before they were given to Mr. Alexander, Master Attendant. Some were removed to the temple of Shivagāgā.

Sir Walter Elliot resumed the excavations at Amravati in 1840, and discovered a portion of the monument not before touched. These slabs had, however, all been probably removed in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries from their original positions, Mr. Ferguson surmises, and built into a little chapel, of which they formed the walls. Sir Walter Elliot sent a large number of the sculptures to Madras, where they lay till they were sent home to England in 1856. In London they were put out of the way into a coach-house attached to Fife-house, where they were last discovered by Mr. Ferguson, who was able to appreciate their value.

Besides the sculptures sent to England, there were others deposited in the Central Museum, Madras. Some are to be found in the Bejwaḥā Museum, and a few are in the possession of Captain Maiden, Master Attendant, Masulipatam.†

Such inscriptions as have been found at Amravati are in Pali, the form of letters being those of the Gupta alphabet, as used immediately before or after 318, A.D.

Colonel MacKenzie collected a considerable number of coins about Dharanekota, some of these were Roman and others of the Baktarian Kadphises type affording additional evidence as to the fact that the place was of some importance about the Christian era. Some were gold coins. Small lead coins are still to be found there in great numbers, and may

† We omit Mr. Boswell’s outline of Mr. Ferguson’s restoration of the Amaravati tope, which follows here in the original report.—En.
be picked up on the surface of the ground after a shower of rain, but the impressions are almost entirely obliterated.

Coins of a similar description, and probably of the same period, are also to be found at Gudivādā about the elevated mound on which a former Collector built a bangala. The soil is thickly impregnated with broken pottery and bricks. There are also other places in the district where similar coins are met with—

(1.) Sakhinaladibba near Bokkevala in Najivid Zamindari.

(2.) On the mounds in the Dalamarte field near Marivādā, also in the Najivid Zamindari.

(3.) In the Pati lands in the village of Panuganchiprol in Nandigama Taluqa.

(4.) In the Savatapaya and Lavallapalli swamps of the Pondraka Salt Division.

In connection with these leaden coins, I may mention that lead is found in considerable quantities near Karempudi in the Palnad, but the mines are not now worked. Copper is found both in the Palnad and Vinukonda Taluqas.

The next most important Buddhist remains are the rock caves of Bejwādā on the left, and Undavalli on the right bank of the Krishnā. In 1928, when several scientific parties visited the Krishnā district to make observations on the great Solar Eclipse of that year, Mr. J. Ferguson, the author of the well known work on the Rock Temples of India, drew the particular attention of the savans to the cave temples of Bejwādā, with a view to obtaining fuller information for the determination of the question as to their Buddhist origin. These caves are but little known and seldom visited. Those at Bejwādā are hollowed out of the eastern side of the great hill, at the foot of which the town stands, and from the summit of which the telegraph wire is carried across the river Krishnā to a hill on the opposite side, a distance of about 5220 feet, without any support. At the foot of the hill at the north-east corner of the town, we come upon a small rock-temple which, in the wet season, is a foot or two deep in water. At the entrance is a representation of Venayakudu or Ganesha, showing that, if it had a Buddhist origin, it has been subsequently transformed into a Brahmanical shrine. Further on there are several solitary caves cut out of the rock, like anchorite cells, some of which are only large enough for a man to crawl into. Going on still in a north-east direction, near the base of the hill, there is a good-sized mantapam, or porch, cut out of the rock with solid pillars of stone. Behind the mantapam, and opening out of it, there is a chamber, and there are also several other chambers adjoining, which have been converted into shrines at one time, but subsequently deserted. In some there are still images. In the mantapam I found an old man and two old women had taken up their permanent abode. Old and infirm, without the means of supporting themselves, they found here an asylum for which they had to pay no rent, and which required no repairs.

Ascending the hill from this spot, there is still another cave which was lastly occupied by a Bairagi, or wandering devotee. He has divided the cave into several separate chambers with mud walls. The most interior one he appears to have devoted to culinary purposes, which, as it has no chimney, must have filled the other apartments with smoke. The Bairagi in question appears to have been a species of salvamander, for his special penance was to sit in the centre of a circle, about eight feet in diameter having a trench all round (which is still to be seen), in which fires were lighted. In this magic circle he performed his mantras or incantations. He had a reputation of his own, and was much resort ed to by women of all classes to whom nature had denied the much coveted joys of maternity. The cave is now empty, but there is little about it to indicate traces of its early origin. There is still another cave about half way up the hill just over the town and behind a later temple of Shiva.

In the temple of Malleshwaraswāmi in the town itself, there are some figures and columns of much older date than the temple itself. These appear to be of Buddhist origin. One capital of a pillar is quite different from those of ordinary Hindu architecture.

At the Library in Bejwādā there is a colossal figure of Buddha, cut out of black stone. It is said to have been discovered buried near the base of the hill, on the top of which stands a bangala built by Colonel Orr. This image has, however, lost its features, which appear to have been wilfully defaced probably by the Muhammadans in their iconoclastic zeal. There is another perfect colossal figure of Buddha in the enclosure of a chaultry at Gudiwādā, which much resembles the one at Bejwādā. The features are very fine, the hair woolly, and it has a seven-headed serpent over its head. There is no one who claims any property in this image, and it is well worthy of preservation.

At Gudiwādā there is a circular mound resembling the one at Amravati. It is known as lanja dibba or harlot's mound. It is reported to have been raised by a dancing girl who lived on the top, and confined herself to one meal a-day, of which she delayed to partake till she could see the lights at Akarepalli Pagoda. The mound, however, evidently covers the ruins of a Buddhist dagoba. Well burnt bricks are found in large quantities. As there is no stone available in this neighbourhood, sculptures probably do not exist, but the people tell of a stone casket dug up here containing a pearl, some gold leaf, and other relics. There are several other mounds in the neighbourhood, on one of which a former Collector built a bangala. They are said to have been formerly ninety-nine Buddhist or Jaina temples here and ninety-nine tanks. There are
similar mounds also known as *lanja dibbalu* covering similar Buddhist remains at Ghantasalapalam in Bandar Taluqa, and Brattirpolu in Repalli Taluqa.

There are also a number of copper Buddhist figures in the Library at Bejwāḍa. These were found buried at Budhavani in the Repalli Taluqa—a place which retains traces of its origin in its name. There are three images of Buddha, one seated under a trippl umbrella, two standing with the head surrounded by a wheel or circle. There are also two copper shrines of which the images are wantign. Besides these there are a number of copper images of the Buddhist saints, varying in size from one to two feet in height. These are beautifully executed, and might bear comparsison with Grecian or Roman figures for symmetry and design. Most of the figures have the caste thread, and the folds of the dresses are very gracefully represented. Each figure formerly stood on a pedestal of its own, but I am informed that, as these pedestals bore certain characters, probably the names of the saints, they were sent to Madras to be deciphered. They have never, however, been returned. I presume they are in the Government Central Museum. I would recommend bringing the figures and these pedestals together again. Each figure has a spike below the feet to fit into the pedestal. The features are finely cut, the hair woolly, and the holes of the ears unnaturally extended and pendant. In one of the images the eyes are of silver. The positions are very natural, easy, and graceful.

Crossing the river Krishṇa at Bejwāḍa, about a mile and-a-half above and west of Sitānagararam, is the village of Undavalli, at the foot of a high hill, along whose base and sides there are the remains of a considerable number of rock caves and temples, evidently of Buddhist origin. There is a rock temple of two storeys close to the village which has been recently utilized as a granary. There are several hermit cells scattered about with more or less carved stone about the entrances, in some of which pigs have taken up their abode. In various places the figures of elephants and other animals in the Buddhist style of representation are to be seen depicted. A pathway along the side of the mountain, at some elevation, leads to more of these remains. At one place there is a *mantapam* cut out of the rock and supported by stone pillars, more solitary cells, and, lastly, a rock temple of four storeys of considerable proportions. The two lower storeys are completely buried in débris. From the first floor there runs an unexplored gallery far into the rock, which is said to be an under-ground means of communication with Mangalagiri, seven miles off.

The four storied temple, although it bears many evident traces of its original Buddhist origin, has subsequently been transferred into a temple of Vishnu under the designation of Anantesenu. On this third storey is a large hall, supported by solid stone columns, and on each of these is represented, as far as they can be deciphered, scenes from the history of Rāma. There is the rape of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, her search and rescue by Hanumān, the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, the defeat of Rāvaṇa, etc. At one end of the hall is a gigantic figure representing Viṣṇu as Narasimhaswāmi stretched at length upon the seven-headed serpent, whose heads rise above his. There are two gigantic figures at his feet in *bas reliev*, and a number of others of smaller dimensions. These appear to have been originally painted, for there are remains of paint in spots, representations of flowers between the figures, which have been exquisitely done with Pre-Raphaelite minuteness. The only Buddhist sculpture of figures I could trace was the representation of Buddha seated with a row of disciples on either side. This, however, the Brahmins affirmed was a representation of Vishnu and the Rishis.

Leaving out of the centre hall, there are other smaller chambers with more sculpture upon the walls. Many of these have become quite obliterated owing to the disintegration of the rock on which they were cut. Others have been obliterated in modern times with a free use of whitewash. On the fourth storey is another hall with chambers leading out of it, with more sculpture, but all the sculptures here are much inferior to those of Amrāvati, and, with few exceptions, of the Brahanical period. The legend of Rāma and Rāvaṇa is considered to represent the feud between Brahmanism and Buddhism, and the final triumph of the former over the latter. Here we have the storey represented in the living rock. The winning party, having got these temples of their old rivals, have sought to obliterate the traces of the old religion, and have substituted in their place the symbols and legends of the triumphant form of worship.

Near the large temple there is an inscription on a rock in Telugu nearly obliterated with whitewash, but, from the form of the letters, I infer that it is of not any very ancient date.

I have alluded to the term Rākṣasa as being commonly used to designate the Buddhists, and various remains have been traditionally handed down, associated with these Rākṣasas. The chief traditions of the Pālunad relate to the wars between the Devatas and Rākṣasas, and the country is spoken of as the land of the Rākṣasas. The names, too, have their own significance as evidence to this fact. Kārempudi is said to be derived from Karras, one of the Rākṣasas leaders, Durgi after his brother Dusbava. The ancient legends are all localized. Thus it is said that when Rāma killed the two brothers Karras and Dusbava, the news was conveyed to Rāvaṇa, who was in great grief. Then it was suggested to him by Marichudhu (from whom the village of Macherla derives its name) that he should carry off Sītā, the wife of Rāma, which he accomplished, transporting her to Ceylon. Rāma first heard the news of Sītā's rape, it is said, at Vinukonda, (the
Hill of Hearing). Another of the Rākṣasas leaders, Bahayudam, gives his name to a village just across the Krishna, opposite Satrasala, on the Haidarabad side. The cave temples are always pointed out as remains of the Rākṣasas, and the people continually speak of Rākṣasas and Jainas in connection with each other.

Mr. Ferguson has noticed an extensive excavation near Dachapalli, covered with sculpture in a most masterly style, and another on the road leading from the river to the Pagoda of Shrishailam. The former I have not been able to find; the latter is said to be in the Karnul district. There are also rock temples at Itipotula, Jatepallam, Elswaram, and at other places along the banks of the Krishna in the Palnad, of which at present little is known and which would doubtless repay investigation.

VI. Relics of the transition period, when Brahmanism triumphed over Buddhism.—This period is represented by Brahmanical sculptures introduced into the old Buddhist caves, and sculptured stones taken from Buddhist buildings, and used in the construction of temples dedicated to Vishnu and Shiva.

The solar race entered India about 1,000 years before the lunar race, which was about the thirteenth century B.C. Both these were Aryans.

From this time till the third or fourth century B.C., no horde of any race, so far as we know, crossed the Indus. By this time the blood of the Aryans had become so mixed and impure that the Veda was no longer possible as a rule of faith, and when Siśśyā Muni attempted to revive, in Buddhism, the religion of the aboriginal Turanians, the call found a ready response. Buddha is ordinarily reported to have been born at Kapilavastu, a small principality north of the Ganges, B.C. 623, [and to havedied] at Kusangara in the same neighbourhood about B.C. 543. Mr. Ferguson has fixed the first century after Christ for the building of the Buddhist tope at Sanchi between Bhilsa and Bhopal, Central India.

Amrāvati he places in the fourth century, A.D., and the caves of Ajanta in the seventh century, A.D. From this period the decline of Buddhism dates. Shankara Achārya, the principal teacher of Shai-visna, lived about the eighth or ninth century, A.D., and out of Buddhism rose the Jaina and Vaishnav faiths; these are both direct products of Buddhism; indeed Buddha is recognized as the ninth Avatar of Vishnu.

In many parts of this district is to be noticed the employment of sculptured stones of very ancient date in the construction of Vaishnav and Shaiva temples. The sculptures usually represent animals, elephants, horses, deer, bears, tigers, alligators, and various sorts of birds and fishes. The anatomical proportions of these representations are excellent, but in the fabrics in which they are found, they are quite out of keeping with the more recent buildings; thus there is at Vinukonda an ancient mantapam, around whose basement is an entablature representing all sorts of animals. In the interior are some of the most beautifully shaped pillars I have seen anywhere in this part of the country. The old edifice is full of interest, but it is used as a common chaulky now by beggars of the lowest castes, and has been disfigured by the erection of a modern travellers’ bangala with two rooms on the top. The bangala has in its turn been abandoned. One room is used for a school, and the other has been recently applied for, for a Post Office.

Other instances of the use of stones taken from older Buddhist structures for the construction of later temples may be seen at Parachur in the Balhatia Taluk, and at Gurrjala and Pelinguralla in the Palnad. Near the latter village are a number of mounds forming a sort of large circle, which, the people believe to be the remains of an old fort. The appearance of these mounds bears, however, a very strong resemblance to the depa rati dinau at Amravati, beneath which the Amravati sculptures were discovered. They have never been opened. Scattered all around are great quantities of broken pottery, but no coins are known to have been found here.

A careful examination of existing temples would lead to the discovery of many ancient relics of Buddhism; indeed, one comes across them continually, and the transition from the old to the recent form of faith seems to be very clearly marked on the archaeological remains of this district.

VI. Temples of the Brahmanical periods, with inscriptions which purport to be from 300 to 800 years old.—The number of temples dedicated to Vishnu and Shiva in this district is very considerable, and what is strange, we find the most ancient ones abandoned, and their materials used in raising new buildings. The people seem to entertain but few ideas of veneration with regard to the ancient structures, and brick and mortar plastered outside is the description of architecture, that finds most favour for temples in the present day. When we do find worship maintained in an old temple, we are sure to find the ancient sculptures and inscriptions effaced and disfigured by a thick coat of whitewash, and the images smeared with oil or red-lead.

The principal temples dedicated to Vishnu are at Mangalagiri, Akiripalli, Shrikakolam, Vedadiri, and Gadapalli. Attached to the one at Akiripalli there are some cave-temples.

The principal temples dedicated to Shiva are at Kotappa Konda, Bejwada, Kalapalli, Shivagangā Mopedivi, Chejerla, and Macherla.

I have not personally visited all these, and to some the priests object to admit European visitors. I have, however, visited a large number of temples in the district. An interesting collection might be made of the stone inscriptions, when such are to be found, and which, according to the Telugu dates, appear to extend for about 300 to 800 years back.
Sir Walter Elliot made, I understand, a collection of these, but I am not aware what he did with them. It is a work which will require much care to select these inscriptions or shasanams, as some are no doubt spurious, but those which are genuine would afford much information as to the old dynasties.

Khandagiri is a town situated about eight miles south of Bejwada. It has a Vaishnava temple dedicated to Narasimhaswāmi of considerable repute. The annual festival or celebration of the Kalyana Utsavaru in the month of Phalgunam draws great crowds. The chief temple is situated on the side of a high hill. The approach is by steps cut out of the rock. The old caves are evidently of Buddhist origin, and have been transformed to suit the worship of Vishnu. At the foot of the approach is a pillar of black granite with inscriptions in Telugu on all four sides. This was blown down some years ago, exhibiting a cavity in the lower stone or pediment in which coins or other valuables were probably deposited. The temple is of two stories cut out of the rock, and there are also many rock-chambers. Sugar-water is the offering here made to the divinity. It is poured into a cavity in the rock and disappears. The god is supposed to take half of every offering and the other half goes to his priests. Behind the principal chamber is a passage into the hill, which has never been explored, but is said to afford subterraneous communication with Undavalli. In the town of Mangalagiri is another temple (old), though of more recent date, also dedicated to Narasimhaswāmi. It has a very high gopuram of ten stories, the other half goes to his priests. Behind the principal chamber is a passage into the hill, which has never been explored, but is said to afford subterraneous communication with Undavalli. In the town of Mangalagiri is another temple (old), though of more recent date, also dedicated to Narasimhaswāmi. It has a very high gopuram of ten stories, but the priests are very exclusive, and will not admit visitors. Some of the carving on the temple car which is kept outside is good, but much of it is abominably disgusting. The difference in the style of work, according as the subject is one worthy or not the study of art, is very marked. The grosser representations are evidently the work of inferior artists. There is a very large koneru or tank, having four sides of cut-stone steps. This is very much esteemed, and greatly resorted to for every sort of purpose, for bathing, for the washing of foul linen, as a receptable for dirt, and also very largely for drinking purposes. The tank is very deep, and never dries up. It has been proposed to have it cleaned out, but the expense would be great. It is supposed to have a rich deposit of bangles and all sorts of native jewellery, which persons have lost when bathing.

At Macherla in the Palnad there is an ancient stone temple of much fame. On the surrounding walls are a series of sculptures representing scenes from the Mahābhārat and Bhāgavatam. There are also sculptures in the temples at Senkarapuram, Gannaslap, and Dachapalli.

At Satrasala also in the Palnad, on the southern bank of the Krishna, there are a number of stone-temples dedicated to Shiva. Many of them are in ruins, but worship is still kept up.

A second expedition—also a party of Mr. Locke's students, this time under his own personal superintendence—proceeded to Orissa in the end of December last. Mr. Locke's principal object on this second occasion, was to obtain casts and drawings of the best and most characteristic carvings in the Khândagiri caves. He, however, made use of an opportunity which occurred to him, to go to Jājpur, and to procure some photographs of the celebrated monolithic figures, and column at that place.

Such expeditions serve the double purpose of placing, so to speak, original materials within easy reach of every enquirer, and of taking evidence, as it were de bene esse, which otherwise might pass irrecoverably away. This risk of disappearance is by no means imaginary, for Mr. Locke infers from a comparison of the sketch of Bhūbaneshwar given in Sterling's paper on Orissa,† with the present features of the ground, that as many as eight or ten or even more of the smaller temples have, within the last forty years, sunk into confused masses, or ill-defined jungle covered mounds of ruins. No one will doubt that the tale, which would be told by the archaic remains of Khândagiri and Blin-
baneshwar, if they could be rightly interpreted, would be historically most important. The Khan dagiri caves bearample indicia of a Buddhist origin.ment plainly perceptible in the ornament; I do not foreign appearance, Bābu Rājendralāla supposes to But Mr. Locke considers there is also a Greek ele now refer to the dress worn by the booted figure conventional ornament on the mouldings and friezes. And then, if we pass to Bhubaneshwar, we find ourselves in the presence of a type of Hindu art, which is, at any rate in this sense, archaic, namely, that the forms assumed by the temples were developed in the infancy of structural resource. The lofty pyramidal tower, gradually rounded in at the top, and surmounted by a lotus-shaped crown, is not at first sight, I think, pleasing to the eye; but it is easy to understand how it might have grown out of the exigencies under which the builder worked. Without the aid of cement, and in the absence of any knowledge of the arch, the horizontal section which could be effectually covered over by overlapping slabs of stone would necessarily be small, and therefore it would be by height alone that the designer could give any imposing character to his buildings. In those cases where the wealth of decorative ornament is extreme, a close examination shows that, after all, the whole is little more than repetition on repetition of certain comparatively few forms, examples of each of which appear on almost every temple.—From the President’s Address, Proc. As. Soc. Beng. Feb. 1872.

"Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (No. 27), 1870."

This part of the Journal has just been published and contains:—(1) A paper “On some Sanskrit copper-plates found in Belgām Collectorate” by J. F. Fleet, C.S. No. 9. of these plates is in possession of a weaver at Bāgawādi in the Belgām taluqa. It is in three sheets, written in a corrupted form of the Kāyastha character, and bears on the seal a figure of Hanumān. It gives us the names of three kings of the Yādava dynasty,—1. Kānṭhāra, the son of Jaitugi, the son of Simhana. The date of the latter is given by Mr. Elliott as Saka 132 to 1170? with a note to the effect that the exact date of his death has not been ascertained. His successor is Kandara Deva, Kandara Deva, or Kanera Deva, Saka 1170? to 1182, who is evidently the same as Kānṭhāra of this inscription. The last inscription of Simhana that Mr. Elliott obtained bore the date of Saka 1169. In the present inscription the name of Simhana’s son is supplied as Jaitugi, and, the grant being made by Kānṭhāra (his grandson) in Saka 1171. Mr. Elliott’s conjecture as to the date of his accession is thereby confirmed. The remaining plates relate to the family of the Kadambas. From No. 8, we have the following list of kings:—

1. Jayant or Trilochanakādamba.
2. Jayakesi I. (his son)
3. Vijayāditya I. (his son.)
4. Jayakesi II. (his son) md. to Mallamahādevi.
5. Permādi or Sivachitta (his son.)
6. Vijayāditya II or Vikramarka (his brother) md. to Pattamahādevi.
7. Jayakesi III. (his son.)

The inscription records a grant made by Jayakesi III. in the year of the Kaliyuga 4288 (A.D. 1187-8). The first in the list, J ay a n t a or T r i l o c h a n a k a d a m b a, born from the drops of sweat which flowed from Siva’s forehead to the root of the Kadamba tree, when he conquered the demon Tripura, seems to be a half mythical personage. He is probably intended for the same as Trinetrakadamba, who is said to have reigned about K.Y 3210 (A.D. 109, or according to Buchanan, 161-2). The princess Mallalā, whom Jayakesi II. married, is described as the younger sister of Soma, and is given in marriage to king Permādi; and as Jayakesi I. is spoken of as having formed friendship with the Chālukya and Chola kings, this Permādi is evidently identical with Vikramāditya II. or Permādi Rāya of the Chālukya dynasty, whose date Mr. Elliott gives as Saka 998-1049 (A.D. 1076-1127) which corresponds very well with the position occupied by Jayakesi II. in this list, and who was succeeded by his son Someswar Deva III. There is also an inscription at Halsi, dated K.Y. 4270, which agrees with No. 8 in giving Jayanta as the first king. It then proceeds to Jayakesi, who made Gopakapatnam his capital. To him was born Vijayāditya, whose son was Jayasiva or Jayakesi. Jayasiva married Mallalamaḥadevi, (Mallalakādevi) and begat Sivachitta and Vishnuchitta. Mallalamaḥadevi is said to be the daughter of Vikramarka the ruby of the Chālukyas.

From plates 1 to 7 is obtained this genealogy of the Kadamba Kings:—

1. Kākusthavarmā (plates 1, 2, 3, 4.)
2. Sāntivarman (his son; 2, 3, 4.)
3. Mriges’a (his son; 2, 3, 4.)
4. Ravivarman (his son; 2, 4, 5, 6); his brothers Bhānuvarman (4); and Sivaratha (7).
5. Harivarman (son of Ravivarman; 6).

They belong to the Mānavyagotra and are the descendants of Hāriti; and Palāsikā appears to have been, if not their capital, at least a place of importance. Palāsikā in No. 8 has been corrupted to Palāṣika, and in the stone inscription has dwindled to Palasi. Unfortunately we have no direct means of fixing the dates of these kings. Plate 1 tells us that Kākusthavarmā, Yuvaraja of the Kadambas made a grant in the 80th year, possibly
referred to some local era. If these Kadambas should prove to be of a different line from the descendants of Elliot's Mayuravarma, they may be referred to the period before the commencement of the 10th century when the Chalukya dynasty emerged from a temporary obscurcation. If they are to be placed before Mayuravarma, we have the inscription of Ye-ur, translated by Mr. Elliot, which speaks of Kadamba kings anterior to the first Chalukya king JayaSimha, as "the inimical Kadambas lofty, powerful heroes to conquer, but not to be overcome," &c. JayaSimha, according to inscriptions, flourished about Saka 400, though Mr. Elliot prefers the date Saka 572. All tradition, too, points to Kadambas amongst the very earliest dynasties. (2.) "The shrine of the river Krishnâ at the village of Mahâbaleswarâ," by Bâo Sâheb Vis'va-pâth Nârâyân Mandlik: "A stone temple built about 125 years ago over the source of the river Krishnâ is annually resorted to by all parts of the neighbouring country, and every twelfth year, when the planet Jupiter enters the sign of Virgo, pilgrims from all parts assemble to bathe in the sacred waters of the Ganges, which river is believed to make her appearance at this shrine at the beginning of that year and to stay there for a twelvemonth on a visit to her younger sister Krishnâ." The Temple stands at the foot of the hill facing the east. It measures 36½ feet in length by 16½ in depth, having an open courtyard in front 62 ft. 3 in. long and 32 ft. 6 in. wide, in which are two cisterns with steps down to them. Along three sides of the courtyard is an open cloister ½ ft. deep supported in front on pillars 2 ft. square and about 7 ft. 3 in. from centre to centre. The whole is enclosed by a wall 4 ft. thick, with an entrance door to the east, 4 ft. 9 in. wide, leading into the court. Opposite the entrance and projecting into the outer cistern is a pavilion for Nândî. The temple is formed of two bays separated by four pillars and two corresponding pilasters with a portico in front. Each bay is thus divided into five squares, separately roofed in by domes inside, but outside finished off in steps running longitudinally. The cloisters are similarly roofed. At the back of the temple and behind an inner wall 4 ft. thick is the main source of the river. Through this wall, five holes are made to represent the rivers Krishnâ, Vennâ, Koyânâ, Gâyatrî, and Sâvitrî. The priests say that two others—the Bhâgirathi and Sarasvatî—also flow from the sides of the other Gângâs or rivers—the former once in 12 years, and the latter once in 60 years; the holes through which they issue being at the N. and S. ends of the temple respectively. The water from these five drains flows into a channel in front, and is thence dis-

charged into the inner cistern in the courtyard through a spout carved to represent a cow's head. Here the visitors bathe and perform all the connected ceremonies. This temple was built by a Sattara Brahman family named Anagala. But the first hereditary officer connected with its management is a Koli or rather a Koli family, from their connection with it, known as Gângâ-pûtra, and, as soon as a visitor has bathed all offerings he makes belong to these Kolis. What is offered before bathing only is retained by the Brahmans, who, of course, press visitors to make offerings before bathing. At the temple of Mahâbaleswara also, the Kolis hold a hereditary position, and the Gurâvas, who worship the Linga there, appear more closely allied to the hill tribes than to the inhabitants of the plains; they have no connection however with the shrine of Krishnâ, where the Kolis alone are the principal officers in charge. "The serpent," says the writer, "is connected with both these temples; and from the Lingâ temples he seems to be quite insacral. In the latter, he is represented as being coiled round the Lingâ, while in the temple of the Krishnâ, a living one is supposed to be guarding its sources." The priests at both these shrines are primarily the wild or at least Non-Vedic tribes. Some wear the Linga, and these do not taste food prepared by a Brahman; and Brahmanas are prohibited from becoming officiating priests at Saiva temples, and cannot partake of offerings made there. "There is no doubt that the people do consider that there is something awkward, if not obscene, in Lingâ worship. Because, so far as I am aware, only young girls who have not arrived at maturity, and old ladies who have passed the period of child-bearing, are permitted to enter a Saiva temple. Others have to perform their worship by deputy." (3.) "Some further Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa," by J. F. Fleet, CS. A large stone tablet in the temple of Narasimha at Halsi records two grants made by Sivachitta and VishnuChitta in the 23rd and 25th years of their joint reign in K. Y. 4270, and 4272 respectively. The other inscriptions enable us to add a few names to the list of the Kadamba family. The father of Shashadeva was Gûhalâdeva; and the wife of Sivachitta was Kamalâdevi, daughter of Kâmbhâpa of the Sonavansâ and Chattalâdevi of the Pandy race, according to Nos. 1 and 3, though Nos. 4 and 7 say that Kâmbhâpa was of the Sûryavansâ and Chattalâdevi of the Somakula. "The expression Banavasipuravarsadîwara would appear to be only a hereditary title and not meant to denote the actual residence of the Kadamba Kings, as their real capital seems to have been, not Halsi, as I had supposed, but Goa, which is

* Banavâsi is in N. Lat. 14°. 35', E. Long. 75°; Ptolomy mentions it as Banauasi.—Ed.
mentioned under its modern name in the Gulhali stone. The Sanskrit inscriptions give Gopakapatanasa or Gopakapuri as its equivalent. A Sanskrit copperplate from Mhansi in the Goatrue territories is dated Saka 1358, and mentions the Marathas who had for 12 years usurped the territory of the Kadambas. They do not seem to have been independent sovereigns but rather feudatories of the Chalukyas. With respect to the date of Jayakesi III, the large copperplate of Halsi gives the Siddhārthi Samvat, the 53rd year of the cycle of Vrihaspati, as corresponding to K.Y. 4288, while the Kistur inscription gives Durmati Sam, or the 55th year, as corresponding to 4289; this calculation moreover differs by 13 years from the method followed in the other inscriptions and still current in the district. Si vacchita in K.Y. 4275 had been ruling 28 years, and Jayakesi would appear to have succeeded in that year, as K.Y. 4286 is the 13th of his reign. A Canarese inscription from Narendrapur near Dharwad records a grant made by order of the Mahāmālasara Jayakesi de E. and his wife Mallala devi, while they were governing the Konkana nine hundred, the Palasige twelve thousand, the Paye (?) five hundred, and Kavadiwipsa, in the time of the Chalukya Tribhuvana Malladeva (Vikramāditya II.). The grant was made in Saka 1047.

(4) "Report on Photographic copies of inscriptions in Dharwad and Maisur," by Dr. Bhau Daji. This is a series of brief notes on the volume of inscriptions photographed by Dr. Pigou and Col. Biggs and printed at the expense of the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India in 1866. From the 69 plates, 57 inscriptions are noticed. No. 1, from Iwalli, perhaps of the early part of the 11th century A.D., mentions king Avanaditya of the Sindavansa. No. 3, from Iwalli, is dated Saka 506, K.Y. 3855, and from the Mahābāhatta war 3730 (A.D. 584). "The first named king in it is Jayasinha; his son was Ranaraga; his son Pulakesi. He ruled at Vatapipuri and performed the horse-sacrifice. Pulakesi's son was Kiritvarman. He conquered kings of the Nala, Maurya and Kadamba dynasties. After him his younger brother Mangalisa ruled and conquered Revati Dwipa. Pulakesi's son of Kiritvarman was anxious to succeed him, whilst Mangalisa appears to have wished to place his own son on the throne. But Mangalisa appears to have died suddenly and Pulakesi II. succeeded. He conquered the Lutas, Malavas, Gurjaras, the Pallavas, and defeated king Harsha. He was called Satyasraya (supporter of truth) in addition to the family title of Prithvi Vallabha. The inscription also contains the names of the poets Kādalāsa and Bhāravi, whose fame is compared to that of Ravidhiri. A Sanskrit verse written about the 7th century A.D.—

* Given in Courteen and Auld's Memoir on Sasantrundi, p. 300.

"Peace. No man so skilful in the construction of houses and temples as Marsboba lived, or ever will live, in Jambuvipa." No. 9 contains the name of Sri Pritthi Vallabha, Maharajdhiraja. Parames wara, Parama Bhuttara, Satyashraya Kulatilaka, Chalukya, Bharana, Sriant Tribhuvana (Malla) This is the Chalukya king who flourished in Saka 1104, A.D. 1182. Subordinate was Mahamandasara Mayuravarna Mahanukhipala, lord of Vanavasi, which was the capital of the Kadambas. No. 24, on a stone at Guduk, is dated S. 1104 (A.D. 1182) and is a grant by Vira Ballaladeva of the Hayasala line. No. 26, Kirwati Inscribed Stone, is of Tribhuvana Malladeva dated in the 14th year of their era (S. 1012). No. 27, Sondali inscribed stone is dated S. 1151; No. 28, Narasupara inscribed stone, in S. 1104; No. 31, from Hampi or Bi nagar, in S. 1121; No. 32, in S. 1140; No. 33, from Telauni, in S. 1160; No. 35, Chandanpur, is of Tribhuvana Malladeva again; and Nos. 36, and 37, also from Chandanpur, in S. 1113, 1186 and 1148. No. 38-43, inscriptions from Haribara dated 1443, and 1453, 1199, 1332, &c. Scarcely any of them are translated in their entirety, and from many only the proper names are picked out.


This part contains (1) Extracts from the Parita, the text and commentaries in Pali by M. Grimblot, with introduction, translation, notes and notices by M. Léon Feer. The Parita, (vulgo Piri) from which the Sūtras are extracted, is itself a collection of texts selected from different portions of the Sutta-pitaka. It forms a special book well known to the Sinhalese, but appears to be known also to the other southern Buddhists. Seven suttas are given: (1, 2) Chandra and Surya-sūtra; (3) Mahā Mangala Sūtra, or of the highest blessing—already translated by Gogerly and Childers; (4) Parabhava suttra, or of diminution; (5, 6) Metta Sutta and Metta-Anisansa, or of love, and the advantages of love; and (7) Karaniya-Metta-Suttam translated by Childers in the Kuddaka-Patha.

(2) The Royal Chronicle of Kamboja by M. Francis Garnier. This is a brief chronology of the kings of Kamboja from Prea-reashea-angca-prea borom-nipean-bat who ascended the throne of Angkor in 1346 A.D., till 1737.

(4) Memoir on the Ancient History of Japan, according to the Wen-hien-Tong-Kao of Ma-tuan lin, by the Marquis D'IHervey de Saint Denys.


(6) Assyrian Tablets, translated by M. Oppert.

(7) Notice of A. Paspati's Etudes sur les Tchin-Ahianºou Bºhémiens de l'Empire Ottoman.
I had the pleasure of contributing a few fugitive notes on the Gonds and Kurkus of these hills, but this season I have come across a new branch of this family called the Bharias, concerning whom you will perhaps find the following interesting. I have not been able to determine anything of their origin, but I do not hesitate to place them in the great Gond family, of which they form a subdivision. In their language and in some of their customs they differ totally from the Gonds, with whom they neither eat nor drink nor intermarry. I find, however, they acknowledge the law of lamjhana, which I described last year as imposing a servitude of a certain number of years on a man, who, wishing to marry into a family, could not afford to make the usual marriage settlement, and give certain presents to his bride's relatives. In their caste prejudices, they assimilate with the Gond in a hybrid sort of manner to the Hindu; and so they will not eat the cow nor wild buffalo, but do not hold back from making food of the pig, the deer, nilgai, and all such wild animals. In their marriage ceremonies they follow suit with the other hill people, and impose certain dues on the man marrying; for instance, a dowry from the husband consists of 200 sérs kodo, 25 sérs dāl, Rs. 7, a pagri 12 hands long, 2 saris and 2 cholis, and further, when the wife goes to take possession of her future home, her relations have to be entertained with a feast of gar or a deep potation of liquor to the amount of Rs. 2,—the latter invariably, if to be found. When a marriage is about to be celebrated they proceed to prepare an especial shade in front of the house where the ceremony will take place. A pole of Salai-wood (frankincense) is buried, and around it, so as to form a convenient square, are raised eight other props, on which rests the roof, crowned with garlands of leaves and flowers. The middle pole of Salai is called bhaura. Notice is given to all friends when the marriage is to be consummated, and then it is that the bride to be, comes to her intended's village, and takes up her residence opposite to the house he occupies. It will be remembered I explained last year that the villages in these hills are always built in two rows. Both of them are well beamered with haldi, a custom which I found extensively practised in the Dekhan among all classes of the native population. The woman's friends make it a rule to arrive in the morning and the haldi is kept on till evening, but any time during the day the couple to be united are summoned and made to walk round the Bhaura seven times with their clothes knotted together. After this, the girl's father gives her a dowry, when the ceremony is supposed to be over. At night, all present are entertained to a dinner, which is called Bhaura-ki-roti; Sagai-ki-roti, being the first held after arrangements have been entered into to accept the suitor's proposal; the third being called Chikla Manu-li-ki-roti, given on the morning immediately after the marriage when the girl's relations depart, and it is only after this third feast that the husband gets possession of his wife. It is strange that when the newly married are blessed with an addition to their family, they never even invite the young mother's relatives to come and see the child, but allow them to visit if the wish takes them naturally.

They burn their dead, and bury those killed by accident or wild animals; but those killed by a tiger, they will not even so much as touch. They put their relatives out of caste, but re-admit them on their giving a panchayat dinner. While worshipping the other gods of the Gonds, they hold the Sāj tree as the impersonation of their chief deity. If you want to test the truth of a Bharia's word, break a leaf of the Sāj, put it on his head, and ask him to repeat his assertion; if it be true he will at once speak it again, if not, nothing will induce him to do so; at least thus spoke my deponent. Narayan Deva is represented by a copper ring about an inch in diameter; Sakrai Deva by a twisted ring of iron about 2 or 3 inches in diameter; Khauria Khastarpal by a very diminutive stool, about an inch square with four legs and about 1½ inches high. Dulha Deva Durga is made of iron, and supposed to be figurative of a peacock; it is hollow, and about 1½ inch long. Khuia Baim-sen exists only in name.

When Gonds, Kurkus or Bharias start together in their tilli crops, they take with them some ashes and Indian corn seeds, and as they go along, they keep making circles with the ashes, and place in their centres the seeds of the corn. This practice is supposed to keep away all the bad will of the Devas. Their women usually dress like the Gonds, but if they can afford it, like the generality of Hindu women, and do not wear the ponderous brass ornaments in vogue amongst the former.

These hill people will not let the Lamjhana sleep in the same house where his intended lives, nor do they let them converse more than is good for them; if before they are married, they go astray, they are turned out of caste, and the marriage ceremony is not gone through at all; but on their giving a feast after the expiration of three days to their Panchayat, they are re-installed among their brethren as a wedded couple.

The Bharia Gots, or clans, number eighteen. Thakaria, Chaithia, Angaria, Bhardia, Dariolia, Naharia, Bagotia, Rothia, Gangia, Paria, Mhenia, Pachalia, Kurmia, Bijilia, Bagdaria Khamarea, Gaulia, Bagdia, Amoria.

Relating to the Khapa or Balkagarh Jagir, the following was narrated to me:—The Gond dynasty
was established at Devagad under Jatwa Rāja, who was formerly a servant of the two Gauli brother princes, Ramsur and Ghansur. By treason he deposed them and took possession of the Gadi, and then, to his assistance, came the three brothers, Aha Bankha, Phonj Bhankha and Mahā Bankha, with a force of 2,000 men. During the conflict carried on between the opposing forces, Aha and Mahā died, and the surviving brother, Phonj Bankha, received as a reward for his services the Balkagarh or Khapa Jägir. After affairs had been settled, and Jatva made quite secure on his usurped throne, he, together with his ally Phonj Bankha, proceeded to the Nizamat Haidarābad, and tendered their con-

joint aid to him. They were directed to join the attack on Golkonda or Bhāgnagar, whose Rani revelled in the euphonious name of Nakti Rani Ching Moji Sang Moji. They took her possessions, and for this good turn, Jatva received in marriage the Nizam's daughter. He of course turned Muhammadan, and acquired the new title of Bakht Buland, when he returned to Devagad, and assumed the regal purple. His descendant, Suliman Shah Badshah, known as the Gond Rāja, now resides at Nagpur, while Gopal Sing, the descendant of Phonj Bankha, is the present Rāja of Khapa, and is put down as in the 14th generation.—Report of the Topographical Surveys for 1869-70.

NOTES, QUERIES, &c.

NATIVE TRIBES OF SIKHIM.

The following account of the principal native tribes inhabiting the hilly country of the Darjiling territory, we get from the local News. The mountainous country from 1,500 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, is inhabited by a warlike, beardless, Mongolian race, named Limbus, who are by turns Hindus, Buddhists, or Polytheists, according to circumstances or convenience.

From 4,000 to 6,000 feet, the upper limit of cultivation, the Hills are inhabited by Lepchas, Bhotias, and Murmis. The Lepchas, who are the aborigines of the Darjiling mountains, are a fair and beardless race, Mongolians, Buddhists, omnivorous, and an amiable and cheerful race of people. They have a written language in their own character. The Bhotias are principally from Bhutan, east of the Tista river; they are a phlegmatic, heavy, quarrelsome race when compared with the Lepchas, many of them have beards and mustaches; they are Mongolians, Buddhists, omnivorous, and have a written language in the Tibetian character; they are an agricultural and pastoral people, depasturing with herds of Yaks on the grassy mountains immediately under the perpetual snow in summer, and the forest in the warm valleys during the winter. They raise crops of rice, buck-wheat, barley and vegetables.

The Murmis are a pastoral and agricultural people, depasturing with flocks of sheep and goats on the grassy mountains near the perpetual snow; they live on the summits and sides of mountains from 4,000 to 6,000 feet, in stone cottages thatched with grass. They are Buddhists, Mongols, and they speak a dialect of Tibetean.

The summit of the great Singalodaspur separating Darjiling on the west from Nepal, is occupied during the summer months by a Hindu pastoral race from Nepal named Garangs, who from 9,000 up to 14,500 feet depasture their extensive flocks of sheep (which are guarded by large savage black dogs) upon the luxuriously grass-covered summit of this high range. This tribe has not yet settled in the Darjiling district.—Delhi Gazette, Dec. 30.

MAULMEIN CAVES.

To one curious in geology or antiquities, there are some interesting natural caves in some lofty limestone rocks, across a river, at the distance of about 10 miles eastward of Maulmein. The rocks extend for two or three miles, and rise perpendicularly to the height of about 500 or 600 feet or even more from the alluvial plain. A few lofty posts were placed in front on the plain, such as are seen sometimes in front of Hindu and Buddhist temples, possibly for hoisting flags. The caves are at a distance of 20 or 30 yards from the foot of the rocks, and extend about that distance into the mountain. The height is very irregular, and in some places may be 30 or 40 feet, with here and there large stalactites hanging down. I struck one of these a smart blow with my stick, and the ringing noise that it gave out made the guide and myself start. This cave is nearly filled with Buddhist images, some are eight or ten yards long, in a reclining posture, but most are sitting. The larger are all of brick and chunam, and the smaller, some of which are not more than two feet high, are of wood, and formerly all were whitewashed. Nearly all are now defaced and in ruins. The breasts of most of the larger had been opened in the hope of finding money or other valuables. A second cave at about a quarter of a mile distant on the N. E. side of the rock is empty of images, and appears never to have had them. This cave extends some 20 yards into the rock, and is 30 or 40 feet high in its highest part. Torches or candles were necessarily used in viewing both these caves, which, whatever they may once have been, are now only the abode of bats. The place is a most lonely one, and is said not to be
free from tigers. The only animals seen on my visit were the monkeys, playing and chattering on the trees and rocks near the entrances of both caves, and a large flock of huge storks, nearly as tall as men, which were stalking in the midst of the nearly ripe paddy.—Abridged from Times of India, Jan. 8.

RISE OF THE KUKA SECT.

RAM SINGH was originally a carpenter, residing in a small village named Bhaini, situated about seven miles south-east of Ludhiana. He served, however, in the Sikh army as a soldier, I believe, in 1845, but after the breaking up of the Sikh Raj, he retired to his native village, and resumed his occupation as a carpenter. We next hear of him as having undertaken a contract for making the road or a portion of it from Rawal-Pindi to Mari. On completing this, he retired again to his village, and is reported to have seen a vision. We next hear of him as the Guru called to purify the Sikh faith. In the beginning his ideas were modest, and his following as slender as his ideas were modest. As the Sikhs have ten gurus, so have they ten points of faith—five affirmative and five negative. The first are called five Ks, and are—

(A) Kard, Kachh, Kerpal, Kaughi, Kes.

Iron ornaments, short drawers, iron quirts or weapons, and the comb, and hair.

That is to say, they are not to be effeminate nor to shave, and to be always ready for fighting.

The negative points or moral precepts of the faith are contained in the following formula:—

(B) Narai-mar, Kuri-mar, Sri Kalla, Suunit Kalla, Dhir Mala.

That is to say, they are not to smoke, not to kill their daughters, not to consort with or trust the crown born, nor the circumscribed, nor the followers of the Guru of Kartapur.*

It is of some importance to bear these precepts in mind as they show (although most of them date only from Guru Govind Singh) that the Sikh faith is hostile to both Hindu and Moslem—naturally much more so to the latter than the former, in consequence of cow-killing.

Ram Singh, however, did not content himself by adhering to the tenets of the faith as left by the last Guru. His endeavour appears to have been to bring it back rather to the form in which it took life under Guru Nanak with some modification of his own. Thus the Kukas reject altogether the Hindu Shastra, have separate forms of marriage and burial services, do not drink, do not eat meat, and never eat before bathing; wear the turban above and not over the ears; bathe twice a day; are required strictly to speak the truth; never to eat from the hand of any but a Kuka; and, above all, to preserve sacred and inviolate the Cow. The idea of initiation consists of the investiture with the sacred string of knotted wool, bathing and the giving of a pass-word never divulged except to a brother Kuka. This pass-word or phrase is said to be "Satnam Kartapulkh," which are the first words of the Adh granth; but hitherto the sect have observed the secrecy of the Granth of Govind Singh, and has still a following.

They are consequently noisy in their assemblies, reviving to some extent, it would seem, the ecstatics of the howling dervishes of Egypt and the dancing dervishes of Constantinople, for so excited do they become that some have been known to fall down in a state of kal or coma. At first, votaries of the new religion came in slowly, and Ram Singh had not any difficulty in initiating and baptising all the weavers and carpenters who were prepared to accept him as their Guru; but, by degrees converts grew more numerous, and he was obliged to appoint lieutenants to aid him in the work. He himself, too, assumed a more important rôle. He rode about on horseback, surrounded by a noisy and numerous following, who continually shouted Akal! Akal! clear the way! Ram Singh comes. Akal! Akal! &c., &c. Finally Ram Singh conceived the idea of becoming the tenth Guru of the Sikhs, or, if not, the first Guru of as powerful a religious and political association. He increased the number of his Subahs to twenty-two, the same number as the king of Delh had; and commenced a very active system of propagation in the cis and trans-Satljaj States and throughout the Sikh portion of the Panjab. Almost all the carpenters, masons, and weavers joined the new religion, and many Jats; but the body of the Sikhs fought very shy of Guru Ram Singh and his followers, and the Chiefs set their faces dead against them. The Sikhs like good meat and strong drink when they can get them, better than shouting akal, and dancing and singing and telling the knots on a woolen string; and the chiefs are not at all in favour of transferring any of the allegiance their subjects owe to them to the Guru Ram Singh, the Guru of Kartapur, or any other Guru now living or yet to be born. It is quite possible that Ram Singh was at first merely a religious enthusiast, but if so, there can be no doubt that his success turned his head, and that for some years past he entertained visions of becoming the leader of a national movement the ultimate aim of which was power. The Government of the Panjab took little notice of the Guru's proceedings for some years, or, indeed, until the movement had made such progress that it would have been difficult to check it. In 1867, however, or when Sir Donald McLeod last visited Ludhiana, he sent for Ram Singh, and demanded from him an explanation of his proceedings. He disclaimed all idea of aspiring to political power, declaring his sole object to be the revival of the Sikh religion in a form more pure than it had attained under any previous Guru, or at any time in the history of the Sikhs. The tenets of the new faith were no doubt calculated to affect a great moral regeneration, and the strictness with which

* This guru is a dissipated man who has been bankrupt twice, and is again over head and ears in debt. He has an original
the Kukas observed the injunction to speak the truth soon attracted the attention of the courts of law. Sir Donald was satisfied. Ram Singh was dismissed, and continued directly and through his Subahs to make converts so fast that their number was soon estimated at 100,000 more or less. Still, though no overt act was committed, there was a certain mystery or secrecy about the proceedings of the new sect that discouraged the idea of the movement being purely a religious one; and gave it the semblance rather of a society such as that of the Carchuari of western celebrity. Such, too, seems to have been the view of the local authorities for instructions were issued to watch them. Orders were given also not to enlist any more of them in the army; these orders were, however, subsequently withdrawn, but reinforced about eight or nine months ago. The Raja of Kashmir also finding the Kukas in his service troublesome turned about 400 of them out of his army. —Times of India.

BEGGARS.

The Lawrence Gazette gives the following description of beggars to be found in the Panjab. —Dori-walas, so called from their practice of spreading a dori, or rope, before shops, just like a measuring chain. The shops coming within the length of this rope, they collect money from first, and then proceed to other shops, repeating the same process. In case of any one of the shopkeepers refusing to comply with their demands, they form the rope into a noose and threaten to hang themselves, in order to excite his compassion, and compel him to pay something.

Tevmi-walas, so named from their binding a strap of leather round their necks as if in the act of strangling themselves, and then lying on their back on the ground till they are paid, all the while fluctuating their hands and feet like one labouring under the agonies of death.

Dandi-walas, who, in case of a shopkeeper objecting to meet their demands, blacken their face, and with small huts (dundus) in their hands, which they strike together, curse and abuse him in the most scurrilous language, till a crowd of persons gather round the shop to view the sight, thereby interrupting the shop-dealings, which at last comes to a standstill. And the owner is compelled to satisfy their request.

Uri-mars, or mendicants, who obstinately take their stand before shops, and will not leave them until their demands have been satisfied, even though they should have to stay from morn till eve.

Gurz-mars and chhuri-mars, that is, faqirs who carry a knife or a club armed with spikes, with which they would themselves in order to extort alms from the people. In case of any one happening to stand in their way, they sometimes inflict blows on him in a fit of rage. —Englishman, April 12.

Mr. Whitley Stokes, Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department, has presented to the Bodleian a copy (recently made at Benares) of the Kausika Sutra of the Sama-veda. It has been ascertained that no other copy of this sutra exists in Europe. Mr. Stokes has also presented to the University Library, Cambridge, a Persian MS., containing the Qadhahos of Naizri of Naishapur, the Diwan of the same poet, and the largest collection yet found (about 800) of the celebrated Quatrains (rub'aiyat) of Omar Khayyam. This MS. has unfortunately lost a leaf at the end, but seems to be about 200 years old. It formerly belonged to the late Nawab of the Carnatic, whose seal is on the recto of the third leaf from the beginning. —Trüber's Literary Record, Mar. 7.

Sanskrit MSS. —Pandit Ramananni, Librarian to the Sanskrit College at Benares, has collected during the last eighteen months the necessary details about more than a thousand Sanskrit manuscripts. In a lately published report on education in the North-West Provinces of India, it is stated that the learned Pandit has visited the districts of Azimgarh, Gorakhpur and Mirzapur, and has found good libraries at Lakhima (district Gorakhpur), and at Dabka (district Mirzapur). The Pandits entrusted with the care of the libraries put all possible difficulties in his way, believing that the country would, sooner or later, be deprived of its manuscripts. In order to get admission to a library belonging to a Swamidchi, Pandit Ramananni was obliged to serve the proprietor during several months as a pupil, with ashes on his forehead. In another case an old rich Brahman tried to induce him to buy a number of old account books as a library. The villages Kakhina and Dabka, in which the most valuable treasures seem to be stored, are in the possession of those Kakhins who have inherited the libraries. —Ibid.

YATRĀMULLE UNNASNE.

The death of the Buddhist Priest Yatramulle Dharmārama, of Bentota in Ceylon, will be severely felt by Pali scholars. He was not only one of the most learned of the Buddhist priests, but he held such advanced philological views that his assistance was perhaps more valuable to the English Pali student than that of any other monk in Ceylon. A fellow pupil of his was the founder of the now rapidly spreading Ramanna Samāgama, a sect which strikes to restore the old purity of life among the Buddhist monks. The following is abridged from a notice Yatramulle by Mr. Childers in Trüber's Record:

Though far junior to many of the most eminent Pali scholars of his native country, his erudition was perfectly astounding, and his opinion on points of scholarship was treated with universal respect. He lent to the great Synod of Palmedula, held for the revision of the Tripiṭaka, all the aid which his immense range of reading and his critical acumen rendered invaluable to it; and he was a leading promoter of the Tripiṭaka Society, organized for the purpose of printing the entire Buddhist Scriptures—a scheme which, it is to be feared, will hardly survive his premature death. Yatramulle shrank habitually from publicity, and seldom quitted the retirement of the provincial monastery of his choice, in which he lived a simple and blameless life. Those who have
had the good fortune to know him personally will recollect the singular fascination he exercised upon all with whom he was brought into contact. During the last three or four years he was repeatedly prostrated by the attacks of a torturing malady, to which he had long been a victim, and to one of these attacks he has succumbed after prostrated suffering. “The Shavirā Yātrānuli Dhammarama, of the Vanavāsa monastery, on the 28th day of this month of January, in the last watch of the night, passed away to another world.” Yātrānuli, at the time of his death, cannot, have been more than fifty years of age.

Mr. W. Skeen.

WE regret to hear of the sudden death of Mr. W. Skeen, the author of “Adam’s Peak,” and who had in preparation an elaborate work on the history of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon, which could scarcely have failed to throw much light on the history of Buddhism, both in India and Ceylon. His loss to the Ceylon Asiatic Society will be irreparable.

White and Black Yajur Vedas.

It is worth noticing that the followers of the Black Yajurveda are almost confined to Southern India while the predominant or only Veda among the Gaudas of the North is the White Yajur. The Gujarats have got a trace of one Sākhā only of the former, the Maitrāyanīya Among the Marāthas, the Chitāryanī Brahmanas are nearly equally divided between the Rigveda and the Black Yajurveda; while the Desāsthas are Vājasaeyins (followers of the White) and Rigvedas. Whether this is to be accounted for by a revolution or some such event enabling the followers of the White Veda to drive their rivals to the South, or by the supposition of that part of India being the country of the origin of the Black Yajur is not determined. But there is a prophecy in the Agni Purāna which represents the White Yajurveda as a conquering or triumphant Veda, saying that the only Veda that will prevail in the latter part of the Kaliyuga will be the Vājasaeyins; all others being lost, and the purohitā or priest of Kalki, the King that will overthrow the Mlechchas, who will have overspread the earth, will be Yājñavalkya. This latter, part of the prophecy occurs in other Purānas also. Yājñavalkya is the founder or first teacher of the White Yajurveda.

Why should not a census be taken of the several Vedas and Sākhās, and of the most important sects of Theosophy or religious philosophy?

Publication of Chānd.

Mr. Growse, during the latter part of the rainy season of 1871, had begun an edition of Chānd.

* Dasyavāsa śahindōscha vedo Vājaseneyakah.
† Kalki Vishnuyās-putro Yājñavalkya-putrhitah.

f Zadudrus is called in the Vedas Sūtrudrī, which in Sanskrit has no satisfactory Etymology.
DKR or KRD, the root letters being at that epoch interchangeable.


HYDE CLARKE.

Query 6—about Tobacco.

Could any of the readers of the Indian Antiquary assist me in obtaining certain Sanskrit slokas regarding the use of tobacco? I saw the slokas several years ago, but unfortunately took no note of them. Their object was to prove not only that the tobacco plant is indigenous to India, but that the knowledge of the properties of the plant and its use have been known for centuries.

In my lexicographical studies I came, some time ago, across the following passage in the well-known dictionary of modern Persian, entitled Bahār i Ājam, by Munshi Tek Chand, who lived about the middle of last century, and though a Hindū, is one of the best Persian scholars that India has produced. He says—

"Tambakā. It is known from the Maāsiri Rahimi that the tobacco came from Europe to the Dakhān, and from the Dakhān to Upper India, during the reign of Akbar Shah (1556-1605), since which time it has been in general use. You say in Persian tambākā kashdān, 'to smoke,' to which the Ghids ullughāt adds, "it is quite wrong to say tambākā noshdān; for this is a literal and unidiomatic translation of tambokā pink.

The 'Maāsiri Rahimi' is very rare. It contains the life of Mirzā 'Abdurrahim, Akbar's third Khān Khānān, and was written about 1016. I looked over the copy in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library—a volume of over 1,200 pages—but have not yet found the passage alluded to.

I do not think that Abulfazl says anything regarding tobacco in the Akbarnamah, and we may infer from his silence that the plant must have been introduced into Upper India, after his death, in the very end of Akbar's reign.

Tek Chand's remark seems to imply that it was the Portuguese who introduced tobacco from Europe into Southern India; and it is in accordance with this supposition that the Persian Dictionary entitled Burhām i Qātī, which was written in the Dakhān about 1600, is the first Persian Dictionary that mentions the word tambākā (underdādkheir, 'smoke-extractor').

The Nafāis ullughāt, an excellent Hindūstāni Dictionary explained in Persian, states under 'tambākā' that the author of the Darā Shikohi—a book not known to me—says, "the tobacco came to Upper India in the very end of Akbar's reign." He mentions 914, but this is a mistake for 1014 A. H. The same book adds, "The Arabians pronounce tambākā with a u, or call it tutu; and Hakim 'Ali of Gilān mentions that tobacco is heating and dry, but some doctors look upon it as cooling and dry." Medical authorities, therefore, very early held conflicting opinions.

This Hakim 'Ali of Gilān, on the Caspian Sea, died on the 31st March, 1609, and is the same whom Jahāngir accused of having poisoned Akbar ('in translation, p. 446).

If tobacco came to Upper India in 1014, or A. D. 1605, it must have rapidly found favour; for Jahāngir, in 1617, forbade smoking by an imperial edict. He says in his 'Memoirs' (Sayyid Ahmad's Edition of the Tuzuk, p. 183)—

"On account of the evils arising from tambākā, which has now found favour with so many, I gave the order that no one should henceforth smoke, just as my 'brother' Shah 'Abbās of Persia recognized the bad consequences of tobacco and forbade it in Irān." He then mentions that one of his nobles, Khān 'A'lam, could not exist a moment without smoking.

Shah 'Abbās's anti-tobacco edict must, therefore, have been given in Persia, before 1617, but both edicts proved as useless as the well-known Papal bull against the weed.

That smoking was not introduced from Persia is almost proved by the history of the word h u q q a h, which is only in India used in the sense of a pipe. The Persians use g a l y ā n; in fact the whole Persian tobacco phraseology differs from that of India.

Old John Fryer, M. D., Cantabrig., who travelled in India and Persia between 1672 and 1681, has the following curious passage on p. 8 of his Travels (London, 1698), regarding his visit to the Island of St. Iago, one of the Cape Verde Islands,—"They invite us with an Hubble-bubble (so called from the noise it makes) a long Reed as brown as a Nut with use, inserted the Body of a Coccoe-shell filled with Water, and a nasty Bole just pressing the water, they ram Tobacco into it uncut, out of which we may suck as long as we please," &c. And further on, he uses the words 'hubble-bubble' and 'ton-toms,' when he describes India. Is it possible that even hubble-bubble should be a Portuguese onomatopoeition?

The Portuguese introduced several other things into India. During Akbar's reign, they brought from the Eastern Archipelago the A n a nās, or pine-apple; and in 1612, the first turkey found its way from Goa to A'grah, and surprised Jahāngir so much that he devotes a whole page to the description of this rara acia.

H. BLOCHMANN.

Query 7—about Gunpowder.

Can any of the readers of the Antiquary supply any information as to Gunpowder was first used in India, and in what native literary work it is first alluded to or mentioned? In old Canarese dictionaries it bears the partly tad bharā names: bala-m a r d, strong powder, and an k a d a a u s h d ha, drug of mark.

Mercara, 12th April, 1872.

F. KITTEL.
WHILE the outward signs of the Muharram, as they are noticed by a European, are those of the extravagant festivity of an Eastern Carnival, it is known that the Shiias, to whom the occasion properly belongs, observe it as a fast and as a time of the deepest mourning. The Muharram to them is the anniversary of the foul murder of their revered Imāms, who were cut off at Kerbela by a ruthless usurper. The mourning is both public and private; public at the mosque and in the procession, which, where the Sunnis permit, passesthrough the streets from Imāmbarah to Imāmbarah.

Many persons have seen the procession; few have been permitted to be present at the mosque services. The writer has been honoured with the friendship of influential Shiias, and was permitted to view the Muharram rites in every detail, both public and private. The latter were most interesting on account of their novelty and the peep they afforded into the domestic celebrations of a community which is perhaps the least known in all India. The service takes place on the last day but two of the feast, and is kept strictly private, probably because at this one season alone does the dignified Muhammadan divest himself of the solemn decorum which is so marked a habit of the more respectable followers of Islam. My presence was only permitted after considerable discussion, and on the distinct understanding that no alteration whatever in the mode of conducting the services should be made in supposed deference to the feelings of a Christian stranger.

The place chosen for the ceremony is an ordinary native house, selected for the purpose because of its unusually large courtyard and deep verandas round it. Enter then with me this house of mourning. The door is guarded by fierce followers of the martyrs, whose business it is to see that none but those who love the Imāms are admitted. We are challenged, but a guide pacifies the guards, and leads us within—not into the court where the people are assembled, but into a close and dingy room from whence we may see the whole proceedings. This portends a terrible evening for ourselves, and we ask permission to sit with the people in the court. A glance at our shoes and the remark that their people are very prejudiced, tell us the reason of our imprisonment. We protest that boots are removable, that we are unwilling to hurt the feelings of a houseful of people merely because our rules of politeness are somewhat different from theirs. This wins the day. In our stocking feet we enter the court, pass into the middle of the assembly, and wait for our chairs. Then we learn that chairs are also tabooed in a sacred place. So down we sit, tailor-fashion on the mat and carpet that cover the floor of the court.

The court-yard is large, some thirty feet square. On the East side is a deep double veranda, on the other three sides ordinary single verandas. The walls are draped with black cloth—even the very well in the centre of the court has its wall draped. On the north and west sides the funeral cloth hangs from the front of the veranda, enclosing behind it a sort of long narrow room, where the women hide from the men, though able to hear all and see much of the proceedings. On a sort of frieze that passes round the walls and also conceals the rugged tile edges of the veranda roof, are written in large characters verses from the more favourite songs in honour of the martyrs; while on the east wall there hangs a frame enclosing the names of the martyrs, their children, their mother, and grand-father. This frieze greatly relieves the dim blackness of the place, and is aided in this respect by two long narrow strips of paper, on which are painted pictures of the greater tombs of the martyrs in the Shīah cities of the East. On the northern side of the double veranda is a pulpit, if so it may be called, where the preacher merely sits, and has no front board. We might better call it a sort of rude throne; this too is covered from top to bottom with black cloth. In the centre of the east wall is the punja or standard of the martyrs. It is of peculiar form, having an immense brass head in the shape of a heart upside down, and from the apex project the five spear heads which give the standard its name. In the centre of the brass heart is written a sentence from the Koran. The lower part of the punja is also hidden in black cloth. Right opposite, in the centre of the west side, is a
stand adorned with coloured glass globes, candlesticks with glass drops, handsome water jugs, and everything else that can make it look tempting and gorgeous. On this stand are vessels of water and sherbet, sufficient to relieve the thirst of a couple of hundred people. With these exceptions the room is quite bare.

One of the most beautiful features of the Muharram is the charitable and free distribution of water and sherbet to all comers. In every street in Triplicane (the Musalman quarter of Madras) during the ten days of the feast, there were water pandals, to which any thirsty passer-by might go and drink to his heart's content. During the evenings, when the streets are crowded with eager sight-seers, these water stands are much frequented, and are of great service. It will be seen that the martyrs were greatly tortured by thirst, as they were for three days cut off from the Euphrates—their only supply of water. In pity for their sufferings, the water is thus freely distributed to all that ask, whatever their creed or nationality.

The court and its verandas are well filled by men, besides the women we cannot see. They are friends of the family who have provided the house. All sit upon the floor in the mode most comfortable to them. We can see all, for the place is well lighted with handsome chandeliers, while two candles are fixed to the pulpit, and others glisten on the water-stand.

Seated in the middle of the floor is a band of about six singers. In the centre is the chief performer, and he is chanting line by line a song describing the conduct and sufferings of Husain at the battle of Kerbela. The verses are rather long, but each is closed by a sort of chorus, in which all the performers join, the audience taking no part in the actual song. They have an important duty, however, the painful and trying one of listening to the harrowing details of the death of their beloved chief. With every passage of the song, come cries, shrieks, and every sign of deepest sorrow from behind the cloth that hides the women. How they beat their breasts and weep, as the more touching passages are recited! The men are less noisy, but are evidently very deeply impressed. Just in front of us is an old and weather-beaten Arab—a most truculent looking fellow. He sits in an attitude of eager listening, resting his chin upon his knees. As the singer proceeds, he is more and more engrossed. At the more touching passages he raises his hand to his forehead, and gently strikes the open palm upon it—just as I have seen a European father do when he was dazed and broken with the loss of his darling son. There was no display, no shouting, or anything else that could invite attention, but it was plain to see how deeply moved he was.

Presently the singer narrated the death of Husain, here the Arab's fortitude gave way altogether, he buried his face in both his hands, bowed down upon his knees, and wept as if his heart would break. It was no mean study of human nature to see this Arab, who would probably think it no wrong to rob and perhaps murder the lonely traveller in the desert, and yet he had a place so soft somewhere within that stormy heart, that he could not listen to the story—most skilfully related be it remembered—of agony and shameful death without being as much melted as any tender mother. There were many here more unmoved than we were and seemed very perfunctory mourners, but the greater part of the assembly were like our Arab.

Two songs were thus sung, and then one of the assembly mounted the pulpit and delivered an extemporary address, dwelling mainly on the incidents in the life and death of Ali Akbar, Husain's eldest son. He entered minutely into all the details with which a loving reverence has surrounded the story—few of them historically true probably. But he preached them as if they were true, and as if he fully sympathized with every pain that befell his hero. One incident out of many can alone be given here to show both the kind of myth which has enveloped the history and the pathos which renders it so touching. Ali Akbar went to the fight by his father's side, and fought, as he had promised, like ten men. In the tide of battle he was separated from his father, but fought on. No water had passed his lips for three days, a blazing sun burnt overhead, his raging energy in the fight had increased the torment of his thirst, and at length he is tired of killing. Unable longer to lift his weared arm, he forces his way back to his father who, too, has for the moment driven back his foes. Ali Akbar falls fainting at Husain's feet, crying for water. In a moment he revives somewhat, and says, "O father, I said that I could fight for you and die with you, and see how God hath helped us this day. No arrow hath hurt me, no sword has prevailed against mine, I cannot let them slay me. Yet would God I could, for it is
better to die in the fight, than to die of thirst. Father! I die with you, I said I would." Husain lifts his son, and gently supports him, saying—"Oh my son, would God that I might die for you, there is not one drop of water in all our camp, let us die. Oh God! forgive them that slay us." Ali Akbar's youth rebels against his pain; he cries, "Water, water, who will give me water? My tongue is black and parched, and yet it swells as if it would fill my mouth. Water, water, or I shall die! Father, can you not help your son?" The father's love cannot bear this; he stoops to his boy, and whispers, "My son, my Ali Akbar, have I tried thee too far? there is water, drink my son." "Where? I see none, and look, the enemies approach," moans the dying youth. "There is water, come, my son, put up thy mouth to mine, my mouth is full of water, my tongue is bathed within, drink! my darling, my son!" The youth cannot for the moment appreciate the noble love of his father, and does as he is bid; he puts his mouth to his father's, Husain puts forth his tongue, and the youth sucks it. In a moment he starts back in horror, "Oh my father! Good God! your tongue is worse than mine, you are more thirsty than I. Oh! that I should dare to think of myself when Husain can only think of me." In awful horror at his own impatience, in deepest affection for so true a father, he rushes away into the battle, fighting with renewed strength. It is not for long; an arrow pierces him, his sword arm fails. Fighting to the last like some wounded lion, he is surrounded and cut to pieces, dying as he had lived, a brave, noble, and loving youth.

Imagine these lines told with every grace of action and every sign of fervent faith to a sympathetic and believing crowd. We may not stay to describe the effect of it upon the audience.

Another preacher took the place of the first. His discourse was mainly upon the deeds and sufferings of Abbas, Husain's youngest brother. The three days' thirst had told upon the women and children in the camp, and his sister-in-law, Husain's wife, was apparently dying. She begged and prayed for water, but there was none to give. In her delirium she called for Abbas. Seeing their agony, he resolved to bring them water. Taking a small brass vessel, he started for the river, the way to which was barred by a host of foes. Armed with new strength by the thought of the suffering women, he fought his way through to the river side. With eager haste he dipped the vessel in the river, and raised the life-giving liquid to his lips. Just as it reached his mouth and before he tasted it, he thought, "What! shall I drink when all the rest are faint! No!" He poured the water on his hands, and dipping the vessel again in the river, started off on his perilous journey back to the camp. It had been dangerous before, it was more so now. Then he had two hands available, for the vessel was in his bosom; now he must carry it, lest the water should spill. Fighting on, he had almost broken through, when an arrow pierced his left shoulder. Before the vessel could fall he had caught it with his right hand. Another arrow entered his right wrist. Again he caught the vessel with his teeth, and pushed on in a mad but defenseless race to the tents he was never again to reach. His foes dared not come near him, but pored in their arrows. A third struck him in the mouth, passing through both cheeks; still he held on, until a last arrow destroyed the vessel, spilling all the water. It was enough—the gallant soul could strive no longer, and fell dead upon the sand. In the course of the subsequent fighting, Husain passed that way, and learnt the fate of Abbas by seeing on the ground the two hands of his beloved brother, which, in their cruel rage, his slayers had severed from the body.

The regular service now abruptly ends, for the audience have been so worked up that they spring to their feet, draw up in a double line across the court, take off their turbans and upper garments, and mourn. Now commences the strangest scene it has been my lot to witness. One cries "Husain!" "Husain!" and in a moment the air is rent with shouts of "Husain!" "Husain!" As they shout, they beat their breast with all their savage force. They leap into the air, they madly dance, they gasp for breath, they stare wildly up to the stars. Ever and anon they surge backwards and forwards, they stand entwined, they fall fainting to the ground. Still goes up to heaven that dreadful cry—"Husain!" "Husain!" "Ali!" "Ali!" shouted at full pitch by nearly a hundred maddened men. The breasts of many are bleeding, completely flayed by excessive flagellation, with the bare hand,—every touch on such a spot must be agony, but still goes on that deep heavy thud, thud, thud, with which the whole house reverberates. Down comes the heavy hand on the wound,—no shrinking, no useless crying, no sign that pain is felt. "Husain" fills every mouth, and causes
every heart to pant in pain for him, and not for itself. The worst sight of all is when the frenzied stalwart men fall senseless to the ground in deathly faint. The contrast between the ecstatic frenzy and the senseless mass that a moment before was maddened in the strife and now lies apparently dead is very awful. For a moment the beating ceases the hoarse shout of "Husain," "Hassan," lulls. Two or three men dart in to carry off the collapsed mourner. They throw water over him, lay him in the breeze and wait till he comes to. Then swells again the bitter cry, the deadened thuds. It was bad enough to see such things in the crowded street; it is more horrible now in the retired house. Husain has had a long mourning.

When all are too faint, when the body will no longer aid the spirit, this dance of the possessed comes to an end. Water and sherbet are liberally distributed. The house-owner brings out his hukah and composes his feelings with a smoke. The assembly breaks up, and we go home wondering why Christians, who have a still more saddening story, as the key of their hopes, should fail so grievously in realising its intense interest, should seem to a heathen and Muhammadan world as if the mystery of their faith were but a series of empty words.

**FOLKLORE OF ORISSA.**

*By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c., BALASOR.*

Owing to the isolation in which their country has remained for so many ages, the peasantry of Orissa have retained old world ideas and fancies to a greater extent than any other Aryan people of India. They are shy of imparting these ideas to strangers, and a man might live among them for years without finding out the singular views and original processes of reasoning on which many of their habits are based. This shyness arises, I suppose, from the gradual infiltration of modern ideas. The men are beginning to be ashamed of these antiquated fancies, and though in their hearts believing in them, would rather not talk about them, and would prefer to pass for men of the world, blasé indifferent free-thinkers to whom all ideas of religion are childish inventions fit only to be smiled at. The women however are still bigotedly attached to the traditions of the past, and the ruder peasantry are in the same primitive stage of credulity.

I do not propose to classify these strange superstitions, but merely to string them together as I hear them, noting here and there curious parallelisms between them and those of our own English peasantry. Students of comparative mythology may draw their own conclusions, but as I do not feel convinced that every one we read of in ancient history represents the sun, nor that all heathen religions are "myths of the dawn," I do not wish to complicate my simple remarks by plunging into the mystic regions of the early Aryans, or those of Baal, Bel, Belus and so forth. Human nonsense, like human sense, is very much the same everywhere, and it is only because in ruling men one must take their nonsense into consideration quite as earnestly as their sense, that these scraps of folk-lore are worth recording at all.

Witches abound in Orissa and are called dānani, (Sansk. दानानि or दानायिनि) a word in use in all the Aryan languages of India. They have the power of leaving their bodies and going about invisibly, but if you can get a flower of the pín, or betel-leaf, and put it in your right ear, you will be able to see the witches, and talk to them with impunity. The pín however never flowers, or rather the witches always cause the flower to be invisible, so you are not likely to find it. This is like the English peasants' belief in the virtues of fern-seed.

Witches congregate under banian or pipal trees (in Oriya the first is bör, बृ, Skr. बृ.—the second ēshôth अशोथ, Skr. अशोथ) which grow on the margin of a tank, and if you sit under such a tree in such a position at either of the dawns, that is in the grey of morning or at evening twilight, you will come to grief, especially if the day be Saturday, when the influence of the planet Saturn prevails, or Tuesday when that of Mars is strong. On those days the witches are most powerful, and you will be struck with sickness, or idiocy, or suffer loss of property.

A favourite pastime of witches is to get inside the body of a person, who then becomes insensible. In this case you must repeat the following very powerful mantra or spell, and then ask the witch her name, which she will be obliged to tell you. You may then go to her...
rigines, or with the Buddhists, as Wheeler imagines? or has he borrowed the materials for this part of the poem from some other quarter? Let me say at once that I consider the latter alternative to be the true account of the matter, and that the rape of Helen and the siege of Troy have served as a model for the corresponding incidents in the poem of Valmiki. * I do not indeed imagine that he had himself studied Homer, or even that he must have been aware of the existence of the Homeric poems. Nor am I inclined to go so far as to attach importance (though the idea is by no means far-fetched, as even Monier Williams admits)† to the apparent analogies between Agamemnon and Sugriv, Patroklos and Lakshman, Nestor and Jambavan, Odysseus and Hanuman, Hektor and Indrajit,—analogies which have led Hippolyte Fauche, who has translated the Ramayana into French, to adopt the converse theory that Homer has borrowed the materials for his work from that of Valmiki! I pass over the coincidences also noticed by Monier Williams himself:‡ —the consoling of the forsaken Sītā by means of a dream; the surveying and enumerating of the hostile troops from the battle-tents of Lāṅka; and the appearing of Sītā before the army.§ Nor do I wish to discuss the very wide and far-reaching question,‖—In how far an acquaintance with the Greek epic may have exercised an influence on the development of the Indian one? I content myself rather with the simple assumption that in consequence of the mutual relations, which Alexander’s expedition into India brought about, between the inhabitants of that country and the Greeks (and which, in so far as the Buddhists are concerned, have found remarkable expression, for instance in the Miñodapana), some kind of knowledge of the substance of the Homeric story found its way to India. And I feel all the more justified in assuming this by the fact that, in addition to the coincidences suggested by the rape of Sītā and the war before Lāṅka, two other Homeric incidents are found, not indeed in the Ramayana itself, but in the Pāli texts of Ceylon:—namely, the adventure of Odysseus and his companions on the island of Kirke, in the Mahavansa;† and the Trojan

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* Without questioning the possible anti-Buddhist design, the selection of Lāṅka as the scene of the conflict.
† Ind. Ep. Poetry, p. 46. † P. 74, 82, 86.
‡ As Monier Williams (p. 8) assumes that the greater part of the Rāmāyana, if not the entire work, dates from a period so early as the fifth century B. C., he regards these details, as well as those which he imagines are borrowed from a Christian source (p. 75), as probably only later embellishments—that is, if he sees in them anything more than purely accidental coincidences.

† Vide Ind. Stud. II. 166.
† It is greatly to be desired that this important work were given to the public with the least possible delay. It contains the conversations held by the Yavana king of Sagala, Milinda (Menandros, cf. Ind. Skizzen p. 83, reprinted according to Lasen, Ind. Alt. II. 327 and p. xxiv, from 144 B. C.), with the Buddhist priest Nāgasena; but as yet we have been made acquainted only with extracts from it, in Hardy. Cf. Ind. Stud. III. 359.

† Vide Ind. Streifen II. 216, I. 370.
† Cap. VII. vide Turnour, p. 48. I think it advisable to give here the Indian version in detail. When Vṛjaya was sent into exile on account of his insobriety by his father Sitabhān, King of Lāṅka, landed on Lāṅika with 700 companions exhausted by the fatigues of the voyage, they immediately fell in with the tutelary divinity of the island, the god Uppala-vāna (Vishnu), who was sitting, in the form of a pārībājaka * (devotee), Turnour, at the foot of a tree, for the purpose of receiving them and providing them with a counter-charm against enchantment (Cf. Od. X, 277, 287. Lane, Arabian Nights III. 293, 307). In reply to their enquiry, he told them the name of the island, then besprinkled them with water out of his pitcher, tied "(charmed) threads on their arms" (sattam teṣam kathemu laggetvā) and vanished. Immediately thereafter there appeared to them a Yaksha female attendant in a canine form. Although the Prince warned him not to do so, yet one of the men followed her, saying to himself, "Where you see dogs, you may look for a village." And so by-and-by he found himself in the presence of her mistress, the Yakkhi Kuvence (V "with bad plaited hair") or "bad, wickedly plaiting") §§ (Od. X, 280) under a tree, "in the character of a devotee" (tāpai viyam). When he saw this tank and the anchoresses sitting beside it, he bathed and drank from it, and collected (tāpai viyam).
horse (though certainly transformed into an elephant) in Buddhaghosa’s ‘Comm. on the Dharmapada.’ Just as so many Aesopic fables have found a place in the Jātaka-collection, which forms a part of the sacred Tippitaka,† so also from various other sources, western tales, Sagas and other forms of popular thought have found their way into India by means of that direct intercourse with the Greeks to which we have already referred.‡ The Saga of the kidnapping of Ganymedes appears indeed to have found admission into an Upanishad belonging to the Rigveda.§ And perhaps we can point to certain elements of the same kind even in the Ramanuja philosopher Herodes, in similar circumstances, that his child would be restored to life: “If he would only name to him three men, who had never mourned for any one (as dead)” (πολὺς οἵος τοιὸν ἄντεχος χειρισμός, μετατρέπεται πάντως τοῦ διώκοντος). Similarly also the emperor Julian, in his 37th epistle (ed. Heyler, Mainz, 1828, p. 64, 66, 311), in which he seeks to console his friend Aemelius (var. l. Hierocles) on the death of his young wife, tells the same story, in this form, that Democritus of Abdera promised Darius to restore life to his dead spouse, if he should succeed in finding, throughout his wide dominions, three hases of persons who had not been called to mourn (τριὰ ἄντεχος χειρισμοῖς; nominem nescio qua modo lucis positum, Heyler translates; but according to the context, this is decisively incorrect). The imperial letter-writer, it may be easily exhibited, was essentially a Sophistik (Σωφρονίστας ἐν λόγον) in the Odyssey IV, 220-225, which, mixed in the wine of any one, makes him for an entire day forget his mourning for mother, father, brother; and he speaks of Darius as adding to his friend “probably not strange, though to the most of people, as he believes, unknown” (ἀκεδεμένος καὶ πεποίητος, εἰς λόγον λίθος, μοι μένι θανάτῳ, τίποτα δὲ λαλήσω), 369, 370, 371, where the emperor Julian (d. 363), and some 250 years after Lucian. If therefore any connection is to be looked for here, which can hardly indeed be called a real connection, in question is not the “borrowing having taken place from the West is certainly greater than, or is, at all events, as great an antithesis of the corresponding supposition; and this opinion is not materially affected by the circumstance that, according to Mor. Haupt’s kind communication regarding both of these passages, the “De Monax” is really a pseudo-Lucianic work; for the emperor’s letter is certainly not due to him, but at the same time it appeals to the fact that although the story in question was “to most people unknown,” yet it was “probably not new” to the person addressed—an evident proof that it had come down from an earlier time, though to be sure the assertion of the connection of the story with Darius or with Democritus (in whose biography in the Biographia Luciænsis p. 314, 315, 317, of the kind is to be found) has no claim to be received as true. And besides, as M. M. &c. account is not taken direct from the Pali text, but from the Burne translation, translated by Capt. Rogers (vide p. 100, 101 of his book), it is quite natural to expect that an investigation of the original might show that it stands in a still closer relation to the Greek in form, and the form of the story (the corresponding section is unfortunately not given in Fausboll’s extracts from Buddhaghosa’s ‘Comm. on the Dharmapada’) vide ibid p. 290; a legend of a mortal import, however, is found at p. 329, 340. In fact, we have already seen that Buddhaghosa shows an acquaintance with Greek elements from other sources also. At all events, just as the legends regarding Christ that were current in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era have little weight with reference to the time at which Christ lived, if they are not supported by other evidence, so these legends of Buddhaghosa’s, which occupy, almost throughout, the standpoint of the most credulous superstition, and give evidence of the full development of Buddhist doctrine, and indeed of parallels of Mahâdana, if not of Buddha himself (an opinion toward which M. Mullet evidently leans, in his preface to Capt. Rogers’ book, p. xvi), so long as this connection is not established by any other evidence out of the Tippitaka itself; though indeed they often enough refer at least to the sattva, jåtaka, arhatashtri, &c. That they contain much legend, however, I do not mean for a moment to deny; and in regard to their antiquity, Fausboll himself has pointed out that they seem to be borrowed in part from an ancient metrical version (i. e. p. 29).

† Vide Ind. Stud. IX, 41.
itself. Here for instance seems to be a further instance of the occurrence of a directly Homeric element:—in the first book of the Ramayana, we are told how Janaka, king of Mithilā, had given out that his daughter Sītā should be the prize of the man who should show the greatest prowess (vīryasulka), and how Rāma won her hand by bending an enormous bow which none of her previous suitors had been able to bend; how these latter, feeling ashamed at their defeat, laid siege to Mithilā, and how Janaka succeeded, by the help of the gods, in conquering them and driving them away. Such an incident naturally reminds us of the bow of Odysseus; and the coincidence gains additional significance from the fact that we are able to bring forward another Indian form of the same Saga. This is found, namely, according to Bigandet, in the Janaka-jātaka; and it has already been made use of by Ernest Kuhn as a proof that there are points of agreement between the Buddhist writings and the Odyssey. "In a Jātaka quoted by Bigandet," says Kuhn, "we find an account of one who is shipwrecked being rescued by a seagoddess. She carries him to land, into a mango-garden, where he immediately falls asleep. On his awaking he is, in consequence of a divine decision, saluted as king; and he marries the queen of the country, when, by bending an enormous bow, and by other proofs he has shown that he is her appointed husband." The rescuing of Odysseus by Leukothaea seems here to be combined with the bending of the bow which the other suitors were unable to bend; and while by this combining of the two incidents, we are involuntarily reminded of Homer, the second of them at once recalls the incident at the court of Janaka, King of Mithilā, which, as we have seen, is described in the Ramayana; and with regard to this latter there cannot be the least doubt, for the story in this Jātaka, as quoted by Bigandet, is of a young prince of Mithilā of the same name as the father of Sītā (Janaka), who set out from that country in order to win back the throne of his ancestors, and so met with the adventures described. If these incidents, then, were really capable of being referred to Homer (and the combining of the two hardly leaves any room for doubt on this point), it seems to follow that the scene in the Ramayana may also be assigned to the same source! It is true that the evidence thus furnished by Bigandet is derived only from a Burmese translation; but since his testimony regarding other matters has proved to be trustworthy and reliable, there is no ground for suspecting it in reference to this question. There can be no doubt, at the same time, that it would be peculiarly interesting to obtain some acquaintance with the Pali text of this Jātaka.†—The two other apparently western elements that find a place in the Kāmiṣayana are:—Hanumant's commanding the sun, à la Joshua, to stand still; and Rāma's satisfying the ritual requirements of the horse-sacrifice regarding chastity by sleep.

† More strictly, 'not to rise'; and consequently it must be allowed, a very different circumstance, so much so as to make it on the whole questionable whether any real connection is here to be looked for. The same prohibition addressed to the sun is also found in Buddhaghosa, vide Rogers l.c. p. 22; 25; and compare, in Hāla, v. 46, the naive request of the maiden addressed to the night, that it would not come to a close. Besides, our only information on this point as regards Hanumant is derived from Wheeler, p. 309; did he obtain his from his North-West Recension? Gorresio's edition makes no mention of the incident, in either of the accounts which it furnishes of Hanumant's expedition (VI. 52 and VI. 83). The Bombay edition, too, which contains altogether (and no doubt correctly) only one such account (VI. 74, 33 ff.; cf. VI. 92, 24 ff.) is entirely silent on the point, although it several times refers to the sun's path:—thus 74, 50: "ādityapathām āśrita yaçaṁ sa gatassamānāḥ; 74, 65: "sa bhāsākārañāvānām anupāyam annam tam bhāsākārañām sīkham pragnīya | bhubau tudha bhāskarasamunikār vārē samipe pratibhāsākārabhah."] It is exactly the same also in A (fol. 89b) and in C (fol. 250a). According to a notice in the Magazin f. d. Lit. d. Aed. 1870, p. 226, the command of Joshua, in precisely analogous circumstances, belongs also to Japan; and the incident is assigned to the year 200 of our era. "Before the battle was decided, the sun was in the act of setting. Then the Princess, the consort of the Mikado Tain Ai, drew her sword, and waved it toward the sun, which turned back in its course; and once more it became mid-day. . . ."
ing with the golden statue of Sítá, whom he had abandoned in the forest,*—with reference to which Wilson† has called attention to the similar situation in the Alkestis of Euripides (v. 341–345).§ And in view of what has been adduced, regarding Western influences, the supposition that the Sópeithes, king of the Keksos, who entered into friendly personal relations with Alexander the Great, may be identified with the Ás vainati, king of the Kekaya, who is mentioned in the Rámiyana as the brother-in-law of Ásvaratá, may not appear, as a mere question of literary history, so absolutely untenable as Lassen is inclined to regard it; though undoubtedly there seems to be greater probability in the view (v. supra p. 123) that Válmiki introduced this name into his poem simply because he found it already in use in the Yajus-text.

Are we able, then, to fix approximately the date at which the work of Válmiki was composed? It is known that we have accounts in Greek writers—first in Dio Chrysostom (in the time of Trajan), and then in Philon—of an Indian translation of Homer. I have already expressed my opinion elsewhere† that we must not take this statement in too literal a sense, but that we should accept it rather as a testimony, that at the time when it was made the people of India, equally with those of Greece, were in possession of an epic, conceived in the style of the Homeric poems. And in the same place I have pointed out that the more detailed statements of Dio Chrysostom—namely, that the people of India were well acquainted with the stories of Priam, with the dirges and lamentations of Andromache and Hekabe, and with the bravery of Acheilleus and Hector—point to a Greek influence in the Mahábharata, quite as much as in the Rámiyana, and that in fact this may be seen even in larger measure in the former than in the latter; that at the same time, however, the expedition to the distant Lámká and the siege of that city in the Rámiyana certainly offer a closer analogy with the expedition to the distant [and similarly transmarine] Troy and the siege thereof, than is presented by the conflict on the open battle-field between the neighbouring Kuru and Paśchálá described in the Mahábh.; but that on the other hand the absence of any mention in Dio Chrysostom of a similarity so striking (and, I ought to have added, the omission of any reference to the similar origin of the war in the two cases, the abduction, namely, of the wife of the hero of the one party by the heroes of the other) was a convincing proof that under the title of "the Indian Homer" we were to understand, not a poem on the Saga of the Rámiyana, but a poem on the Saga of the Mahábharata. It may no doubt be said, in opposition to this opinion, that as Dio Chrysostom proceeds on the assumption that Homer had actually been translated into the language of India, he would take it as a matter of course that the origin and the locality of the conflict were the same; that he would not think it necessary therefore to call special attention to this, and that he would content himself with mentioning only what seemed to him to be most suitable for the rhetorical purpose which he had in view. In accordance with this theory, it would certainly be possible that his account of the matter was founded on some actual intimation of the existence of the Ramayana. Nor indeed do I mean absolutely to deny such a possibility; but on the other hand it evidently does not allow of being used, even remotely, as a proof of that existence, or

* First, it must be owned, in the Utrárácandá xciii. 26, cxi, 8, (vide Wheeler, p. 392), which does not indeed belong to the Rámiyana proper, but is a later addition; it occurs besides in Bhaúvalá in the Utrárácandá; and also in the Jātini-Bhárata, xxvii. 47, 48. Attention should, however, be called to the reference to this, so early as in the Kármagrádá III. 1, 10, Ráma 'pi kṛtipi svávar-tím Śtám putnám vàs avéntím, i.e. vánmar baháváhah saha bhrátribhir architáh. This work bears the name of Kátyáyana, and is regarded as a parishta in the Sáma Veda; vide Ind. Stud. I, 58, 16. d. Berlin, S. II. p. 81 (I remark here, in passing, that architáh is found only in Chambers 106, and then, too, only prima præm; it is changed, on the other hand, secunda in manis schryutah. Náváka reads it thus in his Comm. Chambers, 184 and 3706, explains this word by Vishnuh. This is evidently a hypercritical enunciation of the text, in which Káma is regarded only as a man.
† In the Hindu Theatre, I, 337.
‡ The incident in Euripides however, undoubtedly differs in important respects from that referred to here. In the anguish caused by the approaching loss of his wife, who is about to die for him, Admetos exclaims—

** Thér beauteous figure by the artist's hand Skilfully wrought, shall in my bed be laid; By that reclining I will clasp it to me, And call it by thy name, and think I hold My dear wife in my arms, though far she dwells." (Potter). But he receives her back again alive, through the intervention of Herakles, who rescues her from Thanatos.—As the Greek settlers in the frontier lands of India, for instance in Bactria, seem to have kept up their acquaintance with the Greek drama (cf. the accounts from Plutarch in my translation of the Maliávika, p. xvi., note 30) it may readily be supposed that the substance of a passage from Euripides might easily find its way into India.
§ We might perhaps have pointed out with Wheeler (p. 361) the similarity to which he calls attention between the seven-walled city of Lámká and the seven-walled city of Ecbatana (Herod. I. 96). But the editions of the Rámiyana contain nothing of the kind; on the contrary, mention is made in the poem of only one great golden prikára (V. 9, 16. Gorr. V. 2, 16, 9, 6 Bomb.), and besides in general, only of earth walls and trenches (vápa práśvatácháyákárati parikháháh cha. Gorr. V. 9, 15).
of being employed as chronological capital for determining the time of the composition of the poem itself.*

And with reference to this part of the subject, I think it desirable that we should, in the first place, investigate such data bearing on the time of the composition of the Rāmāyana as can be furnished by internal evidence, and that we should then collect the external data for the existence of the poem, so far as these are to be found in Indian literature and elsewhere.

The first point then which meets us in connection with the internal evidence furnished by the

* We are unfortunately unable to determine exactly the time to which the account given in Dio Chrysostom ought to be assigned. My own view, which I have stated in the Ind. Stud. II, 104 and 165, and which has received the approval of Benfey (Got. Gel. Anz. 1852 p. 127), that it should be assigned to the time after Pliny, who would hardly have left so important a fact unnoticed, still seems to me probable. Regarding this variety of style, a similar remark might be made as to the so-called Devānagari recension, Dr. R. Aufrecht, fol. 240 a, 267a, according to 210 a ibid. Indeed we can say with almost perfect truth that there are as many texts as there are manuscripts or editions† And a further consequence has been that even within these individual recensions there have been found numerous contradictions and obvious additions, which afford sufficient evidence of

consider also that the different provinces of India had each their own peculiar styles (riti), which differed from one another in important respects; and that consequently the task of bringing the work of Vālūki, as it gradually spread through the whole of India, would be exposed to the modifying influences which such a state of things would naturally exert. For our earliest and at the same time most detailed information regarding this variety of style, we are indebted to the earliest and at the same time most detailed information regarding this variety of style, we are indebted to Schlegel’s editions of the works of the first two of these authors namely, the Kavyādākāra of Vāmana, and the Sarvatattvakāyakottabarama of Bhūjrajā, as found in Aufrecht’s Con. abd. fol. 267a; according to 210 a ibid. the same subject is especially treated also in Chap. IX. of the Lāmbākāvanusthāna of Karpura. And in this matter it so happens that the Bengalis (Gauda) play quite a conspicuous rôle. Dandin recognises only two styles, that of the Bengalis (Gauda) and that of the Vaidarbhī (Vaidarbhī). Vāmana and Māmānāna mention also the style of the Pānduṭhaka (Pānduṭhaka), Vīvvanātha speaks of the Lāki style, and Bhūjrajā adds to these the Vāntaikā and the Mahākāta styles. (Instead of Gauda, Dandin uses also the name of Vaidarbhī. I. 85, and attributes to it as far back as the 11th century.) Hall justly describes Schlegel’s edition as “composite”; and, in his opinion, the “genuine Rāmāyana,” as contained only in the manuscripts of Calvinus (which unfortunately I am acquainted with only through Mür’s extracts), and of Bombay. (He has seen in India no fewer than seven commentaries on the real Rāmāyana; and one of these was a manuscript nearly 500 years old, with accompanying text.—At the same time, I have made it, I hope, sufficiently clear by the arguments I have adduced from the Berlin MSS.—partly in my Cata-

logue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS. p. 119 ff., partly in the Ind. Stud. II, 164 ff., partly in the present paper; and considering the manner in which the MSS. have been found numerous contradictions and ob-
revisions and interpolations by different hands.† So that though this may no doubt be a proof of the great popularity of the work, on the other hand it seriously complicates the critical questions which arise as to the value of the constituent elements of which the poem is made up. And in addition to the hitherto known recensions,‡ we have now a new one introduced by Wheeler, which he calls the North-West (!?!) Recension, but which is evidently stamped as quite modern by its omissions and its very recent additions.‡ It is not so easy to determine, in the other recensions, what should be recognised as original, and what should be regarded as merely the result of later accretion. What are we to say, for instance, regarding the well-known episode of Visvāmitra in the first book?§ It wears an unmistakably antique aspect, referring as it does to the elevation of a Kshatriya to the dignity of a Brahmā,—a circumstance which though it is handled with all possible delicacy as regards the Brahmans, must yet have been unspeakably humiliating to the pride of the Brahmanical hierarchy. And the same difficulty meets us in the story of the defeat of Rāma Jamadagnya, the representative and champion of the Brahmanical caste, by his namesake, the hero of the epic.¶ Looking at the tenor of these episodes, we are not justified, in my opinion, in assuming that they are later additions to the poem,¶ whatever may be their want of connection with the general narrative. They are found, it ought to be observed, in all the existing recensions. But then, in the episode of Visvāmitra (the substance of which its narrator Satānanda, the Purohita of Jānaka, describes as having come down from the olden primitive time) there is found, as is well-known, that catalogue* of the Pahlava, of the Saka mingled with the Yavana, of the Yavana-Kāmbujas—that of the Kāmbujas, Pahlava, Yavana, Saka, Varvara, Mlechha† Tu-Shara, Hārita and Kirata,‡ who were produced, at the command of Vasisthita, by his cow of plenty in order to defeat the army of Visvāmitra. And the introducing of these names in such a connection could evidently be thought of as possible only at a time when, in point of fact, the hosts of the Pahlava, Saka, and Yavana appeared actually almost to swarm up out of the earth and to swoop victoriously down upon the Indian Kshatriyas, (for they annihilate the army of Visvāmitra);§ in other words, just at the time when the Graeco-Bactrian and after them the Indo-Scythian kings held sway in the north-west of India.—And in perfect accord with what has been now stated, we find the following notices that are taken from the fourth book. When Sugrīva sends out his Monkeys to the four quarters of the

and in the Bombay edition (in I. 18, between 6 and 7) They are wanting, however, elsewhere also, as far as v. 8—10 Gorr., namely in A B C, see the Vers. der Gertz. S. H. p. 120. The chapter beginning tam tu Rāma (Ram. II, 101 Bomb., II. 73 Ser., A. Ind. 826) is, according to Schlegel (vol. I, pag. xxxiv), noted by a scholiast as being wanting in the dakshinātyapātha. It is wanting also in Gorr.; at least the corresponding chapter there (II. 109) has a different beginning; but it will hardly do on this account to identify, as Gorrreo seems inclined to do (vol. I, p. lxxvii-ix), the “Gaudā” with this dakshinātyapātha. It is wanting also in Gorr.; at least the corresponding chapter there (II. 109) has a different beginning; but it will hardly do on this account to identify, as Gorrreo seems inclined to do (vol. I, pag. xxxiv), the “Gaudā” with this dakshinātyapātha. In that case the connection between the name “Gaudā” and the recensions in question must be given up; for the Gauda are themselves adakshiyatya! And besides, the corresponding chapter in Schlegel (II. 104) agrees in this respect with Gorrreo’s text; it also has a different beginning,—no. tam tu Rāma.

* Cfr., on this subject, Holtzmann Uber den grichischen Ursprung des indischen Thierkreises, p. 34 ff.
† See, for instance, Moir, Original S. Texts, IV. 148 ff. 376 ff., as giving my notes of the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyanā, in the Ind. Streifen, II. 230 ff. We have to add to the statements there made regarding the extent of the work, that from the Uttarāmitaka CL. 26, according to which it contains 500 sargas with 25,000 ślokas (a round number).†
‡ Vide Wheeler, p. lxxxv, 28, 65, 144, 208.
§ Cap. 54—63 in Schlegel.
¶ Ibid. Cap. 84 ff.
¶¶ They might rather be regarded as ancient fragments, incorporated by Valmiki into his work.

Regarding the decisive circumstance in the matter (namely, that under the name Yavana we are to understand the Bactrian Greeks, or rather perhaps, by this time their successors) vide Ind. Streifen, II. 321. The name Yavana passed from the Greeks over to their Indo-Scythian, etc., successors, and finally to the Arabs.

† May we suppose that the words ronakūpeṣa meanshe, mlechhas, etc., as already in the scholiast (Rom. II, 101 Bomb., II. 73 Ser., A. Ind. 826) is, according to Schlegel (vol. I, pag. xxxiv), noted by a scholiast as being wanting in the dakshinātyapātha. It is wanting also in Gorr.; at least the corresponding chapter there (II. 109) has a different beginning; but it will hardly do on this account to identify, as Gorrreo seems inclined to do (vol. I, p. lxxvii-ix), the “Gaudā” with this dakshinātyapātha. In that case the connection between the name “Gaudā” and the recensions in question must be given up; for the Gauda are themselves adakshiyatya! And besides, the corresponding chapter in Schlegel (II. 104) agrees in this respect with Gorrreo’s text; it also has a different beginning,—no. tam tu Rāma.

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‡ Vide I. 55, 56, 3, Gorr., I. 54, 18–55, 3, Schlegel and Bomb., I. 42, 18–27, Seramp., and the relative passages in A B C; by A B C, I mean those manuscripts which are designated by these letters in my Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Royal Library at Berlin, p. 118 ff.; they show, in the passage under consideration, a very special reference to the Gauda recension. In B C there is another verse added, which brings in also the Vahika and Durvā. [Prof. Weber subjoins here for purposes of comparison, the texts of all the recensions, taking B C as a basis. These need not be reproduced.—Ets.]
§ I. 55, 4, 5, Schi.

It is known that this span extended for a time, pretty far into India; at the time of the Periph. Bary. was the northern limit of Aryan India (vide Ind. Streifen, II. 271). The passage in which Sīti says to Ravana, “between thee and Rāma there is a difference wide as that between Surīshtra and Sāuviraka” (Rom. III, 53, 54, Gorr., cf. Millir, I. 111, 160) perhaps has reference to this subject, and illustrates the hatred felt towards the Sāuvira (who in the Millir. also are reckoned among the non-Brahmanical peoples, and their Greek or Indo-Scythian government, and especially toward their Buddhistic proclivities (vide Ind. Stud., where however, a somewhat different view is taken). But also regarding Surīshtra as subject to Greek influences, see Ind. Stud., IV, 203, 279, 285, vide. The Greek feeling of nationality, and especially the Greek culture, probably maintained their hold on the people in the parts of India referred to a considerable time after the overthrow of the Greek kings.
earth, that they may search for the lost Sītā, the various regions are briefly described in their order, and the description is accompanied by an enumeration of the inhabitants. Regarding the west, for instance, we are told that the Monkeys may search through the cities of the Yavana, the dwelling place of the Pahāva, and, in the neighbourhood of the same, the whole Pānichanada (Pānījāh), Kashmir, (the Pārada, C.), Takshasila, Śākala, Pushkhalavatī, the Sālva, and the mountain Mañjunat (Arañṭa, Kapīṣa, Vālhi, in A.C.), the country of the Gāndhāra &c.; and with regard to the north they are similarly directed to explore among the Gāndhāra and the Yavana, the Sāka, Oḍra and Pārada (G., China, Pauṇḍra, Mālava A.C.), the Vālhika, Rīshika, Paurava, Kuṅkara (Ramathā A.C.), China, Apaṇa-China (Parama-China A.C.), Tuṅhāra, Varvāra, Kāmbojā, (and Khasa? C.), also the Darada, and Himavant.* Here also the texts to which I have had access harmonise in the main;† and it is obvious that such notices could belong only to a time in which the Yavana (that is, the Greeks), the Pahāva, Pārada, Sāka, &c. were settled in the north-west of India, and were consequently neighbours, as specified, of the Kāmbojā, Bālhika, Darada, Gāndhāra, &c. In another passage, in the second book,§ the Yavana at least appear in the immediate neighbourhood of the Sāka; this occurs, however, in addition to Gorresio, only in A., while the other texts show a variety of readings.

A second point that calls for examination here is one that has already been largely discussed, namely, the horoscope of the birth of Rāma and his brothers: more specifically, the names given to the zodiacal figures, karkatā (with kulina) and mina. It will be remembered that A. W. von Schlegel looked on the mention of these names as a proof not only of the high antiquity, but even of the Indian origin of the Zodiac.¶ But since the appearance of Holtzmann's admirable memoir Uber den griechischen Ursprung des Indischen Thierkreises, (Karlsruhe 1841), it is hardly possible for any one longer to doubt that the truth is quite the other way, and that the converse position is the correct one. The evidence brought forward, to use my own words on a former occasion,*,** furnishes only an additional proof of what has been made sufficiently clear from other sources, namely, the late date of the composition of the Ramayana itself, though certainly only of that recension," in which the passage in question occurs. For as the Zodiac, in the particular form in which it is found among the people of India, "was completed by the Greeks only in the first century B.C., it could not possibly have found its way into India earlier than this nor, we may be pretty sure, until several decades later; and a considerable time must have elapsed before this new conception could have so become, as it were, the possession of the people as that the poet could refer to it as something perfectly well-known."† And although the horoscope is certainly wanting in the Bengali recension and also in A, B, C, § yet it is found without any material variations in the Serampur, in Schlegel's,

which certainly receives considerable support from the data that have just been quoted regarding the city Dattāmitri, since there is mention made also of Demetrios—to the effect that a city, in Arachosia however, bore his name (Demetrios), and was probably founded by him, vide Lassen, II., 302. It should be added that inscriptions attest with regard to the city Dattāmitri that it numbered Yavanás, i.e. Greeks, among its inhabitants. This has been confirmed by the mention of a Dattāmitra Yavana; vide Journal Bombay Branch R. As. S. V. 54. Indische Skizzen p. 37, 82.

A similar use has already been made of these notices by the Abbe Guérin in a note on the Rāmāyaṇa embodied (p. 237–40) in his curious book Astronomie Indienne (Paris 1841).

† See my Preface to the translation of Malavika, p. xxiv-v. 1856.


Vide Ind. Stud. II. 210, 241. 1852.

† See my Preface to the translation of Malavika, p. xxxiv-v. 1856.
and in the Bombay editions. It is certainly remarkable, however, that throughout the remainder of the work, so far at least as I can at present remember, although astronomical facts are frequently mentioned, there is no further reference to the Zodiac. And therefore the suspicion naturally suggests itself, that the particulars regarding the horoscope of the nativity were introduced at a later period by zealous astrologers, who were anxious both to obtain and to impart exact information regarding an event of so great importance. But even if we refrain, on account of this uncertainty, from insisting on the validity of the inferences which might otherwise be legitimately drawn from the mention of the Zodiacal signs, and do not therefore press their bearing on the question as to the time at which the Ramayana was composed, yet the notices in the poem of other astronomical matters furnish also at least some support to the opinion already indicated. For, besides the mention of the nakshatra, there are also frequent references to the planets; and we know that the Indian astronomers acquired their knowledge of the planets at a comparatively late period—considerably subsequent, at least, to the dates hitherto assigned to the Ramayana—the first mention of them occurring in the Atharvaparīśīṭha and in Yajnavalkya [I. 294 ff.].

And the peculiar relations which exist, just in those oldest passages in which the planets are mentioned, between Mars and War, between Mercury and Commerce, between Jupiter and Sacrificial Ritual, appear to point with certainty to the fact that the Indian astronomers were indebted to the Greeks for their knowledge of the planets;

* Even in the second passage, although one of the zodiacal signs is mentioned in Schlegel's edition, and with reference to the nativity (II. 15, 3, lágrí kàrkātākā pāptā jannā [sic!] Ramāyana cha utīte), yet the Bengali recension has nothing corresponding, but merely (II. 13, 3, tāmnālā alānī pāsānhā satṣam yognā apārate.)

† It is perfectly evident that we have to do here with a purely arbitrary guessing at the time and not with an actual date. See my Abh. über die Notch. I. 298. Bentley, among others, has also attempted to calculate from Rāma's horoscope the year in which he was born, the result being the year 290 B.C.—and for the time of the composition of the Ramayana the year 295 A.D. (Hindu Astronomy, London, 1855, p. 14 ff.). Guérin, in his Astronomie Indienne, p. 288, fixes the latter event more exactly as having taken place in 105 A.D. The notices regarding the horoscope do indeed furnish a certain groundwork for calculations regarding the latter event; but they can hardly be used for this purpose ad ammusin, so as to determine exactly the precise year in question (compare what is said e.g. in the Ind. Stud. X. 233 ff., regarding what is essentially the same calculation). Besides, the notices referred to have after all a bearing only on those texts (that is, manuscripts) in which they occur—and not on the time at which the Ramayana itself was composed.

‡ The name of the rākṣasi Sinhikā, on the island between Ceylon and the mainland, IV. 41, 38, W. 8. 1 Gorr, appears to contain a play upon the name Sinhala.


|| The name of the rākṣasī Sīhikā, on the island between Ceylon and the mainland, IV. 41, 38, V. 8. 1 Gorr. appears to contain a play upon the name Sīhala.

\* Vide Ver. der S. H. der Ber, Bild., p. 93.

\* An excellent opportunity offered itself for showing such an acquaintance in the description of the regions to be visited by the messengers sent out by Sugriva (IV. 40, 17 ff. Gorr.)—This dīvījaya of the Rāmāyana deserves to receive special treatment (cf. Hall's Edition of Wilson's Pār- nā, II. 146 ff.). Gorresio's Text and the Bombay edition differ materially in this matter: A C follow Gor., in the main; in this respect, for instance that instead of Yavadvipa, the island of Java, IV. 40, 30 (cf. Kern, Introd. to the Britkats. p. 40) they read Jaladvipa (A, owing to a clerical error, has only Jadvipa).
supra), in Bharata's return journey from his uncle, and in the journey of the messengers who were sent to fetch him.* In Rāvana's palace in Lankā, Hanumant sees† noble horses from the North-West: Araññajaśi cha Kāmbojān Viśhikān sahaḥśāhāni, | sūkhaṇaṇāḥ cha turaṇgān . . . ; and the powerful hounds which Bharata takes home with him as a present from Aśvapati‡ re-appear in the accounts of the Goths regarding the country of the Kāśāṇa.

I remark further, in the fourth place, that although the word sanskrita is applied in the Ramayana in a manner which shows that it had not yet come to be used in its technical meaning as the name of the “Sanskrit” language, yet it is evident that the use of the latter name was just about to come into existence. And accordingly we find frequent reference made to a literature already very widely developed, and designated by names that are comparatively modern (śāstra, for instance, used throughout as the name for a treatise, both standing alone, and as the second part of compound words, as shown in the examples given below). Thus, in addition to the Veda,† and the vedāṅga, consisting of six āṅga, generally especially the sīkṣāṣ, and rathas’īkṣās:—treatises (or merely: In cf. Kaidambart, I.67; Wilson, Hindu Theatre, I.14. formation ?) regarding the management of elephants, and the dhyāya of the Sāmaga IV.27,10.

aṅga, upāṅga, upanishad and rahasya, the translation of such hunting dogs: (vide Lassen, Ind. Alt. II.16). Inaddition to the sūtra and bhāshya,” the vālurveda with vitāiḥ) in addition to the sūtra and bhāshya,” the dhanurveda with sūtra and kalpa”, kalpasutra”, the following are also mentioned by name: the dhanurveda with āṅga, upāṅga, upanishad and rahasya,† the gandharvavidyā,‡ astronomy § (jyotirgatishu

* I.55, 18, ff., II. 70, 6, 11-19, 73, 2 ff. Gorr. Lasen<br>† V.12, 36.† II.72, 24.<br>‡ Alexander receives from Sopyethis as a present 150 of such hunting dogs: (vide Lassen, Ind. Alt. II.16).<br>§ As distinguished from the des’abhāshā; I.51,3, Gorr.<br>++ I.80,4. II.180,28, 21. I.80,29. § I.80,4. II.116, 1.


ON THE ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE KRISHNA DISTRICT.

(From the Report of the late J. A. C. Boswell, Esq., M. C. S., ofg. Collector Krishna District.)

(Concluded from page 155.)

VII. Forts illustrating the periods of the Oriya sovereigns, the Reddi Chiefs, the Bijjyanagar or Roya-ludynasty, the Mahamudan conquest, the rise of the Zamindars, and the powers of the Marathas and Rohillas. The most important forts in this district are those of Kondavid, Kondapalli, and Bellamkonda. These have interesting associations, and are worthy of preservation. The stones have been largely removed of late years, and used for building purposes. I would propose in future only to allow the loose stones to be removed, and to preserve the walls and buildings at present existing.

Kondavid.—This is a small range of hills about 1,500 feet high about 12 miles to the west of Guntur. There are two ghâts, that on the north is much the shortest, but very steep, there being an ascent of steps the whole way, the other ghât is more circuitous about two miles, but it is not so steep, and persons can be carried up by bearers. There are three forts of successive periods, the ruins of which still exist.

(1.) The Pattalotta.—This, the most ancient fort, is said to have been built by Oriya sovereigns when they held this part of the country. It is situated in a valley between two spurs of the hill, and the mouth of the valley was closed by a high embankment of earth and stone. A stone wall was also raised across the top of the valley. The area of the old fort is overgrown with jungle, but hid among the bushes and trees are to be found remains of temples, mantapams, wells, rice-pounding mortars of stone, &c. The opening of the valley, where the wall was raised, faces the north-east. The whole drainage of the valley was let out through this wall by a sluice which may still be seen. The tradition of the place is, that this sluice having become choked, the heavy fall of rain during a single night inundated the whole fort, and drowned all the inhabitants.

(2.) The Durgam or Kila.—The second fort is situated on the top of the hill, the longer ghât is through the Pattakota, and on the top of the hill there is a gate known at _kuttol diidi_ or firewood gate. By this ascent all supplies were brought up to the fort. The gate was originally surmounted by a building of four stories, each supported on

| \† It ought also to be said that this silence is capable of explanation by the rivalry of these two incarnations of Vishnu, or rather by that of their respective followers. Râma undoubtedly represents an earlier stage of Vishnuism; but it is certainly possible that his becoming the deity of a sect is due to some previous development of the Krishna-worship. |
| \‡ S'vari, indeed, recalls the “woman of Samaria.” |
| || In connection with this part of the subject we may refer also to S'ambuka in the _Raghuravana_ and in _Bhava-bhuti_; differently in the _Uttarakanda_ 82, 3. |
rows of stone-pillars, but the two upper stories have fallen down. The third was in existence within the memory of those still living. The other gate known as pedda durwaja is on the north-west side towards Narsaraupet. It became the principal gate in later times, but there is reason to suppose that the other was originally the main gate. This fort is said to have been built by the Reddias. On entering the fort by the kattol diddi, there face one the two bangalas erected by Messrs. Rohde and Newill, which, however, are both considerably dilapidated.

The area of this higher fort is very extensive. There are high towers and battlements, ramparts loop-holed for musketry along every commanding eminence, overhanging the edge of deep precipices. The views from many of these forts looking over the low country is very fine. One of these points of vantage has been availed of for the erection of a colonade or long mantapam known as mirigala taktha. Tradition says that this was the favourite resort of one of the old Reddi Chieftain who held the fort. There are the remains of the old treasury, magazines, granaries, and all sorts of store-godowns. One of these is a bombproof building, the interior of which is a well cut in the rock eleven feet by seven and four feet six inches deep. This was the receptacle used for the storing of ghee. Everywhere may be seen the foundations of dwelling houses, and the number of rice-pounding stone mortars is very great, giving evidence that a large number of persons must have at one time been quartered in this hill fort. There are many springs on the top of the hill, and three large tanks, one leading into the other, so that when the first is filled, the second begins to receive its supply, and similarly again the third. There is also the remains of a pekota showing that this was the method of raising water then employed. They are on the hill a number of temples, but all the images have been broken, or had their features chipped off through the iconoclastic zeal of the Muhammadans, who have also turned several of the temples into Mosques. One of these Mosques was transformed in this way by one Gulab Ghazi, and close beside it is his dargah or tomb, for the repairs of which there is an endowment of four Kuchelas of land in a village in Bapatla Taluk. The holder of the Inam is bound to look after the repairs of the Mosque and tomb, and ascend the hill every Friday to light a lamp, as well as on the occasion of the principal festivals.

But the time when the Muhammadans gained possession of this fort was subsequent to the date when the third or lower fort on the north side was built. This is known as simply Kota, and owes its origin to the dynasty of Bijayanagar, better known as the Royalu. Tradition goes that about the beginning of the sixteenth century the race of the Reddi sovereigns came to an end. The last old king died childless, and his seventy-two chiefs could not agree upon the selection of a successor. Krishna Deva Royalu, the most illustrious ruler of his race, heard of this state of things, and at once conceived the idea of acquiring for himself the old Reddi’s kingdom and fort. His strong idea was to make religion the support of the throne, and his pious memory is still revered throughout the Northern Sarkars and Ceded Provinces, as the founder or restorer of many Hindu temples and Pagodas. Krishna Deva Royalu’s idea on the subject of a union between Church and State was a worldly-wise policy, and for the protection afforded by the sovereigns to religion, he expected as a return that the priesthood, whom he endowed with wealth, should use all their influence to carry out his political views. Accordingly, it is said on the present occasion, he selected a wily and unscrupulous member of the sacerdotal fraternity, as his tool for the accomplishment of his ambitious designs. The Brahman was furnished with money, and directed to restore a magnificent temple of Gopinathswami at the foot of Kondavid. A new image was to be consecrated and set up, and for the celebration of these rites, the presiding priest invited the seventy-two Chiefs to descend from their hillfortress. They came—the three score and twelve—and were all seated in the great hall. From thence one by one the officiating priest led them to the inner shrine to view the new representation of deity, and to bow before the image that the great Krishna Deva Royalu had set up. As they stepped into the antaralikam or inner hall, and bowed at the threshold, two ruffians, who were concealed in the chamber, stopped forward, and before the victim had time to raise a cry, precipitated him into a deep well whose mouth it was impossible to discover amid the surrounding gloom. One by one each Reddi Chieftain approached the shrine, and all shared one common fate, one common grave, and then all was easy for Krishna Deva Royalu to seize the fort. He preferred the plain, however, to the hill, and the third fort, as has been said, owes its origin to him. It has two entrances known as the Kolepelli Darwaja and the Nadelle Darwaja. The ramparts of the fort still remain to a considerable extent, with the gates and streets paved with stone. There are a number of modern houses in the fort, and ruins, and blocks of cut stone, scattered all round. The chief feature of interest, however, in this fort is Gopinathswami’s temple. It is a very large building of stone, and the pillars are very fine, in some cases a cluster of five pillars carved out of a single block. The Muhammadans, however, have destroyed all the images, and converted the great hall into a Mosque. It remains as such to this day. To enter the hinder portion one has to go round to the other side. The autaralikam is to be seen where the well is said to have been dug which received the Reddi Chiefs.
The place is inhabited now by a colony of swallows which dazzled with the light of the torch as we entered, fluttered wildly about, and fell with outspread wings on the ground.

Kondavid hill has a considerable extent of pasture which is leased out, and the custard apples alone fetch some Rupees 300 a-year. The bamboo grows on the summit, and gives its name to one of the tanks.

The tradition and history of the place has been collected, a copy of the Telugu manuscript of which is in the possession of one of the village Karmans. Sir Walter Elliot is said to have taken the original, and left this copy instead.

Kondapilly.—This is an old hill fort which formerly belonged to the Nizam, it is about ten miles west of Bejwada. All along the road and in the town there are numerous remains of old Masjids, Ashur Khana, Pirla Chawadis, and Muhammadan burying grounds. Not far from Ibrahimpatam, the north of the road, on the hill, on the north of the road, a well known as a well of the Minister of Krishna Deva Royalu who lived about 1550. The fort is entered through three successive massive gates at the foot of the hill, and by the fort walls a considerable space is enclosed, all thickly overgrown with jungle and luxuriant cactus. Within the limits of the old fort were the English Barracks, which are still standing, consisting of eight large rooms besides out-houses, all in tolerable order. There was formerly a detachment sent here from the Regiment stationed at Masulipatam, but the place is now entirely abandoned as a military post, and the old barracks are used by any visitors as a halting bangala. Opposite the barracks is an English burying ground, enclosed by a mud wall, but the tombs are all of comparatively recent date. A few hundred yards from the bangala, the ascent of the hill commences. It is a winding tortuous path between two hills, and the whole way for about three quarters of a mile is a climb by a staircase of stones placed in position to form steps. The labour of constructing this must have been great; many of the stones have the mark of blasting, and many are cut and trimmed as if they had previously been used for some other purposes. The ordinary mode of ascent is on foot, but visitors can be carried up by bearers. The bearers through practice go up with their burden very quickly. As one approaches the summit, the ruins of the old palace appear perched on a crest between the two hills, on either side of the Pass. The heights are fortified with towers, and loopholed ranges of battlemented wall show how strong the place must once have been. On every jutting crag and eminence there are works which completely command the Pass. The upper fort is entered through three enormous gateways in succession. This entrance is known as the Dargah Darwaja. The sides of the gateways, about fifteen feet high, are single blocks of granite, and the lintels about twelve feet wide are the same. The gate derives its name from the dargah or tomb of Ghulab Shah, who was killed here in flight. It was endowed with twelve kuchelas of Imam land, which has been subsequently reduced to eight, yielding eight kattis of produce. The endowment is for the purpose of keeping the tomb in repair. It is a modern looking edifice, plastered white inside and out, in close proximity to the ruins of an old Masjid.

Immediately above this stands the Tanisha Mahal or palace. The fort is said to have been originally built by the Reddis who once ruled this part of the country, but this building is purely Muhammadan. The whole of the ground-floor consists of extensive cloisters, supported by stone-built pillars, and the roofs arched. Between the pillars, in some instances, partitions have been run up, so as to form separate chambers. This ground-floor was probably used as a barracks for troops. The floors are all paved with stone, and the masonry is exceedingly strong and good. At present these cloisters are used at night for the protection of the cattle which are sent up the hill to graze in large numbers. A small stone staircase leads to the upper floor, where there is a great hall over which a thatched roof was lately placed, when a party of gentlemen came up here to spend the Christmas Holidays. There are several bath-rooms with stone cisterns and pipes providing the escape for the water. There are the remains of a number of large and small chambers, but all unroofed. The walls have been originally plastered, and the ornamental designs are still visible; some in excellent preservation. There is a balcony overlooking a large tank, a terrace leading past what was once the garden to the zenana. These apartments are surrounded by a high wall. There is a court-yard within having a large stone bath, to which water was conveyed by pipes, and there are the remains of various chambers all now unroofed. The walls are covered with ornamental niches.

Leaving the zenana, a path leads to the great reservoir, which is supplied by a spring, and where the water never fails. It is very cold, and said to produce fever. The reservoir is of great depth. There are also several tanks on the hill which, however, dry up during the hot weather, and in the tanks several wells.

Beyond the reservoir is the granary, a massive building of stone supported on high arches, and so constructed that each compartment might be divided by stone walls, so as to make a number of separate receptacles for grain. There is but one entrance below, but each receptacle has an aperture at the top. The place is now tenanted by millions of bats which, continually flying about, give forth the sound of rushing water. Beyond the granaries are the magazines. All around the hill is strongly defended by towers and ramparts. Besides the
Dargah Darwāja, there is another entrance, known as Golkonda Darwāja, on the other side of the hill, from which a path leads down towards Jagiapett. On the hill ferns abound, and many flowering and odoriferous shrubs. There is a white and purple creeper (samudrapala the milk of ocean) which is very luxuriant. There is a good deal of jungle but no forest. One tree Ponugu chettu grows in considerable abundance, and is much used by the Machia of Kondapali who are celebrated for the manufacture of figures as representations of all the castes and costumes. Some of these are very good. On the hill there are numbers of monkeys (kondamutsu). There is a Telugu manuscript containing the legends and history of this fort.

Bellamkonda.—There is an old fort of stone here, also said to have been built by the Reddis when they ruled the country. The fort is on the top of a high hill, and is termed a durgam or durg. The fortification still remains, and also the ruins of flat roofed dwelling houses, magazines, granaries, etc. There is a perennialspring at the top which supplies a reservoir. The hill is covered with jungle, and there are tamarind trees, custard apple trees, and bamboos. There is a pathway formed for the ascent.

Vinukonda.—This is the Hill of Hearing. Tradition says that here was the spot where, according to the localized legend, Rāma first heard of the rape of his wife Sītā by Rāvana. On the hill, about 600 feet high—a bare rock without vegetation, there is a temple of Shiva under the designation of Rāmalingshwaraswāmī. The ascent is a very steep one, by steps cut in the rock, and cut stones piled to form steps. Close to the temple on the summit are two konerus or artificial reservoirs of water revetted with cut stone. These never run dry. The larger one is known as Rāmagundam, and is much resorted to for bathing. The other, which is much smaller, is known as Sītāgundam, and it would be considered desecrative to bathe in it, as it is left for the goddess's private use.

There are three lines of fortification around the hill, one above the other, but the walls have been demolished, and the stones are gone for long distances. The fort is said to have been built when the Reddis held the country, and there are still to be seen the foundations of the old dwelling houses on the hill, magazines, granaries, etc. About a quarter of the way up the hill there is a large artificial reservoir with a perennial spring known as Tega Bhavi. At the foot of the hill there is an old temple dedicated to Kodandarāmāswāmī and another to Prasanna Rāmalingshwaraswāmī; all around are the ruins of mantapams, and much cut stone.

There is a curious story attached to a large representation of Hanuman at the foot of the hill. It is known as Tappal Anjanayulu, and it is said that when the country was held by Government, he used to deposit his letters for Haidarabad at the foot of this image, and used to return the following day and find the answers. The monkey god is credited with a feat worthy only of the electric telegraph.

There is another fort with walls of mud and stone at the foot of the hill. This formerly belonged to the Malraj Zamindar's family. The fort is entirely in ruins, and the area has been given up for cultivation.

Dharanekota, Amravati, and Chintapalli.—Dharanekota is the site of a very ancient town, "the city of magic" as the name imports. The walls were pulled down by the late Vasereddi Zamindar to build the town of Amravati about a century ago. These buildings have also in time fallen into ruins. There were two hundred two-storied houses built for Brahmans, and the Zamindar's palace is reported to have had gilt and silvered tiles. The whole place is now a mass of ruins. There are to be seen the remains of large reservoirs and fountains and places for pleasure grounds. A long law suit, carried through many years regarding a disputed succession, dissipated the wealth of the family. The estate fell into arrears, and was sold by auction, and bought in by Government for a nominal sum. There are two brothers, the present representatives of this old and ancient Zamindari, who now live in a ruined tenement where their ancestors were once high lords, drawing a revenue of thirty or forty lacs a-year. They are dependent on their mother's pension of Rupees 150 a-month. The fort at Chintapalli belonged to the same family, and is now also in ruins. Also another at Rajapett, which is in the same condition.

Gurjala.—At Gurjala in the Palnad there are the ruins of an old fort, the stones of which have been largely taken by the villagers to build their houses.

There is also a curious story attached to a large representation of the goddess's private use. There are also the remains of other stone forts in the Palnad, at Tunnckota (this has lately been pulled down and levelled) at Kambhampad, Golī Nayarjunakonda, Tangada, and Karemudi. At the latter place, outside the fort wall, there are several two storied mantapams or porticos, which are said to have been built by an old Rishi in former days for the performance of his jopam (prayers). He would recite his prayers at different quarters of the town at different hours of the day, high up in the second story of these mantapams where his devotions might be duly observed.

Agniamedala.—This place, in the Vinukonda Taluq, derives its name from the hot springs which are said to have existed here, but there are no traces of them now. The fort here belonged to the old Malraj family, and is now quite dilapidated, and the site unoccupied.

In the Vinukonda Taluq there are also the ruins of old forts at Vinukonda, which belonged to the
Sakamuri family, at Tangerala and Gummampad, the former an Agranaram, and the latter a Mokhasa village.

In the Nandigama Taluq there is an old Reddi fort or durgan on the north bank of the Krishna, a little to the east of Mugetala at Gudemetla, known as Turangarai. There are the ruins of mud forts built by the Vasereddi Zamindar at Nandigama, Raghavapuram, Irellapad and Magallu; one built by Chava Narasaya at Konakanche, and one built by Cherumamella Venkataramanaiyai Veladi. There is another old fort at Itur, and one at Panuganecheprol, built about a century ago by the Muhammadan Governor or Tanisha. The walls of both have fallen down. Jagapott is a town of considerable trade and importance in the Nandigama Taluq on the borders of the Haidarabad territory. A band of Rohillas once came here and burnt down the place. The people then built a square tower in the centre of the town for protection provided with narrow loopholes for musketry, but they never added the staircase to ascend to the top, and the tower would practically be of very little use as a means of defence. The town was surrounded by a high wall by the Vasereddi Zamindar of old time, a considerable portion of which remains. At each gate was built a temple. There are also forts in this taluq at Konakanchi, Dabukupali, Malkapuram, Muka-peta, Anneguntapad, and Shir Muhammadpet. Also at Lingagiri, Shri Narasimhapuram, Ganugambanda Sarvaram, Kalavapalli, and Amaravathe. These villages belong to the Lingagiri Zamindar. In Munagala, Namamaru, Madhavaram, Rapali, Karivarada, Sripuram, Nadeugudamala, Komarabanda, Ankuopula, Barayakudagudam and Brindavanapuram, villages belonging to the Munagala Zamindar there are also forts. In Visannapad Division there are also forts in the villages of Tiruvuru, Kalagara, Gampalagudem, Venegada, and Vishnupott. In the last-mentioned village the fort is not walled, but surrounded by a hedge of bramble; it is called Kumpakota.

In the Bejwada Taluq there are two old ruined forts at Valavadam and Veelatur. At Bejwada, too, there was a fort; there are no signs of it at present, and in the Gudiwada Taluq at Kanukolamu, Vama-varapadu, Kaldindi, Venkatapuram, Chigurukota and Koleru; but none of them are worth preservation. In the Devarakota Zamindari of Bandar Taluq there are the ruins of a fort at Lakshimpuram, built about 200 years ago. There are also forts in this taluq at Yendapalli, Nungegada, Nagayalanka, and Marepolam.

In the villages of Najid Zainindar there are forts at Katur, Mehdur Kasbah, Nana Kasbah, Suravaram, Telaprolu, Gollapilli Kasbah, Najid, Mununur, Vijayapoy Kasbah, Rayanapolam, and Mutanavide. There are also forts in some villages of Chatroy, Pentapad, Bahurjali, Gundugol, Ambarpett, and Eler Haveli Parganas, belonging to the Nedadavol Zamindari, which was transferred to Godavari District at the amalgamation of the late Guntur and Masulipatam Districts.

In the Nizampatam Sarkar of Ripalli Taluq, there are also forts at Vullipolam, Kadavakuduru, Ganapvneram, Yalatepolam and Amudalapilli.

There are also forts at Vallur and Gudur belonging to the Vallur Zamindar. One at Avanigadda belonging to the ex-Divi Zamindar, and one at Mailaveram belonging to that Zamindar.

There are also ruins of ancient forts in the Palnad Taluq at Katavaram, Machavaram, Tungeda, Pidugurala, Tandutla, Gamalapur, Kamepalli, Petta Manusur, Ubbapalli, near Dachapalli, Gopatelli, Pulibhirdegudam, Nagarjunakonda or Durg, Karunpudi, Kambhampad, Gali, Pendugal, Pillutla.

In Guntur Taluq at Naukar.

In Narsaraupet Taluq at Chilakallurupad and Kunkalagunta.

In Repali Taluq at Repali, Nedumurru and Rachur.

In Vinukonda Taluq at Gundampad, Komalapad, and Chintalacheruvu, besides a number of smaller ones, or bastions in the Palnad Taluq at Mandapapadu, Janapadu on a pagoda, Pedda Garlapadu, Konoki, in the centre of the village, Pinali on a pagoda, Oblinipalli, Kalakota, Madukuru, Pattavedu, Gunlapad, Gopatelli, Veldurru, Boyavaram, Pasevamula, Mangalavaram, Oppicherla, Adigopula, Miriyala, Pedda Kavavangunta, Sunegalla, Jetelpatpex, Pulpad, Rentula, Rentachitala, Mandugalla, Pullangunta, Charlagudepad, Gottenzukuina, Dieta.

VIII. The Mahals or palaces of Zamindars constructed within the last century.—The best specimens of these are the palace of the ex-Zemindar of Narsaraupet, and the palace of the Devarakota Zamindar of Sallapalli. There are each large piles of buildings in the Muhammadan style of architecture, four or five stories high. There is a very large hall on the ground floor and a gallery round it on the second floor, with five ranges of rooms above. The buildings are of brick plastered, with high Muhammadan arches. There are ornamental devices in plaster, and the woodwork is carved and painted in bright colours. There are extensive court-yards with reservoirs and fountains and gardens and shrubberies.

IX. European remains.—Tradition exists of the sea coast of this district having formerly been several miles inland of the present shore, and this is supported by a mark of an old beach along the eastern road to Masulipatam from China Ganjam. The black soil here gives place to a belt of sand from 5 to 10 miles in breadth, covering with the drift the elevated ridges generally found above high water mark, and then sloping gradually to the present coast. The general tradition is supported by a Dunde kaveli, describing the sea as having formerly extended nearly to the present town of
China Ganjam, and stating that as far back as A.D. 1224, some Frangalu or European foreigners, probably Portuguese, carried on considerable traffic with Masulipatam for a time on the coast, and raised a town called Frangalupatnam, the remains of which are still to be seen in certain existing mounds Frangalul dine.

The Dutch were the first European settlers in Masulipatam, but the old Dutch burial ground at Masulipatam is all that remains to tell of their connection with the country. The Dutch Chapel has been converted into a private house, and that in time has been allowed to fall into ruins. The old Dutch tombs are finely carved with inscriptions and coats of arms in relieve letters. The dates of the tombs are from 1649-1725. In 1621 the English factory at Bantam attempted to open a trade with Palikat, but were opposed by the Dutch. In the following year, however, they succeeded in establishing a trade at Masulipatam. In 1628 the English were driven from Masulipatam by the oppression of the native Governors, but five years subsequently the place was established as a factory through a Firman of the Nizam of Golconda. In 1689, owing to misunderstanding between the

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**FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, &c., AMONG THE DARDS.**

**By G. W. Leitner M.A., Ph.D., &c.**

Chilas, which sends a tribute every year to Kashmír for the sake of larger return-presents, rather than as a sign of subjection, is said to be governed by a council of elders, in which even women are admitted. When I visited Ghilgit, in 1866, it was practically without a ruler, the invading troops of Kashmir barely holding their own within a few yards of the Ghilgit Fort—a remarkable construction which was blown up by accident last year. There is now a Thanadar of Ghilgit, whose rule is probably not very different from that of his rapacious colleagues in Kashmir. The Ghilgitis are kept quiet by the presence of the Kashmir army, and by the fact that their chiefs are prisoners at Srinagar, where other representatives of once reigning houses are also under surveillance. Mansur Ali Khan, the supposed rightful Raja of Ghilgit is there; he is the son of Asghar Ali Khan, son of Raja Khan, son of Gurtam Khan—but legitimate descent has little weight in countries constantly disturbed by violence, except in Hunza, where the supreme right to rob is hereditary. The Ghilgitis, who are a little more settled than their neighbours to the West, North and South, and who possess the most refined Dardu dialect and traditions, were constantly exposed to marauding parties, and the

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* The only record is the drawing published in the *Illustrated London News* of the 12th February 1870.

† Major Montgomery remarks "the coins have the word Gujanfar on them, the name, I suppose, of some emblematic

late ruler of Chitral, Gouhar-Amán, who had conquered Ghilgit, made it a practice to sell them into slavery on the pretext that they were Shiahs and infidels. Yassin was ruled by Mir Wali, the supposed murderer of Mr. Hayward, and is now a dependency of Chitral which is ruled over by Amán-ul-mulk.

The Hunza people are under Ghazan Khan, the son of Ghazanfar,† and seem to delight in plundering their Kirghiz neighbours, although all travellers through that inhospitable region, with the exception of Badakhshan merchants, are impartially attacked by these robbers whose depredations have caused the nearest pass from Central Asia to India to be almost entirely deserted. At Ghilgit I saw the young Raja of Nagyr, with a servant, also a Nagyr. He was a most amiable and intelligent lad, whose articulation was very much more refined than that of his companion, who prefixed a guttural to every Khajuná word beginning with a vowel.

The boy was kept a prisoner in the Ghilgit Fort as a hostage to Kashmir for his father's good behaviour, and it was with some difficulty that he was allowed to see me and answer certain linguistic questions which I put to him. If he has not been sent back to his country, it would be a good opportunity for our Government to get him to the

animal. I was however unable to find out its meaning." The word is Ghazanfar [which means in Arabic: lions] and is the name of the former ruler of Hunza, whose name is on the coins.
Panjāb in the present cold weather with the view of our obtaining more detailed information than we now possess regarding the Khajuna, that extraordinary language to which I have several times alluded.

The names of Rā, Rāsh, Rāja, applied to Muhammadans, may sound singular to those accustomed to connect them with Hindu rulers, but it is the ancient name for King at Ghilgit (for which Nawāb seems a modern substitute)—whilst Shāh Kator in Chitral, Than in Hunza and Nagyr, Mīrān and Bakhtū in Yassan, and Trakhū in Ghilgit, offer food for speculation. The Hunza people say the King's race is Mughulot (or Mughul), whilst the Khajuna people prefer the continuance of the present anarchy, which may end in a national solution or in a direct alliance with the British, to the épicer policy of Kashmir which, without shedding blood, has drained the resources of that Paradise on earth and killed the intellectual and moral life of its people. The administration of justice and the collection of the taxes in Dardistan are carried on, the former with some show of respect for religious injunctions, the latter with sole regard to whatever the tax-gatherer can immediately lay his hand upon.

HABITATIONS.

The villages are situated on the main lines of road which, as everywhere in Himalayan countries, generally coincides with the course of rivers. The villages are sometimes scattered, but as a rule, the houses are closely packed together. Stones are heaped up and closely cemented, and the upper story which is often only a space sheltered by a cloth or by grass-bundles on a few poles, is generally reached by a stair-case from the outside. Most villages are protected by one or more wooden forts, which—with the exception of the Ghilgit fort—are rude blockhouses, garnished with rows of beams, behind which it is easy to fight as long as the place is not set on fire. Most villages also contain an open space, generally near a fountain, where the villagers meet in the evening and young people make love to each other. Sometimes the houses contain a subterranean apartment which is used as a cell or stable—at other times, the stable forms the lower part of the house. In Ladak, a little earth heaped up before the door and impressed with a large wooden seal, was sufficient, some years ago, to protect a house in the absence of its owner. In Dardistan bolts, &c., &c., show the prevailing insecurity. I have seen houses which had a courtyard round which the rooms were built, but generally all buildings in Dardistan are of such a mean description that at Astor, (where it is used for the reception of live coals) is in the middle of the room. The conservancy arrangements are on the slope of the hills close to the villages, in front of which are fields of Indian corn, &c., &c.—Indian Public Opinion, Dec. 1.
MISCELLANEA.

REVIEW.

THE STORY OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA AND HIS CREED:

We rise from the perusal of this elegantly got up volume with a feeling of disappointment. We had hoped for a solution of many of the problems which remain to students of Buddhistic literature; but to none of these does the author direct his attention. His sole object is an attempt to give "a reasonable narrative of Buddha and Buddhism, looking at these subjects of course from a poetical standpoint." These are stated so much better in prose by Hardy in his "Manual of Buddhism," that we should have thought the author would have abstained from "slaying the slain." We fully agree with Mr. Phillips in his notion that "the great Ascetic" deserves to be better known; but we cannot add the cheering hope that the present volume will in any degree advance the object most to be desired. The attractive beauty of Buddha's life, and the vast influence exercised by his creed over more than one-half of the human race, are in themselves powerful motives for an attentive study of his career. But the qualifications demanded for the task of able exposition are so numerous, that since the much-to-be-lamented death of Eugene Burnouf, we almost despair of hearing of an equally able successor. There are Jaina works, Chinese works, Tibetan works, Pali works, and perhaps even Japanese works, to be carefully mastered before we gain full and accurate information as to the results of the teaching of Buddha and his missionaries on the Eastern races. The wonderful exertions made by the apostles of Buddhism, can only be likened to the great efforts put forth by the Jesuits during the nascent period of that great order; and the extraordinary resemblance is heightened by the fact that both employ only celibates as their agents.

From a careful perusal of this volume, we cannot in any way learn that the author has the least acquaintance with any of the Eastern languages; so that at the very outset he is prevented from adding to our store of knowledge. The other course which lay open to him of presenting in a compact form the results attained by the many able scholars who have devoted long years to the study has been utterly ignored. So that as far as the inquiring reader is concerned, he is exactly where he was.

Mr. Phillips tells us that "The poem," as he calls it, "is founded upon a theory; but nothing short of a full conviction of the soundness of that theory would have led the author to represent Gautama as a wilful deceiver, beguiling men to virtue; and thus by impeaching his moral character to lessen him in men's eyes. But if his moral character is lowered by this assumption, as undoubtedly it is, it must be allowed as a slightly compensating fact, that his intellectual status is considerably raised by it."

The work consists of about 650 stanzas spun out with uncommon perseverance, with little regard for rhyme and none at all for rhythm. Thus we take, entirely at random, a specimen which is no better than its neighbours:—

"For, unlike many, Sakya-Muni weighed
The Pundit's reasoning, and was not afraid,
Nor did he deem it impious to doubt
The Brahman's doctrines; so he soon found out
The measure of his wisdom; and discerned
Where lay his weakness: thus he soon had learned,
All he could teach him. Then did he prepare
To seek for wisdom and for truth elsewhere."

KANGRA.

As Jamu is the chief of all the States on the other side of the Ravi, so has Kangra always been regarded as the principal among a large circle of states on this side. The Katoch, or Kangra family, sprung from no mortal stock; the first Raja, Bhum Chand, was created from the perspiration from the brow of the Kangra goddess; not born, like other men, a puling infant, but cast perfect in a mould, a god-like man, prepared for mighty deeds. This appears somewhat startling, but as it occurred some eleven thousand years ago, perhaps we may allow ourselves to believe that things were differently managed in those days. Coming down to more recent days, we find the Greek historians, of more than 300 years B.C., alluding to the mountain kings north of the Panjab. Almost all the noble families from the Ravi to the Satlaj claim connexion with, or descent from, the Katoch family.

MISCELLANEA, NOTES, AND QUERIES.

It is this extreme antiquity which makes Kangra, and particularly the Kangra Fort, of such value in the eyes of the natives of the district, who will still tell you that he who holds Kangra holds the Panjab. When the Muhammadans held sway in India, they plundered Kangra of immense treasure; but the idol was restored to the temple, and the Hindus again obtained possession in 1044 A.D. From this time till 1360 A.D., when Firuz Tughlak again plundered the temple, the history is uncertain. This Emperor is supposed by Mr. Burnes, to whose settlement report we are indebted for much of this history, to have resided in the Kangra fort, and to have there received, twenty-eight years after, Prince Muhammad Tughlak, who was a fugitive from Delhi.

Ferishta tells us that the great Akbar, having subdued Kangra, received the Katoch King, Dhammad Chand, with kindness. In this reign the Fort at Kangra was held by Imperial troops; and the
Emperor Jehangir, after whom one of the gates of the fort is named, was so delighted with the Kangra valley that he proposed to make it his residence. The natives, who always sought every opportunity to rebel in their conquerors' absence, were naturally much opposed to this scheme, and the present inhabitants of Kangra will tell you that to prevent the Empir from setting there, the people collected an immense crowd of those who were affected with hideous goitre, and bringing them before Jehangir, warned him that as this terrible deformity was so common in the valley, he and his followers could not hope to escape. This is said to have caused him to remove to Kashmir.

In 1752 A.D. the Panjab passed from the Mughals to the Afghans; and from that time to 1764 A.D. it remained attached to the kingdom of Kabul; but Nawab Taefulah Khan, whom the Mughal Court had appointed commandant of Kangra, had still possession of the place, even when the hill chiefs resumed their territories, leaving him nothing but the lands immediately under the fort. In 1764 A.D. the Afghans, defeated by the Sikhs, crossed the Indus, never more to return, and the Panjab fell into the hands of the Sikh Sirdars; but Fort Kangra was not reduced until 1782 A.D. Taefulah Khan, as isolated Mughal governor, having held it all the intervening years, with no resources beyond the range of his guns. This fact proves the value of the fort as a military post in old times. Even then it could not be taken by assault, and only fell when Taefulah Khan died in the siege, and his followers, disheartened by his loss, surrendered.

Jaya Singh, the conqueror, held the fort for four years, when he was forced to make concessions to a combined army of Sikhs and Katoch Rajputs, at Batala, in the Gurdaspur district, and fort Kangra, after many centuries, came into the hands of Sansar Chand, its legitimate chief. From the possession of this famous fort, Sansar Chand gained the chief power in the hills, and placed Kangra at the head of the eleven Jalandar principalities. Here he reigned for twenty years; but his continued aggressions at last brought him into trouble. He had attacked the hill state of Kulur, and its chief, unable to meet him in person, called in the Gurkhas to his assistance. This led to the terrible Gurkha invasion so much talked of even now by the inhabitants of the valley. The people fled to Chamba and to the plains, not a blade of grass grew in the Kangra valley; but amid all the horrors and confusion of the invasion, fort Kangra remained in the hands of the worst Katochias, who were at last delivered from the Gurkhas by the interference of Ranjit Singh.

The Sikhs, taking a large part of the Katoch dominions as a reward for his assistance, gave Tasar Chand the fort and a number of villages, which had always been allotted for the maintenance of its garrison; but year by year he encroached more and more on the Katoch independence, and in 1838 annexed the whole country. In 1839 Ranjit Singh died, and his disorganised soldiery, invading British territory, were punished. Lahore was occupied and the British army obtained possession of the Jalander Doab in March, 1846. But even then, in the midst of a conquered country, cut off from all hope of succour and assistance, the native confidence in the strength of the Kangra fort was so great that it held out, in spite of warnings, until a British brigade had actually invested it, when the Sikh Governor agreed to evacuate on condition that he and his men were allowed a free and honourable passage.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the value which natives set on fort Kangra; it is a most sacred place, consecrated by its idols and its antiquity; it is of the highest political value, for any native chief holding Kangra would be paramount in the hills; and the native idea of its military importance is high, and were it unoccupied, it would be immediately seized as a great prize, in case of any disturbance in the Panjab.

After it fell into the hands of the British, the fort was first garrisoned by native troops; and, when the country was supposed to be sufficiently quieted down, they were replaced by a hill corps which was then formed. But in the same year in which this change was made, the Multan insurrection broke out, and it was thought necessary to replace regular troops in the fort. Ram Singh was only prevented from attacking and perhaps conquering the garrison there in 1848, by a sudden movement of Captain Davidson's and Major Fisher's irregular horse to its succour. This Ram Singh during his short-lived power was joined by about 400 men, and was only dislodged by Mr. John Lawrence, now Lord Lawrence, bringing up reinforcements and driving him out of the Nurpur Fort—Panjab Times, Nov 21.

A LAKE LEGEND OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Lake Taroba in the Chanda district, situated 14 miles east of Segaon, in a basin of the Chimur hills, at a considerable height above the plain, is believed by the natives of the surrounding country to owe its origin to enchantment. It is far from any village, and though artificially embanked at one point, has all the appearance of a natural lake. Its depth is very great and the water is considered to be of peculiar excellence. In the early ages—so runs the legend—a marriage procession of Gavalis was passing through these hills from the west. Hot and thirsty they sought for water but found none, when a strange-looking old man suggested that the bride and bridegroom should join in digging for a spring. Laughter they consented, and with the removal of a few spadesful of earth a clear fountain leapt to the surface. While all were delightedly drinking, the freed waters rose and spread into a wide lake, overwhelming bride, bridegroom, and procession; but fairy hands soon constructed a temple in the depths, where the spirits of the drowned are
supposed to dwell. Afterwards on the lake-side a palm tree grew up, which only appeared during the day, sinking into the earth at twilight. One morning a rash pilgrim seated himself upon the tree-top, and was borne into the skies, where the flames of the sun consumed him. The palm then shrivelled into dust, and in its place appeared an image of the spirit of the lake, which is worshipped under the name of Thoba. Formerly at the time of pilgrimages, all necessary vessels rose from the lake, and after being used were washed and returned to the waters. But at last one evil-minded man took those he had received to his home; they quickly vanished, and from that day the mystic provision wholly ceased.

In quiet nights the country-folk still hear faint sounds of drum and trumpet passing round the lake.

"She is not dead, she has no grave, She lives beneath Lough Ulin’s water, And in the murmur of each wave, Methinks I catch the songs I taught her."

The old men say that in one dry year, when the waters sank low, golden pinnacles of the fairy temple were seen glittering in the depths.

"On Lough Neagh’s banks as the fisherman strays, On a cold calm eve’s declining, He sees the round towers of other days, In the waves beneath him shining."

The lake is much visited, especially during the months of December and January; and the rites of the god are performed by a Gond. Wives seek its waters for their supposed virtue in causing fertility, and sick persons for health. Fish in the lake grow to a large size, the skeleton of one which was stranded some years ago measuring 8 feet in length.

**MARCO POLO’S ROUTE FROM YUNAN.**

In his report on Western Yunan Dr. Anderson seeks to identify the route traversed by the expedition from Bhamo to Momien with that described by Marco Polo, as having been taken by him on his journey from the Court of the Great Khan to the capital of Mien or Burma. So far as any conclusions can be drawn from so fragmentary a narrative as that of the famous old traveller, the supposition seems probable enough. Marco Polo’s route seems to have been from Yunnan (Karazan) ten days journey to Talifu (Yachi); and thence five days journey to Yungchan (Vochang). After leaving this province, Marco Polo goes on to say, "you come to a great descent; in fact you ride for two days and a half continually down hill. On all this descent there is nothing worthy of mention except only that there is a large place there where occasionally a great market is held. After you have ridden those two days and a half down hill, you find yourself in a province towards the south which is pretty near to India, and this province is called Amein. You travel therein for fifteen days through a very unfrequented country and through great woods abounding in elephants and unicorns and numbers of other wild beasts." And when you have travelled those fifteen days through such a difficult country as I have described, in which travellers have to carry provision for the road because there are no inhabitants, then you arrive at the capital city of this province of Mien, and it also is called Amein and is a very great and noble city."

(—Yule’s Marco Polo, II., 45, 52, 79-2.) This passage has presented considerable difficulty to Col. Yule in his admirable commentary, because, as it seems to us, he has erroneously counted the 17 days’ journey from Yungchan. Col. Yule is thus driven to the supposition that Marco Polo descended from Yungchan to the Swedi tributary of the Irrawadi, and performed the rest of the distance by water. There are many difficulties in the way of this supposition, a supposition however which is rendered necessary on the assumption that Marco Polo’s distances are to be calculated from Yungchan. But it will be observed that Marco Polo speaks of leaving the province merely and not the town. This province is called Kardandan, a name however which is probably only used to designate a portion of Karazan, a word which Dr. Anderson would connect with the Kananzan mountains north-east of Momien, and which probably included most of the country which now goes by the name of Yunnan. Of Marco Polo’s descent of 2½ days’ journey Dr. Anderson writes:—"I do not know of any more correct description that could be given of the descent from the Shan states over the Kakhyen hills to Burmah.*** Starting from the Shan-Chinese town of Manwayne at the eastern end of the Sanda valley, where the descent begins, the journey occupies exactly two days and a half. So closely does Marco Polo’s account of the route to Burmah coincide with the two roads that follow the valley of the Tapeng over which I travelled, that I cannot but conclude that it referred to one of them; but his description being devoid of details, it is impossible to say which of the two routes he had in view." Dr. Anderson would further fix the market referred to at Old Bhamo, which he says, is distant from the capital of Mien or New Pagan in a straight line about 250 miles. Dr. Anderson endeavours to strengthen his position by a reference to certain curious customs which are mentioned by Marco Polo and of which he found traces in the Shan states. Such customs are the use of tallies, the consultation of persons supposed to be possessed of a devil, the docking of horses’ tails, and the relative values of gold and silver. But after the lapse of six centuries, we are not inclined to attach much weight to mere coincidences of this nature, at any rate in determining the line of direction of any particular route. All that can be said is that Dr. Anderson’s supposition is as probable as any other—he found traces of a substantial bridged road the whole way from Bhamo to Momien;—and more probable than that advanced by Col. Yule. We have no doubt that that eminent savant will find much in Dr. Anderson’s
The Asiatic Journal furnishes particulars of the Hindu temple of Tripetty, eighty miles from Madras, the precincts of which had never been "profaned" by Christian or Muhammadan till the Madras police invaded it the other day. The exterior even had not been seen but by genuine Hindus. The temple is in a village near the centre of a long range of hills running almost North and South. At different distances round the hills are gates, the last at the top, and the pilgrims all pass through these on their way up. The mere sight of these hills so gratifies Hindus, that leagues off, upon first catching a glimpse of them, they fall prostrate, calling on the idol's name. The idol is worshipped by votaries who pour in from all parts of India, under a thousand names, but the three principal ones are Vengataramana Swāmi, or the repeller of evil and insurer of good; Surinawasasawami, implying the idol's name. 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ORIENTAL STUDIES AT CAMBRIDGE.

The Syndicate, appointed by Grace of the Senate Dec. 4, 1871, to consider the best means of promoting the Study of the Oriental Languages, gave in their report on 12th March, recommending:

That, recognising the intrinsic importance of Oriental Literature, its special bearing on the theological and classical training of the University, the close connexion of England with the countries of the East, and the fact that Oriental Studies have as yet failed, for want of due encouragement, to take their proper place in the University System of Education, they are of opinion that these studies should be placed on a level with the other studies of the University by the institution of two Triposes, one for the Semitic languages and the other for the Indian languages.

The Syndicate therefore recommend, that—

I. A Semitic Languages Tripos be established, the first examination to be held in 1875.

All students who shall pass the examination so as to deserve Honours shall be entitled to admission to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. No student shall be admitted to the examination who has not passed the examination in the additional Mathematical subjects of the previous examination. An Undergraduate or Bachelor-designate in Arts may be a candidate for Honours in the Semitic Languages Tripos of any year, if at the time of the examination for such Tripos he shall have entered on his ninth term at least, having previously kept eight terms; provided that not more than ten terms shall have passed after the first of the said eight terms; and, excepting in special cases, no student of a different standing shall be allowed to be a candidate unless he shall have obtained permission from the Council of the Senate. The subjects at the examination of candidates for Honours in the Semitic Languages Tripos are—

Translation into Arabic; Selected portions of the Kor'ān, with Arabic commentary; Arabic Grammar, with passages for translation into English from a selected work of some native Grammarian. At least four Selected Arabic works. Passages for translation into English from unspecified Arabic works.

Translation into Hebrew, and passages for pointing. At least four selected books of the Hebrew Scriptures, with a selected Hebrew commentary on one of the said books. Passages for translation into English from unspecified books of the Hebrew Scriptures. Paper on post-biblical Hebrew.


The papers on selected works shall contain passages for translation into English and questions on the subject-matter and criticism of such works. The paper on selected Arabic works shall include specimens of poetry and rhymed prose, with or without commentary. The Kor'ān and Grammatical works shall be excluded from this paper. The paper on post-biblical Hebrew shall contain passages for translation from at least two selected and two unspecified works.

The Board of Oriental Studies will publish a list of books bearing on the subjects of the last day's examination, and will revise such list from time to time. Public notice of all the variable subjects selected for the examination in any year will be given by the Board of Oriental Studies before the beginning of the Lent Term in the year next but one preceding the examination. No student will be placed in the First Class, who has not exhibited a competent knowledge of two of the three languages, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac, and also of the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. The examination in each year shall be conducted by four examiners, who shall be nominated by the Board of Oriental Studies and elected by the Senate.

And that—II. An Indian Languages Tripos be established, the first examination to be held in 1875, under regulations similar to those for the Semitic languages Tripos.

Subjects:—Translation into Sanskrit. Selected Sanskrit Dramatic and other Poems. Selected Sanskrit Prose works (including a philosophical treatise) and a selected portion of the Rig Veda with Sāyana's Commentary. Passages for translation into English from unspecified Sanskrit works. Paper on Sanskrit Grammar, including a selected portion or portions of a work of some native Grammarian. Selected Persian works, including a portion or portions of the Masnavi. Translation into Persian. Passages for translation into English from unspecified Persian works. Persian Grammar, and Arabic Grammar with especial reference to the forms occurring in Persian.


No student will be placed in the First Class, who has not exhibited a competent knowledge of Sanskrit together with Comparative Grammar, or of Persian (including the Arabic element) together with Comparative Grammar, or of Hindustani together with Sanskrit or Persian.

AN EARLY SANSKRIT PRESS AS YET UNNOTICED BY BIBLIOGRAPHERS.

It is strange that the earliest editions of a number of Sanskrit books should never as yet have been described, though they were printed in a large town...
of Southern India, and in a part where Europeans have always been numerous. The first press with Devanagari type, in Southern India, was started about 1805, at Tanjor, by Raja Sarabhoji (Serboji), the well-known pupil of the great German Missionary Swartz. His object was to print the books required for the elementary Sanskrit and Marātha Schools he had established in the Tanjor district. A small hand press (still in the Tanjor Palace) and a foundry of Devanagari type were procured, probably from Madras, and this little office received the rather magniloquent name of Nāvavidyākālānidi. The superintendent was a Brahman named Kupā Bhātta. The first production of the press seems to have been a Sanskrit-Marātha Panchānga, or Almanac, which was continued for several years, till superseded by those of the Bombay lithographic presses. In 1808 (year vībhava) was printed an edition of the Rāghuvaṃga, the 19 sargas of text complete, 97 pp. 8vo. The verses are numbered, and there are two short perpendicular lines after each half verse. In other respects it is printed like native MSS. This is the earliest edition of this poem by several years; the Calcutta edition (Gildemeister, No. 224) and Stenzler's were both published in 1832. In 1811 was printed on 8 pp. (transv.), an edition of the Tarkasangraha. The copy of this which I have seen is ruled with borders in red ink, and the close of each sentence has been marked in the same way by hand, a vacant space having been left by the compositor for this purpose. On the first page are two rude cuts of Ganesa and Siva. In the same year also was printed an edition of Aman Bhātta's Comment on the Tarkasangraha, similar to that of the text, oblong 22 pp. In 1812 was printed an edition of the Bhāṣāparichcheda (Karikāvalli), by Panchānana Bhātta, oblong 10 pp. In 1813 (year Śrīmuṅkha) appeared an edition of the complete text of Māgha's Sīṣupalabhadha, 8vo. 106 pp. In 1814 the Kumārachampa, attributed to Sarabhoji himself, but really composed by one of his Pandits, was printed, 25 pp. transv. Two editions of the Amaṇakosha (one in 8vo. and the other in folio) were also early finished; of the dates I am uncertain, as I have only seen imperfect copies. An edition of the Muktāvali (a comment on the Bhāṣāparichcheda) was also begun, but only 454 pp. (transv.) were finished. Among the Maratha publications of this press is a translation of Aesop's fables, with rude cuts, in 12mo. The type is very good and clear; each letter is however separated, as in many MSS. All the copies I have seen are printed on European hand-made paper. The texts are tolerably correct, in some copies errors have been corrected by hand.—A.C.B. in Trübner's Lit. Rec.

**DISCOVERY OF IMAGES.**

A Native Christian of Velangani (Tanjor) has made a curious and interesting discovery of five very ancient copper figures of Hindu deities. The images were found buried in the man's compound, but he being a Roman Catholic, objections were made by the priest to the sale of the images to the people. It was therefore proposed to break them up and sell them for old copper, when the matter came to the knowledge of the Collector (Mr. H. J. Stokes), who purchased the images for Government at the rate of four annas per seer, or the price of old copper. The figures are as follows—

Pīḍārī, a village goddess, seated, with four arms; in one an axe, in one a deer. Height 1 foot 9 inches. Breadth at base of pedestal 1 foot 2½ inches. Weight 63 lbs.

Pillayar, called also Ganapati, Ganesa, and Vighneshvara, son of Shiva and Parvati, and therefore called Pillayar, son. Height 1 foot 8½ inches. Weight 43 lbs.

Nādesha, figure of Shiva, dancing (Nada dancing, ṣaha, king), enclosed in a horse-shoe arch, crested with flames. Shiva, matted-hair, is worked into an ornamental pattern, with four arms. In one hand a small drum such as is used by fortune-tellers, with a ball made of cord and wax attached by a string to the middle, which strikes each end of the drum alternately when oscillated. Round one arm a cobra. In one hand a flame. Dances on a prostrate Bākshasa. Height 3 feet 7½ inches; width 3 feet 3 inches.

Sandilekeshara (or Chandilekeshvara), a son of Shiva. Is deaf, for which reason worshippers clap their hands in his temple to attract his attention. Is placed to the left hand of the figure of Shiva, facing south. Has hair arranged in ornament at each side of neck. Figure standing in devotional attitude. Height 2 feet 2 inches, weight 50 lbs.

Amman, a goddess, standing. Height 2 feet, weight 36 lbs.

The images are believed to have belonged to a Shiva temple which once existed at Velangani. Why or when they were buried is not conjectured. They were found embedded in sand three feet below the surface. The images are believed to be very ancient. They are to be placed in the Museum at Madras for the present.

**HIMALAYAN CUSTOM.**

Dr. Cowran, in his "Medical History of the Himalayas," speaking of a native tribe in the northern district of the peninsula, says, when a mother goes into a field to work, or is otherwise unable to take her child with her, she selects some sheltered spot near a stream, in which she places a little straw for a bed for her infant, and then directs, by means of a piece of split bamboo, a current of
water, of from one to two or three inches in diameter, on its uncovered occiput and temples. This produces a soporific effect, which generally lasts as long as the water continues to flow. The sleep is said to be very soothing, and children who have been much subjected to its influence are known to have been unusually free from the annoyances incidental to the period of dentition.

THE WHITE JEWS OF COCHIN.

It is not surprising to find the blackness of the Jews of Cochin adduced in Mant's Commentary as a proof of the effects of climate, because English ignorance on Indian subjects never is surprising; but though there are black Jews on the Western Coast, (descendants of slaves and native proselytes), the Jews of Cochin—the Jews who profess to have settled in the country 1800 years ago, and hold grants dated in the fourth century A.D., are handsome and singularly fair race, compared even with European Jews.—South of India Observer, May 9.

ORIENTAL NOTES.

We learn that the well-known Mūmānsā text-book the Jaiminiya-Nyāya-Mālā-Vistara, of which 400 pages in large quarto were completed by Dr. Goldstücker, will be completed by E.B. Cowell, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge. The photo-lithographic fac-simile edition of the celebrated commentary by Patanjali on Sanskrit Grammar entitled the Mahābhāshya, which the same worthy and much lamented scholar had in hand, has only advanced to the 300th page, i.e. only one-half of the book has been done. Whether this will be completed remains to be seen. As the writing is very small, the exertion required for editing is almost too much for the eyes, and therefore we have considerable doubts about its rapid completion. Should the work be published, we understand that the price will be Rs. 500, which will of necessity place it beyond the reach of most scholars. Professor Monier Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary, we hear, is to be published in June.

A Hindustani Grammar will shortly appear from the pen of Professor Dowson of the Staff College, Sandhurst.

ON MASTĀN BRAHMANS.

In the article by Mr. Ramsay on the hot springs of Unai (p. 142), mention is made of the Māstān Brahmans. It may be useful to record that in Orissa, also, the majority of Brahmans do not touch the plough. Those that do are called Mastān, and are looked down upon by other sects of Brahmans. They are often to be found holding the post of Sarbarakhār, or village headman, and in that case are called Padhan (i.e. पद्हन). They are, like all Oriya Brahmans, a haughty stiffnecked set, distinguished by the most serene indifference to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. As Pādhāns therefore they are highly appreciated by the rapacious and tyrannous zamindars, who find them useful tools in their oppression of the ryots.

Balasor, 11th May 1872. John Beames.

The Muhammadan coins mentioned (p. 130) by Dr. Bühler as found in the excavations at Walleh, are, in the opinion of Mr. Justice Gibbs, not older than the 16th century A.D. It is probable they may have been lost or deposited in comparatively, recent times by villagers whose huts stood over the site of the buried city.—Ed. I. A.

CHESS.

The Burmanese game of chess differs slightly from the European game, but only where the Europeans have altered it since they received it from the East, for it was brought into Western Europe by the Crusaders, who appear to have altered the Burmanese ‘horses’ to 'knight,' and ‘chariots’ to 'castle,' as now found in the European game. The Burmanese name chekturen has been defined, "the chief ruler or leader of an army," which is not quite correct. The name is derived from the Pali or Sanskrit, chatuha, ‘four,’ and enga ‘a member,’ i.e. ‘the four members’ (of an army), elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry; and it is the same name dragged through Persian and Arabic which appears in the English word chess which Webster refers to the French. The ‘rook’ of the English game is the same word as the ratha of the Burmese, being the Pali or Sanskrit name for a chariot.—Dr. F. Mason, ‘A Working Man’s Life.’

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—A transcript of the Dinajpur inscription (page 128) of which a facsimile is published (plate VI page 140) was sent to me some time ago by the Assistant Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, together with a translation by him, for my opinion as to the meaning of the words which constitute the date. The appearance of my note in reply in the I. A. (p. 128), and the comments made on it by Mr. R. G. Bhandarkar render a few remarks from me necessary.

The text sent to me was a transcript, carefully made, but not a facsimile, and I had every reason therefore to suspect copyist’s errors in those parts which were doubtful. A rubbing since sent to me by Mr. Westmacott shows the letters to be in an excellent state of preservation. With this before me all idea of possible errors must be set aside; and the reading published by you must be taken as correct, with the exception of a single misprint in the second line in which the word ‘guna’ has been changed to ‘gana.’
196

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

As regards the translation : in the first half of the
sloka there is a double entendre ; the compound
word mārggana-guna grāmagraho meaning “ap
preciation of the sum total of the merits of beggars,”
when referring to dāne (liberality), and “his hold
of the multitude of strings of his arrows,”
when corresponding to the “overthrow of the
irresistible forces of the enemies” (Durvvārāri
varāthini-pramathane). In the second half the
most enigmatical is the phrase—kunjaraghatá
varshena. Word for word it means “elephant,”
“collection,” and “rain,” or “year.” Being in the
instrumental case, if it be taken as an epithet of
Gandapatina, the meaning of the vahuvrihi com
pressed may be, as suggested by Mr. Bhandarkar,
“by him who rains a crowd of elephants.” But the
compound is such an awkward one, it is so far re
moved from its noun, and the raining of elephants
is so unnatural a metaphor, that I feel very unwill
ing to accept this interpretation as correct. The
conjecture about ‘varshena' being a mislection of
‘ varshman' is not supported by the facsimile, and
must therefore be at once rejected. I am driven
therefore to the necessity of accepting ‘ varsha’ to
mean a year, and the two words preceding it for
the figures of the year. Now, ‘kunjara' unques
tionably is equivalent to eight, the elephant regents
of the eight quarters, and ‘ghata' after it can only
imply a crowd or several eights the lowest limit of
which is three, the plural beginning with three, and
is therefore a more fixed quantity than any other
number.

In

connexion with numerals no

other

meaning is admissible, and I do not think it forced
to accept the word for “three-fold,” that is three
eights standing in a row, and not the multiple of
8 by 3. Against this Mr. Bhandarkar urges the
objection that to imply the year in which a
work is completed the locative is more appro
priate than the instrumental which is used to

indicate the total period occupied in completing a
work. But he has himself solved the difficulty by
the alternative meaning he has suggested in the
remark “ or at least that it took the 888th year to
be constructed.”

In the absence of all information

- as to the size of the temple I cannot positively
assert that it was completed in course of a year,
but the only grammatical objection to my reading
of the date thus disappears.

Were it otherwise

[JUNE 7, 1872.

not appear to be so questionable as Mr. Bhandarkar
is disposed to think.
RAJENDRALALA MITRA.
Calcutta, 21st May 1872.
THE JAYA SRI MATIA BODIN WAHANSE IN
CHANCERY.

ALL who have read Sir E. Tennant's charming
work on Ceylon, or have glanced into Turnour's
Mahāwanso, will recollect that the great Bo tree of
Anuradhapara is the oldest historical tree in the
world, and the highest earthly object of veneration
to millions of Buddhists. When it was brought
over to Ceylon more than 2,000 years ago, Dewanam
piya-Tissa, the then king of Ceylon, appointed the
chief who brought it, lord over the district, and
gave him and his heirs the right to appoint for ever
the chief priests of the sacred Bo tree. Like the
best among the Rajpat chiefs the Newara Wewa
family traces itself back through chiefs and rulers
to that memorable time. The last young chief
however died suddenly of cholera, leaving no male
issue : and a man has come forward claiming to be
descended from the last chief but one ; but the
descendants in the female line saying that he is no
Sir Roger and only some Tom Castro or Arthur
Orton, and have elected a rival priest and brought the
estates and the most ancient and honourable “fa

mily living” in the world into the District Court of
Anurádhapura. In historical romance the trial is
likely to be most interesting. The late young
chief's grandfather was beheaded by the last tyrant
of Kandy for marrying a Telugu princess: and his
father was banished to Galle for high treason
against the then newly established English Govern
ment.

It is in banishment that he is said to have

married the daughter of another banished chief
and to have had issue the present claimant.

Query 8–Rámes'vara.
SIR,-Can any of your correspondents tell me
who founded the temple of Rámes'wara at Cape
Kumāri, and what has been its history 2 The Ta
mils here say that it was built by Ráma B. C. circa
5000, which wonld be interesting, if probable. On
an inscription at Dambula it is said of Parakrama
Báhu the Great [1153-1188 A.D.] that after his con
quest of South India “as there were then no rivals

“(pratriwalla) left in all the continent of India, he

still I do not think the misuse of the instrumental

“staid at Rāmeswara, and filled the hearts of all the

for the locative by a writer who has clearly sinned
against grammar by using the neuter ‘bhushana' in

“poor by gifts of his own weight in precious things,

the masculine gender, is such as to justify the re
jection of the interpretation. It is possible also
that with a view to indulge in a double entendre,
similar to what occurs in the first half of the sloka,

“ and drove not the poor away. Having put up a
“column of victory to endure for many ages, he
“built the déwale called Nissankeswara, and sur
“rounded by his four-fold army returned to Ceylon.”
The name of the king of Pandi at that time is

and make one word–serve both for a date and an

stated in Sinhalese books (see Turnour, Mahawanso,
epithet of his royal patron, the poet has submitted

to a slight infraction of the rules of grammar, of
which men of his class are generally much less
mindful than of rhetoric. Anyhow the date does

lxvi) to have been Kulasekra.
I should be glad to have an explanation of the
words in italics.

Anuradhapura.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.


THERE are two phases of Popular Tamil Poetry. Sivavakkiyar, for instance, has written nothing, as far as I know, which may not be classed as popular poetry; and three-fourths of the writings of the classic Avvaiyar, who has been called the Sappho of Southern India, are strictly of this class. But, beyond this, there is a great deal of difficult and abstruse poetry in high Tamil, which has been popularized. The Rāmāyanam of Kamban, for example, is an elaborate poem, written in a highly polished poetical diction; and yet, if a Hindu were to be asked to point to the first Popular poem in the Tamil language, he would, undoubtedly, point to it. Wandering minstrels recite it night by night in the streets of every town in Southern India where Tamil is spoken. There is a subtle and wonderful charm about this poem. It contains by far the finest ideal description of scenery to be found in Tamil literature. The magic muse of Vibamamuni was only able to reflect this beauty; for it is well-known that Beschi wrote his Tembavanī in direct imitation of Kamban's Rāmāyanam. Besides this, the palm must be awarded to Kamban as the most facile and brilliant of Tamil versifiers. The Rāmāyanam is written in a metre called the Viruttam, one of the most plastic, and perhaps the most harmonious, of Tamil metres. And the whole poem, lit up in every part by alliterations, assonances, mimetic words, and rhymes, leaps and sparkles like a sun-lit sea. There is a ripple in the stanza which describes a running stream, there is a flutter in the verse which depicts a banner et quivering in the breeze. ‘For seven centuries Kamban's masterpiece has delighted Hindus of all classes. It is the Folk-Song of Southern India. And yet, will it be credited that, unless it were explained to him word by word, there is not a single stanza in the whole of the epic, which a common Tamil labourer or artisan, upon first hearing it, could understand and appreciate! When, therefore, wandering "Kurivar"—i.e., native minstrels,—sing the Rāmāyanam to a crowd in bāzārs, or upon festive occasions to assemblages in the houses of Hindus, a running commentary is kept up, either by the singer or an assistant, explaining the meaning of the verses as they are recited. On the other hand, the most ignorant of Tamilians can understand such a popular poem as the Vievā Chintānāmi—a shrewd and plainly-worded poem, possessing a good deal of real artistic merit. Thus in Tamil there are two kinds of popular poems,—poems which require a commentary, and poems which do not. It perhaps may be advisable, ere passing on, to give one brief specimen of classic poetry of the highest order which has been popularized by frequent quotation and common use. Here is a stanza from the Tembhavanī of Vibamamuni—

Olinākkodu văn sular pugala,
Oli nākkodu pan mani pugala,
Kalinākkodu parpu pugala,
Kalī nākkodu kā malar pugala,
Telinākkodu nirppunāl pugala,—
Tinamē pugalappaduvōyi?
Ali nākkodu nān unei pugala,
Ariyā múgei unarttyō.

It is the most famous verse in a famous poem, and may be thus translated:—

Whilst Thee, with tongues of splendour, the orbs of heaven praise;
Whilst gems to Thee their voices, with tongues of brilliance, raise;
Whilst unto Thee wood-warblers, with tongues of joyance, sing;
Whilst wood-flowers Thy sweet praises, from tongues of fragrance fling;

* Beschi imitated Kamban in the most elaborate manner, and gloried in so doing. The aim of the great Italian was to supplant the Rāmāyanam in a measure. He wished to present to Christian natives a poem which would be to them what the Rāmāyanam was to other Hindu religiousists. So Beschi, called by his admirers Vīra-mumunivār, or “the Heroic Devotee,” composed his Tēm bāvanī, a poem which reproduces in a fashion the Biblical narrative, and the heroes of which are Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and Joseph. Pursuing his imitation of Kamban to wonderful extreme, Beschi gives us, in his poem, the song of the rice-reapers in Palestēne! In the text I allude to another extraordinary imitation. Kamban, in one word, there is not a single stanza in the whole of the epic, which a common Tamil labourer or artisan, upon first hearing it, could understand and appreciate! When, therefore, wandering "Kurivar"—i.e., native minstrels,—sing the Rāmāyanam to a crowd in bāzārs, or upon festive occasions to assemblages in the houses of Hindus, a running commentary is kept up, either by the singer or an assistant, explaining the meaning of the verses as they are recited. On the other hand, the most ignorant of Tamilians can understand such a popular poem as the Vievā Chintānāmi—a shrewd and plainly-worded poem, possessing a good deal of real artistic merit. Thus in Tamil there are two kinds of popular poems,—poems which require a commentary, and poems which do not. It perhaps may be advisable, ere passing on, to give one brief specimen of classic poetry of the highest order which has been popularized by frequent quotation and common use. Here is a stanza from the Tembhavanī of Vibamamuni—

Olinākkodu van sular pugala,
Oli nākkodu pan mani pugala,
Kali nākkodu par pu pugala,
Kamal nākkodu kā malar pugala,
Telī nākkodu nirppunāl pugala,—
Tinamē pugalappaduvōyi?—
Ali nākkodu nān unei pugala,
Ariyā nūgei unarttyō.

It is the most famous verse in a famous poem, and may be thus translated:—

Whilst Thee, with tongues of splendour, the orbs of heaven praise;
Whilst gems to Thee their voices, with tongues of brilliance, raise;
 Whilst unto Thee wood-warblers, with tongues of joyance, sing;
Whilst wood-flowers Thy sweet praises, from tongues of fragrance fling;

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Whilst unto Thee wood-warblers, with tongues of joyance, sing;
Whilst wood-flowers Thy sweet praises, from tongues of fragrance fling;
Whilst Thee, with tongues of clearness, the
water-floods applaud;
(Thus, day by day, from all things, dost Thou
receive not laud?)
Wilt Thou not deign to suffer the tongue Thou
gavest me—
Though I be dumb and thoughtless—to offer
praise to Thee?
It is, however, impossible in any translation
to reproduce the spirit and melody of the
original stanza. Even those who have studied
Tamil deeply must be struck with the remark-
able verbal structure of these eight lines. The
measure in which they are written is very
frequently employed in Tamil popular verse.
In the original, given above in a Romanized
form, note that the first word of the first, third,
fifth, and seventh lines are perfect rhymes
to the Tamilian ear, that the second word in
each of these four lines is identical,—as is also
the last; that the first word of the second line
is a perfect rhyme with the first word of the
first line: that the first syllable of the first
word of the fourth line is an alliteration which
chimes with the first syllable of the third line:
that Ti in “Tinamé” alliterates with Te in
“Teli”—according to the rules of Tamil Syntax:
and that the same vowel begins the last two lines.
But this is not all,—the last words of the
second and fourth lines are identical, and the
same word occurs in the sixth line. Add to
all this, a subtle continuous assonance, and a
wonderful rhythmic flow,—and the reader may
have some conception of what an artistic thing
a Tamil Viruttam is when it is the work
of a master-poet. The Venbâ, a still more
intricate measure, is also frequently made use
of by popular Tamil poets. There is an old
Hindu story afloat that one of the greatest
of Tamil poets took three years to compose one
short kural vetû (i.e., two lines)—and it was
so fine a couplet, that, when it was thoroughly
finished, the poet himself was the only one who
could comprehend it! Such a story as this is
ridiculous enough to our ears, but it is no
matter for laughter to any Hindu Pandit. I
have often had the pleasure of listening to
natives reciting their own compositions in verse:
upon such occasions the greatest compliment
you can pay is to declare that the poem is
concocted in such elegant language that it wholly
transcends your comprehension!

Popular Tamil Poetry, however, is for the
most part written with some regard to the
patience of readers. The well-known works of
that really great poetess Auveiyar (a portion
of which was probably written quite nine cen-
turies ago) contain perhaps the oldest specimens
of Tamil popular poetry extant. And yet, old
as they are, they are written in clear pure
Tamil. There is a great and indefinable charm
about the style of the Valvali and Mudurei. It
is so simple yet so elegant,—sailing along so
smoothly, yet freighted with so much weighty
sense. Let us take an instance of Auveiyar’s
style from the Vetriverkei:—

The friendship of the worthless
Though for a century tried,
Is like the weed which floateth
All rootless in the tide.
The friendship of the worthy,
Though proved for but one day,
Is like a root which downwards
Through good soil cleaves its way.
Right good, right good is learning!
Though you a beggar be,
The benefits of knowledge
Will still extend to thee;
The unlearned man who boasteth
How nobly he is born,
Is but an empty corn-ear
Sprung up midst fruitful corn.

* It has proved an irremediable curse to Tamil literature
that writers of genius have so generally adopted Sans-
kritised phraseology, and intricate involutions of style,
which are as unnecessary as they are in bad taste. The
writings of Teyyumanavar,—who is perhaps really the great-
est of Tamil poets,—may be pointed to as an example of
the fact that the highest kinds of speculative and philoso-
phical poetry can be written in pure plain Tamil, which
at once satisfies the critical taste, and is thoroughly intelli-
gible to the careful reader.
Auveiyar is chiefly noted as a poetess for her unrivalled collection of brief moral aphorisms. Whilst the genuineness of several of her reputed works is open to the gravest question, the authorship of the Attisudi has never been doubted. This remarkable poem, possessed of a sublime simplicity, contains the same number of lines as there are letters in the Tamil alphabet ordinarily in use. Each line begins with a letter of this alphabet. Thus the first line commences with an Ana, the next with an Avana, and so on, the proper sequence of letters in the Tamil alphabet being strictly adhered to. It is quite a unique poem, and has been styled by the learned Beschias "worthy of Seneca himself." The following are the opening lines:

Aram seya virumbu.
Aruvatu sinam.
Iyalvatu Karavel.
Ivatu villakel.
Udeiyatuvilambel.

Pålum, teliten umpāgum parappum,—ivei
Nālum kalant' unakku nān taruvēn.
Kōlam sey
Tungak kari mugattu, tu maniyē, ni yenakku
Sanga Tamil mundrum tā !

Attrup perukkatradi sudumannālumavā
Lattrap perukkālulagottu.
Mettravarkku
Nalla gudippantār nalkontār ānālum
'Ille' yena mārtār, iseintu.

Attrang karēyin maramum arasāriya
Vittrirunata vāvum vilumandē.
Yettram
Uluṭundu vālvalkar' oppillei, kandir,
Pāluṭundu vērōr pāgikku.

There is a pretty little legend connected with one of Auveiyar's most popular verses. The poetess visited the town of Ambel. It happened that a dancing-girl named Chilambi lived in this town. On a former occasion the great Kamban had visited Chilambi's house, and the maiden had given the author of the Ramāyana a very large sum of money to write a stanza in her praise. The sum which the unfortunate girl offered the miserly poet was only half of the sum he demanded, so Kamban took the money, dashed off the following incomplete stanza, and went away! —

Milk and clean honey, sugar and pulse,—these blent,
To thee, O Holy Gem, will I present,
Thou elephant-visaged, graceful, eminent. 
So in return do thou vouch safe to me
Of sanctioned Tamil the varieties three.*

When the dried rivers sands you hap to tread
Your feet are scorched; yet, ev'n then, in its bed
Lurk springs, by which the neighbourhood is fed.†
Thus men, of good stock born, will never say,
Ev'n when impoverish'd, to a beggar—'Nay.'

Trees, growing by rivers, fall; and fall, too, they
Who in some monarch's favour flourish gay.
Have ye not seen the truth of what I say?
All else is faulty:—naught compared can be
With Agricultural Prosperity.

Of streams, the stately Kāveri—
Of kings, is Cholan, best;

---

* Tamil sanctioned by the conclave of learned Tamilians who used to hold their assemblies in the temple at Madura. We speak of "Queen's English": "Sanga Tamil" is a similar expression.

† This alludes to the well-known native custom of digging small temporary wells in the sandy bed of rivers for water, after the rivers have been dried up in the hot season.
And Chola-land the fairest land
On all the earth’s broad breast:
And of all women—

Shortly afterwards the poetess Auveiyar visited Chilambi, and found the poor girl in tears. She told the poetess of her sorrow—how she had given Kamban nearly a thousand rupees, and the poet had scribbled an unfinished stanza in charcoal on the wall, and had hastily left her. Upon hearing this Auveiyar rose up, and finished the stanza as follows:

Ambar Silambi
Yaravinta tâlaniyum
Sempot silambê
Silambu!

—Chilambi
Of Ambel is most sweet,
And the best of golden anklets
Those on her lotus-feet!

Auveiyar for these lines would receive nothing but a little rice-water, to assuage her thirst. And to the present day the poetess goes by the name of Kûlukkupadi, i.e., “She who sang for some rice-water.”* "

One of the most popular poems in Tamil is the Mudurei. It is perhaps the most wonderful collection of fine similes, within a small compass, in any language. The diction is plain, pure, and extremely beautiful. It has all the marks about it of having been composed by the authoress of the Natvali and the Kondreivendan. Indeed the internal evidence in favour of this is extremely strong. The phraseology, the rhythmic flow, the copious use of similes and metaphors, all point to her as its author. But there is one stanza in the Mudurei which could not possibly have been written by Auveiyar, viz., the one beginning:

‘Kânamayilâda, kândirunta Vânkoli,” &c.

In this stanza a comparison is instituted between the stately peacock and the strutting turkey-cock. It has been pointed out that the turkey was introduced into India by the Portuguese about three hundred years ago.† Auveiyar, the reputed sister of Tiruvalluvar, obviously could not have penned the stanza in question. But on this ground, and it really appears to me on this ground only, some scholars of great learning and undoubted critical acumen, have refused to accredit Auveiyar with the authorship of any portion of the poem containing the stanza. A defence has lately been set up, in the assertion that by “Vânkoli” Auveiyar meant a pea-hen; but nowhere in classic literature is a pea-hen so denominated. The safest explanation is to reject the stanza as a spurious interpolation. Yet it must be allowed that if the stanza be a spurious one it is a marvellous imitation of Auveiyar’s style. In the third line a trick of alliteration, very frequent in the verses of Auveiyar, is skilfully adopted.

Pollâ sirageiviritt’—Adinal pôlumê.

The alliteration which, as the stanza is in the Venbâ metre, should occur at the first syllable of Adinal is kept in suspension till the last word is reached, without the ear being offended.

But even if it be allowed that the Mudurei is not the work of Auveiyar, it does not affect the main question at issue. Whoever wrote it, and notwithstanding that it is but a short poem, it occupies a foremost place in Tamil literature as a composition dear to every Tamilian. It is full of the brightest of Oriental thoughts, conveyed in language at once chaste and highly elegant, and on this account it is perhaps more frequently quoted than any other Tamil writing. I beg the reader carefully to weigh the following five stanzas from the Mudurei, which, I think, must commend themselves widely to the general English taste:—

Gold vessels, broken, still as gold we prize,
And wise men in adversity are wise:
But worthless men, when ruined, what are they?
Vessels of clay, when broken, are but clay!

When the tank’s water to the rice field flows,
It feeds the grass which by its channel grows:
Thus for the sake of one good man, on all
In this old world, the gracious rain-drops fall.

* The story is a mere myth. Auveiyar could not possibly have met Kamban, who probably flourished a couple of centuries after her.† Vide Dr. Caldwell’s Dravidian Grammar, p. 87.
The last of these stanzas has always struck me, as being a good example of the fact that some Tamil poets possess one of those "faculties divine" which is a sure note of genuine inspiration, viz:—the faculty of appreciating nature. The epithet withered (Tamil, Vādī) is an extremely beautiful one; because it is so extremely true to nature. Anyone will recognize the felicity of this epithet who has watched a paddy-bird (Kokku) perched on the brim of a tank waiting, perfectly motionless, and as if it were but a piece of withered vegetation, for the rash approach of its finny prey.

PATTANATTU PILLEIYAR PADAL.

When dead, my mother scorns me
Saying 'But a corpse is he,'
My gold-bought wife with weeping
Cries out 'depart' to me;
My sons, my pyre encircling,
Their wonted pots let fall;
There is no love but Thy love
O thou who ownest all!*

In speech, and its conclusion,
And in the Vedas too,
In darkness, and in heaven's
Stainless expanse of blue;
In hearts of true ascetics,
And in each loving mind,
The Lord's unbounded presence
Ye certainly may find;
But how in stones and copper,
Can ye the God descry,
Who in his forehead beareth
The terrible one eye!†

* In these remarkable verses, the poet broods over the time when he shall be a corpse. His mother will esteem him a useless thing. The wife, whom he obtained by paying (as is the Hindu custom) a large sum of money, she too with weeping will not desire him to remain by her side when he is a corpse. His children will encircle his funeral pyre, advancing from behind on the left side of the corpse, breaking their vessels of water, as if to say, we thus pay our last bounden service to you! Thy love only is everlasting, unaffected by life or death, O God!†

† Siva.
Stones chisel'd, temper'd mortar,
And copper furbish'd o'er

By tamarind,—these ne'er shall I
As thee, O God, adore.

But in the world within me
I've planted as is meet—

(Henceforth I lack for nothing,
Thy twain effulgent feet.

Your habitation fleeteth,
Your friends, they do not stay;
Your fame so dearly gotten,
It too shall pass away;
Your wives remain not ever,
Your offspring leave your side;
Your comeliness, your riches,
They too will not abide:

Not one in all the country
Of his own life is sure,—

But thou, One God of Kacchi,*
Thy feet alone endure.

I slew, I slew and ceased not,
I slew, yea ate the slain
I sinned, to thee I gat me
To cleanse me from my stain:
Therefore wilt thou forgive me;
I trust in thee, O Lord,
Who as a king in Kacchi
Art evermore adored.

One might have aided hunters
Had one been born a hound,
And thus had not been worthless:
But what good can redound
From men, who're born of women,
Who opulent have grown,
Yet like dried tanks, trees fruitless,
And cows carved out of stone,
Refuse to help the needy?
Why mad'st thou these, O Lord?
Who at the town of Kacchi
Art evermore adored.

To know them who adore not
The dancing-god divine,
(Who's wreath'd with river-blossoms)
Is there no outward sign?
—Such lack even the odour
Of rice! no health have they.
They need a cloth to gird them;
They beg from day to day,

* Kacchi, or Kanji,—i.e., Conjeeveram. This and the two following stanzas were addressed by Pattanattu Pillai to the deity (S'iva) worshipped at Conjeeveram.
Some of the most popular poems in Tamil are those of the Sittar (Siddha) school. These writers are the poetical Quietists of Tamil-land. A great deal might be written concerning them and their works, but space forbids. I must content myself with laying before the reader

One of the most popular little poems in the Tamil language is the Vivēka Chintāmani,—a comparatively recent production. Ignorant Tamil women, who know almost nothing of any kind of Tamil literature, are fond of learning portions of the poem off by heart. And yet one of its most famous stanzas runs thus—

**The Fickle Sex.**

Alakāla Vishatteium
Nambalām
Atreiyum perungāṭtreium
Nambalām
Kōla mā mata Yāneiyei
Nambalām
Kollum vengei puliyeium
Nambalām
Kālanār viṭum tūtarei
Nambalām

But no one e'er relieves them;
Hopeless they fade away!

Fire claims me, worms too claim me,
Earth, too, accounts me hers.
Kites claim me too, with jackals,
And despicable curs.

Then wherefore have I cherish'd
This vile ill-odour'd thing,—
From this my mortal body
What benefit can spring?

Vows, austerities, vedas,
Puranas, secular lore,
Burnt offerings, sacrifices
To men that are no more;
Prayers said in markets, mantras,
Fixed postures, names ye say,
Sandal, and smear'd white ashes,—
Ye who, from day to day,
Deeming these meritorious,
Observe such things, do ye
Know that all this is nothing
But God-ward perfidy!

The translation of one—perhaps the most famous—stanza in these writings. This stanza is from the Gnanam Nuru, a work ascribed to Agastiyar, the father of the Tamil language. It is a most remarkable stanza, but certainly Agastiyar had no hand in its authorship.

Thou shalt adore the World's One Light,
Who at a thought this vast earth framed,
Made noble man, then, dawn-like, famed
A Priest, upon his sight.

No kin had he of mortal race;
Ascetic-wise hard deeds he wrought;
Then, having made disciples, sought
The Illimitable Place.

of Tamil poetry.
Now that Christianity is year by year becoming more deeply rooted in Tamil-land, a new class of popular poetry is springing up. Some of these Christian lyrics, or Kirtaneis, especially those penned by a late Christian poet of Tanjor, have attained a wide popularity, even amongst non-Christian Hindus. But as a whole these modern Christian lyrics are wretched productions, and bear the same relation to Tamil popular poetry of the first class, that Tate and Brady's effusions bear to Milton's "Ode on the Nativity." Common Hindu Labour-songs, too, are for the most part extremely destitute of poetic merit.

I must now bring this paper to a close. I trust I have been able to awaken some little interest in the subject, and I hope I have proved from the specimens, few as they are, which I have adduced, that in days gone by, Tamil—the Queen of the Dravidian tongues—was not without sons who possessed, in some measure, the vision and the faculty divine. It must be remembered that I have confined myself to culling specimens from a particular class of poetry, and that not of the highest order. The non-Aryans of Southern India cannot for a moment vie with their Aryan masters in the mighty arena of the Epic or the Drama. But I do not think that any Oriental language possesses a richer collection of Folk-songs, than that which is the especial glory of Tamilian literature.
most the same as in the Highlands; I say the Highlands—because a common surname implies a sort of consanguinity, an identity in fact of tribe. The other surnames commonest among Marathas,—the Smiths and Joneses of the Dekhan,—are Sindé (Scindia), Jádu, Bhônsla, Powâr, and Chauhan. It will at once be remarked that the 2nd, 3rd and 4th on this list are the names of noble Râjput races, and the Bhônslas claim descent from the Sisodias of Chitor, the oldest family in India. All the more respectable members of these clans wear the sacred thread, ("Bammans" to the contrary notwithstanding,) and any one who has met with the heads of the Powâr and Jádu families (the chiefs of Wadgâun, Phaltan, and Malegâun) knows that, in the qualities attributed to high descent in India, they are inferior to no Râjput whatever. I shall, therefore, take up the rather bold ground of asserting my belief that the Marâtha clans inherit their names from common ancestors with Râjputs and other pure Aryan tribes of Central India. Taking this for granted, we find that there are Chauhans in Râjputana, Chauhan princes of great antiquity in Garhâ-Mandla, (Makâwati) and Chauhan Marathas in the Dekhan. There are also Powârs or Pramaras at Dhar and Dewas in Central India, and Powârs in the Dekhan. The expulsion of the Powârs from their ancestral seats, their retreat to the Dekhan, and subsequent return to their own, as Maratha commanders, is, I think, historical,—certainly based on their traditions, but I write far from authorities. The Yâdavas or Jádus hold barren principalities both in the great desert and in the Dekhan. The traditions connecting the Royal house of Bhônsla with that of the Udêpur Rânâ are well known, and we find the family, when they first came into notice, established as Deshmukhs at Sind-âhera.

I think, therefore, that the most probable explanation of the Gauli Râj is this,—that Gaul was the surname, or nickname, of a family of princes (and not of a nation) of Aryan race who established themselves in the valleys of the Tapti and Narmadâ during the great migration southward which ended in the colonization of the Dekhan by the Aryan Marathas. This is of course mere conjecture, but if it sets more learned men than myself on a new track it will have served my purpose. Of this I am quite sure, that any attempt to connect the Gauli Râj with the scattered bands of herdsmen, themselves of various origin and language, that now roam through the pastures of India, would be hopeless, and equally vain any theory of an invasion of pastoral tribes, "Scythians" or what not, after the somewhat mythical Egyptian pattern.

AN INSCRIPTION AT SÁLOTGI IN THE KALÁDGI DISTRICT, DATED ŚĀKA 867 OR A.D. 945, WITH REMARKS.

BY PROF. SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT, M.A.

The inscription, of which a translation is given below, is engraved on a stone pillar about 4 feet 10 inches in height, 1 foot 2 inches thick, and 1 foot 9 inches broad. It is cut in Devanâgari characters on three of its four sides, and the letters are well preserved, except in one place, where a slip is broken off, and eleven letters from an important part have unfortunately been lost. This pillar, and another, also bearing an inscription, when visited by me two years ago, were put up at the end of a veranda before the village entrance-gate that the cattle might rub themselves against them.

Sálotgi is a village in the Iḍgî Tâluka of the Kaládgi district, and is about forty miles from Solâpur and twenty miles south of the Bhimâ. It has a Hindu temple, built after the fashion of a Muhammadan rozâh, in which is worshipped a grave with a chaddar on it like the tomb of a Muhammadan. Neither Muhammadans nor the lower castes of the Hindus are allowed to enter within the outer walls of the temple, except on the occasion of an annual fair held in its honour on the full moon of Chaitra (April), when, within the walls, Brahmân Mahâr, Mâng, and Musalmân, mingle together without scruple about contamination, and, as at the great Jagannâtha in Orissa, partake without caste distinction of food cooked for the occasion. In front and behind the temple there are two large wells, with steps descending to the water, and being entirely out of proportion to the size and importance of the present temple, attest the former existence of edifices which have disappeared amidst the many religious and political revolutions that have passed over the land. Part of a very much larger well, by the side of the present one in front of the temple, is now filled up and a garden cultivated on it, but the outer edges of the old well are in some places
well preserved, and two or three small rooms in them may still be seen.

The villagers can give no account as to whence the two pillars came. They have a tradition that the nalla (stream) that flows on the south of the temple washed away in one monsoon the side next to the temple, and thereby discovered the two pillars that were till then buried in the earth.

At the top of the present inscription is carved in prominent relief the linga, an image of the Nandi or Bull sacred to Śiva, and the sun and moon. At the bottom of each of the first three sides containing the Sanskrit inscription there are some lines cut in the Hāle or old Canarese.

The Canarese inscription commences at the bottom of that side of the stone on which the Sanskrit inscription begins, is continued at the bottom of the second side, and appears to be finished on the fourth, the whole of which is occupied by Canarese. From what I understand of it at present I can safely say that the Sanskrit inscription is perfectly independent of it, and it appears that the Canarese one was added subsequently, and that it also relates to a grant of land for the same purpose as that recorded in the Sanskrit inscription, by a Mahámandales'vara. The college to which the Sanskrit inscription records the grant of land, &c., as also the village where it stood are mentioned in the Canarese inscription.

The inscription records that in the year Śaka 867 (A.D. 945), when king Krishnārāja called Akālavarsha Deva, the son of Amoghavarsha, was reigning at Mānya Kheta, Chakrāyudha, the assistant to the minister, by name Nārāyana, of king Krishnārāja, established a college and assigned lands for the maintenance of its inmates and preceptor. The village at which the college is established is called Pāvittage, and is described as situated in the district of Karnapuri. I have not been able to identify this name with any modern one, or ascertain what district or districts of our own time correspond with it, though it is probable it once indicated a revenue district. But it appears beyond doubt that the Pāvittage of the inscription is the same as Sālotgi, the village where the inscription is found. It is possible that Sālotgi is a corruption from Sālahattagi, or 'the village where the college is situate,' Sāle being the Canarese word for college, and haṭṭa meaning 'village' at the end of names of villages and towns. The present ruins at Sālotgi as well as the fact that the stone bearing the inscription does not appear to have been brought from elsewhere, would go a great way to identify the latter village with Pāvittage.

Nārāyana, the Brāhman minister of Krishnārāja, is described as living at Kanchina Mudvol, which may perhaps be identical with the modern Mudhol.

Chakrāyudha Budha, the donor, the son of Govinda Bhāṭṭa Budha, and lord of the village of Pāvittage, is described as having gone, accompanied by two hundred Brahmans, to a place on the bank of the Godāvari, and there made the grant at mid-day at the time of a solar eclipse. Unfortunately the stone is broken just at the place which contained the name of the sacred spot on the Godāvari whither the donor proceeded to bathe and make the grant. The name of the place began with Prā—and though the Godāvari is expressly mentioned as the great river on whose banks it lay (Godāvarīyām mahānāyām), it might have really been on the Bhima, considering that it is not unusual to style small streams by the name of a more celebrated river of greater sanctity.

This word Mānya is repeated four or five times. In Mānya Kheta* there can be no doubt that it is part of the name of Krishnārāja's capital, which several inscriptions distinctly mention. But as Mīnga is applied to the land, the garden, and the houses or dwellings, given to the scholars and the Preceptor of the college, the word would seem to bear a technical signification, and that signification is preserved to this day in the Mānyams of the Madras Presidency. There Mānya means nearly the same as Agraḥāra, a gift of charity. In Sanderson's Canarese and English Dictionary Mānyam is defined as "lands either liable to a trifling quit-rent or altogether exempt from tax." In the same place the phrase Bhaṭṭa Mānya is explained as "a small portion of rent-free land in a village for the use of Brahmans." In this inscription, accord-

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* Wathen gives either Māndya Kheta or Mānya Kheta as the name of the capital. It appears to me that the optional form Māndya has its origin in a mislection of the name in one passage of the Kardha plate. In the Devanāgarī alphabet of from the 6th to 12th centuries A.D. the compound letter म (m) was written in a manner that is very like the modern M. The engraver of the plate, by a very ordinary usage among scribes, having put a dot over the घ, Wathen was naturally led into the mistake of reading Māndya. In the Kāreṇḍapat plates, as also in this inscription, and even in the Kardha plates, further on than the passage above alluded to, the name given is clearly and invariably Mānya Kheta.
THE RASHTRAKUTA DYNASTY.

JULY 5, 1872.

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ingly, Mānya is clearly used in the sense of ‘rent-free for charitable purposes.’

The grant is described as being made in the reign of Kṛiṣhṇa Rāja, who bore the title of Akāla Varsha Deva. This Kṛiṣhṇa Rāja is doubtless of the family of the Yādava kings, known also by the name of Rāṣṭra Kūtas, who reigned at Mānya Khēta, or the modern Mal-Khed in the Nizam’s territory, and whose authority was subverted by Taillapa Deva of the Chālukya dynasty about the end of the tenth century* of the Christian Era.

There would at first sight appear to be some difficulty as to which Amogha Varsha and Kṛiṣhṇa Rāja Deva of the lists already published of the Yādava kings of Mānya Khēta are represented by the Amogha Varsha and Kṛiṣhṇa Rāja Deva mentioned in the inscription. The first list published in 1836† from what is known as the Karda (or Kardā?) copper-plate grant, contains fourteen princes. In 1842–43 the late Bal Gangadhar Shastri furnished to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, from a copper plate grant found at Khārepatān, another list of the same dynasty, also containing fourteen names.‡ The two lists are as follows:—

**The Karda plate:**

1. Danti Durga.
2. Kṛiṣhṇa Rāja (his paternal uncle).
4. Nirupama (his youngest brother).
5. Jagat Rudra.
6. Amogha Varsha.
7. Akāla Varsha.
9. Indra Nīpa.
11. Amogha Varsha.

**The Kharepatan plate:**

1. Danti Durga.
2. Kṛiṣhṇa Rāja (his paternal uncle).
5. Jagat Tunga.
6. Amogha Varsha.
7. Akāla Varsha.
8. Indra Rāja (grandson of Akāla).
9. Amogha Varsha II.
10. Govinda Rāja (brother of Amogha).
11. Baddiga (his paternal uncle).

Prof. H. H. Wilson§ suggested that the list in the Karda grant represents a series of princes belonging to two different branches of the Yādava family, reigning concurrently in two different places. He supposes that the last seven princes beginning with Jagat Rudra form a separate branch, and that Kākala Rāja, the last of the branch, was probably contemporary with Akāla Varsha. On this is based his inference that, as the last, Kākala, made the Karda grant in Śaka 894, “the earliest vestiges of the Yādavas yet met with in the Peninsula are to be placed about A. D. 867:—for an average of fifteen years to a reign will be rather more than sufficient for the precarious authority and interrupted succession of the Hindu Rājas.”

This theory of “two collateral branches” appears to be untenable. Prof. Wilson’s principal ground for the supposition of “two collateral branches” is, that in the Karda plate to which his remarks relate, Kākala Rāja the donor (entitled Amogha Varsha) is described as “meditating on” Akāla Varsha’s “feet,” which he construed to mean that Akāla Varsha lived in the time of Kākala, and that the latter was subordinate to the former. Now the words “meditating on his feet”∥ do not necessarily suggest that Akāla Varsha Deva was then alive, but that Kākala Deva took Akāla Varsha Deva as the model for his conduct. In the present inscription Kṛiṣhṇa Deva, who was reigning supreme, is described as “devoted to the contemplation of his father’s feet,” and yet everything in the context goes to show that his father was not living.

Again in the Karda inscription Amogha Varsha, the 6th of the above lists, is expressly stated to have had Mānya Khēta as his capital; and further on Kākala Deva Rāja is also described as “residing at Śri

∥ *Śrīmat-Akāla-Varsha-Deva padānudhyāta.*
Mānya-Khetapura." Now if Kākala Deva Rāja, belonging to a different branch of the same Yadava family, reigned concurrently with Amogha Varsha (the 6th of the lists), as Prof. Wilson supposes, they could not have had the same city for their capital. Besides, in the Kardā inscription there is nothing that would justify the theory that the list of fourteen princes formed two branches of the Yadava family reigning concurrently with each other. The mention of the Chedi family of the Yadavas shows that the Mānya Kheta princes intermarried with the former.

Then, since Prof. Wilson made these remarks, the date of Govinda Rāja, the third of the above lists, has been discovered to be Saka 730 (A.D. 808) from a copper-plate grant found in the Nāsik district.* Now if Kākala Rāja Deva was contemporary with Akāla Varsha, the seventh of the above lists, then the age of that Akāla Varsha must be the same as that of Kākala Rāja, viz., Saka 894, and the date of Govinda Rāja being Saka 730, leaves an interval of 164 years and three princes; and even allowing ten years, the portions of the reigns of Govinda Rāja and Akāla Varsha, included, we have still an average of 48 years for the reign of each of the intervening princes, which is far too much.

Lastly:—If two branches of the Yadavas had reigned concurrently, the Khārepātan inscription would surely have contained some allusion to this, whereas the list on it is essentially the same as that contained in the Kardā plate.

It seems clear therefore that the fourteen princes belonged to the same Yadava family that reigned at Mānya-Khetapura, and that Kākala Rāja, the fourteenth of the lists, and the granter of the Kardā copper-plate grant, did not live at the same time with Akāla Varsha the seventh.

Now there can be no doubt that the Kṛishṇa Deva of the present inscription corresponds with No. 12 of the Kardā plate. Kṛishṇa Rāja's title is Akāla Varsha, and at first sight, Amogha Varsha the 6th and Akāla Varsha the 7th of the lists would seem to claim identification with the two princes of this inscription. The claim would also seem to be strengthened by the fact that both the Kardā and the Khārepātan plates agree in it describing Amogha Varsha (the 6th of the lists) as the father of Akāla Varsha. But if we identify Akāla Varsha with the 7th of the lists, the difference between him and Govinda Rāja, whose date is given as Saka 730, would be 134 years, a period that is too long for five princes. The Amogha Varsha of this inscription is identical with No. 11 and Kṛishṇa Rāja with No. 12 of the Kardā plate.

The date of Kṛishṇa Rāja Deva being then Saka 867, and that of Kākala Rāja, Saka 894, there is only a difference of 27 years, which is not too long for three princes.

The objection to this identification are—1st, that the Kardā plate makes Kṛishṇa Rāja (the twelfth) not the son, but a brother, of his predecessor Amogha Varsha, whereas this inscription describes him as his son; and 2ndly, that the Khārepātan plate does not mention Kṛishṇa Rāja as Amogha Varsha's successor, but gives two princes, Govinda Rāja and Baddiga, as intervening between them.

The first objection can only be met by supposing that the Kardā plate is not quite accurate in giving Kṛishṇa Deva as the brother of Amogha Varsha. This is not very extraordinary, seeing that the genealogies of kings have often-times been at the mercy of the memory of Sanskrit writers.

As for the discrepancy between this inscription and the Khārepātan plate, it is possible that Baddiga, the predecessor, according to the latter, of Kṛishṇa Rāja, might have borne the title of Amogha Varsha. For Baddiga is only the name of the king, not his title. And as No. 11 in the Kardā plate is put down as Amogha Varsha, i.e., by the title, not by the name of the King, it is possible that No. 11 of the Kardā plate was the same as No. 11 of the Khārepātan one.†

The testimony of the Kardā plate on the score of some Amogha Varsha being the predecessor of Kṛishṇa Deva is more trustworthy than the discredit thrown on that fact by the list of the Khārepātan plate, first because the latter list was recorded in Saka 930 (A.D. 1008), or about 40 years after the reign of Kākala Rāja, and sixty-six years after the date of the present inscription; and secondly, because it occurs in a document relating to a dynasty subordinate to the Chālukyas, who were antagonistic to, and had subverted the authority of the Mānya Kheta princes.

The Kṛishṇa Rāja Deva of this inscription

* At Van-Daidori, and published in No. X of the Asiatic Society's Journal.
† The arrangement on page 207 indicates another way of co-ordinating the lists.—Ed.
being identified with Krishna Deva, No. 12 of the above list, it can hardly admit of doubt that Amogh Varsha, No. 11 of the Karda plate, must be taken to be the father of Krishna Rāja Deva as stated by our inscription; which being dated during Krishna Rāja's own reign was less likely to be in error regarding the relation between the two princes than either the Karda plate, which was dated about twenty-seven years, or a generation after Krishna Rāja, or the Kharepatan plate, which was given full sixty years after that prince, and in a district far removed from Mānya-Khetā.

It is to be noticed that the inscription makes mention of Krishna Rāja being intent upon making an expedition of conquest upon Kalyāna, the capital of the Chālukyas, thus confirming what we already know—that the latter were antagonistic to the Rāshtra Kūta kings of Mānya-Khetā. The expression "engages in reducing the prosperous and great Kalyāna" might mean that Krishna Deva was the first of his dynasty who undertook an expedition upon the city of the Chālukyas during their temporary bereavement of it, or that the hold of the Rāshtra Kūta kings over that city, obtained long before his time, had been shaken by some other rival or by the Chālukya family, who must be supposed to have been attempting at this time to recover it, since they actually did recover it about fifty years later under Tailāpa Deva.

The solar eclipse recorded in the inscription was calculated for me by Prof. Keru Lakshman Chhatre, and found to correspond with the Saka year 867, in which year, in Bhādrapada, there did occur a solar eclipse. But as usual in the Dekhan inscriptions, the Bāṛhaspatya or cycle year, Plavanga, mentioned in the inscription, does not correspond with Saka 867, in which the cycle year Viśvāvasu occurred, and between which and Plavanga there intervene two years. Whatever may be the proper explanation of this oft-recurring discrepancy, the agreement between the year Saka 867 and the solar eclipse leaves no doubt whatever that Saka 867 is the correct date of the inscription. By Professor Chhatre's calculations, it has been further found that the new moon of Bhādrapada in Saka 867 fell upon Tuesday, as mentioned in the inscription.

To recapitulate then what has been said above regarding the Yādava princes of Mānya Kheta, we find—

1. That the series of fourteen princes given in the Karda copper-plate grant is made up of kings of one and the same family who reigned one after another at Mānya-Khetā.

2. That the date of Govinda Rāja, the third of the lists being Saka 730, and that the last prince of the list being Saka 894, it is probable that the reign of Danti Durga, the first prince of the lists, might be taken to have commenced about 40 years before that of Govinda Rāja, or A.D. 767, and not A.D. 867 as supposed by Prof. Wilson, and that consequently the Mānya-Khetā line of kings covers a period of about two centuries.

3. That Amogh Varsha, No. 11 of the Karda plate, was the father of Krishna Deva, No. 12 in the same, and that the title of the latter prince was Akāla Varsha, and that he was on the throne in Saka 867; and

4. That Krishna Rāja Deva, No. 12 in the Karda list, given above, should have Akāla Varsha added to him as his title, and that he should be put down as the son of Amogh Varsha.

Translation.

Prosperity! Victorious is the excellent child* born of Vinatā, and belonging to Vishnu, and manifested in [visible] form, carrying him,† whose body is the three-fold universe, and preeminent among those that are possessed of bodies! From‡ the time of Saka eight hundred and sixty-seven years having passed, and as many years in figures,§ when the year Plavanga is current, the people being happy, the country abounding in wealth of corn of various kinds, the beloved son of the glorious King Amoghavarsha Paramēsvara, Akāla Varsha Deva [by title], the excellent, devoted to the contemplation of his father's (lit. elder's) feet, engaged in reducing the prosperous and great

* This refers to the great Eagle Garuda, the conveyance of Vishnu, and the son of Vinatā.
† Vishnu.
‡ Sakaakalāt. From this it is clear that Saka was regarded in the tenth century A.D. as a proper name.
§ Sakaakālaś tatādibhadūn samidhakāśashām youtube śnakeśamājata samumana akotī pī. The words tādāro samumana akotī pī show that the figures indicating the number 867 was intended to be put after them. But no numerals are cut on the stone, doubtless through an over-
sight of the engraver. In documents of the present day it is very usual in the vernaculars to give a certain number in figures, and say also so many in words. The re-
version of the order in the inscription is owing to the latter being entirely in verse.

† The original being Prithvirājvalabhakālavarsha-Dece, the title may be Akālavarsa or Kālavarsa, but as previous inscriptions contain Akāla Varsha as the title of princes of the Yadava family of Mānya Kheta, I take Akāla Varsha as the title here.
Kalyāṇa, beloved of the world, and possessed of prosperity, is living in virtuous happiness in Mānya Kheta, where his army is stationed, which is full of beautiful palaces, where the banks are adorned by assemblages of millions of the wives of warriors, and is always protecting his subjects: when that compassionate king is giving unnumbered articles to Brahmins and others, whose lotus-like feet receive the kisses of the crown-jewels of many kings, when he is shining in glory resplendent, and possessed of eyes like the lotus—the king who has rendered his own (i.e., brought under his sway) the circle (manjula) of his enemies by means of the exceeding splendour of the power of his arms (lit. hands), and who has achieved victory over the quarters of the world Khṛṣṇa-rāja [to wit] reigning: Here in the district called Kārnāpuri,† the best of [all] districts, in the beautiful village which is well known by the name of Pāvittage. Living in the village known as Kanchana Muduvol in the prosperous country of Māhisha, belonging to the clan of Kumājina and the Śākha (recension or branch of the Vedas) of the Vājasaneyins, and studying the branch of Kanva, is the son of Dāmapūrya, rich and liberal, who, full of valour is known by the name of Nārāyaṇa, like another Nārāyaṇa himself; who, full of learning, is known by the cognomen of Gajānkusa, who is the minister of Khṛṣṇa-rāja, and being his counsellor is [also]entrusted with the affairs of War and Peace. [Now] he who was his (Nārāyaṇa's) assistant, beloved like his right hand, and powerful, employed by him in negotiating war and peace, thoroughly versed in the sciences concerning government, dear to the poets, agreeable in his conversation, and who believing in religion appears like embodied Dharma: By him this college has been caused to be constructed (established), rich, spacious and beautiful, as by** the creator who by his own will has established this three-fold universe. And this college full of intelligence† is resplendent with Brahmins. Here there are scholars born in various districts. For these subsistence is hereby provided, the details of which as to place and time shall now be described in order that the fame of it may be spread.

The lord of this village of Pāvittage, born in the clan of Kāryaṇa, the chief of the Vājasaneyins, the flower of the followers of the Kāṇya Branch, son of Govinda Brahmattra, excellent in his conduct as a Brahman, pure and possessing the sacred fire, Chakrāyudha Budhā by name: possessed of forbearance, chief among those who can speak, learned in theology, learned in sacred law, possessed of wisdom, glorious, born to be obeyed, agreeable in his talk, following the dictates of the sacred law, and full of splendour like Pārāśara himself,—in the currency of the year mentioned above, and in the good month of Bhādrapada, on the day sacred to the Manes, corresponding with Tuesday, at the time of a solar eclipse, the sun being in the middle (i.e., on the meridian at noon) on the great river Godāvari § million sacred places which (or who). . . . . by name Pra . . . . . . . village . . . . . . . , that resplendent one (Chakrāyudha) of great virtue, accompanied by two hundred Brahmins, having stood and bathed in the great sacred spot, and having performed his religious duties, gave land rent-free to the scholars of the college, in this village known as Pāvittage, the mine of virtues, —rent-free land measured by five hundred nivartanas.|| And the excellent son of Govinda Budhā piously gave twenty-seven rent-free land measured by five hundred nivartanas.

*Kṛṣṇa digōvīrīya. This means that the king had compelled the kings of the earth to pay him tribute, an epithet not applied to an ordinary prince, but to an emperor like Raghava, one of the heroes of Kalidasa's poem Raghunātha.
†Iha kārnāpūrī nāma evaṁ bhavya. Kārnāpuri would appear literally to be the name of a town, but here it is evidently applied to a district. This use of the word is not rare in southern inscriptions and copperplate grants.
†Dānapūrya-vālītā. The name Dānapūrya would appear to be a sanctified form of the Canarese name Dānapūr or Dānapayya, very common in the Karnātaka.
§Vishnū.
†The original is niyukta tena tena teṣāṁ. The repetition of the instrumental tena is a slip of the engraver's hand.
**This may be taken to signify either Religion, or the god Yānas who presides over justice.
††The original though perfectly legible and clear is here confused apparently through a mistake of the engraver. It reads: dhārayam aśečchhaya śrīśāthi śāhpadasairtraṇyā (raṇṇā), which appears to be a mistake for dhāreyam aśečchhaya śrīśāthi śāhpadosairtraṇyā (raṇṇā), i.e., the aśečchhaya śrīśāthi śāhpadośākhāvāsirmātā. The word Manoratī and Brahma have a double sense: as applied to the college, the former would mean 'full of intelligence,' and the latter 'united with Brahmins,' i.e., having Brahmins for its students. The translation given above is on the supposition that the reading may be manoratī chhāra.††Purāṇaratī, i.e., the month, or day of new moon.
§Here a chip is broken off from the middle of the stone, and some middle letters of three lines, viz., four syllables of two lines each and three of one, are destroyed.
||A nivartanā is a square measure of land, equivalent to two hundred square cubits.
हस्ताक्षरक श्रेणियाँ र उन्मुक्ति लिखित हैं।

इस प्रकार लिखित रखने के लिए तीन अंक में विवरण दिया गया है।

तीन अंक में विवरण दिया गया है।
सलोत्गी अनुक्रमण, सीढ़ी 3, गौड़

मागुणिक एंड नाकं एंड फंड़क नुस्त नाथि मास
बिये सनायी या दुलिया यूबिया लोकम मनुष
मागुणिक द नाम बुआ गो आविद एंड नुस्त नाकं
के य दीक्षित ऊपनिमान जूड पुम मर्मा दिं मुर

सलामि नायर हम्बुरु दु शाहिद तिं दि एगु हविं
एंद हू हालेट्से एंड वे है लिये गट्टे ने देट्स टैन बाबू एंड गम
गट टैन बाबू एंड य यु मालण हालीन दु ने
के द्वारे दूर लें टाक क बी किया देर दे
रंय तुदकिय किया विलानिव बुधुईस्
पानु गु बे पवन टैलिनगक्रम

निवर्तनानि पंचारद्रु मेमोरियानि लानिच
व्या र्व्या तुरस्यां आल्यां मान्ये मेकं निवेदनम्
बहु भिव्वेयस्था भुका राजभिः सगरा दिभिः
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त्स्य तस्य तदा फलम्

Or five lines more only a transcription was taken.
free dwellings, and half as many more; and also a rent-free flower garden measuring four navartanas, and twelve navartanas [of] rent-free [land] for lamps. On the occasion of a marriage, the [marriage] people, being Brahmans, shall give to the congregation of the scholars of the college five flowers* of good money. And at the time of a thread ceremony shall be given the same as prescribed above in the case of marriage. And half of the former and half of the latter† shall be given at the time of a tonsure ceremony by those people who perform it. If for any cause a feast to Brahmans shall be given in this village, the people shall give a dinner ac-

FOLKLORE OF ORISSA.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S.

(Continued from p. 170.)

No. II.

Witches object to be disturbed when in possession of a victim, and are apt to turn on the exorciser and revenge themselves on him. To prevent this it is advisable to repeat the following mantra before uttering that mentioned in the last number:—

Bajra kilani bajra dwār
Chau kuli chau dwār
Dāhāne Dāhānchandi bāme khetropāl
Age Narsinghā, pacho ashto boṭāl
Mānge pārilā mahāmudrā bajrakapāt
Koṭi āile goṭi na chāribu!
Kāhār āgyā?
Kānūrī Kamakhyār koṭi āgyā.

Thunder-bolt bar, thunder-bolt door
Four sides, four doors.
On the right Dāhānchandi, on the left Balrām,
In front Narsingh, behind eight demons.
The great seal, the thunder door, has fallen!
on my body,
If a myriad come, do not allow one to enter!
By whose order?
The myriad orders of Kānūrī Kamakhyā.

I do not attempt to make sense of all this rubbish. It is sufficient to observe that there are human beings who believe in its efficacy.

Kānūrī Kamakhyā, Dāhānchandi and some others are deities who specially preside over incantations, and have power over sprites, hobgoblins, demons, and witches. The first named is said to reside in Assam.

The following rather diffuse mantra is infallible as a cure for snake bites. It is not quite such nonsense as the others:—

Bajani parbatrē Surjyō jyoti,
Kamal pushpa toli gōe prabhu Dāsaratīha.
Kāṭhāū thoīle Kṛushna Kadambā rāmā,Śūrī Kāla bājālārī; saukāt knālā kili;
Mālēk toli bishō gāla dwādāsā anguli,
Ketēk gārdī jhārīlā guṇibar.

The earth has been enjoyed by many kings commencing from Sāgarā. To whomsoever the land belongs for the time, to him belongs the fruit for that time. This bridge of religion is common to all kings. It should be protected by you from time to time. This Rāma entreats again and again of all kings that will reign in future. Whoever shall take away land whether given by himself or by others, lives as an insect in filth for sixty thousand years.

* Nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇaṁ nīvarṇa
† Sālāyidāyārthāmāvāya mahājāyā dvijātipī bhaṭṭābhisīkā।
Light of the sun on the mountain at night,
The lord Dāsaratha went holding a lotus.
Krishna put his sandals at the root of the
Kadambari tree,
Slowly slowly he advanced his feet in the
Jamunā's water.
In the Jamunā's water was a snake foolish
with illusions,
Bharata informed him; Sankat-kikat-kili;
He bit holding him the poison went twelve
fingers deep,
The exorciser swept many incantations
Then the lord Chakradhar did not move.
The gods began to consult
Where art thou, ho! Gorur come ho! they said.
Gorur was feeding inthe Ramyak island
His food tasted to him like poison.
His history I will tell, conqueror of the world!
I tell thee O lord of birds,
Rushing enter the Himalaya mountain;
In the mountain there was a pot of nectar
With swords and maces ten thousand kand
Darpas and Yakshas surround it
Gorur spread his wings a little
He gave the nectar, the lord Bhagwan arose.

Student bring in thy hand a gift to the good guru.
I salute a myriad times Debi Bisti Mā.

"Sankat, kikat, kili" are nonsense words, which
though they are just translateable are stated to be here used in some mystic sense. Gorur is the Oriya pronunciation of Garuda, Debi Bisti is another of the goddesses who have power over demons. The short ū is the equivalent of ū and is so pronounced in open unaccented syllables, though it sounds a in accented or closed ones.

This spell for snakes is firmly believed in, while it is being uttered the part affected must be lightly rubbed by the hand of the exorcist, and this is what is meant by the expression "the exorcist swept many spells." The continued belief in the efficacy of this spell may be due to the fact that several of the Orissa snakes are not deadly, though their bite causes pain and swelling. This is particularly the case with the grass-snakes, as well as with the blue and yellow snake found on the sea-shore which is only really dangerous when in the water.

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LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE TUNGABHADRA RIVER.

Once upon a time in the remote past, the earth was carried away bodily to Patala, or the nether regions of the world, by the powerful giant Hiranyaksha. The Devas, ever noted for their pusillanimity, were in consequence deprived of their legitimate perquisites in the shape of haviś, or sacrificial food, and, unable to redress their own wrongs, went to Kṣira Sāgara, or the milky ocean, and laid their complaint at the feet of Viṣṇu, who was living in an island called Śvēta Dwīpā. Viṣṇu was graciously pleased to grant their petition, and, incarnate in the form of a boar, conquered the giant, and rescued the earth from his grasp. When the earth was unrolled, the deliverer found that Viśvapāda Pārvata was the land's end, and therefore rested on its summit for a while. While in this posture, the right tusk of the boar broke [for some unexplained reason], and presently there gushed forth from it the river Bhaḍrā. From the left tusk, which was longer than the other, sprang at the same time the sister river Tūṅgā. Simultaneously, a third stream issued from the eyes of the boar, called Netrāvati. The two former, taking different courses towards the east, unite at Kūlli, about eighty miles from the source, and become thenceforward the compound river of Tūṅgabhadrā. The last named stream goes in an opposite direction below the ghāts, and unites with another sea-going river called Kūmāradhārē.

In this manner, the aforesaid rivers, being of divine origin, exist in the world for the spiritual (as well as temporal) benefit of sinful mankind. The foregoing history, contained in the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa, and related to Shanmukha by his father Rudra, was repeated by Krishna to Dharmārya, as having been inculcated to Kurukutsa Mahārājā by Nārada.

The rival rivers Tūṅgā and Bhaḍrā take their rise in the same alpine tract of country, in the extreme west of the province of Māśīr, about 250 miles as a crow flies from Bengal. The source is called Gāṅga Māḷa, and is scarcely accessible for two or three months in the hot weather. It is however frequented by pilgrims, who seek to wash off their sins by bathing in the rivers at their sources. It is certainly no easy task to unravel the tangled mass of mystery and superstition involved in the above legend. But it is suggested that the early Brahmans, wishing to secure for the region a
THE SACRED FIRE AT UDWADA.

By W. RAMSAY, B.O. C.S.

The ancient followers of the religion of Zoroaster had been reduced by years of persecution to a comparatively small band of fugitives: giving up all hope of better times in a land in which they had once reigned supreme, they took refuge on board ship, and sailing from Ormazd-bander eventually landed on the isle of Diu, off the coast of Kathiawad, where they remained for some years: but they were not to remain in peace even here, so again embarking on board ship the "Colony" steered for the shores of the Konkan. A great storm overtook them, and the pilgrims in their fear vowed a vow that, if spared to reach the land, they would set up again the sacred fire which had been lost in their first flight from their old home. The storm ceased, the sky cleared, and under a bright sun the wanderers landed on the shores of what was then the kingdom of Sanjan, ruled over by a Raja of Rajput lineage. The prince received them favourably, and gave a kol or charter defining their future rights and liabilities. By this they were debarred from the use of arms: their apparel was fixed after the fashion ever since in vogue among them; and their various rites and ceremonial, religious and social, were recorded, and as it were stereotyped.

For 624 years† the Parsi community went on multiplying and thriving as they do at the present day, when a Subah of the then Padshah, one 'Mahmud Beg,'† invaded the kingdom of Sanjan, and pressed the Raja hard. In his distress, he applied to the Parsis, and put arms into their hands. Three times did the latter under a heroic leader named Ardeshir beat back the ill-disciplined levies of Mahmud, but a fourth invasion was successful, and the Zoroastrians were again compelled to fly in search of fortune. This time, however, they managed to preserve their sacred fire, which, in accordance with the vow of their ancestors, had been kept ever burning during their sojourn in Sanjan. The fugitives reached Bharat, in the hills above Wandsa, and there cherished the holy flame for some years. The fire had been borne somewhat after the manner of the ark of the Israelites in the desert: it was carried by the priests in a sort of a litter, by night to hide it from the rays of the sun, the touch of which would be a catastrophe to be averted by all means, and so covered up as to be safe from the possible profane gaze of the outer and uninitiated world. But the fire was not to burn on in peace, and anon it was moved to Wandsa, where it remained 14 years, and thence to Nausari, where for 318 years§ the flame burned peacefully and without interruption. But internal dissensions arose, and again a move was made to Surat, thence after three years, back again to Nausari, and thence again to Balsar, the mystic pot au feu being ever borne in the dead of night by the trusty guardians of its mysteries. After a sojourn of two years at Balsar, the priests had an interview with the Raja of Mandsi, Durgan Singhji, then residing in his fort at Pandi. Protection was implored and promised, and a choice given of certain villages on the sea coast for a residence. At Udwada was found a small band of Parsis and a Tower of Silence, and here the fugitives fixed their choice of a resting place. A sanad was given them conferring certain privileges and immunities. This is stated to have been in the Samvat year 1799, (A.D. 1742,) or about 130 years ago. A small temple was erected to shelter the fire; some years after a larger temple was built on the same site which was subsequently enlarged, and finally about 43 years ago the present substan-

† The first Atish-Bahram is said to have been erected by the Anumun of Sanjan, and consecrated by Perooning Dastur in Samvat 777, or A.D. 720. See Wilson, Parsi Religion, P. 557.—Eds.
‡ This is doubtless Mahmud Begada of Ahmadabad, who invaded this district in A.D. 1607. See Notes of a

Visit to Gujarat, p. 15. Wilson, Sermon to the Parsis (1839), p. 9.
§ There is probably an error of 100 years in this period. Nausari is the Nusripa of Ptolemy.—Ed.
|| Fryer mentions the Fire-temple at Nausari in 1675, New Account of East India, &c., p. 117. The present temple at this place was consecrated by Dastur Sorabi Rustamji in 1765, and to it all the young Mobeds from Bombay and elsewhere are sent for confirmation.—Ed.
tial building was erected by the liberality of Dādabhāi Pestanji Wādia of Bombay.

Such is the story as told by the old Dastur or Chief Priest of Udwāḍā, a lineal descendant, as he avers, of the priest who revived the sacred flame in the kingdom of Sanjān. Udwāḍā has a considerable population of this priestly caste, but not all of them actually hold any sacerdotal office. The priests are divided into nine Bhägs or families, who serve the fire by turns for a month at a time, the members of the bhāg specially sanctified to the office taking their turns to feed the flames, which burn in a large brazen pot, with sandal and bābul wood, their only fare.

Udwāḍā has its Parsi school which is well attended, and where among other things the Zend Avesta is taught: but neither teacher nor scholars know aught of the meaning of what they read and recite, nor is there a single Mobsed in all the place who knows anything more. As is well known, with comparatively few exceptions, the Parsis know nothing of the meaning of the prayers they recite, or of the quotations they make from their sacred books. The original Zend, I am told, and not any translation into Pahlvi, is in use at Udwāḍā.

THE SANJĀN S'LOKAS.

(From 'Notes of a Visit to Gujarat,' by the Editor.)

In connexion with the landing of the Parsis at Sanjān, in the early part of the 8th century, there still exist copies of the fifteen Sanskrit S’lokas, in which their Mobseds explained their religion to ḽāde Rā́nā,* the ḽāj of the place, and the reply he gave them. These S’lokas form the oldest document relating to the Parsis in India,† and the following version of them may interest some readers; it is compiled principally from a translation prepared by Dastur Hosang Jamasp, the learned High Priest at Puna, and has been compared with an old version in the possession of Dr. Wilson. The last two distichs have been taken from the latter version—the Dastur’s MSS. being unintelligible. I am informed by Dr. Wilson that he has not found "any two independent copies, either in Sanskrit or in the Gujarati translations, that agree in words, though they conform to one another in their general scope."

Translation of the Sanjān S’lokas.

1. They who thrice a day worship the sun, the elemental five—fire, wind, earth, ether, water,—the three worlds, through the Naish Mantras, and the divine Hormazd the chief of the Suras (or angels), the highly endowed, the exalted, the merciful one, —are we—the fair, the bold, the valiant, the athletic, the Parsis.‡

2. We observe silence, according to our religious precepts, in these situations—in making the fire oblation,§ bathing, contemplating the divinity, reading the sacred books, eating, and performing the functions of nature. The best among us always give liberally in alms, and adore the splendid fire with various scented woods, sweet flowers, and the best fruits: Such are we—the fair, the courageous, the brave, the strong, the Parsis.

3. They who wear the shirt (sadra), and who have round their loins, of good woolen thread, the sacred kusti with equal ends, and who cover the crown of the head with a cap of two folds, are we—the fair, the fearless, the valiant, and athletic Parsis.

4. On marriage and other festal days, and on usual holidays, we rejoice with song and the sound of instruments. Our maids, at such times, perfume their persons with s’rikhanda Sandal and sweet scents; we are firm in our pure religion, which abounds in good and perfect precepts, and is of advantage in all its observances: such are we—the fair, &c., the Parsis.

5. We keep our houses clean, with plenty of food, and what is pleasing to the taste; and water from tanks or wells we always offer in charity with clothes and money to deserving mendicants. Such are we, &c.

6. As pleasure and pain, ease and trouble, knowledge and ignorance, virtue and vice, uprightness and business, health and sickness, light and darkness, existence and destruction, are double and opposite in the system of the world, so we have opposites in our belief. Such are we, &c.

7. Drinking thrice of gaumutra, consecrated with mantras and carefully preserved, we purify our insides; and thus, after outward and inward purification, we replace the kusti on our waists; and without this girdle we may not engage in silent meditation, in offerings, or other good acts: Such is our custom which is ever pleasing; and such are we, &c.

8.¶ Intercourse with women of ill-fame is forbidden. Our parents and ancestors we honour and § This fire-oblation is called ṭoṣ or the performance of Atash Nyasak, in which the Parsis feed the sacred fire with sandal wood, &c., five times a day.

¶ There are considerable differences among the readings of different copies in the 5th and 6th S’lokas.

† The 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th in this version, are the 10th, 11th, 8th, 12th, and 9th respectively of the older version.

* He is called ḽāde Rā́nā by the Parsis, and Dr. J. Wilson suggests he may have been Jayaileva or Vana ḽāj of Anahillawada Pattan, who ruled in Gujarat A. D. 745–806.

† As Dr. J. Wilson suggests, these S’lokas were perhaps composed ex post facto.

celebrate their śrāddhas; we pay due respect to fire; we do not use meat without sacrificing it; our females lately delivered or in their courses spread their bedding on the floor; our marriages are celebrated at the most propitious hours, and the widow who has lost her husband is not considered pure. Such are we, the Parsis, observing daily these religious rites.

9. Till a Parsi woman who has borne a child has passed forty days, she cannot cook victuals; she should be moderate in her talk and sleep; nor ought she to bathe (snāna) for forty days, to pray or adore the sun. We always venerate the ether, fire, earth, water, the moon, the sun, and Yazad: So is our tribe ever esteemed and acceptable.

10. Only with fuel six months dried (do we feed the sacred fire); and sandalwood, aloë-wood of Malaya, and benzoin, we use five times a-day to perform the Homa (fire oblation), uttering appointed words and formulas [in the Atash Naish]: The fire is kept under a dome in shade from the sun’s rays. We are ever true and just in our motives, and never addicted to young women. Such are we, Parsis, &c.

11. As spoken by our guru (teacher) and enjoined by our writings, we preserve round the waist above the sadra, a woollen kusti, neat, of golden colour, long and entire like a mekhla (or zone); the many advantages of wearing it are equal to snāna (ablution) in the Ganges: Such are we, &c.

12. In our minds we ever reflect upon the ether, the moon, fire, the earth, the sun, and worship Hormazd as the bestower of victory, religion, and natural desires. We especially observe graces (akshare) before and after meals to render them wholesome. Such are we, &c.

13. Our females are held pure only after passing seven nights from the commencement of their manner, and a month from childbirth, when only they are pure. We are beautiful in our dress, fair and of golden colour, vigorous, and strong: Such are we, &c.

14. For expiation of sin we make confession (?) and as panchapanya (five products of the cow) is used, we first anoint our persons with gaumutra, before washing them with water, and after nine days we are clean. We constantly keep all the sayings of our guru, and are happy in observing his directions for the ablation of our sins. Such are we—the fair, the bold, the brave, the athletic Parsis.

15. The inspired sage who appointed these religious observances for the guidance of men, promised eternal bliss to those who walked according to them. And we believe their supporters have found places in heaven. To their sacred memories devout Parsis strew sandal and pulse upon the ground. Such, &c.

16. (The Rana’s Reply :) Welcome to those who walk faithfully in the way of Hormazd! May their race increase! May their prayers obtain the remission of their sins, and the smile of the sun; also may abundance of wealth, and the fulfilment of their desires flow from the liberality of Lakshna; and may the ornaments of person and of mind which now adorn them continue to distinguish them among people for ever!

NOTES ON THE RASAKALLOLA, AN ANCIENT ORIYA POEM.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., BALSOR.

The Rasakallola or “Waves of Delight” is the most popular poem in Orissa. Its songs are sung by the peasantry in every part of the country, many of its lines have passed into proverbs, and have become “household words” with all classes. It owes this great popularity in some measure to its comparative freedom from long Sanskrit words, being for the most part, except when the poet soars into the higher style, written in the purest and simplest Oriya vernacular.

The great religious revival in India in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with which the name of Chaitanya is inseparably connected throughout Orissa and Bengal, turned the current of popular thought in the direction of the worship of Vishnu, under his newly-invented, or perhaps I should say, recently popularized, manifestation of Krishn. It is to the Vaishnavas in all parts of India that we owe the earliest and most copious outpourings of poetic thought. In the majority of instances these poems are monotonous, childish, and indescribably indecent variations on the leading features of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Rasakallola is one of this class, and superadds to the usual impurity of Indian poems on this subject, that special and peculiarly revolting obscenity which is the distinguishing characteristic of the Oriya mind.

Fortunately, however, the earlier parts of the poem, relating as they do to incidents in the childhood of Krishn, are free from this objection, and from them we may be able to reproduce extracts which will exhibit the nature and style of this popular work without offending against propriety.

* For remarriage?
The author of the Rasakallola, Din Krishna Dás, was a Vaishnava or quasi-religious idler at the great temple of Jagannāth at Puri. He is popularly believed to be the son of the god. His mother was one of the female devotees who live in the temple, and are, theoretically, chaste and virtuous. The lady in question, however, one fine morning, was delivered of a son, to the great scandal of the highly virtuous society. Being asked how she came to do such a reprehensible thing, she related a long and somewhat confused story to the effect that one night as she was worshipping in the temple while all the others were asleep, the god himself descended from his shrine, and honoured her with his society. The story so effectively accounted for the birth of Din Krishna, and so ingeniously removed all scandal from the sacred community, that it was eagerly taken up and bruited abroad. The boy was brought up as a Vaishnava, and, as far as the Pandits of the present day know, spent the whole of his uneventful life at Puri, composing poetry and dawdling about the courtyards and gateways of the temple. His date is ascertained approximately by the fact that some verses of his in praise of the reigning sovereign Purushottam Deb (A.D. 1478-1503) are still extant. These verses must have been written after that monarch's celebrated expedition to Conjeevaram, and we may therefore place Dinkrishna Dás and his poem, the Rasakallola, at the close of the fifteenth century, that is a little less than four hundred years ago; three hundred years later than Chand the earliest Hindi poet. Dinkrishna is contemporary with the first Gujarati poet Narsingh Mehta of Junādgh, with Nanak Shah the Panjābi reformer, with Kabir and Keshab Dás of Hindustan, and with Vidypati of Bengal. Most of these authors were followers of the new Vaishnava doctrines, and though Vishnú, under his form of Jagannāth, had long been worshipped in Orissa, yet the restoration of his temple, and we may suspect, his complete identification with Vishnú as the supreme being, only date from two hundred years earlier, if the annalists of the province may be believed. There is some doubt about the point, as many other signs seem to show that the ancient Siva worship was prevalent in Orissa till a much later date, in fact until Chaitanya himself, by his visit to the province, introduced his distinctive tenets.

Be this as it may, and the subject is one which cannot be entered into here, it is evident that in the poem before us we have the earliest fruit of the literary instincts which the Vaishnava creed awakened in Orissa, as it did in all other parts of Aryan India.

We now turn to the poem itself. It consists of 32 cantos (chhända) varying in length from 50 to 150 lines. I have not counted the whole poem, nor in fact have I as yet finished reading it all through, but from a cursory examination I should estimate it to contain about four thousand lines. The metres are generally very light and graceful, and the poem was intended, as most of these poems are, to be sung. Indeed the Pandits strongly object to our English habit of reading poetry, and affirm that the full beauty of the metres cannot be appreciated unless they are sung, i.e. chanted through the nose in a dolorous minor key. To our ears this lugubrious whining, with the harsh voices which all Oriyas unfortunately possess, varied by an insane howl and accompanied by the dulcet tom-tom and the harmonious penny-whistle of the country, is not on the whole pleasing or enjoyable. Still de gustibus, &c. when read, the poem is certainly very pretty, and trips as lightly off the tongue as an Irish melody or a French chansonette.

The first canto is in a metre called Rāg Gujari; and in reading poetry the final short a of Sanskrit words, which is usually dropped in prose or in speaking, must invariably be pronounced. It sounds however like a very short ə. In this metre no account is taken of long or short syllables; each consonant with the vowel attached to it is regarded as an instant or unit of the verse (mātra), at the eighth instant there must be a caesura (jaṭī), and after the caesura five more instants, the whole verse (charan) thus consisting of thirteen instants, and the couplet (pada) of twenty-six. Thus in the two first lines we must scan thus (I mark off each instant by | and the caesura by )—

Ka | ra | sā | dhū | ja | na | mā | no8 | ma | na
ku | e | ka6

Ka | ra | dhī | re | dhūyā | na | ni | lā8 | cha | la | nā | ye | ka |

This first canto opens with an invitation to all good men to meditate on Krishná whose praises are then set forth. He is declared to be the supreme god, and even Siva and Brahmā worship him. The last six lines invoke the protection of the god on the poet and his poem. They run thus:

Karuṇā sāgara sāgara-nāyaka,
Kara abhaya abhayabara-dāyaka !
Kashaṭa-mahidhara mahidhara-kaṇṭaka
and beat it into the interstices "by means of a hard clothes brush." The impression took well, and the most favourable results were anticipated, but after the paper was taken off the impression faded either from defects in the paper or from damp. Mr. Grahame does not consider cartridge paper well adapted for moulding, as it gets pulpy in some places while in others it remains quite stiff. He recommends a thinner and tougher paper—a paper which can be more easily beaten into the irregularities of the letters, and yet be tough enough not to disintegrate under the pressure of blows. Altogether the mouldings do not appear to have been very successful. However both Mr. Grahame and Mr. Harris were successful in making tracings of the inscriptions. Mr. Grahame also copied the whole of the inscriptions, letter for letter, so far as he could make them out.

It is much to be regretted, says the Report, that these inscriptions were not long ago looked after, and some steps taken to preserve them from destruction. As they exist now, far the greater part of the first and second inscriptions have disappeared bodily, the rock having lost large fragments upon which the missing parts of those two inscriptions were carved. There is a story told by the inhabitants of Jogada, repeated, too, by the Sub-Magistrate, that about twenty years ago a European gentleman went to the place, threw a quantity of hot tamarind juice and water on the rock, and then beat it with rammers, the result being that he broke off a large portion of the rock on which the inscription was carved. This tale reminds one of the story told of the way in which Hannibal cut his way through the rocky barriers of the Alps. It may be true, but I, for one, cannot believe that any one who would take an interest in going to see an old inscription could act in so brutish and barbaric a way. I am more inclined to think that the rock has been gradually eaten away by the action of the elements, having been continually for many ages baked by the fierce, hot, tropical sun, and lashed by furious rains. Mr. Minchin, indeed, says that when he first saw the inscriptions, there was then far more of the first and second than now exists. The third and fourth inscriptions are regularly worn-eaten away, evidently by rain and atmospheric effects. A good deal of the right hand edges of both has been almost totally obliterated, with here and there a letter, or the suggestion of one remaining. If these remnants of inscriptions are to be preserved, it is high time that something was done. The only step which I think would really preserve the face of the rock from the corroding effects of rain and sun is the building of a shed, the roof of which should slope back well over the top of the rock so as to throw rain off to the back, and which should slope forward in front of the rock far enough to keep rain from beating on it. Mr. Minchin suggested that a deep rim should be cut in the rock running all round the inscriptions, with the idea that it would act as a channel to carry off rain. I apprehend that it would act very imperfectly as an escape channel for rain running down from the top and not at all for rain beating on the inscription. The rock must be roofed in to protect it properly. The roof would come over the top of the Bairagi’s house, unless, like a pent-house, it came down at a very sharp angle from the brow of the rock over the inscription; but as the Bairagi has no title to have a house there at all, he should be required either to remove from the place altogether, or to acquiesce in the measures which may be taken. Mr. Minchin made another suggestion worthy of consideration, which was, that if a roof be put over the rock, the Bairagi should be required to look after it on condition of his house being allowed to remain there, or he might even receive a rupee or two monthly to look after it. He would, in the latter case, have an interest in seeing that the roof was kept in good order, and that the inscription suffered no damage.

I have carefully compared my transcript with the photographs, and I am certain, that in one, at any rate, of the latter certain letters are wrong. This probably arose from the chunam having run in consequence of rain, and of Mr. Minchin’s man not having attended as carefully as he might have done to wiping off the superfluous chunam. Owing to that he has left one or two letters with their tails turned the wrong way, and altered others. I carefully compared the moulding of the second inscription with my transcript. The two are identical.

The characters in the first and second inscriptions are cut much more deeply and distinctly, and are larger than those of the third and fourth. The first two seem to have been much more carefully carved than the third and the fourth, in which not only are the characters smaller but there is not apparently the same careful division of the words.

I have been informed that there are several old inscriptions in this division. One is on a stone at the back of a mosque in Chikakol. I have seen it, but owing to the rains which prevailed for two months after my return to Chikakol, and to my absence from head-quarters, have been unable to take a copy of it. The mosque was built in Anno Hej. 1051, about 230 years ago. Formerly there was a Hindu temple in the place where the mosque now stands. This temple was destroyed by Shie Muhammad Khan, and from its materials the mosque was built. The other inscriptions are in different parts of the Chikakol Taluq. I shall examine and report on them afterwards.

NOTE ON THE GANJAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

By PROF. R. G. BHANDARKAR.

The Ganjam inscription is in four large tablets, and each of the four sheets of lithographs published by the Madras Government represents one.
Comparing them with the published transcripts of the Asoka inscriptions, I find that the first two sheets contain the celebrated edicts discovered at Girnar, Dhauli, and Kapur di Giri. Wherever there are differences in the copies of the inscriptions from these three places, this agrees, as might be expected, with that at Dhauli. It must be regretted that it is worn away in many places; still it will be of use in clearing up some of the many difficulties attending on a correct interpretation of the Asoka inscriptions.

The Girnar copy of the edicts consists of fourteen tablets. In the present inscription, each line of which contains on an average about 52 letters, the first tablet is entire, and occupies four lines and a quarter. The second, of four lines, has lost about twelve letters towards the end in each line. The third extends over three lines and a quarter, but of these nearly one half of each line is effaced. Each of the first five lines of the fourth tablet has lost one half, while the sixth and seventh have lost more, and in the eighth line, which ends the tablet, three words are wanting. What remains of the fifth tablet is from two to seven letters in the beginning of each of the seven lines of which it consists. This ends the first sheet. The sixth tablet at the head of the second sheet is nearly entire, and consists of six lines and three quarters, the seventh occupies two lines, the second of which has got only twenty letters in the middle, but the first is nearly entire, having lost only some two or three letters. Each of the first three lines of the eighth tablet has got a few letters in the beginning, in the middle, and at the end. The fourth line ought to consist only of eleven letters, of which we have ten. But the transcriber puts down dots after the tenth letter up to about the end of the line, where he gives the letters annāyeka, which are the final letters of the first line of the next tablet, and consequently do not belong to the eighth; and in the sheet before us they occur at the end of that line also. This may be a mistake either of the original engraver or of the transcriber. The ninth tablet consists of six lines all mutilated; about one-third only or a little more in one or two cases, being preserved. The tenth tablet has lost the first halves of the three lines composing it. The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth Girnar tablets are wanting both in the Dhauli inscription and in the present one. The fourteenth however, occurs here though apparently it is wanting at Dhauli; but more than half of each of the two lines of which it consisted is effaced.

The inscriptions in the third and fourth sheets correspond to the separate edicts at Dhauli translated by Prinsep and after him by M. Burnouf. The readings in these have been so unsatisfactory that the discovery of the same or nearly the same edicts at Ganjam cannot but be welcome to all students of Indian Antiquities. But we fear these sheets will not be of much use in clearing up the difficulties. The letters in them are in many cases ill-formed and imperfect; for instance, where we ought to have Devānam piye hevām āha,—we have in the third sheet, Devalaṃ piye pevām ha and in the fourth, Devānam naye hevām anha. The first d in this latter is unlike the usual d or any other known letter. The small strokes which mark the vowels and distinguish in a few cases one letter from another are not so carefully copied as is desirable. Mr. Graham says:-"The third and fourth inscriptions are regularly wormeaten away, evidently by rain and atmospheric effects. A good deal of the right hand edges of both has been almost totally obliterated with here and there a letter or the suggestion of one remaining." The transcript on the third sheet, however, is more legible than that on the fourth. And with greater care it is perhaps not impossible to obtain still better transcripts. It is to be hoped the Madras Government, which has already exhibited so laudable a zeal in this matter, will again attempt to secure better copies.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society, April and May 1872.

At a meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society on 3rd April, Mr. Blochmann read a paper on 'Koch Bihār, Koch Hájo, Kāmrūp, and Asām did not belong to the empire under Akbar.

During the reign of Jahangir, Koch Hájo, which coincides with the modern district of Gwālpāra, was conquered and annexed; and under Shāhjahan Kāmrūp, or lower Asām between Gwālpāra and Gauhátí, was also occupied. Towards the end of Shāhjahan's reign, the Koch Bihār and Asām Rajahs attacked Koch Hájo, and forced the Imperialists to withdraw from the province. This repulse was the cause of Mir Jumlah's expedition to Asām in 1662. Mir Jumlah invaded Koch Bihār, recovered Koch Hájo, and occupied Central and Eastern Asām for fourteen months. The most eastern part to which
he advanced is marked by the intersection of Long. 95° and Lat. 27°, or the districts east of Sibṣāgr and Nazfrah. In the expedition to Rakkan (Aran-
kan), which was undertaken immediately after Mir Jumlah's death, the most southern part which the
Mughuls reached, is Rāmū or Rumbū, half way be-
tween Chātgānw (Chittagong) and Akyāb. Beyond
these two points the Muhammadans did not ad-
vance.

Mr. Blochmann has collected all notes regarding
Koch Biḥār, Koch Hájo (the 'kingdom of Azo' of
early European travellers in India) and Asām, from
the Akbarnāmah, the Tuzuk i Jahāngirī, and the
Padشاهahnāmah. He then gives a free translation
of the Pathiyah i Ḳbriyāh, or, as the book is some-
times called, Tarikh i Path i ʿAshām (Conquest of
Asām), in 1662 by Mir Jumlah. The author of this
work, a native of Persia, was a clerk in the employ
of Mir Jumlah, and wrote the book in 1662-63, be-
cause the official reporters, in Mir Jumlah's opinion,
did not send correct accounts of the progress of the
expedition to court. The author of the Aʿlamgir-
namah appears to have used the Pathiyah i Ḳbriyāh
for his history.

Shihāb's work contains many interesting remarks
on Asām and the Asamese, and on several of the
aboriginal tribes. The book ends with the death
of Mir Jumlah, on the 2nd Ramazān, 1073, at Khizr-
pūr was Dhākā.

*Journal Asiatique, No. 68, Jan. 1872.*

This first part of tome XIX. is chiefly occupied
with the 'Report on an Archeological Mission to
Yemen,' by M. Joseph Halévy. The Académie des
Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, having presented a
scheme for the publication of a Corpus Inscriptionum
Semiticarum to the Minister of Public Instruction,
M. Halévy was charged with a mission to seek for
and copy the Sabean or Himyaritic inscriptions in
Yemen.

From Aden he proceeded first to Hodeyda, whence
he started for the Sefān, one of the three provinces
governed by the Dāl, a viceroy of the race of the
Makrāmēs, the religious and political chiefs of Nejfrān, who have made large conquests in Arabia
during the last two centuries. After much dan-
gerous investigation in this Arabic Switzerland he
was disappointed in finding a single veritable
Himyaritic inscription. On arriving at Saḥā he
fell ill, and was confined to his couch for a month.
Saḥā, he says, is the most beautiful and most char-
acteristic city of Arabia. It is half in ruins. The
quarter Bir Azēb, where were the pleasure houses
and gardens of the late imām, as well as the famous
Qaṣr Ghamdān, contain almost no inhabitants, and
have been despoiled of inscriptions. Some stones
in certain buildings and on the chief gates of the
city had inscriptions, mostly very short, of which
he enumerates twelve. At Gḥāymān, five hours
S.E. from Sāna in the territory of Beni Bahlul, he
found vestiges of an ancient surrounding wall and
24 fragments of inscriptions. He left Sāna, and
for three days explored the beautiful plains of
Ruada, Zubeyrāt, and Šuḥāba, forming part of the
Beled-Ḥārith, where he found some fragments of
inscriptions. At Sīrwāl, a large ruin in the territory
of Beni Jēbāl (Khulān), a day's journey to the west
of Mareb, he found a great number of Stèles, part
standing and others overturned, and bearing long
inscriptions. The principal colonnade is called by
the Arabs 'Arāb Bilqīs—'the throne of Bilqīs,' the
supposed Queen of Sāba, which tradition makes the
wife of Solomon. Here and on a hill near by, he
secured parts of 21 inscriptions, but after his
arrival at Shīrḵ the territory of the Beni Aḥrāb,
he was imprisoned by the Sheikh, who confounded
him with a personage passing himself off as the
Messiah among the Jews of Yemen. He was,
however, set at liberty, and found Shīrḵ to abound
in Sabean monuments, though very many of the
inscriptions have already perished through the care-
lessness of the inhabitants who largely prepare lime
and burn whatever stones fall into their hands.
From this place he obtained 25 inscriptions and
portions. His next halt was at El-Medīb in Beled
Nehm, fully a day's journey east of Sāna, in the
neighbourhood of which he found many inscriptions.
The vicinity of this place forms the rallying point
for the nomad tribes, who bring their flocks to
graze at certain times of the year. The district
between Awdīn and Jauf is dangerous and arid,
and M. Halévy had some difficulty in obtaining a
guide, and had to content himself with an Arab
of no reputation, who from the insensitiveness
appearance of the traveller and his assumed character
of a Qudsi (inhabitant of Jerusalem) was rather
won towards him. On the way they passed many
ruins destroyed by the Arabs, and called 'Adiyāyat—
belonging to the 'Ad, an ancient people to whom are
attributed all the ante-islamic buildings. The
Arabs see in the advanced arts of the ancients a
sign of pride and rebellion against heaven; so that
in place of being pleased to have for their ancestors
so civilized a people, the inhabitants of Yemen are
vain enough to consider themselves as the true
descendants of Išmael, and he who would dare to
tell an Arab he was sprung from 'Ad might pay for
it with his life. Even the name of Himyar is hated
in the country, and the epithet Yehud Himyar—or
Himyarite Jew, is the last insult that one of the
faithful in his rage can level at the follower of Mo-
ses when he wishes to overwhelm him with oppro-
brium and shame. Near Jebel Yām he came upon
many tombs; then he reached Wādi Sāba, a cul-
viable tract a day's march in width, on the confines
of the great desert El-Aḥqāf.

At Mejser he was asked by the Arabs if he had
seen the stone called Hajarat el-Waqā'a, which they
believe is suspended in the air above the mosque of
Omar. This stone descends insensibly but with in-
exorable regularity, and the moment it shall touch the minarets of the mosque, the earth will shake and the resurrection take place, and with it the end of the world. He replied that the holy Ulema alone had the privilege of seeing the stone which was invisible to all the profane; and that consequently he did not know the exact moment of the end of the world. His auditors ejaculated "There is no power but what comes from God."

Proceeding to the north-east, he visited El-Ghayl in Lower Jauf, near which he came upon a river abounding in fish. He had seen it in the plain of the Beni Ažkān, Beled Arhab, thence it flows to Mount Jezra where it disappears at El-Iṣh. Near the village of Ḥabāš, half a day's journey from Jauf, it re-appears, and joined by the torrent from Ḥirrān, it flows towards the ruins of Es-Sud, El-Beyda, and Kannā, and then continues more in an easterly direction towards El-Hazm and Salāmāt, where its waters are utilized in watering the fields.

In the Wadi Saba at Medinet Haram or El-Fer, El-Hazm, and Me'in, the old capital of the Mechas, he obtained 123 inscriptions. In Lower Jauf he got upwards of 500; and in Beled Nejrān he believes he discovered in Medinet el-Khudud (for El-Ukhdud) the Nāgara Metropolis of ancient times. According to the information M. Halévy was able to obtain in this region, the famous Wāhabis are by no means Islamite puritans, but belong to the orthodox sect of Shawāfei, to which many of the tribes of Nejrān belong, though the prevailing doctrine is that of Hanifa.

He now returned southwards to Ez-Zahir in Upper Jauf, where, though ruins were very numerous, except in the neighbourhood of Mount Silyām, he found very few inscriptions. Returning to El-Ghayl he was led by some Jews to Berāqish, where he found the imposing remains of a Sabean city, parts of its walls still standing and covered with inscriptions beautifully engraved. In the inscriptions it bears the name Yal, or Itāl. Among other places visited in the same neighbourhood was In a bā, which naturally recalls the In a bā of Ptolemy.

He next went by the Wadi Rahaba, in which, at Khāribet-S'ud, he found another deserted town, but was not allowed by his guides to obtain many inscriptions. At March he was also closely watched, and the Arabs now persecuted him so persistently that his labours came to an end at Sandā. The total collection numbers 685 inscriptions and fragments,—many of them of course very short, and but few of any considerable length.

J. B.

REVIEW.

**Philosophia Indica Expositio, Ad Usum Scholærum. Bangalorii 1868.**

We are not sure that this valuable little work has been as yet noticed by scholars in this country, though it is well deserving of their acquaintance. It is a compilation in Latin by the Rev. A. Boute Enmürtestray6dévah (being one person and three gods), in Colebrooke's Essay on the Sankhya, under the medium of Pauthier's French version of Colebrooke's Essays, and the author consequently complains of his inability to remove all the obscurities of the French version on which he had to depend in compiling his own work. The book is a small 8vo. of 128 pp., and following the arrangement of the original consists of five parts, with a vocabulary of philosophical terms appended, giving their equivalents in Canarese as well as in Sanskrit, in Roman characters.

The author has supplied foot-notes all through the volume, in most cases explanatory of terms and expressions used in the text, and in some few others illustrative or corrective of the statements to be found in it. Thus in p. 39 there is an interesting note from Taylor's *Lilavati*, indicating on the authority of Bhaskara Achārya, that the true laws of *Gravitation* were known to the Hindus from the twelfth century after Christ. So again the note at the foot of p. 59 calls attention to the wonderful similarity between the logical process of the *Minamasa* and that adopted by S. Thomas Aquina in his great *Summa*. At p. 72 the author gives a brief account of the controversy between Vans Kennedy and Houghton regarding Colebrooke's assertion that the Vedanta affirms that "the Supreme Being is the material, as well as the efficient cause of the universe." Other notes of equal interest are interspersed.

Sometimes indeed we miss a note where it is needed. For instance, we find the expression *ekā mūretes travyā dhvāh* (being one person and three gods), in Colebrooke's Essay on the Sankhya, under the head of the first product of nature. He attributes this idea to the Mythological Sankhyas, and quotes the expression from a *Purana*. Yet in a passage further on, in the account he gives of Patanjali's *Isvarā*, he shows that Kapila himself acknowledged a similar *Isvarā* as the first shape of Intelligence. But it is more than is to be expected perhaps that such a point should claim a place in the little volume. Not so however as to another point. In treating of the *Pamputas*, whom Colebrooke describes under the northern appellation of the sect, it was of importance, as it seems to us, that notice should have been taken of their existence and their tenets as found in South India. The Tamil development of the sect is marked by very peculiar features, and, in a manual for use principally in this part of the country, information regarding it, however briefly given, might attract at-
MISCELLANEA, NOTES, AND QUERIES.

TIPERA AND CHITTAGONG KUKIS.

The Kukis of the Tipera hills are divided into five great tribes, the Umroi, the Chatlang, the Halam, the Barpai, and the Kochauk Kukis. In their marriages, the bridegroom is expected to show his gratitude for the bride he has won, by making a present of money to the girl’s father. In the case of every fatherless girl marrying, the Raja claims the usual money consideration for himself, on the plea, we suppose, of his being the father of her people, and especially of all Kuki young ladies left parentless. The Tipera Kukis bury their dead, but in the case of Rajas and men of distinction, not before the corpses have undergone the process of smoking and drying. When a Raja dies, his household places the corpse on a platform of wood, not bamboo, elevated from about four to five feet above the ground; a moderate fire is kept up underneath in order to dry up all the humour. After the corpse has been kept in this wise for at least three months it is interred, in a horizontal position, in a grave seven or eight feet deep. The Tipera Kukis worship only one deity, whom they call Lachi. Their worship consists in fixing in the ground a number of perpendicular strips of bamboo, about two feet long, in a rude circle, and one in the centre having a coarse basket suspended from its head. Within this basket are placed a little cotton, thread, pādi, chillies, and other produce of the soil, as offerings of propitiation, and petitions for plenty. At times a low strong and covered enclosure is constructed with the view to keep off wild animals, and within this the offerings are left. The neck and head of a cock are often offered to the deity, whilst the body of the bird is eaten by the people as a treat. But, of all offerings, a young monkey, killed with one dash against the ground, and left on the spot, is considered the most acceptable that can be made. There appear to be no priests among the Tipera Kukis.

Their messages and orders are communicated in a curious manner. Several peeled strips of bamboo, between eight and nine inches long, are tied together, and this bundle is called a Puroi. The upper portion of the central strip is then split in two, resembling the two prongs of a fork, to which a cross piece is tied at right angles. If the prongs be aligned by holding the Puroi, so that the two shall appear as one, the missive will be seen to resemble a cross. The tips of the prongs and the cross piece being turned in breaks, indicate black mail to be levied—a rupee for every such break. If an additional piece having its ends charred be attached, it implies that the people to whom the Puroi is sent are to come on even at night with torches. If a chillie is fixed at the intersection of the cross, it signifies literally that, disobedience to the summons will meet with punishment as severe as the chillie is hot. If both the burnt bit of bamboo and chillie are attached together, the indication is that the requisition is extremely urgent and imperative, and must be forthwith complied with; whilst, if a piece of plain bamboo or stick is added to the cross, it means that disobedience to the order will entail corporal punishment. It will be seen that the manner of indicating the varying urgency of requisitions, and the different modes of punishment for their disobedience, is simple but highly suggestive. With the poor Tipera Kukis there appears no torment so great as that of a hot chillie, and no fear so potent as that induced by the exhibition of the rod. We cannot help also observing in their manner of conveying royal mandates a characteristic resemblance to the ghará, chapati, &c., which are for ever troubling the timid-minded of our population in India. The practice of representing their wishes by means of symbols is common to all unlettered tribes, and as the chillie means a tremendous warming by way of corporal punishment, and a stick a standing argument of the mode of application of that punishment, so the circulation of the ghará may simply be an intimation to householders that the approach of the incendiary season is at hand, and that of the chapati an intimation that there is a fear of an approaching scarcity of food.

The Chatagong Kukis are divided into four great tribes, the Chukmas, Tipuras, Reangs and Susai, and have but little affinity to the Tipera Kukis. On the contrary, they are more closely allied to the Bengalis of the plains than are the savages of the Tipera hills. The Chukmas speak a sort of mongrel Bengali, and assimilate more in manners and features to the Bengalis than the other Hill tribes. The Tiperas speak Burmese, and are evidently of Burmese descent. They profess a corrupt form of the Buddhist faith, and are the only Hill tribe who have any religious belief. The Chatagong Kukis are of middle height, and strongly built. They have no caste or religion, and they do not believe in a future state. Marriage is performed by mutual consent, and the payment of a rather large sum of money to the relations of the bride. The Diwan of the tribe has also to be heavily paid, the whole expense seldom falling short of a hundred rupees, even for...
the poorest among these Kukis. When a death takes place, the whole village turns out weeping, the corpse is washed, flowers are put on his breast, a dish of rice is prepared, and the wife or nearest female relative raises the dead man to a sitting posture, and embracing him places a few grains of rice between his lips; this done, the body is carried to the banks of the river, and burnt. A piece of cloth, curiously punctured in fine holes, giving it at a distance the appearance of fine damask work, is suspended on a long bamboo, and the ceremony of cremation is over. But by far the worst and most offensive feature of the Kuki people, especially of those of the Tipera hills, is the amount of disease with which they are almost universally infected, and its hideous variety. Hill tribes, generally, are notoriously filthy in their habits and entire mode of life, but the Tipera Kukis surpass them all in this respect. Their excessive filthiness generates numerous diseases, of which the cutaneous affections constitute the mildest type. Most of them are more or less infected with leprosy, elephantiasis, cancer, or some other invertebrate skin disease. The elephantiasis prevalent among them is generally accompanied with grapes at the angle between the foot and the leg. The universal prevalence of disease of some sort or other, besides being attributable, as we said, to want of cleanliness and indiscriminate feeding, is also due, though only secondarily, to bad air and bad water. Dogs, elephants, snakes, poisonous insects, and poisoned fish are regarded as legitimate food, and even coveted. There is a certain tree in the jungles, the branches of which are cut down and thrown into the first pool of water, natural or artificial, having fish; these in a little time die, and both the fish and the poisoned water are used by the Kukis and the Tiperas. Although we have no accurate data to go upon, yet we may safely assume that with a people like the Kukis, whose filthy habits produce such ineffably loathsome and hideous disease, it is not likely that the rules of morality are strictly observed. For, daring as savage natures generally are, and conscious of their physical superiority to the frail inhabitants of the contiguous plains, the Kukis are, nevertheless, a degenerate race, and it is not, therefore, difficult to understand how vice should prevail among them to so fearful and unblushing an extent, as to re-act, with deadly power, upon the entire population. Nor has any systematic attempt, that we are aware of, been made to bring civilizing influences to bear upon their savage state. A great drawback to any such attempt, we suppose, is the restless, roving disposition that is constantly urging them to shift from place to place; and the very crude and unsatisfactory mode of cultivation common among them, is but in keeping with their migratory tendencies. For instance, here stands a Kuki village to-day; its relative position is ascertained; it is surveyed, and its name carefully noted in the map of the country. Two years hence you look for the village, and it is not to be found. The twenty, or two hundred souls that formed it have gone miles away, and built dwellings for themselves in some new and unknown spot. Grass and bamboos are plentiful everywhere in the hills, and a new village requiring little else may be run up in two or three days. The nature of the cultivation among these people is quite in keeping with the uncertain mode of their location. The bamboo jungle is first felled, and allowed to dry in the sun; this takes about a fortnight; it is then set on fire, after which the stumps are removed. No sooner has a good shower of rain fallen than men, women, and children proceed with tools and seed to these plots, which are generally at long distances from their hamlets. Their principal tools are daos, with which oblique cuts are made by single strokes, and in the pits so formed, which rarely exceed three to four inches in depth, the seeds are dropped, either paddy by itself, or paddy, cotton, and corn altogether, in the same pit, just as the cultivators feel disposed to grow, or may happen to require. It is our firm conviction that, to bring these people within the range of civilized influence, we must begin, not with an attempt to teach them to read and to write, but to instruct them and persuade them to adopt a certain and remunerative style of cultivation, and then we may be sure that, the fields on which care is bestowed will not be readily abandoned for new and untried spots as now, and the adoption of a settled mode of life will follow as a matter of course. Our friends the Lushais have a dialect of their own which is more or less intelligible all over the hills of Tipera and Chitragong.—Bengal Times.

THE TRIWYAR FESTIVAL.

At the annual festival, known as the Sabatha-tanam thousands upon thousands of people, taking advantage of the cheap return tickets granted by the Great Southern of India Railway, crowd to Trivyar, a place about eight miles from Tanjor, to take part in the festivities in honour of Tirumathi, the presiding deity. To estimate the number of visitors and devotees on such an occasion would be next to impossible, for not only from Tanjor itself and its suburbs, but from places far distant do these worshippers come, to bathe in the sacred waters known as the Pansa nathi, rendered ten times more sacred by the occasion, and superstitiously believed to possess all healing qualities. The sacred temple at Trivyar, in the court-yard of which the sacred tank containing the Pansa nathi is situated, was built by a Rishi named Nyamisar, at the divine cost. This Rishi, we are told, was once doing penance before a Siva Lingam situated beneath a Vilea narm, supposed to have existed from eternity, as no one knew how it came there, for planted it was not. During his severe penance the Rishi contempl-
plated building a costly temple in honour of his tutelary deity, but one serious impediment lay in his way: he had not the means of carrying his pious intention into effect. The gods, however, ever ready to encourage piety of such a description, came to his help, and while he was racking his brains as to where, and how, he could raise the wind, a voice was heard to tell him that in the vicinity of the Lingam, towards the north there were three hoof-prints. If he dug up the ground in these three places, he would find what he required. He obeyed the divine injunction, and to his joy, he found in one place bricks, in another lime and mortar, and in the third gold. With those he built the temple now the centre of attraction at Trivyar.

The legend given us of the origin of the Sabatham we shall briefly relate. Once upon a time there lived a Brahman named Tirusuli. When he was a child of a few years old, he happened to be playing in a forest when a Rishi came round begging. Tirusuli in a playful mood and ignorant of the mendicant's great rank and sanctity, threw a stone into his vessel in lieu of money. The Rishi said nothing, but忍受ing the insult with wonderful meekness and humility departed. Tirusuli, when he attained to manhood, forgot this simple occurrence of his childish days, and in course of time entered, like other men, into the business of the world and a married life. For years, however, he was childless; and becoming apprehensive at what he could not but regard as an indication of the divine displeasure, he devoted his whole time to the exercise of religion, and the performance of severe penance and bodily mortification. One night, in a dream, the form of the insulted Rishi appeared to him, and something within him rebuked him for what he had done when he was a child, and told him that in his present misfortunes he was reaping the fruits of his wicked behaviour towards the saintly mendicant. When Tirusuli awoke he was an altered man. The Jackdaw of Rheims did not exhibit greater signs of contrition than the repentant Brahman. His course of life was changed, his daily habits were of the most austere character, and, to punish himself for the wicked stone he had cast into the Rishi's vessel, his diet was changed, and he lived upon stones! Hence his name was altered also from Tirusuli to Silatharan, or the stone-eater. It was to be expected, of course, that such acts of virtue would meet with due reward; and so one day the god appeared to him, and told him that, in a certain place indicated he would find a chest underground, in which was a hoard of gold. 

In representations of Siva, Tirunanthi is generally included, as upon him the deity is supposed to ride on great occasions. Tirunanthi was espoused to the sister of Vasittan the Rishi. The Pancha mathi, or five sacred rivers, took their origin at the coronation of Tirunanthi as chief of the goblins. On his head were poured (1) water from the sacred vessel in the hand of Siva, (2) the waters of the Ganges supposed to flow from Siva's head, (3) the froth from the mouth of a cow, and (4) nectar from the moon. These four flowed from his head into the sacred tank, where they were speedily joined by a fifth stream, thus forming the Pancha mathi. Where this fifth stream came from must be explained. Near the side of the present town of Shialil, Indra, in days of yore, had a forest of choice trees. From want of rain and excessive heat the forest suffered exceedingly. Indra was afflicted with much sorrow, and, though a god, was powerless to call down the elements to his aid. In his distress Närada came to him, and said that, on Mount Pothyam, Agastia the Rishi had the waters of the Ganges in a sacred vessel, and if he applied to Pillayar, this god would send the water down to refresh the forest. Indran besought Pillayar, and the latter deity, assuming the form of a cow, and, ascending to the summit of Mount Pothyam, capsize the vessel, and the water flowing down from thence mixed first with the four rivers in the sacred tank at Trivyar, and then became the majestic river now called the Kāveri. After his coronation Tirunanthi was, according to the prevalent custom, carried in procession to seven sacred places. The seven Rishis are said to have been doing penance, as the god, in procession, visited them severally. Very large donations, we are told, were given towards the expenses of this annual festival by a king named Surada Maharaja of the Solar race, who lived many years ago. —Madras Mail.

To the Editor of the 'Indian Antiquary.'

Sir,—In reply to Babu Rajendralal I must point out that he has given no authority for taking ghatā to mean three; or if it did so, for taking the expression three eights to represent 888, and not $8 + 8 + 8$ or even $8 \times 8 \times 8$. He says he thinks his interpretation is 'not forced;' but is the word ghatā, which is very indefinite, ever used to signify figures in this way? If the writer meant to express three, could he not have used one of the many symbolical expressions for it, instead of a word which simply means 'a collection'? And according to the usual way of expressing numbers in this symbolic way, and to the rule 'Ankānam vānato gatiḥ,' if ghatā meant three, would not the expression kunjāra-ghatā mean 38? And what is the necessity of restricting the 'collection' to three. It may mean any number, even 9, in which case, though a row of nine nines, according to Babu Rajendralal's way of taking it, may not
refer to any era, still the expression may mean 98. Altogether the supposition that the expression represents the date appears to be extremely improbable. The grammatical difficulty the Babu thinks I have myself solved, when I admit the alternative interpretation that “the temple took the 888th year to be constructed.” But what one would naturally expect to find in an inscription is that such and such a building was constructed in such and such a year, and not that it took such and such a year to be constructed. And the phrase that a temple took the twentieth or any such year to be constructed is not Sankrit as it is not English. I admitted the interpretation only so far as the grammar was concerned. The writer has not sinned against grammar in using bhūshana as masculine, for abstract verbal nouns ending in ana, only are necessarily neuter, but others signifying the instrument or place of an action, generally take the gender of the noun qualified. This is clear from the lingāmusāna (Sid. Kaum. Calc. edn. Vol. II. last page). This appears to be more especially the case when the verbal noun has what may be called an Upapada, or another noun depending on it. In the Sid. Kaum. under Pan. 3-3-113 and 3-3-117 the instances given are rājabheojamāḥ, Śāhāy, ilī na-pravraschanah kuthārah and godohani-Sthali, in which nouns in ana take the gender of the nouns they qualify. Bhūshana as an abstract noun is neuter, but in the sense of Bhuvayate arena it may take any gender. Many verbal nouns in ana are used by Sanskrit authors in this way. In the present case bhūbūshana qualifies prūsāda, and hence it is masculine. Babu Rajendralal supposes a double entendre on the expression in question, but such a double entendre appears to be purposeless. For the syntactical connection of a word on which a play is intended is generally the same in both senses, but here in the one sense the compound becomes an epithet of Gaudaratina, and in the other it stands independently.

Babu Rajendralal calls the compound awkward when interpreted in the way I have done, but he takes it to be a bahuvrihi, which it is not. It is what may be called an Upapada compound; and is to be dissolved thus:—Kunjārānām ghatā=Kunjara-ghatā; kunjara-ghatām varshaṭī, kunjara-ghatā-varshaḥ, Pan. 3-2-1. Neither is it farther from the noun qualified than such epithets are even in such a simple kāvyā as Raghu.

R. G. BHANDARKAR.

Note on Tap.

ALLOW me to point out a little slip of the pen in the Rev. K. M. Banerjea’s article “Blavabhuti in English garb.” On p. 145a the learned writer connects the Sanskrit root tap with the Greek τότα. Mr. Banerjea specially “invites discussion,” I there-
TABLE of the ALPHABET used in the JEWISH and SYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS at COCHIN.

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N.B. Consonants without any vowel are the same as those with a. In modern Tamil the Virama is marked by a dot over the letter.
THE OLDEST KNOWN SOUTH INDIAN ALPHABET.

BY A. C. BURNELL, M.C.S., M.R.A.S., MANGALOR.

The alphabet shown in the accompanying table is that used in the Tamil-Malayalam inscriptions on copper in possession of the Jews and Syrians at Cochin. There are three of these:

A. A single copper-plate containing a grant by Vira Rāghava to Iravi Korttan of Koḻunj-galur (Cranjangore of the maps). In possession of the Syrians.

B. A document on five plates also in possession of the Syrians. By this one Maruvân Sapir Iso transfers some ground to a church (?)—Tarisăpalli—built by one Isodātavirai, and constitutes the Jews and Syrians trustees.

C. Two plates in possession of the Jews, by which Bhāskara Ravivarmā grants a principality to Isuppu (Yusuf) Rabban.

A great deal of vain speculation as to the dates has been wasted, but I think the question may be easily settled. A and C are clearly the oldest, being the documents by which the Jews and Syrians were originally established. Now the style of writing and language shows that these are of nearly the same date, and about the date of A there can be little doubt. It is said to have been executed when "Jupiter was in Capricornus, the 21st of the Mina month, Saturday, Rohini asterism." Strange as it may seem, no one has as yet taken the trouble to get the necessary calculation worked out, even though this date is expressed in usual and intelligible terms. Some time ago I showed the passage to the ablest native astronomer in Southern India, and in two days he brought me the calculation worked out, proving that A.D. 774 is the only possible year.

The date of C has been much discussed; it was executed by Perumāl Bhāskara Ravi Varmă, "in the 36th year against (etir, opposite) the 2nd year." Reference has generally been made to the Quilon Cycle (or rather era) used in Malabar in order to explain this date, but always with preposterous results. I can only suggest (after comparing Tamil inscriptions in which two years are mentioned) that it means in the 36th year of the king's age and second year of his reign.†

B is not dated, it is however remarkable for two pages of attestations by witnesses which are in Kufic-Arabic, Pahlavi (Sassanian), and Chaldean Pahlavi. Dr. Hang attributes these to the early part of the 9th century.§

Thus all the means for fixing the date of these documents point to the latter half of the 8th and early part of the 9th century, during which time the glorious rule of the early Abbaside Khalifs caused Arab trade and enterprise to spread in a way before unknown, and which therefore is the earliest and most likely period for such settlements as those of the Jews and Syrians near Cochin. These colonies must soon have extended; the Syrians (rather Manichaens than Nestorians) are still very numerous in Travankor and Cochin, and there is a considerable society of ancient proslytes near Cochin, called "Black" Jews; but western meddlesomeness and bigotry have long done their worst and ruined the good feeling which once existed among these different persuasions.

The inscriptions have been critically translated and explained by F. W. Ellis (1819) and Dr. Gundert.¶ Unfortunately they chiefly consist of lists of privileges, mostly obscure and without importance. Palaeographically they are, however, of the greatest value, for they are the oldest inscriptions in Southern India that have been as yet discovered, and give the oldest form of the ancient Tamil alphabet. This alphabet was once used over all the South Tamil and Malayalam country, but chiefly in the extreme South. It appears to have fallen into disuse in the Tamil country about the 10th century, but was generally in use in Malabar up to the end of the 17th. It is still occasionally used for deeds in Malabar, but in a more modern form, and still more changed, it is the character used by the Māppilas of North Malabar and the Islands off the coast.†

Its origin may be guessed with great probability rather than proved. From the earliest historical times we find a trade with the east by way of the Red Sea conducted by Phœnicians and Sabceans, perhaps by Egyptians, and later by

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* e.g. Madras Lit. Soc. Jour. vol. XXI. pp. 30ffg.
† K. Krishnam Josiyar.
‡ Conf. Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, p. 60, for another explanation.
§ In a paper on the Pahlavi language read before the Royal Bavarian Academy at Munich.
† Taking into consideration the Kufic-Arabic attestations.
¶ Jour. Madras L. S. vol. XIII. I believe these inscriptions were first noticed by Anquetil Duperron.
† Given in the 1st edition of Dr. Gundert's Malayalam Grammar (in Malayalam).
‡ See M. D'Abbadie's note, ante p. 32.—Ed.
§ Conf. Benfey's remarks in Orient und Occident, III. p. 170. I have heard it asserted that there are Indian inscriptions in the Wadi Mukattab (near Sinai), but when I was there in 1868, I looked in vain for them. The natives of India probably stayed at home always as now.
Greek and Romans. Now taking into consideration the prevailing winds and currents, sailing ships from the Red Sea would most naturally touch on the Malabar coast below Mount Dilli. Again at a later period we find intercourse through Persia and Baktria by land. Now in the earliest Indian inscriptions we possess—those of Piyanadasi (Aśoka), we find two characters used. In the extreme North we find an alphabet evidently derived directly from the Phoenician, but with peculiar vowel marks added. In the other parts of India we find a perfectly distinct alphabet used for the Aśoka edicts, but which has the vowels marked according to a regular system, and which the Northern alphabet has copied. It must therefore be the older of the two. Now if the Aśoka alphabet be compared with that given in the plate, it is evident nothing more than an extension of this last, though derived from a slightly different, because older, form. The origin of this Tamil alphabet will perhaps never be conclusively proved by older inscriptions being discovered, but the only possible theory is that it is an importation brought by traders from the Red Sea, and thence from Phoenicia, and is therefore of Egyptian origin eventually.† In many respects the old Tamil alphabet resembles that of the Himyaritic inscriptions found in Yemen. In one respect it differs remarkably from that (Himyaritic) alphabet, but agrees with the Ethiopic, in that the consonants are modified by the addition of the vowels.

Whatever may be the origin of the similar peculiarity in the Ethiopic alphabet,‡ it is scarcely possible to doubt that in the old Tamil alphabet this is not a relic of a syllabic system of writing but has arisen from a practice of writing the character for the following vowel on that of the preceding consonant (except perhaps with ṛ), and that the resulting combinations have been in the course of time abridged. This becomes very plain if the characters for e and o be compared with those for ke, ko, no. The existence of a distinct character for cerebral letters may also point to a Semitic origin. Such sounds certainly existed in Egyptian and Hebrew, but not originally in Sanskrit.

A Phoenician origin of the Indian alphabets has already been suggested by Lepsius and Weber, but I have not been able to see their articles; Profr. Pott, is however unwilling to admit it,§ though Profr. Benfey considers it most probable.† Profr. Westergaard also appears to accept this theory.¶

I have taken the letters given in the plate chiefly from C, as the more extensive and better preserved of the two older inscriptions. Those marked with * are from B, which is not so carefully written as the others. I have given every letter which clearly occurs in the inscriptions, and besides the indifferent lithographs in the Madras Literary Society's Journal, vol. xiii, I have been able to use reverse impressions of C and part of B.

### SKETCHES OF MATHURÁ.

**By F. S. Growse, MA, Oxon, B.C.S.**

**III.—GOBARDHAN.**

Gobardhan, i.e., according to the literal meaning of the Sanskrit compound 'the nurse of cattle,' is a considerable town and famous place of Hindu pilgrimage, 15 miles to the west of Mathurá. It occupies a recess in a narrow sand-stone range some 4 or 5 miles in length, and with an average elevation of 100 feet, which rises abruptly from the alluvial plain, and runs

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* Its surprising that it has never been suggested that Ophir was somewhere in Travancor or Malabar. Lassen's Abdā is at the mouth of the Indus is most improbable in every way. On the other hand, Dr. Caldwell has proved that the Hebrew name for peacock is a purely Tamil word, and that it cannot be derived from the Sanskrit s'ikhin. In Malabar we find all the products Solomon imported, for gold is yet found at Nilambūr. And this (or rather Nysor) is the only part where sandal grows, if aslīm really have that meaning; but it is impossible to believe that such small trunks as the sandal has, and so useless for everything but perfumery, could have been used for pillars. The wood is too brittle and not even handsome enough for such a purpose, could it be had in sufficient size.

† The Egyptian origin of the Phoenician alphabet has been almost conclusively proved by the Vic de Ruege, but Forbodi, Geschichte der Völker Israel, I, p. 79, doubts it. Renan appears to accept the Phoenician origin of the Sabean alphabet (Histoire Générale des langues Semitiques, pp. 210 and 220). The difficulty about the direction of the writing no longer exists since Armand's discovery of Mathurá-paschimebhage àduradyojana-dway;m.

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¶ Does not the fluctuating and irregular spelling of the Aśoka inscriptions point to the recent introduction of writing? and that the alphabet was borrowed from a Semitic race? In Tamil the difficulty of distinguishing several letters continued till the beginning of the 19th century, when the famous Jesuit Beschi made some improvements; v. Grammatische Ueber die Tamilische, p. 5.

* Its position is marked with unusual accuracy in the Mathura Mahatmya—

Asthī govardhanam nāma K-hetum parama-durlabhām
Mathurā-paschime bhāge adaurd yajana-dharma-va,

north-east and south-west. This is the hill which Krishna is fabled to have held aloft on the tip of his finger for seven days and nights to cover the people of Braj from the storms poured down upon them by Indra when deprived of his wonted sacrifices. In pictorial representations it always appears as an isolated conical peak, which is as unlike the reality as possible. It is ordinarily styled by Hindus of the present day, the Giri-ráj, or Royal Hill, but in earlier literature is more frequently designated the Anna-kút. There is a firm belief in the neighbourhood that, as the waters of the Jumna are yearly decreasing in body, so too the sacred hill is steadily diminishing in height; for in past times it was visible from Aring, a town 4 or 5 miles distant, whereas now a few hundred yards are sufficient to remove it from sight. It may be hoped that the marvellous fact reconciles the credulous pilgrim to the insignificant appearance presented by the object of his adoration. It is accounted so holy that not a particle of the stone is allowed to be taken for any building purpose; and even the road which crosses it at its lowest point, where only a few fragments of the rock crop up above the ground, had to be carried over them by a paved causeway.

The ridge attains its greatest elevation towards the south between the villages of Jatipura and Anzor. Here on the summit was an ancient temple dedicated to Sri-nóth. In anticipation of one of Aurangzeb's raids, the image of the god was removed to Náthdwara in Udaypur territory, and has remained there ever since. The temple on the Giri-ráj was thus allowed to fall into ruin, and the wide walled enclosure now exhibits only long lines of foundations and steep flights of steps, with a small, untenanted, and quite modern shrine. The plateau, however, commands a very extensive view of the neighbouring country both on the Mathurá and the Bharatpur side, with the distant hills of Nand-gáw, Barsána and Dig. At the foot of the hill on one side is the little village of Jatipura with several temples, of which one, dedicated to Gokul-náth, though a very mean building in appearance, has considerable local celebrity. Its head is the Gosáin of the temple with the same title at Gokul, and it is the annual scene of two religious solemnities both celebrated on the day after the Dip-dáñ at Gobhurdan. The first is the adoration of the sacred hill, called the Giri-ráj Pujá, and the second the Anna-kút or commemoration of Krishna's sacrifice. The right to take the lead in the procession has been vehemently disputed by the priests of the two rival temples, Sri-náth and Gokul-náth; and it is generally found desirable, a little before the anniversary, to bind both parties over in heavy sums to keep the peace. Immediately opposite Jatipura, and only parted from it by the intervening range, is the village of Anzor—literally 'the other side'—with the temple of Sri-náth on the summit between them. A little distance beyond both is the village of Puchri, which, as the name denotes, is considered 'the extreme limit' of the Giri-ráj.

Kártik, the month in which most of Krishna's exploits are believed to have been performed, is the favourite time for the pari-krama or perambulation of the sacred hill. The dusty circular road which winds round its base has a length of 7 kos, that is about 12 miles, and is frequently measured by devotees who at every step prostrate themselves at full length. When flat on the ground, they mark a line in the sand as far as their hands can reach, then raising they prostrate themselves again from the line so marked, and continue in the same style till the whole weary circuit has been accomplished. This ceremony, called Dandavat pari-krama, occupies from a week to a fortnight, and is generally performed for wealthy sinners vicariously by the Brahmans of the place, who receive from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 for their trouble, and transfer all the merit of the act to their employers. The ceremony has been performed with 108 prostrations at each step; but in that case it occupied some two years, and was remunerated by a donation of 1,000 rupees.

About the centre of the range stands the town of Gobardhan, on the margin of a very large irregularly shaped masonry tank, called the Mánasi Gangá, supposed to have been called into existence by the mere action of the divine will (mánasa). At one end, the boundary is formed by the jutting crags of the holy hill, on all other sides the water is approached by long flights of stone steps. It has frequently been repaired at great cost by the Rájá of Bharatpur; but is said to have been originally constructed in its present form by Rájá Mán Siíth of Jaypur, whose father built the adjoining temple of Harideva. There is also at Banáras a tank constructed by Mán Siíth, called Mán Sarovar, and by it a temple dedicated to Máneshvar. Unfortunately there is neither a natural spring, nor any constant artificial supply of water, and for half the year the tank is always
dry. But ordinarily at the annual illumination, or Dip-dān, which occurs soon after the close of the rains, during the festival of the Diwālī, a fine broad sheet of water reflects the light of the innumerable lamps ranged tier above tier, along the ghāts and adjacent buildings, by the 100,000 pilgrims with whom the town is then crowded.

In the year 1871, as there was no heavy rain towards the end of the season, and the festival of the Diwālī also fell later than usual, it so happened that on the bathing-day, the 12th of November, the tank was entirely dry, with the exception of two or three green and muddy little puddles. To obviate this mischance, several holes were made and wells sunk in the area of the tank, with one large pit, some 30 feet square and as many deep, in whose turbid waters many thousand pilgrims had the happiness of immersing themselves. For several hours no less than 25 persons a minute continued to descend, and as many to ascend the steep and slippery steps; while the yet more fetid patches of mud and water in other parts of the basin were quite as densely crowded. At night the vast amphitheatre, dotted with groups of people and glimmering circles of light, presented a no less picturesque appearance than in previous years when it was a brimming lake. To the spectator from the opposite side of the broad and deep expanse, as the line ceased to be perceptible which parts the steep flights of steps from the irregular masses of building which immediately surmount them, the town presented the perfect semblance of a long and lofty mountain range dotted with fire-lit villages, while the clash of cymbals, the beat of drums, the occasional toll of bells from the adjoining temples, with the sudden and long-sustained cry of some enthusiastic band, vociferating the praises of mother Gangā, the clapping of hands that began scarce heard but was quickly caught up and passed on from tier to tier, and prolonged into a wild tumult of applause,—all blended with the ceaseless murmur of the stirring crowd in a not discordant medley of exciting sound. According to popular belief the ill-omened drying up of the water, which had not occurred before in the memory of man, was the result of the curse of one Habib-ullah Shāh, a Muhammadan fakir. He had built himself a hut on the top of the Giri-rāj, to the annoyance of the priests of the neighbouring temple of Dān Rai, who complained that the holy ground was defiled by the bones and other fragments of his unclean diet, and procured an order from the civil court for his ejectment. Thereupon the fakir disappeared, leaving a curse upon his persecutors; and this has borne fruit in the drying up of the healing waters of the Mānasi Gangā.

Close by is the famous temple of Hari-deva, erected during the tolerant reign of Akbar, on a site long previously occupied by a succession of humble fanes. It consists of a nave 68 feet in length and 20 feet broad, leading to a choir 20 feet square, with a sacrarium of about the same dimensions beyond. The nave has five arches on either side with clerestory windows above, and is about 30 feet high to the cornice, which is decorated at intervals with large projecting heads of elephants and sea-monsters. The centre of the roof is flat, but as it is deeply coved at the sides, and the width of the building is inconsiderable, it has all the effect of a vault, and no doubt suggested the design of the true radiating vault, which we find in the temple of Govind Deva built by Bhagawān's son and successor, Mān Siāh, at Brindāban. The construction is extremely massive, and even the exterior is still solemn and imposing, though the two towers which originally crowned the choir and sacrarium have been levelled with the roof of the nave. The material employed throughout is red sandstone from the Bharatpur quarries. The reputed founder was Rājā Bhagawān Dās of Multān. His father Bihari Mall, the first Rājput who attached himself to the court of a Muhammadan Emperor, was chief of the Rajāwat branch of the Kachhwāhā Thākurs seated at Amber, and claimed to be 18th in descent from the founder of the family. The capital was transferred to Jaypur in 1728 A.D., the present Maharājā being the 34th descendant of the original stock. In the battle of Sarnāl, Bhagawān Dās had the good fortune to save Akbar's life, and was subsequently appointed Governor of the Panjāb. He died about the year 1590 at Lāhor. His daughter was married to Prince Salim, who eventually became Emperor under the title of Jahāngir: the fruit of their marriage was the unfortunate prince Khusru. The temple has a yearly income of some Rs. 2,300, derived from the two villages Bhagosa and Lodhipuri, the latter estate being a recent grant, in lieu of an annual money donation of Rs. 500, on the part of the Rājā of Bharatpur, who further makes a fixed monthly offering to the shrine at the rate of 1 rupee per diem. The
hereditary proprietors, 17 in number, devote the entire income to their own private uses, and are constantly wrangling about its partition, completely neglecting the fabric of the temple and its religious services. In consequence of this short-sighted greed, the votive offerings at this, one of the most famous shrines in upper India, have dwindled down to about Rs. 50 a year. Not only so, but some months ago a great part of the nave roof suddenly fell in, and unless repaired, the remainder must follow before very long. Accordingly to prevent accidents and probable loss of life, the customary order was issued to the guardians of the building, requiring them, within a certain fixed time, either to restore it or pull it down. As the nave is not considered sacred, the shareholders are quite indifferent as to its fate; and so long as the actual cella stands and contains an image of the god, before which some brief daily services are performed, they have no qualms of conscience about appropriating the endowment. But the European antiquary can scarcely regard with equal nonchalance the destruction of so interesting an architectural monument. A very large sum of money has been lately expended by the Imperial Government in taking photographs of the Mathurá temples. But when the work was completed, it was found that the points of view had been so badly selected, and the letter-press was some agreeable, that both were worthless for the purposes of the student; and to save the Government the discredit of appearing as patron of such an abortive production, steps were taken most judiciously to ensure its absolute suppression. Now that the actual building is in imminent danger of falling, no grant can be made towards its repair, on the ground that it would be an encouragement of idolatry. Yet it seems somewhat inconsistent to incur the most reckless expenditure in publishing illustrations of a temple, as a model for architects to follow, and then to condemn the original to ruin as an unclean and unholy thing. And the more so, since there is no doubt that the priests, for a small consideration, would gladly erect on some adjoining spot, a new and more commodious shrine for the reception of the ejected Thákur, and vacate the ancient building in favour of the Government. It would then remain a national monument, and at some day in the future golden age, might be to Gobardhan what the Pagan Pantheon is now to Christian Rome; for though originally consecrated to idolatrous worship, it is in all points of construction equally well adapted for the public ceremonial of the purest religious faith.

On the opposite side of the Mánasi Gangá are two stately cenotaphs, or chhattris, to the memory of Rádhír Siñh and Baldev Siñh, Rájas of Bharatpur. Both are of similar design, consisting of a lofty and substantial square masonry terrace with corner kiosks and lateral alcoves, and in the centre the monument itself, still further raised, on a richly decorated plinth. The cella, enclosed in a colonnade of five open arches on each side, is a square apartment surmounted by a dome, and having each wall divided into three bays, of which one is left for the door-way, and the remainder are filled in with reticulated tracery. The cloister has a small dome at each corner, and the curious curvilinear roof, distinctive of the style, over the central compartments. In the larger monument, the visitor's attention is specially directed to the pannels of the doors, painted in miniature with scenes from the life of Krishpa, and to the cornice, a flowered design of some vitrious material executed at Delhi. This commemorates Baldeva Siñh, who died in 1825, and was erected by his son and successor, the late Rájá Balavant Siñh, who was placed on the throne after the reduction of the fort of Bharatpur by Lord Combermere in 1826. The British army figures conspicuously in the paintings on the ceilings of the pavilions. Rájá Rádhír Siñh, who is commemorated by the companion monument, was the elder brother and predecessor of Baldeva and died in the year 1823.

A mile or so from the town, on the borders of the parish of Rádhákund, is a yet more magnificent architectural group erected by Javáhir Siñh in honour of his father Súraj Mal, the founder of the family, who met his death at Delhi in 1764. The principal chhattri, which is 57 feet square, of precisely the same style as the two already described, is flanked on either side by one of somewhat less dimensions, commemorating the Rájá's two queens, Hansiya* and Kishori. The lofty terrace upon which they stand is 460 feet in length, with a long shallow pavilion serving as a screen at each end, and nine two-storied kiosks of varied outline to relieve

* Hans-ganj, on the banks of the Jamunk, immediately opposite Mathurá, was founded by this Ráni; in consequence of a diversion of the road which once passed through it, the village is now that most melancholy of all spectacles, a modern ruin; though it comprises some spacious walled gardens, crowded with magnificent trees.
the front. Attached to Rani Hansiya’s monument is a smaller one in commemoration of a faithful attendant. Behind is an extensive garden, and in front, at the foot of the terrace, is an artificial lake, called the Kusum-Sarovar, 460 feet square; the flights of stone steps on each side being broken into one central and four smaller side compartments by panelled and arched walls running out 60 feet into the water. On the north side, some progress had been made in the erection of a chhattri for Javáhir Siáh, when the work was interrupted by a Muhammadan inroad and never renewed. On the same side the gháts of the lake are partly in ruins, and it is said were reduced to this condition, a very few years after their completion, by the Gosain Himnat Bahádur, who carried away the materials to Brindában, to be used in a house that he was building for himself there. Subsequently he established an independent sovereignty over a considerable portion of Bundel-khand, and in 1803 entered into a special treaty with the British Government.

Other sacred spots in the town of Gobardhan are the temple of Chakrešvar Mahádeva, and four ponds called respectively Go-rochan, Dharm-rochan, Páp-mochan and Rin-mochan. But these latter, even in the rains, are mere puddles, and all the rest of the year are quite dry; while the former, in spite of its sanctity, is as mean a little building as it is possible to conceive.

The break in the hill, traversed by the road from Mathurá to Díg, is called the Dán Gháat, and is supposed to be the spot where Krishna lay in watch to intercept the Gopis and levy a toll (dána) on the milk they were bringing into the town. A Bráhman still sits at the receipt of custom, and extracts a copper coin or two from the passers-by. On the ridge overlooking the Gháat stands the temple of Dán Ráe.

Of late years the paramount power has been repeatedly solicited by the Bharatpur Rájá to cede him Gobardhan in exchange for other territory of equal value. It contains so many memorials of his ancestors that the request is a very natural one for him to make, and it must be admitted that the Bharatpur frontier stands greatly in need of rectification. It would, however, be most impolitic for the Government to make the desired concession, and thereby lose all control over a place so important both from its position and its associations as Gobardhan.

The following legend in the Harivaşsa (cap. 91) must be taken to refer to the foundation of the town, though apparently it has never hitherto been noticed in that connection. Among the descendants of Ikshváku, who reigned at Ayodhya, was Haryasva, who took to wife Madhumati, the daughter of the giant Madhur. Being expelled from the throne by his elder brother, the king fled for refuge to the court of his father-in-law, who received him most affectionately, and ceded him the whole of his dominions, excepting only the capital Madhuvana, which he reserved for his son Lávana. Thereupon Haryasva built, on the sacred Giri-vara, a new royal residence, and consolidated the kingdom of Ánarta, to which he subsequently annexed the country of Arúpa, or as it is otherwise and preferably read, Anúpa. The third in descent from Yadu, the son and successor of Haryasva, was Bhima, in whose reign Ráma, the then sovereign of Ayodhya, commissioned Satrughna to destroy Lavana’s fort of Madhuvana, and erect in its stead the town of Mathurá. After the departure of its founder, Mathurá was annexed by Bhima, and continued in the possession of his descendants down to Vasudeva. The most important lines in the text run thus:

Haryíasvaschah mahátéjãdivyeGirivarottame
Nivesayámása puram väsarthamamaropamah
Anartam náma tadrashtram suráshtram Go
donáyutam
Achirenaiva kálena sampiddham pratya-
ódayata
Anúpa-vishayam chaiva vela vana-vibhú-
shitam.

From the occurrence of the words Giri-vara and Godhana, and the declared proximity to Mathurá, it is clear that the capital of Haryasva must have been situate on the Giri-ráj of Gobardhan; and it is probable that the country of Anúpa was to some extent identical with the more modern Braj. Anúpa is once mentioned, in an earlier canto of the poem, as having been bestowed by king Pritlú on the bard Súta. The name Ánarta occurs also in canto X, where it is stated to have been settled by king Reva, the son of Šaryáti, who made Kusasthali its capital. In the Rámáyana IV. 43, it is described as a western region on the sea-coast, or at all events in that direction, and has therefore been identified with Gujarát. Thus there would seem to have been an intimate connection between Gujarát and Mathurá, long anterior to Kríshna’s foundation of Dwäraká.
ON THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN SANSKRIT DICTIONARIES.

By the Rev. F. KitteI, Merkara.

Letters a, ā.

There is not the slightest doubt that a great number of true Dravidian words have been introduced into the Sanskrit language and dictionaries. But native grammarians often try to convince us of the contrary. Thus, for instance, they say that the Dravidian Kō tī, fowl, is derived from the Sanskrit kukku tā. The Dravidian root for kō tī, however, is kā, the loud cry of a bird, of which the root kū g or kā k is formed, the base for Kō gīł, Kō kil (kokila), the crier, cuckoo: kō tī means crier, crower. How natural it was for the Indian Arya to appropriate, among many others, the following Dravidian words:

ā du (ēda), sheep, goat, Root,—āl, to play.
E rū m e, em me (heramba), buffalo. M ī n (mina), fish, star,—R. min, to glitter. Bēr, vēr, (vera), root,—R. vir, to expand, go into parts. Bā l[i], va l[i] (valli), creeper,—R. bā l, vā l, to be curved, bent; to surround.† M ug u l (mukura, mukula), bud,—R. mug, to be shut up. ā r (āra), village,—R. ur, to settle. Hā t[i] (haṭṭa), hamlet,—R. haṭ, to settle down. Kuṭi, guḍi, hut; either R. kuḍ, to take in, gather in; or, though improbable, R. kuḍ, to bend (a bending, a building made of bent canes or twigs). Kō dā (kuta), a very common earthen vessel,—R. kuḍ, to take in, receive; cf. No. 54. Kō gle (kuṭhāra), axe,—R. kaḍ, to cut, R. kut, to beat. Peṭṭe, peṭṭig e (peṭa, peṭaka), basket, box,—R. piḍ, to hold, contain. Kāṭ u (khāṭā), budstead,—R. kaṭ, to join together, bind. Mā n i, precious stone,—R. māṭ, earth (mastral, sand). M uṭṭu (mukā) pearl, originally: foremost, best,—R. num, to be before.

In giving the following list of Dravidian words that occur in Sanskrit dictionaries under the letters a and ā, completeness is beyond our reach, and the rules which underlie certain formations have not been adduced, though due regard has been paid to them. We begin with a combination of some so-called Sanskrit words:

Aka, agra, sin. Anka, anga, place, side, body. Anka, heart, mark, cipher, sin. Ankura, shoot, intumescence, hair (=growth), water, blood (=flowing). Anga, portion, depending part; angaṇa, angana—place or yard of a house.

These find their explanation in the following Dravidian roots:

ak, ok, ag (āg), og.

(1) to go in, enter (aga, inside, house, place, side, mind, soul, body);† to be in, be hidden, (agaṇu, inside, belly; ogatu, riddle; agara, village); to enter into, to dig (cf. agul, to dig, dive; aga, agate, ogate, depth); to enter, to fill, prevail, overflow, flow; to make go in, to fix into (anke, mark, cipher; certainty, trust; command; aga, agaṇu, self-will, pride, sin).

(2) to beat (angaṇa, a goad); to chew; to tremble for joy, fear, or grief.

(3) to be born (a g e, shoot, young plant, generally explained by “ānkura”; aga, anga, agal, grain, corn; conf. angāli, angațli, corn-selling, provision shop).

A derivative root is a gal (agal) to be wide becomes separated; to make loose (angala, angal, separated, widely apart; agala, breadth, breast).

The following so-called Sanskrit words are numbered, and after a sign of equation the corresponding Dravidian terms introduced:

1. a g i—V i n d u = b i n d u, drop; R. bil, to fall.
2. An c h, an k, ang, to go; to bend = R. ach, to move, walk; to bend; anchal, anche, usually explained by “pathabheha,” running post; anchu—border, shore. The connection of ach with ag, to enter, seems to be shown by achchu, receptacle, mould.
3. A t, ath, a n th = R. at, ant, and, to run after; resort to; cf. R. ad, to be close, thickset, obstructed, plentiful, etc.; conf. adavu, thickset, as corn or trees.
4. A t avi = a d a v i, a wood; R. ad, to be close, thickset, obstructed, plentiful, etc.; conf. adavu, thickset, as corn or trees.
5. A t, at, a th h = R. at, ant, and, to run after; resort to; cf. R. ad, to move, play; adi, foot.
6. At ta, excess = R. ad, to be plentiful; cf atadavi, an impervious jungle.
7. A t a, upper-loft = aṭṭa, ; R. ad, to put one thing upon the other.
8. Aṭṭa, haṭṭa, haṭṭi\(^{=}\)haṭṭa, hamlet; R. ad, had, to be, to settle; h = p; cf. therefore paṭṭaṇa, though also written pattana.
9. Aṭṭa, food = atta, cooked substance; R. ad, to cook, mature.
10. Aṭṭa, dried = atta, cooked (by the sun); cf. atta tengu, dried cocoa-nut.
11. Aṭṭa, bed = R. ad, No. 7. The upper loft is often used as a dormitory. The Tamil, however, has also adukku mette, a couch with piled up pillows. (If atta originally has been haṭṭa, conf. No. 8, we have: patta, haṭṭa, bed; R. had, to lie down.)
12. Aṭṭaṇa, ad[j]ana, shield = ad[j]ana; R. ad, to obstruct; adja, obstacle, fence, covering.
13. A ḍ, adḍ, to strive, occupy – R. ḍ, No. 3; R. ad, No. 4.
14. Aṇi, border, frontier = ane, dam; R. any, to strike against.
15. Aṇi, small = anu; R. an, anugu, to decrease, disappear.†
16. Aṇa, āṇa, nail = āṇu; R. an, aṣugu, a nail for fastening together; R. an, to join.
17. Aṇu, small = āṇu; R. an, aṣugu, to decrease, disappear.†
18. Aṇa, āṇa, testicle (the sign of a male), egg = āṇa; R. āṇ, āl, to be manly, strong.
19. Aṭṭaṇa (conf. artikā, elder sister) = ate, a maternal uncle’s wife, etc.; perhaps R. al, to love (alti, arti, love).
20. Anu-Guṇa = guna, rope, quality, further degree; – R. kuḍ, to join, be joined, to adl.
22. Andolay, to swing = R. al, to swing, – R. oḍ, to move about; The and is a participle of al.
23. a-Poganda (not-) not full grown; (not-) having a defective member = R. pō, to go, absent; and ganḍa, manliness; – R. pō, to go; and ganṭa, knot, joint. See No. 53.
25. Amb, to sound = R. an, to speak (amb-adu, speaking).
26. Ambary, to carry together = om, together, and R. bar, to come, of which the transitive is bars?
27. Ayi, aye, oh = ayyō.
28. Ayo-Guṇa = gunḍu, a mass, ball, stone; – R. kuḍ, to come together.
29. A r = ara, are, a moiety, little.

* Atta (kshauma)=haṭṭa, patta, cloth; cf. Tamil – agga, rope = Kannada – hagga; etc. See Supplement.
† It may be remarked that Dravidian homonymous roots are sometimes lengthened, and sometimes receive the terminations i, e, etc. to distinguish them from each other.
‡ The italic r is an r that is pronounced somewhat like ḍ.
52. ava-Gaṇa = gaṇa, mass; R. gaļ, kaļ to be thick, strong, excessive.
53. ava-Gaṇḍa = gaṇḍa, knot, joint; also kaṇ, kaṇu mean the same; R. gaļ, kaļ, No. 52 gaṇḍa, hero, best = gaṇḍa, manly.
54. ava-Gaṇṭha = gaṇṭha, hiding, veiling; sweeping.

a. gaṇḍ, gaṇṭha, gaṇḍ, to cover, protect, sweep
   R. kuq, to join, gather, assemble, keep together, contain, (kuqike, receptacle, shell; kuqike = gunḍaka, small oil-vessel); 2, to take in, protect, cover (kuqle, koqle, umbrella); 3, to take covering (gunḍu, nest); 4, to be covered (gunṭu, secret); 5, to take in, to drink; 6, to cause to join or meet, to give; 7, to join together make a heap, to sweep.

b. gunḍ = R. kuq, bound.

55. ava-Ghaṇṭa, a pit; and ava-Ghaṭṭana, rubbing off. Both perhaps from the R. ke!, to fall; or R. kaļ, to cut off, cut into, hew down; cf. kaļe, end. We may introduce here the following roots of the Sanskrit dictionary:

a. ghaṇṭ, to work = R. kaṭṭ, to build, perform; to join together.

b. ghaṇṭ, to be possible = R. kaṭṭ in an intransitive sense, in which it also is found; or R. ki to be obtained.

c. ghaṇṭ, to be joined = R. kaṭṭ, as under b (or R. kiṭṭ, to approach).

d. ghaṭṭ, to stir, churn = R. kaļ, to stir, churn.

e. ghaṭṭ, to slip over = R. kaļ, to pass over, cross.

56. ava-Piḷa, pressure = piḷa; R. piñ, to press; to milk; piñle, piña (piña), mass, lump; piñu, that which is milked, herd, flock.

57. a-Viĉhi, without waves = viĉhi, wave; perhaps from R. vis, bis, to wave, swing about.

58. a-Velā, denial = probably R. pēl, speak; a-pēl, in the sense of saying "no."

59. a-vesa, chewed betel. Betel is betta, creeper, and ele, leaf of the creeper. a-vesa, betel that is no longer fit for use.

60. a-s (though partly vadic) = R. is, es, yas, to throw; to shine.

61. a-s, to take = R. is, to take. This is perhaps the causative of R. i, to give = to cause to be given to one's self, to take; but cf. the secondary R. esag, to take into one's hands, to begin.

62. a sthi-Tuṇḍa, bone, bill = tuṇḍa, bill; R. tuq, to beat; cf. tuq, drum.

* After this ought to have come: as'va-balaya, stallion and mare. Badawa, mare, is probably connected with ma-ḍadi, woman; R. maļ, to lie down, sink, be submissive.
84. āḷī, ditch—āLī; R. āLī, to be deep.
85. āḷū (=āḷā, as suffix), possessing=āḷū. No. 82.
86. āḷū=āḷū, water-vessel; R. āl, to possess, contain.
87. āvukā, father—āva+ka. Āva, āva, now means “mother,” although its form allows also the meaning “father;” cf. No. 84. The R. av means, 1, to hide, put close together, press; 2 to shake; 3, to excel (?).

Supplement to Al.
A very rich Dravidian root (the branches of which appear, as it seems, in ir, il, ol, oll, ēl, hol, pol, ār, al, āl) is al (āl, ān, al):
I. To go from place to place; to flow; to be dissolved; move about, play, be occupied, wander about; to be shaken, beaten; to be fatigued (in body or spirit); to be humbled, poor, disqualified; (medial: aḷaṣ, to fatigue one’s self, to be weary.)
II. To sound, cry; (medial: āḷis, to make sound for one’s self, to listen).
III. To be complete, sufficient, useful, neat bright, full, blown, large, extended, abounding (covering ?), powerful, violent.
IV. (to cover ?), to be dark (or shady? conf. āl-mara or āḷa-mara, extending, outspread or shady tree, the Banian tree).
V. (to be agitated or expanded with mental emotion,) to rejoice, be glad, (to be fond of).
VI. (to go into, be attached to,) to join, connect, knit, net, (to make meshes or stiches); to be entangled.
VII. (to be located).
1. Āḷa, āḷa, spawn, or fluids sputtered out by venomous creatures*—Tamil āḷa, water, rain, (Canarese—āḷī, āḷe, āḷe), poison, cf. Tamil—āḷā poison; and Sanskrit—ḥāḷā, ḥāḷā, ḥāḷā, ḥāḷā, ḥāḷā, ḥāḷā, (hāḷā, hāḷā, hāḷā, hāḷā, hāḷā, hāḷā, hāḷā).
2. Āḷa, sting of a scorpion; scorpion (also āḷi, āḷin)=the beater or stinger. Here, however, āḷ may have the meaning “to be pointed,” which meaning may be inferred from āḷug, āḷag, blade or point of a weapon; cf. āḷa.
3. Āḷakā, young girl=the playful, bright or rejoicing female. Alaka, curl=what is knit.
4. Āḷasā, āḷasa, fatigued, indolence.
5. Āḷi, cuckoo; crow=crier.
6. Āḷi, bee=hummer; or wanderer (conf. bhramara.)
7. Āḷika, āḷika, forehead; heaven=expanse (cf. viśāḷa—bhāḷa).

8. Ālipaka, dog=wanderer; or barker; conf. the forms under No. 11.
9. Ālipaka, cuckoo=crier.
10. Ālipaka, bee=No. 6.
11. Ālimaka, ālimaka, ālimbaka, frog=crier; or player.
12. Ālimaka, the stamina of a lotus flower=Tamil āḷi. For these two words R. āl may be= R. il=R. nil, to be placed, stand. Cf. Tamil āḷ, there=Canarese āḷi, āḷi; Tamil īl, there=Ca-

narese (il) īḷi, here; Tulu īḷ, house. A noun of Dravidian roots is formed by adding to a root āḷ, āṇa, āṇa, probably meaning “state,” the German “zustand.” For the possibility of ī being changed into ī, cf. also anī=alankāra.
15. Āḷavatana (āḷ or āḷa + āvartana), an umbrella that is used also as a fan=āḷa-pāṭṭa, āḷavaṭṭa, expansion-fan (shade-fan). The translation is given as if āvartana (vartana) were the mother of pāṭṭa and pāṭṭa.
16. Āḷaya, alligator=large-mouth; or (according to Dravidian āḷpīdivan, man-catcher) man-mouth (a mouth that takes a man in).
17. Āḷi=āḷī, āḷi, extension, line, lineage.
Cf. Dravidian āḷī, line, mass, of which āvali, āvali may have been derived.
18. Āḷi, bee=āḷī, āḷi, No. 6.
19. Āḷi, scorpion=āḷī, āḷi, No. 2.
20. Āḷi, female friend=āḷī, āḷi. The first meaning probably “a play-mate.” Cf. No. 3.
21. Āḷinā, āḷinaka, lead (though being explainable by ā + ī)=āḷīa, fluid, (what easily goes into the state of a fluid), lead. cf. No. 1.
22. Āḷū, owl=sounder, howler.
23. Āḷū, bulbous root. In Canarese potatoes are called āḷū-gāḍḍē, gāḍḍē=lump, bulbous root; the meaning of this āḷū, though certainly Dravidian, I have not been able to ascertain. People say it is ħāḷū, juice, milk; and the reason for their saying so is their knowledge, that Tamuliens, when using a Canarese word beginning with h, often drop this letter, though they have the letter p as substitute in their own language. I am, however, inclined to think that āḷū is, as the Sanscrit goes to show, in its meaning equal to vēr, root, from R. vir, to extend itself=R. āḷal, Nos. I. and III. āḷū-gāḍḍē=

* Has the Dravidian bōl pēl, ordure, had any influence upon the meaning? In Tulu pēr milk.
big-bulb, fine-bulb, although "root-lump" is not to be rejected.

Is it not perhaps possible, that hâlu, hâl, pâl, juice, milk, is the same word as the halâ, etc., water, vinous or spirituous liquor poison, under No. 1? and that a spirit of hatred (caste) against the Ānāryas, combined with the fact that the milky or vinous trees, called hâl, is obnoxious and poisonous, has given it also a bad signification? From pâl the Sanskrit pâlana, milk of a lately calved cow, is derived, but this is probably a recent formation. The aspirate does not appear at the beginning of the Tamil and Canarese words under No. 1, and in the Tamil of the present day "milk" is pâl (Canarese hâl, pâl); but the word without the h (p. v) may be the original one. It would, certainly, be strange if hâl, pâl, the only word for "milk" in Dravidian, should not have entered into Sanskrit at an early age.

It is curious that initial h and p, as in Dravidian, so also in Sanskrit Tatsamas or Tadbhavas are used promiscuously. Thus Dravidian halli, palli, village=Sanskrit palli (which is not at all connected with puri); Dr. hallu, pullu, tooth=S. hâlu; Dr. halli, palli, house-lizard =S. hâlîni; Dr. horag (hurage), porag (purage), without=S. hûruk; Dr. hudi, hûdi, pud, pûd, to cover=S. hul; Dr. hud, hud, hoḍ, pod (bod, bad), to beat (powder)=S. puṭ, (puḍ) etc.

Sometimes an aspirate is used in a Sanskrit Tadbhava where there is none in the original. Thus Sanskrit herambâ, buffaloe=Dravidian erumâ; S. hrīvera, many-branched root of the grass Andropogon muricatus=Dr. iruvēli, irvēli (Rir, to go into parts); S. hingu, Assafotida=Dr. hingi; (ingu may be a foreign word; if not, we have the Dravidian root ing, to dry up, evaporate, decoct, which fully explains it). On the other hand Sanskrit agnî, fire, has received the form haggi in Canarese.

We have ventured above to find a1 again in hol, pol (pul), to unite, join; cf. al, ul and pol (pul), to sound; òl, vōl, pōl, hōl, to resemble, liken; ālī, ālī, pālī, line; remember also that an initial u sometimes, and an initial o generally are written and pronounced as if there were a v at the beginning (ondu, one=vondu or vandu). If our supposition is right, a spiritus lenis must, here and there, have originally occurred where we have now a spiritus asper; and thus the comparison of āla and hālu, milk, would become the more justifiable. We could adduce further instances in favour of this supposition. It is we think worth being well tested.

ON THE RÂMÂYANA.

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Translated from the German by the Rev. D. C. Boyd, M.A.

(Concluded from page 182.)

If the preceding considerations have made it sufficiently clear that there is nothing either in the substance or in the form of the Râmâyana distinctly inconsistent with the idea that it was composed at a time when Greece had already exercised a considerable influence on India, that on the contrary it is necessary to strike out of the poem important passages which clearly indicate such an influence,—the external testimonies to the existence of the work, which we are able to produce from the rest of Indian literature, are in complete harmony with this result. If, indeed, Gorresio is right in supposing that the passage in the Râja-Tarangini I. 116, according to which king Dâmôdara was condemned to wear the form of a serpent "until he should have heard the whole of the Râmâyana, in one day," decays in favour of at least the "remota antiquitad el poema," (Introd. to Vol. I. p. xvii—viii), inasmuch as king Dâmôdara lived about the beginning of the 14th century B. C.,—then, of course, nothing further need be said! But it is well-known that the Râja-Tarangini itself dates only from the beginning of the twelfth century of our era (composed about 1125, see Lassen, Ind. Alt. I. 473; II. 18); and we should certainly hesitate to ascribe such a "remota antiquitad" to this epic, merely on the ground that in it the Râmâyana is brought into connection with the bewitchment of a king, who is presumed to have reigned 2,400 years before the date of the poem! And besides, the
Dāmodara of the Rāja-Tarangini has nothing whatever to do with the fourteenth century before Christ. On the contrary he is spoken of in the poem as having sprung from the race of Ašoka! *(I. 153.):* the Indo-Scythian (Turska) kings Hushka, Jushka, and Kaniška† are mentioned as his immediate successors; and consequently he must have reigned (see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 275, 408) "after the overthrow of the Greek nīj, sometime in the beginning of the first century B.C." But however little importance we may attach to this notice in the Rāja-Tarangini as determining the question at issue, it is certainly a singular circumstance that the earliest time to which the Rāmāyana is referred, and then it would seem as a work that had not yet been completed, is just a period that lies exactly in the middle between the nīj of the Yavana and that of the Śaka—both, with their victorious hosts, well-known in the Rāmāyana (vide supra, p. 178, 179.)

If we take the testimonies to the existence of a Rāmāyana in their chronological order, the first that I have as yet met with is the mention of a poem of this name in the Anuyogadvāra sūtra of the Jains (see *my Treatise on the Bhagavatī*, I. 373, 374; II. 248,) in which it takes its place with (though after) the Bārata at the summit of profane literature. This sūtra is indeed considerably later than the Bhagvatisūtra itself: it is not reckoned among the twelve sacred angas of the Jains, though it undoubtedly belongs to their earlier texts, standing somewhat on the same footing with the Śuryprajñapti; and it is, beyond all question, considerably older than the Kalpasūtra, composed in the beginning of the seventh century. We cannot, it is true, assign to the work any definite date. We are unable therefore to determine with certainty whether it would not be more correct to give it the second place in our list, the first place belonging rather to the Bārata referred to in conjunction with the Rāmāyana in the Sutra, to the various episodes namely, and allusions to the Rāmāyana which are found in the Mahābhārata, and specially to the history of Rāma as that is treated in the Rāmāyaṇa. The difficulty in determining this question lies in this, that it cannot be ascertained whether that text of the Bārata which existed at the time of the Anuyogadvārasūtra really contained these episodes and allusions.

At the head of the testimonies to be taken from the Mahābhārata we have to name the Rūmqūkhyana, that lengthy episode introduced near the end of the third book (15872-16601), in which the story of Rāma is told almost precisely in the way that Vālmiki represents it, but at the same time without his name being mentioned, or even the remotest allusion being made to the existence of a Rāmāyana. The entire episode is placed rather in the month of Markanda who, after the happy restoration of Krīṣṇā (Draupadi) whom Jayadratha had carried away, narrates it by way of consolation to Yudhishthira as an example taken from the olden time to show that his was not a singular experience. The substantial agreement, however, in the course of the narrative, frequently even in the form of expression, is so very marked that we are involuntarily led to regard it as a kind of epitome of the work of Vālmiki. On the other hand it must be admitted that there are also striking points of difference, partly arising from the fact that various passages which are contained in our present text of the Rāmāyaṇa are altogether wanting in this episode, partly on account of numerous actual deviations, some of them very important, from the story as told by Vālmiki. Thus, the narrative begins with the circumstances that preceded the incarnation of Vishnu; and it treats with much fulness of detail of what is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa first in the Uttarakanda only, though with material variations from the representation there given.—namely, the early history of Rāvaṇa and his brothers. The sacrifice of Daśaratha, the education of Rāma, his winning of Sītā as his bride, and indeed the entire contents of the Bālakānda, are left alto-

* If—let me say in passing—the notices regarding Ašoka's son Jaloka in the Rāja-Tarangīt did not so directly characterise him as an enemy of the Mlechha, a friend of the Śiva-worship, &c., it would be very reasonable to recognise in his name just a misunderstood reminiscence of the name of Seleukos. And indeed I find it difficult, in spite of these notices, to refrain from looking for the Indian name in the Greek one.

† It is singular that among their successors the following names re-appear (I. 192 ff) immediately after one another:—

(Gonarda III.) Vibhishana, Indraśi, Rāvana, Vibhishana; see Lassen, vol. II. p. xxii; and this circumstance, taken in connection with the Buddhist persuasion (partial as it was) of these kings of Kashmir, furnishes a curious incidental support to Wheeler's theory, according to which these names occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa are to be considered as indicating the Buddhist princes of Ceylon. Regarding Gonarda III., inde d, it is stated that he persecuted the bhikṣu (I. 186); but regarding his son Vibhishana I. we have nothing of the kind. Rāvana worshiped Vatesvara (Śiva?).
gather unnoticed. The narrative really begins, after the mention of Rāma's birth and a few brief words regarding his youth (15947-50), with the wish of Daśaratha to inaurate him as heir-apparent to the throne. Even the Ayodhyā-kānda and a great part of the Aranyakānda are dispatched in a few verses (15950-90). The more detailed account begins, in accordance with the purpose for which the story is told, with the appearance before Rāvaṇa of the mutilated Śūrpaṇaṅkhā (=Rām. III. 36, Gorresio); but from this point onward the various incidents of the Rāmāyana are related in essentially the same order as in that poem, although with many variations in details. The putting of Kabandha to death is told without the alleviating balm of his restoration to life (Ram. III. 75, 39). The story of Śavari is wanting. Equally so is the account of the dream sent by Brahma to comfort Sītā. The dream of Trījātā (Ram. V. 21) and Rāvaṇa's visit to Śitā (Ram. V. 27) are inserted between the installation of Sugrīva (Ram. IV. 26) and the subsequent summons addressed to him four months afterwards to come forth and take part in the battle (Ram. IV. 32); inserted here, no doubt, because the discovery of Sītā by Hanumānt in connection with which these incidents are narrated in the Rāmāyana, is only slightly touched on in this episode, and indeed merely in the brief report of it which Hanumānt himself gives to Rāma. The god of the Ocean consents here at once to the building of a bridge under Nala's direction (16300), without waiting, as in Ram. V. 98, to have that consent forced from him by the arrow of Rāma. Vishanu's comes over as a desecrer only after the bridge is finished (16314), not before (Ram. V. 92). Kumbhakarṇa is killed by Laksmanā (16426), not by the arrow of Rāma. The twice-performed sacrifice of Indrajit in Nikumbhilā (Ram. VI. 19, 39; 52, 18) is wanting. The striking down of Rāma and Laksmanā by the śarabandha (arrow-charm) of Indrajit occurs only once (16466), not twice, as in the Ram. VI. 19, 76; 52, 51; and consequently their revival is necessary only once, not twice (Ram. VI. 24, 2; 53, 28). The herb that has the power of healing wounds is not fetched even once (much less twice, Ram. VI. 53 and 83) by Hanumānt from Gandhamādana, but is found in the hand of Sugrīva (16470). Sītā does not pass through any fire ordeal, but the gods summoned by her as witnesses, Vāyu, Agni, Varuṇa, Brahma, all come of their own accord, and bear testimony to her chastity. Without doubt, then, this narrative in the Mahābhārata is in many respects more primitive than that of the Rāmāyana; and in fact we are now and then tempted to ask, whether, instead of an epilogue of the latter work, we may not rather have before us the original out of which the Rāmāyana has been developed? Or ought we to assume only that the Mahābhārata contains the epitome of an earlier recension of our text of the Rāmāyana? an assumption, however, which would imply, with regard to the latter, an alteration so serious in the interval, that we could no longer speak with any propriety of the identity of the work; as there would in that case be rather two distinct texts treating of the same subject, and agreeing substantially in the main, but with important variations in detail. Or, thirdly,
should these differences be perhaps regarded as merely emendations which were to be found in the epitomiser's text of the Rāmāyana, and which he selected by way of preference?—this consideration only being opposed to such an idea, that a large proportion of these variations bear the impress of a greater simplicity and antiquity.† Or lastly, as a fourth possibility that may be advanced, should both texts, the Rāmopākhyāna and the Rāmāyana, be regarded as resting alike upon a common groundwork, but each occupying an independent stand-point,‡ and therefore representing the incidents of the story in accordance with different purposes? I am unable at present to commit myself to any decision. One thing is certain: with all the admitted difference, there yet remains a mutual connection so evident that we are justified in regarding this episode of the Mahābhārata as at all events furnishing a proof of the existence at that time of some form of the Rāmāyana. It is true that we have not succeeded in gaining here a chronological datum, as we do not know when this episode became a part of the Mahābhārata; this only we can say, that whether or not we strike out, with Muir (Orig. Sansk. T. IV., 412-3) the Vaishnava introduction, the admission of the episode undoubtedly belongs to a time in which the Rāmāyana was made use of for Vaishnava— in other words for anti-Buddhist purposes.

Nor is the testimony of the Mahābhārata to the existence of poetical representations of Rāma's history restricted merely to this one episode: other passages also of the same work furnish similar testimony.§ Thus in an earlier portion of this same third book, a description is given of a meeting between Bhima and the Monkey Hanumant, in which he himself gives (11197-11219) a brief sketch of that portion of the Rāmāyana which follows the rape of Sītā.

† We can hardly be expected to recognise as original all the useless repetitions and re-touchings, which he has judiciously avoided (the space at his command of course was limited!) and which served only to increase unreasonably the extent of the Rāmāyana.

‡ It is noteworthy that the Rāmopākhyāna assumes as its starting-point the incarnation of Vishnu in Rāma, but yet treating the latter throughout as a merely human hero.

§ We remark, however, in passing that such tem-timony affords no materials for deciding the question, which of the two epics is the earlier: for none of these passages belong to the substance of the Mahābhārata proper, but they serve simply to illustrate a point of view, and add another illustration of the readiness with which Vedic influences were borrowed, and the readiness with which the epics formed a foundation for the propagation of Vedic ideas in the popular past. It is evident that this is an instance of the secondary or complementary character of the Mahābhārata, and that the text of the Rāmāyana was made use of for Vaishnava—or, indeed, for any religious purpose, except for the expansion of the work for anti-Buddhist purposes.

Regarding Rāma it is said in the same place that he Vishnu mānuṣāḥ puruṣaḥ caḥ caḥāraḥ vasyavātālam; he is thus regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu (compare on this point Mahābhārata XII. 12949, 12968, where he appears as the eighth of the ten avatāras of Vishnu).—In the seventh book also (2224-46, amplified from XII. 944-955) the story of Rāma is given as one of sixteen proofs† taken from the olden time that even the noblest are overcome by death, his contest with Rāvanā for the ravished Sītā being briefly told, the chief stress being at the same time laid on the wonderful happiness of the people under his reign. The earlier recension of this episode, contained in the twelfth book, is perfectly silent respecting Rāma and Rāvanā, and describes only the happiness enjoyed during the time of Rāma's reign, and indeed represents it in the liveliest colours as a truly Golden Age. This Brahmanical representation of the Rāma-Saga is, therefore, that which comes nearest to the version found in the Dāsarathā-Jātaka. Since, however, it is also perfectly silent regarding the exile of Rāma, we should certainly be in error if we were to employ it as a proof that, at the time when it was composed, the version of Vālmīki was not yet in existence.

It is evidently not at all intended to give a detailed account of the incidents of Rāma's life, but only to describe the splendour of his brilliant reign; and in point of fact it does this (as does also the enlarged form in Book VII) in essential, partly even in verbal agreement with the Rāmāyana, I. 1; VI. 113. And besides, there is nothing said in either of the versions of this episode (either in Book XII. or in Book VII.) regarding Rāma's being an incarnation of Vishnu.—In the twelfth book there is quoted also a śloka (2086) regarding the indispensableness of royalty, which reads thus: "purā gito Bhāraveṇa mahātmanā | ākhyāne Rāmacharite." And this is evidently a direct reference to the

are all found in the overgrowth of episodes with which the original body of the work (16800 ślokas, according to I. 81) is enveloped. Compare on this point my Vorles. über Ind. L. G. p. 181 and Indische Skizzen p. 38.

† It is worthy of notice that here, as in the Rāmāyana and the Rāmopākhyāna, the history of Rāma closes with his return to Ayodhya (where he enjoyed a prosperous reign of 11,000 years), and that no mention is made of the putting away of Sītā (on account of the suspicion of the citizens of Ayodhya), which is not found even in the Rāmāyana until we come to the Uttarākāyān.

§ These are sometimes very interesting: see Ind. Stud. I. 276-77. The putting to death by covetous robbers of the prince Suvrataśāthivin, who was continually dropping gold about, recalls the hen or the goose that laid the golden eggs of our nursery tales, and their similar fate.
work of Vālmiki, who in the Uttarakanda Cl. 26, is expressly designated as Bhārgava* (compare also Verz. der Berl. S. H. p. 121). The verse is as follows:—

"rājānam prathamam vindet tato bhāryām tato dhanam |
rājany asati lokasya kuto bhāryā kuto dhanam"

and it occurs, if not in these exact words, yet with identically the same sense, in the Serampore edition, II. 62, 9, and also in the Bombay one, II. 67, 11 (after II. 67, 9, Schlegel), as follows:—

"arājake dhanam nā 'sti nā 'sti bhāryā 'py arājake"

while the corresponding sections in Schlegel (II. 67), in Gorresio (II. 69), and in A (fol. 566b) present nothing directly answering to this. (This identical verse occurs also in the Hītapatra I. 194, see Böhtlingk, Sprüche, 2616.)

And in this connection we may subjoin the following. In the seventh book, v. 6019—20, there occurs, placed in the mouth of Sātyaki, a direct quotation from a work of Vālmiki. In that passage we find these words:—

"Api chā'ya purā gita sloko V film ik ina bhuvi :"

and then follow three hemistichs—

"Na hantavyāh striyā iti yad bravishi plavangama || 19 |
(thus I answer thee) sarvakālam manushyena vyavasāyavatāsadā |
pilākaram aitranām yat syāt kartavyam eva tat|| 20 |
I cannot indeed recall any passage in the Rāmāyana similar to this, nor can I remember any situation in which such words addressed to a Monkey would have been appropriate (the affair with Tādakā, I. 27, 28, has of course nothing to do with what is here quoted); but yet the passage seems to afford sufficient evidence of the existence at that time, and indeed for a long time previous (purā), of a work composed by Vālmīki, in which Monkeys played a part; and in all probability this was just a Rāmāyana! In addition to this, Vālmīki is also frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and invariably with great honour as belonging to the old mahrshi, but yet without any further reference to his being the author of a poetical work; so that it remains doubtful whether these passages refer to the author of the Rāmāyana, to the grammarian of the Taittirīyā-Prāśiśākhya (vide supra. p. 123n.), or to some other sage of the same name. Thus (in I. 2110), his skill is extolled to Janamejaya:—'Vālmīkivāt te nibhītam svavīryam'; he belongs to the suite of the sābhā of Sakra (I. 297), as Nārada informs Yudhishthira (Vālmīkis cha mahātaṭāḥ), but also to the worshippers of Kriṣṇa, XII. 7521 (Asito Devasa tāta Bālmīkis cha mahātaṭāḥ | Mārkaṇḍeyas cha Govindive kathāyaty abhuddham mahat) and V. 2946, where he is called Vālmīka† (Sukra-Nārada-Vālmīkāmarutāḥ Kuśika Bhriguḥ | devā brahmaṇaḥ śaiva Kriṣṇaḥ Yudunākhāvaham | pradakṣiṇām avarānta sahitā Vāsavānujām []).

Lastly there are some passages that refer to the Rāmāyana to be found also in the Harivihāra, which is regarded as a supplement (khila) to the Mahābhārata. The authority of this work has recently gained increased importance† from the circumstance that it has been ascertained that Subandhu, the author of the Vāsavadatta, who in all probability lived about the beginning of the seventh century, was even then in possession of a recension of it, which actually contained at least a portion of the work as we now have it (see Ind. Streifen, I. 380); and the same may be said also with regard to the mention made of this work in the Kādambari of Bāpūra, who is to be assigned to a date not long after that of Subandhu; see, for instance, Kādambari, I. 45, 80 § In the first passage, then, of the Harivihāra that bears on our subject (2324—59), mention is made along

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* Vālmīki is usually designated as Prāchetasa; see Ram. Introduction, v. 5, Schi, Uttarakanda, C. 19; C1I. 12, Kaghaṇatā, XVII, 63 ; Prāchetas is a surname of Varuṇa, father of Bṛhga. In the Bhagavata Purāṇa, VI. 18, 4 Vālmīki appears as a son of Varuṇa by a valmike (?Charahānti Varunasyādityaṣyāṃ jato Bṛhga puṣṭaḥ | Vālmīkis cha mahāyogi valmikād abhavaḥ puṣṭa). In the Saṁskāra Kaustubha, 183b, Vālmīki is represented as belonging (with Pāṇini, but after him) to the race of the Bhrigavas (in an account which purports, as it would seem, to be borrowed from Baudhāyana). In the passage from the Mahābhārata quoted above, the designation of Vālmīki as Bṛhgaṇya is perhaps selected also because items stately afterwards, in v. 2009, a verse is quoted from

† Under this form of the name he appears in a modern work among the sons of Chitrārupa; see Aufrecht, Cotal. S 41b. In the Mahābhārata itself (V. 3590) Vālmīki is also found among the names of the sons of Garuḍa; see the Peterburger S. Wörterbuch, a v. 

§ The Kavi translation of the work appears to be of modern origin; see Ind. Stud. I. 145. 

\[ \text{hārivān's kāthvā na śekavarkātrikāramanayā, p. 45, } \]

\[ \text{yādvaśāṃ śivaḥ kulakramāṅgataḥ uṣābimbaparushottamā}

\[ \text{mālāsapriśākham, p. 90 (ot, is what is spoken of here not}

\[ \text{the work, but the vaiśā itself ?) } \]
with the other nine avatāras of Viṣṇu, of his incarnation also as Rāma, and of this hero's childhood, exile, contest with Rāvaṇa, &c., (exactly as in the Rāmāyana; and then, after the return from Ceylon, the splendour of his reign is described (from v. 2343 onwards) in essentially the same fashion as in the episode of the sixteen ancient kings in the Mahābhārata, Books VII. and XII., and consequently in similar harmony with the Rāmāyana, I, I, and VI. 113. The author states that he relies for his materials upon "ancient ballads" which treated of his subject (2352 gāthās cha 'py atra janāḥ Rāme nibaddhāḥ...). A very special testimony to the existence of the Rāmāyana is borne also by the second passage (8672-4), in which direct mention is made of a dramatic treatment (nātakikātyānam) of the Rāmāyana mahākāvyam, without indeed connecting therewith the name of Vālmīki, but with statements so definite as clearly to show that, so far as regards its main elements, our present text of the Rāmāyana existed even at that time, and already in its Vaishnava form. We are informed, namely, that the renowned actor, to the eulogising of whom the passage in question is devoted, represents in a drama "the birth of the immeasurable Vishṇu for the purpose of fulfilling his wish to put to death the prince of the Rākṣasas. Lomapāda (and) Daśaratha (in the drama) caused the great munī Rishyasringa to be fetched, by means of Sāntā and the courtesans. Rāma, Lakṣmana and Śatrughna, Bharata Rishyasringa and Sāntā were personated by actors characteristically dressed" (read 'kritāh' instead of 'kritaih'). A third passage occurs at the close (16232), where, among the verses that extol the sublimity of the Mahābhārata we read: "In the Veda, in the pure Rāmāyaṇa, in the Bhārata, Hari's (praise) is everywhere sung, in the beginning, at the end, and in the middle;" the attributable puṣyā shows the high estimation in which the work was held at the time when this concluding section was composed, though it may no doubt have been only later addition. Eulogistic mention of Vālmīki, associated with Viṣṇu, and therefore most probably as the author of the Rāmāyana, occurs also in v. 5:—"Thou (O Āryā! art: sarasvatī cha Bālmike (h!) amūḍtir Draipāyane tathā." The Vaishnava complexion of the greater part of these passages from the Mahābhārata affords unmistakable evidence that they belong to a time in which the banner of the national gods had been raised in opposition to Buddhism. But whether they reach so far back as to the beginning of this period is, to say the least, doubtful; or rather we may say that there is no manner of doubt that it cannot have been the case with regard to those passages in which a fixed system of ten avatāras is assumed. Nor does the circumstance that the existence of a Harivansha in the sixth century seems to have been ascertained furnish any proof that the whole of what we at present find in the poem (which extends, as is well known, to 16374 ślokas) actually belonged to it at that time.

We descend now from the region of the Epic which has always been regarded as sacred (puṣyā), into that of profane literature. The earliest text of this nature in which the story of Rāma is referred to in such a manner as to furnish certain evidence the existence of a Rāmāyana is, so far as yet known,† the Mrīchasakātikā, purporting to be the work of a king Śādraka. It is true that the date of this work is also by no means definitely fixed;‡ but so much at least is

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* The entire narrative in the passage in question is deeply interesting in its bearing upon the history of dramatic art in India. The same frenzied enthusiasm which celebrated actors awakened in our own day appears, from the narrative, to have been common in India also, with all its seductive allurements and effects on the female portion of the audience, &c.

† No help in this direction is to be got from Pāṇini (Ind. Stud. I. 147-148); but what about the Mahābhādhyayana? I have been able to find nothing bearing on our subject in the portion of this work published by Ballantyne.

‡ For there were several kings who bore the name Śādraka: cf. Rāja-Tarangini, III. 315, and the notices in Bāṇa, Dandin, Somdeva (Ind. Streifen, I. 354) Lassen, II. 500. In Is'varachandra Vedāntakāra's essay on the "Marriage of Hindoo Widows," Calc. 1856, there is a passage (p. 63) quoted from the "chapter of prophecies in the Skanda Purāṇa," according to which king Śādraka reigned 3290 years after the beginning of the Kali (3101 Kali; therefore 3310 B.C.); and from the "chapter of prophecies in the Skanda Purāṇa," according to which king Śādraka reigned 3290 years after the beginning of the Kali (3101 B.C.); and from the Kumārikakānda of the Skanda Purāṇa, it is asserted that the date of this work is 2072 A.D. (read S'īraka instead of S'ldraka. The same

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certain, that it was composed at a time in which Buddhism was flourishing in full vigour, and Rāma-worship or Krisha-worship had not yet come into existence.—I have not been able to find any similar reference to the Rāmāyana in the dramas of Kālidāsa;* but allusions to it occur in his Meghadūta (vv. 1, 99) and in the Rāghuvaṇa in, in which latter work direct reference is made to the Prāchētanā Kapjānam Rāmāyaṇam, and even to Vālmīki (XV. 68, 64). Unfortunately, however, we are met here also by the difficulty that arises partly from the uncertainty that still exists regarding the date we should assign to Kālidāsa (third or sixth century of our era; see my Abh. über Kṛṣṇa's Geburtstag, p. 319; Z. D. M. G. XXII. 726f.), partly with reference to the Rāghuvaṇa, about which there exists at least some amount of doubt whether we are right in ascribing it to the author of the dramas and of the Meghadūta.† We have to mention besides, in this place, still another work which undeniably assumes, as its very groundwork, the existence of a Rāmāyana, and which at least in recent times (see Höfer, Z. für die W. der Spr., II. 500ff.; Verz. der Berl. S. H., p. 156, 369) has been ascribed to Kālidāsa, namely the Setubandha, for the more recent editors and scholiasts have endorsed the statement that Kālidāsa composed this work by the command of king Vikramāditya for a king Pravarasena, that it had been begun by

* In the Vīravakreṣṭa, the subject of which is also the carrying off of a beautiful woman by a demon, there would have been an excellent opportunity, especially in Act IV (see LIV. 5, 13r; LV.) for alluding to the rape of Sita. The words Tvaṃkāra vi arārāchā na, Sākuntala XXIX. 22, ed. Bühling (XI. 13, ed. Premachandra), refer indeed to the Sāga which is found in the Rāmāyana, I. 69, 31 (Schlegel); but the reference is not necessarily just to this version of it in the Rāmāyana.

† Compare also Z. D. M. G. XXII. 210; Ind. Streifen, 1. 318; II. 373. According to the notices in the Pañcī, No. X. p. 141, the work has twenty-six Sargas in the Dāhīnagāparānī-Kālivanta, not merely nineteen. Is this local difference to be regarded as due to influences that at least date far back, and as favouring the idea that the work should be ascribed to Kālidāsa, who lived at the court of the Dāhī-king, Bhūtā? It is greatly to be desired that Shankar Pandit, whose edition of the Rāghuvaṇa (Bombay, 1869, Cant. 1—VI; containing, besides the text and Mallinatha's Commentary, 54 pages of notes and 8 pages of various readings taken from MSS. and from the Commentaries of Vallabha and Dīnākara) we have to welcome as the first really critical work of this kind for which we are indebted to a native of the country, would furnish us with some further and fuller information regarding this point.

‡ Abhinnāvarujārubhā or abhinavaraṅgarudhā. S. Bhajadeva 11i kechita, says the scholar.

§ At least it is stated there "that by means of the setu, the fame of Pravarasena had extended to the further shore of the sea." And as the words "for who would not be charmed with the admirable language of Kālidāsa," do not immediately follow, but are separated by a verse, from the latter himself, and that the ambiguous words "āhyavaraṇārnadā...metti vri...piṭadvahum; hoī dukkaram kavvakāhā" in v. 9 of the introduction to this version of the work by the "new king," Pravarasena.§ In accordance with this latter statement, Bāna (in all probability at the beginning of the seventh century), in the opening of the Harshacharita, ascribes the composition of the setu to Pravarasena;|| (Hall, Vāsavatattā, p. 13, 14, 54, and my Ind. Streifen, I. 357.) There is a strong temptation to identify this royal author with the renowned Kashmir king, Pravarasena II, who appears in the Rāja-Tarangini, III. 109, 123, 298 ff. as a contemporary of two Ujjayini kings, Harsha surmamed Vijramaditya and Pratapāśila surmamed Silāditya, and as successor of the poet Mātrigupta,¶ whom Harsha placed on the throne in Kashmir. And according to this supposition, if this king really reigned, as Lassen (Ind. Alt. II. [402] 770, 910 ff., xxiv) holds, from 241—266 of our era, the composition of the Setubandha would in fact date as far back as the third century! Since, however, Bhāu Dāji has directed attention, in the Journ. Bombay Branch R. A. S. VII. 208ff. (1861 Jan.) 223 ff., VIII. 241—51 (1864 Aug., published in 1868), to the relations that probably existed between Pravarasena and Hiwen Thsang, and especially to the contemporaneity of Harshavardhana, Silāditya, and Hiwen Thsang,* it certainly seems more reasonable to

for the foregoing, they cannot be understood as containing the groundwork of Pravarasena's fame.

¶ Mātrigupta reigned only five years (Rāja-Tarangini III. 208f.), during which Hartrimentha (placed by Bājaśvakhdra between Vālmikī and Bhāvabhūti; see Aufrecht, Catalogus, 110f.) composed the Hayagrīvabandha, and presented to the king (ib. 261—268). He abdicated the throne on hearing of the death of his patron, Harsha, retired to Vṛaraka, and in consistency with the gentleness of his disposition (see ib. 239—269), became a Buddhist ascetic (kṛitakāshāya samgrahah...).† Yatī, ib. 332; see Lassen, Ind. Alt. II. 912—969. Nothing is known regarding Mātrigupta's poetical works (Bhāu Dāji's identification of him with Kālidāsa does not rest on any reasonable foundation); on the other hand, the scholars occasionally quote passages from a rhetorical work in a šlokā bearing his name.

* When Bhāu Dāji, in the same essay, connects the Setubhanda with the building of a bridge of boats which Pravarasena, according to the Rāja-Tarangini, III. 356 (Lassen, II. 915), threw across the Vitasā, and accordingly asserts (p. 229) "that the construction of this very bridge is the subject of the Setu Kṛṣṇa," he falls into serious error. That circumstance, however, whether the poem is to be attributed to the king himself (as Bāna has it) or to Kālidāsa (as the tradition goes; see also Bhāu Dāji's reference f. c. to Rāma's commentary on the Vīravaṇḍa of Sundara, might well have furnished an opportunity for celebrating by song the corresponding bridge-building by Rāma, especially as the Rāmāyaṇa expressly mentions (I. 356) that the king had direct relations with Ceylon.—From inscriptions, unfortunately undated, which have been found in Seoni...
regard king Pravarasena II. as contemporary with, or perhaps as the immediate predecessor of the Chinese pilgrim, and therefore as belonging to the beginning of the seventh or the second half of the sixth century.† Besides, we do not need this identification in order to make good that the Setubandha belongs at the latest to this period, seeing that besides being referred to by Bana, it is expressly mentioned also in Danjins's Kavyadarsha, I, 34; and the date of Danjin's works ought no doubt also to be assigned to the sixth century (see Ind. Streifen, I. 312 ft.).

Now, for this period the testimonies to the existence of the Ramayana flow upon us in great abundance. Passing over the mention of Rama as a demi-god in Varahamihira (505–587), which takes for granted at least that he was at that time specially honoured (see my Abh. über die Rama Tạp. Up. p. 279), we instance the following as referring to the poem itself:—the Bhuttikavya, written in Valabhi under king Srisharasena (530–545 according to Lassen); the Satrunjaya-Mahatmya, written in the same place under king Siladitya about 598; the Vasavadatta of Subandhu, written about the beginning of the seventh century, in which, among other evidence, express mention is made of the Sundarakanda as even then known as a section of the Ramayana; and lastly the Kadambarti of Bana, which dates from about the same time or rather a little later, and in which also repeated reference is made to the Ramayana (see I. 36, 45, 81). The Saptasatiaka of Hala (see v. 35, 316) may perhaps be also mentioned in the same connection (see my Treatise on the same, p. 6 ft.).—And in the last place, last not least, we have to mention here also the name of Bhabhit, whose date appear to be fixed by the Rajatarangini, IV, 145, as belonging to the reign of Yasovarman, the contemporary of Lalitaditya, and therefore, according to Lassen, 695–738. It is well known, that he has taken for the subject of two of his dramas the story of Rama with special reference to Valmiki's Ramayana, (see my Abh. über die Rama Tạp. Up. p. 279). And indeed one of these, the Uttararavcharita, possesses in this respect a deep and special interest from the circumstance that it directly quotes some verses from the Ramayana, and thus provides a means of critically verifying the then existing text of the work.

There are three passages in which this test can be applied. The first of these occurs in the second Act (ed. Calc. 1831, p. 27; ed. Cowell, Calc. 1862, p. 26), where the Ramayana I. 2, 18 (Schl., Ser., 17 Gorr. 15 Bomb., also in ABC), is quoted word for word, and as being (just as in that passage) the verse which prompted Valmiki to enter upon the composition of the entire work:

mā nishāda pratishthāham tvam agamaḥ śāvatiḥ samāḥ |
yat† kramaṇamithumānd ekam abadhil kāmanohitaṃ||

The other two passages occur in the sixth Act (p. 115–116; Cowell, p. 157–158), the one closely following the other. The first consists of two verses which, according to the statement there given, should be found—bālakāndasyānte(nte2)dhyāye(sic/not sarge(), consequently at the close of the Bālakānda; they read thus:—

prakṛityaiviyā Sītā Rāmasyā "śīn mahātmanah |
priyabhāvahsa tu tayā svagunaireva var |
dhitah|

And corresponding herewith, the last chapter of the Bālakānda in BC, in Schlegel's and in the Bombay editions, and the last chapter but one in the Serampore edition, contain respectively two verses (LXXXVII, 26, 27, Schl., LXIII, 72, 73, Ser., LXXVII, 26–28, Bombay),

† In Bana's Harshcharita, Pratāpas'ila appears as the father of Harshavardhana; and the king who, according to Hiwen Thang, corresponds with the latter himself bears the name Siladitya; see Hall, Vāsavadatta, p. 15, 51; Ind. Streifen, I. 354–5.
†† See Lassen, Ind. Alt. III, 512.
†§ See my Abh. über dos Satrunjaya-Mahatmya, p. 8, 12, 29, 30.
† See Ind. Streifen, I. 373, 380.
†† See Ind. Streifen, I. 354ff.
*** It is not clear what reason Hall has for placing Bhabhi before Subandhu (Introduction to the Vāsavadatta p. 27, 37); see Ind. Streifen I. 355.††† yah B. (fol. 66)
which are the same in substance at least, and correspond to some extent also in expression; they read as follows:—

priyā tu Sītā Rāmasya dārāḥ pitṛikṛitaḥ iti | gunād rāpapunāḥ cha 'pi pritirū ṣū vyaavardhātā ||

tasyāḥ cha бhartā dviguṇāṃ ṣhrīdaye parivartata||

antargatam* api vyaktam ākhyāti† ṣhrīdayam āhīdā||

In Gorresio there is nothing at all corresponding (see I. 79, 45-48); and the chapter in which the two verses now quoted occur in Schlegel, &c. is not the last in Gorresio, but (as in the Serampore edition) the one before the last of the Bālakānda. There is, on the other hand, one text at least, namely A, that gives the two verses quite identically with Bhavabhūti's text, with only trifling variations: "abhivardhitah, eva, "yogam purātanaṃ"; and in fact they appear in this text also immediately before the close of the Bālakānda: after them there follow, just as in BC. Schl., only two other verses, the second of which likewise closes the book in BC. Schl. §§

The second of the two passages from the sixth Act (being the third we cite from the Uttarārāmacharita) reads thus:—

"tvadartham iva vinyastah śilāpādo 'yam agrataḥ |

yasyāḥ 'yam abhītah pushpāiḥ pravṛṣīṣṭaḥ īva kesāraḥ ||

The corresponding verse, however, reads thus in Schlegel (II. 96, 6), in Carey-Marshman (Ser., II. 70, 5), and in the Bombay edition (II. 96, 5. 6):—

"tvadartham iva vinyastah śilāyāmsukhasamārthaḥ |
yasyāḥ pārśve itaruh pushpāiḥ vibhrasṭah īva kesāraḥ ||

* saavyam BC.—† pratikriC., priyakriB.—‡ gunād rūpa

† duḥkāyamaṇam BC.—§ ṣhrīdaye parivartata BC.—# vyākhyāti BC.—

‡ hṛidī BC. §§ These read as follows:—

Sītāya tu tvā Kāmāḥ priyāya sāha samgataḥ |

prīvo 'dhihitaraś tvāṣā ṣvajāha maropamānāḥ |

tvāya sa rātha-rasāsuḥ nīrūpayā, (1) samiyīvaṃ (2) uttama-|

raja-śāstra-śāstra, (3) yuktah sīṣyā Vinahur ivā "parātitaḥ (4)

1 'bhikāmāyā C. Schl.—2 sameyīvaṃ B.C. Schl.—3 'bhikāmāyā C.C., madīsvita Schl.—4, viśnun sīṣya Vinahuriva maṃsāraḥ Śāktya, sāśā vāma maṃsāh tvā sa
tvā rājasyānāṃ hṛidāya, (1) sāśā vāma pūraiva divi Daksākanyāya, B., "


in Gorresio (II. 105, 6) on the other hand:—

"tvadartham iva vinyastah śilāpādo 'yam agrataḥ |

asya pārśve tāruḥ pushpāiḥ pravṛṣīṣṭa ivā kesāraḥ ||

and in A. fol. lxxvii b (unfortunately the second book exists here only in one MS):—

"tvadartham iva vinyastah śilāyāmsukhasamārthaḥ |
yasyāḥ pārśve tāruḥ pushpāiḥ vibhrasṭa ivā kesāraḥ ||

If, then, we are to draw any conclusion regarding the rest of the text from the differences in these three examples, it must be allowed that the result as regards its authenticity, in the form in which we possess it, will be very far from encouraging. But with respect to this matter we are entitled to ask, whether, as matter of fact, Bhavabhūti made his quotations with such accuracy as that they really represent the text then in existence? And when we remember the extremely unreliable way in which Indian authors are accustomed to make their quotations, we are fully justified in asking such a question. But it ought to be considered, on the other hand, that the quotations here in question were made from a work that was universally known and esteemed, that any considerable deviations from it would therefore have certainly been noticed by the public from whom the drama was represented, even though they might not have been possessed of any great critical acumen, and that consequently the poet would not be likely to lay himself open to the charge of mis-quoting.† It must, however, in my opinion, be allowed that the diversity in the above quotations does not on the one hand permit us, by reason of their limited range, to pronounce any decisive verdict on the question at issue, and that on the other hand it is not after all so very serious—not in

† And we learn from the beginning of the Malati-mādhava that Bhavabhūti had some bitter antagonists to face, probably from among the circle of his own Brahmanical relations, who reproached him, the Brahman, for not having given himself "to the study of the Vedas, and to acquiring a knowledge of the Upanishads, of the Śākyya and Yoga," and for turning his attention instead to the dramatic art. He treats these opponents of his with lofty disdain, and appeals from their judgment to the verdict of futurity and to the world at large:—"Those who are here seeking everywhere to depreciate us, do they really know anything? This work of mine is not for them‖

"There will arise, yes, even now there lives many a one like-minded with myself (who is able to appreciate me) ‖ for time is boundless and the world is wide‖ Bold words reminding us of Ovid; quaque patet domus Roman a potencia terris . . . !
any great degree exceeding the difficulties which we have already encountered, namely, the variations in the different recensions, the notices in the scholia regarding interpolations, and the contradictions and repetitions within individual texts. These quotations in Bhavabhūti, in fact, furnish rather a most valuable guarantee that the Rāmāyana, taking it as a whole, really existed at that time in essentially the same form as that in which we at present possess it.—And indeed this further conclusion may be drawn from what we find in the Uttarakānda, that at that time the stories also which are contained in the Uttarakānda were already thoroughly established, in so far at least as they refer to the repudiation of Sītā by Rāma after his return, to the birth of her two sons, Kuśa and Lava, in the hermitage of Vālmiki, to the latter’s educating of the two boys in an acquaintance with the Rāmāyana which he had himself composed, and to the re-uniting of Rāma and Sītā. The same remark holds good for the Raghuvansā. But in the telling of these stories Bhavabhūti deviates in some degree from the version of them given in the Uttarakānda (as also from that of the Raghuvansā). He cannot find it in his heart, for instance, immediately to separate them again the newly re-united pair, but leaves them in their state of restored union;† while in the Uttarakānda, CIV. 11; Raghuvansā, XV. 82, (and in the Adhyātvamārinīyannya), according to Wheeler) Sītā is obliged to adduce this further proof of her innocence, that in answer to her prayer the ground opens, the earth-goddess ascends out of the chasm, and takes Sītā down with her into the Rasātala.‡ And then, further, the first meeting of Rāma with his two sons, which in the Uttarakānda, C. 1ff. Raghuvansā, XV. 63 ff. (and Adhyātvamārinīyannya) follows only upon their chanting, at Rāma’s sacrifice, of the Rāmāyana which Vālmiki had taught them, is much more poetically introduced in Bhavabhūti, namely, by Lava’s defeating of the army sent out for the protection of the sacrificial horse;§ the prowess of the son proves his legitimacy, and confirms the innocence of his mother. Whether these variations in Bhavabhūti are to be credited to himself, or whether the responsibility of making them rests on some other recension;[n the Uttarakānda less precise and possibly more wanting in reverence for the poet of the Rāmāyana, must in the meantime be left an open question. The circumstance that the version given by Wheeler, equally with that in the Jainini-Bhārata, harmonises in part with that of Bhavabhūti, certainly tells against the theory that these variations owe their origin to the latter; but yet it wants the force of direct evidence, inasmuch as both of these versions may really bear a later date than his, a supposition which is in fact decidedly favoured by the exaggerations which they exhibit (vide infra n. §)

Our “wishing to sink into the earth with shame” occurs in Sūktasātra, LXII. 7, ed. Böhtlingk, where S’akunālala, repudiated by the king, cries out in her despair:—bhavadi vasude ’dehi me vivaram!’ (bhavadi vasundhare ’dehi me antaram, ed. Premachandra, p. 109, 1). So also in Bhavabhūti’s Mahārāmacharita p. 54, where Jamadagnya (Parsa’s arama), after being defeated by Rāma, cries out:—bhavatvā vasundhare prasāda randhānānaṃ. This idea is still more fully developed in the Jainini-Bhārata (Chap. 30–36); and the recension of the Rāmāyana followed by Wheeler (p. 402), and in the Jainini-Bhārata, xxxvi. 87. † Very different therefore both from our version of her “wishing to sink into the earth with shame,” and from the versions of the Buddhists. For in a Buddhist legend (Faussb, Bhānaṇvnāt, p. 840), the earth opens, the flames of Avīśa (the hell under the earth) burst forth, and the slanderers sink down into them; and in Rogers (p.236) several other versions are given of falsehood being similarly punished. Compare also Faussb, 8. c. p. 416, Wilson, Select Works, I. 69, and Bigandet, Life of Gaudama (1856), p. 321, according to which Suprabuddha, the father-in-law of Buddha, seven days after he had calumniated the latter, sank down through the earth into hell, as a punishment for his offence. A similar fate befell Devadatta. Faussb, l.c. p. 116, Bigandet, p. 322. According to Bigandet, p. 84, it was a universal custom among the Buddhists to call upon the Earth as a witness “of the good works they have done or are about doing”; and this custom is said to have arisen from the circumstance that, when Buddha himself, in his council with Māra, appealed to the Earth to bear witness in his favour.

† This idea is still more fully developed in the Jainini-Bhārata (Chap. 30–36); and the recension of the Rāmāyana followed by Wheeler (p. 402) also agrees with this version of the story. In the Jainini-Bhārata, Kuśa is victorious over his three uncles and even over Rāma himself, after Lava has been taken prisoner by Sātrāglāna: the story is somewhat differently told in Wheeler.‡ From the Sākhya-sutrapaṇa § 304 (p.136; see also p. 233) it appears that the rules of rhetoric not only permitted the dramatic poets, but even required them both to omit anything objectionable in the traditional legends which they made use of, and to select such variations in the stories as good taste might seem to demand. Thus we are told that Rāma’s slaying of Vali by means of a stone-axe, in the Rāmāyana, is not mentioned at all in the drama īsṛta-Rāghava; and that in the Sugriva-Viracharita the incident is modified to this extent that Vali goes forth to kill Rāma, and then is killed by Rāma. This last reference is probably to Bhavabhūti’s Mahārāmacharita (p.76–82, Wilson, Hindu Theatres, II. 350, 351) which among other deviations from the orthodox text, given in the Rāmāyana, contains as a matter of fact, also the one here mentioned.
—With reference to this matter, I remark in passing, that the whole of this later story about Kušā and Lava as sons of Rāma seems to me to have been invented merely by the bards and minstrels, Kušilava, in order to avert from themselves the odium attached to the name Kušilava (see my Acad. Vorles. über Ind. Lit. G. and the St. Petersburg Lexicon, s. v.), and to obtain, on the other hand, the highest possible consideration for their order.

And, as bearing upon this part of our subject I draw attention to the additional fact that, according to the account given by Friederich in his treatise Ueber die Sanskrit und Kavi-Literatur auf der Insel Bali (see my notice of this work in the Ind. Stud. II. 133-136), the Uttarakanda, represented too as having been composed by Vālmiki, appears also among the Sanskrit works translated into the Kavi language; and likewise that the Arjunavijaya, an independent Kavi poem (see ibid. p. 142), is borrowed, so far as its substance is concerned, from the same work (see Uttarakanda, 21, 22). We are, however, in the meantime prohibited from drawing any chronological conclusion from this circumstance, so long as we are unable to fix exactly the time at which the work found its way into Java. The relations of India to this island have evidently not been restricted to the circumstances of merely one immigration, but they extend in all probability over several centuries; and consequently the work may have passed over from the mainland at any particular date during that period. Lassen has indeed entered his protest (Ind. Alt. II. 1043ff.) against Friederich's view that the earliest of these relations does not go further back at all events than the year 500 A.D.; but whether his own views are so perfectly trustworthy has yet to be proved. In any case, what Friederich himself states regarding the Kavi translation of the Rāmāyana—see my remarks thereon in the place already referred to—is not brought forward with the view of making out that a high antiquity ought to be assigned to it: on the contrary, the conjecture which I have there expressed, to the effect that the poem referred to is probably not the Rāmāyana itself, but only a Bālārāmāyana, into which were interwoven the latest incidents in the story of Rāma, narrated for the first time in the Uttarākanda—that conjecture seems to be borne out by the fact that recently, and just in Southern India, quite a number of similar works bearing the name Bālārāmāyana have been brought to light: see Taylor, Catalogue of Oriental MSS. of the College, Fort St. George (Madrass 1857) I. 295, 296, 299, 419, 450, 455. These are, to be sure, designated for the most part thus:—"A Brief Epitome for Schools (106 ślokas);" but besides these, mention is also made, (p. 456), of two separate Saṅgrāha Rāmāyanas,—a short one in seven sargas, and a longer one of uncertain extent (the MS. is defective; it contains about fifty sargas); and similarly, (p. 169), of a prasanna-Rāmāyana in twenty-one sargas.* If we add to these the numerous translations of the Rāmāyana that are referred to in the Catalogue, with or without the Uttarākanda, in almost all the languages of the Dekhan, (in Tam, (p. 269, 520, 521), in Telugu, (p. 499), in Malayalam, (p. 670), in Urdu, (p. 675), in Canarese, both in prose and in verse, (p. 595, 597, 604, 605, 665, 666, 602 bālarāmāyana, 603, 606 Rāmāyana-prabandha), we are furnished, even from modern times,† with a sufficient number of analogues of the Kavi translation of the Rāmāyana, so that we are under no necessity, from the mere fact of its existence, to carry it back to any early date, as long as it cannot be shown from other sources that it really has any claim to such an antiquity.

To go beyond Bhavabhūti, in order to obtain testimonies for the existence of the Rāmāyana, is evidently unnecessary; but yet, considering the importance of the work with reference to the history of literature, there is a certain interest in such an investigation. And therefore I will also exhibit here in one view, at least briefly, such other laudatory notices of the Rāmāyana, and such works directly assuming its existence or based thereupon, as I find ready to my hand. As instances of the former class, I mention the notice of and panegyric upon the Rāmāyana, and indeed upon Vālmiki, by Rājaśekharāṭi, who lived about the end of the tenth century, in the opening of the

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* In the Kavi-Rāmāyana, according to Friederich, the contents of the first six books of the Rāmāyana are also divided into twenty-five sargas.
† The translation by Kamban (with the Uttarākanda) must certainly date, according to Wilson, Macrowicz Collection, I.618, 164, as far back as Sake = A.D. 885. The Canarese version of the Rāmāyana dates, according to Weigle (Z. d. M. G. H. II. 278) from about the 14th century.
‡ Regarding the time at which he lived, cf. Ind. Stud., I. 313, 314. Rajasekhara lived both before Bhujadeva, who quotes him in his Sarasvatikutumbakharana composed after Pujja's time; see Aufrecht, Catal. p. 209, and before...
his Prachandapāṇḍava (Aufrecht, Catal. p. 140a),—by Dhanamjaya, who belongs to the same period, in his Dāsarūpa, I. 61 (Rāmāyana-dāsa chih bāhūryā Bṛhathkathātm ca),—by Govardhana, who also lived somewhere in the tenth or twelfth century,† in the opening of his Saptasati (v. 32, ērī-Rāmāyana-Bhārata-Bṛhathkathātmāh kāvānam kāramaḥ; v. 33, satā kākutukhaṁ nātikāṁ Rāmāyaṇe kim anyakāryena?),—by Tri- vikrama bhāṭṭa in the opening of his Dāmayantikathā (v. 11, namas tasmāi kṛitā yena rāmāyanaḥ kathā),—by the Rāja-tarañgini (I. 166, vīde supra p. 239) —finally, by Sāranga dvāra (kāvīvāmāna Vālmikī yasya Rāmāyanaḥ katham | chandrikāṁ viṁśitaṁ chinvan chakorā iva sābhavaḥ || see Böhtlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 3885; and Aufrecht, Catal. p. 124b). In the Bṛhamavairtapurāṇa also: ’śiśūso Bhāratau ca Vālmikānākāryam eva ca' are mentioned after the eighteen Upapuranas, (see Burnouf, Introduction to the Bhagavata Purāṇa, I. 23.) In the Vishnupurāṇa, III. 3 ’Rikṣha, the descendant of Bṛghu, who is also known by the name Vālmikī’ i appears as the Vyāsa (revisor) of the twenty-fourth drāpura—which unquestionably refers to Vālmiki’s authorship of the Rāmāyaṇa: (see Wilson, p. 273; Hall, III. 35.)

In the latter class, we have first of all to consider the later epic literature to which the two great epics gave rise. The literature of the Purāṇas, however, which calls for the earliest attention here, yields comparatively little that bears on our subject (see my Abh. über die Rāma Tāpa. Up. p. 281). I take from Aufrecht’s Catalogus the statement that the Agnipurāṇa...

Dhanikā, see Hall, Introduction to the Duṣdrāpāṇa p. 2. The verse in the opening of the Prachandapāṇḍava, which has in view the self-laudation of the poet, occurs again, in precisely the same words, in the beginning of another drama by the same author, the Bṛhayāmaṇya namely (I. 16 p. 5, vīde infra p. 251), and reads thus:—

bhāva Vālmikākāryavāpaḥ rūpa kaviś, tatah prapede bhuvī Bhṛṣṭi menṭhānim|

śiśūtaḥ purar yo Ṛkavah bhāvabhiḥ tīrākāyaḥ, sa vartate sampratī Rājāśekharaḥ |

* See Hall in his edition (Calc. 1865) introd. p. 2. 3.
† See my Abh. über Ṛḷāś, p. 9. 10.
‡ Vyāsa with the Bṛhāra, Bāna and Guṇḍaṇya are mentioned further on.

According to Hall, Introd. to the Vāmṛadottā p. 48 A. D. 1363.

| And before that of the Harivāna’s and the Mahābhārata.

† In a passage quoted in the Sarvarāṣṭrāya, LXXI. 15 from the Śhāṇḍa, the mlān-Rāmāyaṇa “Original Rāmāyaṇa,” is designated, after the four Vedas, the Bṛhāra at he Pāchārstrāka, as also possessing the character of a śāstra. And this evidently

in seven chapters, quae singularum Rāmāyaṇa librorum nominis gerunt, contains an epitome of the seven books of the Rāmāyaṇa (Aufrecht, p. 7a); and that in the Pādmapurāṇa several sections are occupied with the history of Rāma (ibid. p. 13, 14). The Skanda-purāṇa too appears to contain a short section on the same, introduced in connection with the account of the Rāmanavamivarta.† Regarding the section of the Vīshṇu-purāṇa that relates to this matter (IV. 4), see Wilson, p. 385, and Hall, in his edition of Wilson’s translation, III. 317. In addition to these, I have only been able to get from the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa a Rāmāyanamāhātmya Aufrecht, t. e. 30a), and the Aṅkhyāśāntanāmāyana. But we have still to mention here that singular work which bears the name: ārṣham (or ārṣheyarachitam) vāśiṣṭham mahārāmāyaṇa (see Verz. der Berl. S. H. p. 187—194; Aufrecht, Catalogus, p. 354ab.), which is placed in the mouth of Vālmīki, and which against the 24,000 verses of the ordinary Rāmāyaṇa, seems to represent a redaction in 100,000 verses,† but really contains only an exhortation addressed by Vāśiṣṭha to the youthful Rāma regarding true blessedness and the means of attaining to it, accompanied by numerous narratives, that are quoted as illustrative examples.‡ We have next, directly connected herewith, the artificial-epic (dating perhaps from the eleventh century), Rāghavaccāndapāṇḍava of Kaviṛāja, which sums up at the same time and in the same words the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa and of the Mahābhārata, and which has served as a model for a whole series of similar artificial works. And lastly, as occupying the same ground, though quite modern, we have to mention also:—

the Rāmāchangandracharitrāvādra of Aṅgīvēśa, ly presumes the existence of various later versions of the Rāmāyaṇa.

* On this work see Wheeler, in vol. II. We already know, from Friederich (Ind. Stud. II. 131, 132), that this Purāṇa is found in Java, on the island Kuli, and it would be interesting to learn whether the Javanese text contains also these two pieces.
† When Tāranātha (Schiefner, p. 6) speaks of a Rāmāyaṇa in 100,000 verses, as little weight, is to be attached to the statement as when (ibid.) he ascribes 30,000 verses to the Rāevaṇaśānta!† For the sake of these stories, a more thorough investigation of the work would certainly be very desirable. It is quoted so early as by Sāruṇadāsa (see Aufrecht, Catalogus, p. 124a), and it was probably composed in Kashmir.
§ See Ind. Streifen, I. 352, 369, 271 and my Abh. über das saptasatatkaṇḍam des Ṛḷāś, p. 9. 10. on this work see Wheeler, in vol. II. We already know, from Friederich (Ind. Stud. II. 131, 132), that this Purāṇa is found in Java, on the island Kuli, and it would be interesting to learn whether the Javanese text contains also these two pieces.
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§ See Ind. Streifen, I. 352, 369, 271 and my Abh. über das saptasatatkaṇḍam des Ṛḷāś, p. 9. 10. on this work see Wheeler, in vol. II. We already know, from Friederich (Ind. Stud. II. 131, 132), that this Purāṇa is found in Java, on the island Kuli, and it would be interesting to learn whether the Javanese text contains also these two pieces.
† When Tāranātha (Schiefner, p. 6) speaks of a Rāmāyaṇa in 100,000 verses, as little weight, is to be attached to the statement as when (ibid.) he ascribes 30,000 verses to the Rāevaṇaśānta!† For the sake of these stories, a more thorough investigation of the work would certainly be very desirable. It is quoted so early as by Sāruṇadāsa (see Aufrecht, Catalogus, p. 124a), and it was probably composed in Kashmir.
§ See Ind. Streifen, I. 352, 369, 271 and my Abh. über das saptasatatkaṇḍam des Ṛḷāś, p. 9. 10. on this work see Wheeler, in vol. II. We already know, from Friederich (Ind. Stud. II. 131, 132), that this Purāṇa is found in Java, on the island Kuli, and it would be interesting to learn whether the Javanese text contains also these two pieces.
(Aufrecht, Catal. p. 121b).—The Rāgaparāvīlāsa of Viśvanātha, author of the Śāhityadārpana (p. 208 ed. Roer)—two works bearing the name Rānaparāvīlāsa, the one composed by Rāma hādramā, (see Aufrecht, 214b); the other (an imitation of the Vālmīkīya) by Harinātha. (ibid. 182a).—The Rāmaparāvīlāsa of Śrī Rāmabhārāma, (see Verz. der Berl. S. H. p. 154).—The Ahirantarāpāvīlāsa of Śrī Rāmāndārāma, (ibid. p. 156).—The Rāmatārāma of Govinda, from the middle of the seventeenth century, (Aufrecht, 189b),—finally, the revision of the Setubandha in the Setusaranā, from the beginning of the same century, (see Verz. der Berl. S. H. p. 154-156).

The dramatic literature, too, that has a bearing on this matter is peculiarly rich. At the head of the list we may name the Prasaṇna-rāgahavā of Jaya dēva, son of Mahādeva; at the head, because according to Hall (Preface to the Das'aritapā, p. 36), a verse from this drama is quoted in Dhanika, and it must therefore be placed before the middle of the tenth century. The Mahānātaka ascribed to Hanuman himself, belongs also to this period; for, according to Aufrecht, (Catal. 209a), it is quoted by Bhōjadēva, the author of the Sarasvatīkātanābhārana which dates probably from the end of the tenth, or it may be from the beginning of the eleventh century: Śrāgadharāsa also (Aufrecht, 125f) quotes it occasionally; and with this, too, accords exactly the venerable tradition (see Wilson, Hindu Theatre, II. 372-3), which ascribes the composition of the work to the Monkey Hanumānt himself; who first “engraved or wrote on the rocks” (vide supra p. 123 note). The Champrāmāyana, by Vidarbharāja, “otherwise Bhōjarāja” in five aṅkas, also claims (Taylor, I. 175, 456) to date from the time of Bhōja. Similar claims to belong to the middle or the end of the tenth century are set up by the Bālarāmāyana, a somewhat tasteless drama by Rāṁekhara, and by two dramas that are also quoted by Dhanika in the scholiast to the "rock inscriptions" of Piyadasī, and specially the Brahmanical conception of that fact. Compare with this also the account in the Prakrit Kārāla, Chapter 29, regarding twenty-four questions which were addressed by Bāka to Buddha and written with his finger on a rock. As regards moreover the well-known tradition of Hanuman’s being prior to Vālmīki, is it not probable that we should look for its origin in the fact that the Rāma legend was chanted in the dialects of the people before it was clothed in Sanskrit by Vālmīki? As a matter of fact the first account of Vālmīki’s having of Rāma is in Pāli, and even then composed in a partially metrical form. The statement too in the Adhyātma Rāmāyana (vide supra p. 129f) that Vālmīki was the “author of the caste” may perhaps be considered as pointing in the same direction. Compare as analogous with this the statement that the Bṛihatsatrust was originally composed in Pāli, in the language of the bihātas (Dandia’s Kūrādharā, I. 38 see Ind. Streifen, I. 314).

† See Hall, Preface to the Das'aritapā p. 30, 31. The Bālarāmāyana has recently been published in Benares (1869) by Govinda Deva S'astri, first in the Pandit newspaper, and afterwards in a separate form. It consists of! ten acts (pp. 812), and exhibits a remarkable absence of poetic feeling. There is much that is interesting, however, in the account contained in the opening of the poem regarding Rājasekhara. From this it appears that Mahāyana was quite in error when he described him, in the Śāhityadārpana, as king of Kerala (see Aufrecht Catal. 25b ff., Ind. Streifen, I. 314). According to the account given here, he sprang from a Yāvārvākūlī (see the St. Petersburg Lexicon, s.v.), and was the guru, or rather upādhyāya of a king Nīrārtha or Maheuddapāla, of the Raṣṭha family, who is designated as his pupil. The same verse in laudation of the poet which, according to Aufrecht (vide supra p. 219f, n. 1), is found in the opening of his dramas Prachandapāwaterdana, and which extols him as a newly arisen Vālmīki, Bhārtṛimētha and Bhāvvabhūti, turns up again here, being put in the mouth of a Daśīvajña; and this is immediately followed by another similar laudatory estimate of the poet’s talents, which is given as that of a...
Dasārūpa, namely, the Uddītta-Rāgāratha and the Chhalita-Rāma (Hall, p. 36). All three are quoted also in the Śāhityadarpana. In addition to these we have still to mention the following dramas that bear upon our subject:—the Anuragharīgāha of Murari (quoted as early as by Śārīragadha, Aufrecht, 124b; according to Wilson, II. 383, dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century),—the Kṛityā-Rāvana,—the Jānaki-Rāgāratha,—the Bālībadha,—the Rāghavābhīvyudaya,—the Rāmacarita (or is Bhavabhūti's work here meant ?)—the Rāmābhīnanda,—and the Rāmābhīvyudaya.† The Rāmāchandra chamāpū of Kavi chand ra was not composed till after the date of the Śāhityadarpana (Aufrecht, 211b). The Abhirāma manindatāka dates, (according to Wilson, II. 395, Aufrecht, 137b), from the year 1599 A.D. The Dūtāngada of Śri Subhātha appears also (Wilson, II. 390 ; Aufrecht, 1396) to be a modern production, composed by order of the Mahārājādhirāja Śri Tribhuvanānapalādeva for the pilgrimage to the temple of Deva-Śrī-Kumārapāla. Hall (Introduction to the Dasa'arūpa, p. 30) mentions also a drama called Amogha-Rāgāratha, which he had found quoted from, and one called Chokkānthā's Jānakiparīnaya, which he had himself looked into. The Rāmāchandra dasya of Purushottama (Aufrecht, 201a) probably also belongs to this category.

I might now mention also, in conclusion, those works which, in a greater or less degree, treat of the worship of the Rāma sects. But I will not go into this part of the subject, partly because I am able to refer, for information on it, to my Abh. über die Rāma-Tāpaniya-Upanishad (Berlin, 1864),§ and partly because a full treatment of the quite modern literature of this description, which is connected with the names of Rāma and Rāmananda, would certainly lead us too far a-field. I will mention here only the Adabhattotarakānda (see Verz. der Berl. S. H. p. 125—127), since it clearly makes a direct reference to the Rāmāyana.

Let us briefly sum up the results of our investigation.

1. The earliest indigenous testimonies to the existence of a Rāmāyana date from about the third or fourth century of our era.

2. Considering the present extent of the work about 24,000 slokas), and the great diversity found in the numerous recensions, it is impossible to pronounce a judgment, with anything approaching to certainty, regarding the original condition of the text. In the existing condition of the text, however, we find unmistakeable indications that the influence of Greece upon India was already firmly established.

3. Seeing that the earliest form of the story told in the Rāmāyana, as we find it, namely, in the Buddhist legend,¶ knows nothing of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvana, or of the siege of Lāṅka, it is possible that, in the addition of these two elements by Vālmīki, we should recognise the influence of an acquaintance with the Homeric saga-cycle, just as other stories belonging to the cycle have found their way into the Buddhist legend.

4. It is uncertain whether the Vaishnava bias which characterises the Rāmāyana, as we possess it, and which has done so, according to the testimony of the literature on the subject, for a long time back, belonged to the poem originally; but it is clear that the presence of this bias is due to the endeavour of the author to avail himself of national legends and the heroic figures of national tradition, and to make use of these, in the interest of the Brahmanical theology, as an antidote to Buddhism.

5. It is certainly at least possible that Wheeler is right when he refers the conflict with

† Quoted also by Hemachandra in his Prakrit Grammar, IV. 283 ; See Aufrecht Catul. p. 180a.

§ In that treatise (I. 47) the version of the Rāmacarita closes with the return from Lāṅka to Ayodhya: no notice is taken of the later incidents in Rāma's history till his final entrance into heaven with all that belonged to him (I. 93; conf. Utrākānda, 114 and 115).

¶ About the middle of the twelfth century (precise date 1127 A.D.), according to Wilson, Select Works, I. 302 ; Aufrecht, Catalogue p. 285b, 296c.

∥ End of the fourteenth century, Wilson, Select Works, I. 406.

* The Rāmābhīvyudaya is quoted as early as by Dhanika (Dasa'arūpa p. 12; also on Manmattāka (ibid. p. 61), which, however, is perhaps only another name for the Mahābhīvyudaya. There is still another of the dramas quoted in the Śāhityadarpana that may be included in our list, namely the Bālīchārtā, in the quotation made from it in that work (§ 546, p. 149), according to the account in Ballantyne's translation (201), Bhārgava speaks to Rama.
ARCHAEOLOGY IN BOMBAY.

(August 2, 1872.)

The materials collected from an examination of the ancient temple of Ambarnath, by the party of artists sent to that place in 1868, and mentioned in the Administration Report of that year, have been utilized. Six sets of the casts and photographs of the temple have been completed, and one set of architectural drawings made. One of each of the former and the single set of drawings were sent to England for the last International Exhibition, to be eventually handed over to the Secretary of State for India. Out of the remaining photographs and casts, two sets have been already ordered to be sent to England and one to each of the museums at Calcutta and Madras. It has been proposed to cause copies of the architectural drawings to be made in England, by the carbon or other process for distribution among learned persons and institutions and museums.

At the request of Government Mr. Burgess drew up, in August 1870, a Memorandum on the Survey of the Architectural and other archaeological remains in the Bombay Presidency and surrounding territories, appending amongst others “a list of places chiefly in the Nizami’s territory, at which Himadpanti or other remains are said to exist.” At a subsequent date the same gentleman addressed to the earnest moral tone which as a beneficium ab origine, it preserves as a heritage from the same source.

*The circumstance, too, that the Râma-worship has never degenerated, either like that of Krishna into sexual excesses, or like that of Śiva into bloody orgies, is undoubtedly due referring to the fact that the account furnished by D’Alwis had already shown that one of the verses of the Daśaratha-Jātaka was reproduced in the Rāmâyana, Weber quotes his own conjecture (ante p. 124), that “an acquaintance with the whole of the Pāli text might bring to light still further coincidences of a similar nature.” This conjecture, here says, has been fully confirmed. According to Fausbøll, there are two other verses in this Buddhist version which are found also in the Rāmâyana; for although the parallel is not so close as to be a word for word reproduction, yet the verses are identically the same in substance as those in the Pāli text. These are, v. 5 of the Daśaratha-Jātaka found in Rāmâyana, II. 105, 15 (Schlegel and also in the corresponding chapters in Gorresio and Carey-Marshalman); and v. 10 in Rām. II. 108, 3 (Schlegel, and in both the other editions). And it is further worthy of notice that both the remaining portion of Rām. II. 105 contains several additional distinct allusions to the words of the Pāli text, and that the verse of the Rāmâyana which corresponds to the 10th verse of the Daśaratha-Jātaka is put into the mouth of Jāhali, who is represented in the Brahmanical poem as the representative of the Nāstika-wisdom, and whose words give occasion to Rāma’s sharp retort and to his well-known attack upon Buddha —

yathā hi coreḥ sa tathā hi Buddhāḥ, tathā-gatam nāstikam atra vidihā.

It is true, says Weber, that Schlegel has cast suspicion upon the authenticity of this passage; but whether he was justified in doing so appears at least questionable in the light of the new information we have on the subject. At all events the whole of this section of the Rāmâyana has now acquired special importance; and a collation of all the available manuscripts of the same is therefore greatly to be desired.
a letter suggesting that enquiries be made as to the
description and extent of the remains mentioned in
the list, and that "lists be collected of all remains,
rock temples, ancient shrines, monasteries, wells,
forts, &c., with such accounts of each, how-
ever fragmentary, as informants may be able to
supply." A copy of Mr. Burgess' letter with the
Memorandum and lists referred to, and extracts from
despatches from the Secretary of State bearing on
the subject have been forwarded to the Resident at
Haidarabad, with a request that he will move the
Nizam's Darbār to collect and communicate such
information as it may be able to obtain regarding
the archaeological remains in His Highness the
Nizam's territory. Intimation has been received
that this information has been called for from the
local authorities by the Nizam's minister.

A grant of Rs. 3,000 from one per cent Income-
tax balances was made during the year under re-
port for the conservation and restoration of the
Muhammadan buildings at Ahmadabad, and the
money was expended on the palace at Sarkhej:
the total expenditure from first to last at Sarkhej
has been Rs. 10,231. The Harim, which was half
ruined and fast becoming wholly so, has been re-
stored as far as is apparently necessary to retain
the original architectural effect. Much attention has
been paid to make the new portions an exact copy
of the old work. All the fallen stones that could
be found have been replaced in their proper posi-
tion, and the new carving has been accurately
copied from the old.

The municipality of Bijapur have expended in the
past year a sum of Rs. 480 in repairs to the following
old architectural buildings of the place,—Ibrāhīm Rozah, Gāli Gumbaz, Bhagí Mahal, and Taj Bāvādi.

General Tremenheere, Political Resident, Aden,
having reported that an Arab had brought to him
from the interior a very interesting inscribed stone,
orders were given to purchase the stone for the
sum of Rs. 150; and the stone has been forwarded
to the British Museum from Aden.

**ASIANIC SOCIETIES.**

**Bengal Asiatic Society.**

At the meeting of the Society on 5th June, Capt.
W. L. Samuels, Assistant Commissioner, Mānblīm,
read a paper on the legend of Bághesar, current
among certain clans of Gonds, descended from a
family of five brothers named Kūsrū, Sarī, Markām,
Neta, and Sārsūn, that once upon a time a tiger
cub was born to Kūsrū. As it grew up, the young
tiger made itself very useful in keeping predatory
animals from its father's crops, and in consequence
the greatest affection existed between them. To
Kūsrū's intense grief the cub died, but shortly
afterwards his wife gave birth to a daughter who
in due time became marriageable. The marriage
ceremonies had been completed, and the party were
about to enjoy themselves with feasting and
dancing, when suddenly a frightful sound is heard
proceeding from one of the company who had be-
come possessed with a demon. On interrogation by
an exorcist the demon is recognised by Kūsrū to be
the spirit of his lost tiger-son. The demoniac is
appeased with the soul of a tiger, and in that state to
kill and tear to pieces a live kid. The demons are
afterwards appeased by the bride's father
with an offering of three cupfuls of liquor and a
mouthful of ghī. No marriage ceremony in these
five clans is considered complete without the appear-
ance of Bághesar and the attendant rites.

*Since the Report was published a 'Translation of a List
of 108 buildings in Indur, Bir, Taigandal and Shorapur' has
been received; but it contains no 'remains' but what are
described to be "in good condition":—genuine ruins have
been carefully excluded, and it is a mere list, no descrip-
tions of even the briefest sort are attempted.—E. B.*

**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal** No. 174,
175, 176, for 1872.

Nos. 174 and 175 contain the papers on Physical
Science. These are:—Part IV of a 'Monograph
of Indian Cyprinidae,' by Surgeon F. Day; 'Zoo-
ology of Sikkim,' by W. T. Blanford, F.G.S., C.M.Z.S.;
'Notes on the Ornithology of Kas'mir,' by W. E.
Brooks, C.E.; 'Note on various new or little known
Indian Lizards,' by Dr. F. Stoliczka; 'On the Osteo-
logy of Trienops Persicus,' by G. E. Dobson, B.A.,
M.B.; 'Third list of Birds from the Khasi and Garo
'On Differential Galvanometers,' by Louis Schwen-
dler, Esq.; and 'On Birds from Sikkim,' by W. T.
Blanford, Esq.

The first paper in No. 176 is a 'List of Words of
the Nicobar language as spoken at Kamorta, Nan-
kauri, Trinkutt, and Katschal,' by E. H. Man, Esq.
The next is on 'Buddhist remains in Oriissa,' by
J. Beanes, B.C.S., Balasor. At Chhatiá 16 miles
north of Katak, the writer says "I came to a flat
surface of laterite closely resembling that at Kopa-
ri. At the foot of a small hill was a square plat-
form, about 40 feet square, of hewn laterite stones,
from which rose twelve pillars, octagonal and with
rounded capitals, but much worn by the action of the elements, and covered with grey lichen. To the west of this was a rude square building composed of the same stones, roughly put together without mortar. This had evidently been constructed from the stones of the older structure, as there were pieces of mouldings, capitals of pillars and sculptured stones, some upside down, and all evidently out of place. Inside, smeared with vermillion and turmeric, were numerous portions of statues, heads, arms, a mutilated trunk or two, few of which bore any resemblance to the traditional figures of Hindu mythology.

"The images unfortunately are so smeared with vermillion and oil, that it is difficult to make out all the details. There seems to be a serpent's hood over the head of one, but it is too much worn to admit of any certainty."

Again at Dharmsala on the Brahmani, 31 miles north of Katak. "One mile to the west of the road, at the foot of a little hill, on a small promontory jutting out into the river, stands a temple of Siva, under the name of Gokarnes'wara Mahādeva, or as the peasants call it, Gok'ns'r Mahadeb. This is one of the usual Siva temples of the melon or ninepin shape, so common in Orissa. It faces the east, and in front of it is a square platform of laterite stones, surrounded by pillars exactly similar in design to the Kopari ones; they are -twelve in number, three at each corner of the platform.

"The Mahadeb temple has been built of stones taken from some part of this ancient structure, though the fact is concealed by its being entirely covered with a smooth coating of plaster. The Hindu statues of late date surrounding this temple are of remarkable beauty and fineness. The principal figure is called by the people Saraswati, and represents a smiling woman with four arms holding a conch and lotus, with many female attendants with laughing faces grouped round the principal which is not in relief, but has the stone cut away at the back of the figure.

"This image was found in the river some years ago, and the others were found in the jungle close by, or as the attendant Brahman states, suddenly appeared out of the rock, and ordered themselves to be worshipped!"

From 'Notes on a Visit to the Tribes inhabiting the Hills south of Sibsegar, Asān, by S. E. Peal, Esq., we make the following extracts:

"Our ignorance of these various tribes, their many languages, customs, and internal arrangements, seems to be only equalled by their complete ignorance of us, our power and resources. The principal of clanship is here carried to the extreme; not only are there numerous well marked tribes inhabiting considerable tracts, as the Butias, the Abors, Singphōs, Nāgās, but these again are cut up into small, and usually isolated, communities, who, among the Nāgās at least, are constantly at war with each other. Their isolation is often so complete, that their resources lie wholly within their limited area.

"There seems good reason to suppose that the present state of things has existed for a considerable period. Not only are the languages spoken by contiguous tribes often mutually unintelligible, but the still better evidence of strongly marked physical variation holds good. And to these inferences of a long period must be added that tangible fact, that at their villages, or 'change,' and not elsewhere in the hills, there are numerous Jack trees, many of them very large, and not less than 400 years old, I should say, as the Jack is a slow growing wood."

"We now saw for the first time how they weed the 'dhan,' commencing at the bottom of the slopes and working upwards, in parties of ten to twenty. The dhan stalks seem far apart, and they use a bamboo loop to scrape up the earth, removing the weeds with the left hand and throwing them in little heaps. Each house or family seems to have its dhan marked out by sticks, stones, or weed heaps, and neighbours combine to work in batches. The rate at which they got over the ground was astonishing, the work being well done. The dhan was not in ear, and this was their second weeding. I was told, it was enough for this year.

"The labour they are put to for a scanty crop is almost incredible. They seldom cultivate the same piece of land for more than two years in succession, as grass comes up rapidly the second year, and they have no way of eradicating it, the only implement used in cultivation being the dhao. After the second year, they let the land go into jangal, and make fresh clearances for their dhan. The hills are thus in all stages of jangal and forest, now all grass, as Borata, Ulú, and Hamorá; or ground deserted for three years, all in small tree jangal (for the trees kill the grass in that time); on other patches again larger trees may be seen, five and six years old, or eight and ten, and no grass at all. In about ten years all the available rice-growing land has had a turn, and they can clear the young forest again. They thus require far more land than the ryots in the plains, especially if the smallness of the crop yielded is taken into account."

A little beyond Longhong "we passed some small raised changes, on which we saw bodies tied up in Tocoopalm leaves, and roofed in. We heard it was the way in which they disposed of their dead."

"We were taken to the highest point in the village from whence we had a fine view of the surrounding changes. To the east, nearest to Longhong and the plains, lay the Hūrū Mūtons' chang on its peak, which is wooded to the top. With the binoculars the houses could be clearly seen in detail, they seemed the same as in Longhong. The Hūrū Mūtons are the deadly enemies of the Banpara tribe, though so close. Next to the south lie the Kūlūn..."
Mútons, also on a hill, and next to them again the Bor Mútons, on a conical hill with the village on the apex. More to the south and in the extreme distance was the chang of the Neyowlung Nágás, or, as they are called, Abors; and due south was U’nu-gán, one of the four Banpara villages. Several small ranges ran behind these, all inhabited by Abors, up to the foot of the Dooparbat due east. This mountain is uninhabited, and called ‘Deopar-bat’ from an idea that it is haunted by a Deo, or devil. Hollow noises are said to be heard on the summit, where a lake is believed to exist. It is wooded to the top, and the western face is rather precipitous; here and there large masses of rock stand out clear of the forest and so light as to look like quartz. From behind U’nu-gán a large hill rises shutting in the view; on it are the so-called Abors, had cost five buffaloes, and was the daughter of an hills, all Banpara territory, and on one of them we were shown the village of that name where the were the quartz. From behind Untígáon a large hill rises, apex. More to the south and in the extremity is, the chang of the Neyowlung Nágás, or, as the border tribes would “cut” them, as it is called. In the fore-ground of this hill lay a series of small hills, all Banpara territory, and on one of them we were shown the village of that name where the Rájah resides. Nearly due south-west, Joboka rises, and is as conspicuous here as from the plains, having a gradual slope on its southern face, and a very steep one to the north. It is the hill of the Joboka tribe, with whom the Banparas are constantly at war, with varying success.”

“We saw” at Banpara “some Abor women or girls, wives of the owners, one of whom, we were told, had cost five buffaloes, and was the daughter of an Abor Rájah. They seemed far more sprightly and intelligent and good-looking than Nágánís, and could, we thought, understand us far better too; whether they were exceptional cases, I cannot say. They wore the hair in a long queue, tied up with beads and wire, and in many cases it was long, not cropped at all, as is common among Nágánís. Costume as usual was at a discount, and as is often said “a pocket handkerchief would make four suits;” yet with all this, I doubt if we could beat them in either real modesty or morals, and this applies to Nágánís too.

“The Morrang (deadhouse), or place where the skulls in their wars are put, was next visited. It also contained the great drum cut out of a tree stem and hollowed like a boat. I had reason to think that they might have scribbles to take us in, and as I had often tried to get a skull, I did not shew my interest in it outwardly. Roughly estimated, there were about 350 skulls. About half of them hung up by a string through a hole in the crown and in the open gable end, the other half lying on a heap on the ground. No lower jaws were to be seen, nor hands and feet, as I had expected. The latter are always cut off with the head when a man is killed, and confer another kind of ‘ak’ or decoration. None seemed fractured by a diáko, and a large number were of young people, or children, being small and smooth.

“We were conscious of being face to face with the great cause of this tribal isolation, constant warfare, evidently a custom of great antiquity. As long as social position depends on tattooing as here, and can only be got by bringing in the head of an enemy, so long shall we have these wars, and consequent isolation of clans. The man who brings in a head is no longer called a boy or woman, and can assist in councils of state, so called. And he seldom goes out on a raid again, I hear. The head he brings, is handed to the Rájah, who confers the ‘ak,’ or right of decoration by tattoo, at which there is great feasting, and pigs, cows, or even buffaloes are killed and no end of ‘moad,’ or fermented rice water is drunk. Those who are not tattooed, when old enough, make a party and lie in wait for strangers, men, women, or children, anybody in fact with a head on him; and as cover is plentiful, they can get on the enemy’s land and lie in ambush along side his paths; never breaking cover unless certain of success and getting clear off. All those who get heads, get the ak on the face; those who get hands and feet, get marks accordingly; for the former on the arms, for the latter on the legs. No two tribes, however, have the marks alike, and some even do not tattoo the face. The worst of this kind of warfare is that women and children are as often killed as men, and without any compunction.”

“Besides the skulls, the Morrang also contains the big drum which is nothing more than a “dug-out.” It is beaten by short heavy sticks, and can be heard a great distance. The drum from the Múton Chang can be heard here, at least six or seven miles in a direct line. Some are made of a hollow tree with the inside gradually burned out, and open at the ends, some 20 feet long by 3 to 4 in diameter.”

The Banpara tribe consists of four villages, Banpara, Longhong, Unš, and Nokrong, and Mr. Peal estimates them at 600 houses, and the able-bodied men at 1,000 to 1,200. The Joboka Nágás have five villages, Joboka, Kamling, Bor Utš, Hārū Utú, and Longting, and may have 1,000 to 1,200 houses and 2,000 able-bodied men. The Mútons have four villages,—Bor Múton, Hārū Mútons, Kulun Mútons, and Nangšon —a ‘new village’ at least 60 years ago. “Whether these are separate tribes or simply different villages of one, I cannot say. A Rájah is at each, but they never go to war with one another, but fight on the contrary together, I believe, against any enemy. Their ak also is the same.

Of the Bor Duárias, Pání Duárias, and Nánmsangs, I cannot give an estimate, but I think that they have not less than 1,000 to 2,000 houses, each tribe. Some of the Abor tribes again are very small, and consist of but one village, and that a small one; as the village and tribe of Bāuhsang (Bamboochang).”

“Between the Desang on the east and the Dik’ho, there are as many as 8 or 10 tribes having a frontage to Asám. From Desang to Luffry alone, only
55 miles, there are six tribes, i.e., Bor Duárias, Mó-
tons, Banparas, Jobokas, Sanglors, and Lakmas, and
this gives but six miles average frontage. They
do not extend far into the hills, so that each may
safely be said to occupy about 40 or 50 square miles.
In some cases a tribe is more extensively placed;
but again in others, as Sinyong, the entire tribe consi-
sists of but one village. I know of no cases where
one tribe has conquered and become possessed of
the lands of another; hence the status quo seems of
long continuance. The oldest 'Nogâons,' or new
tribes, are not less seemingly than 40 or 50 years.

As a consequence of the above noted custom of
head-cutting, and its isolating influence, few Nágás
reach the plains, but those living on the border,
We thus see a community of some hundreds perched
on a hill, and depending almost exclusively on their
own resources, constantly fighting others similarly
isolated, on all sides, yet thoroughly able to main-
tain themselves. Perhaps in no other part of the
world can so complete a tribal isolation be seen,
and subdivision carried to such an extreme. The
available land, too, seems all taken up. To every
40 or 50 square miles there are about four villages,
of perhaps one hundred families each; yet from the
nature of the case, as before stated, not more than
an eighth or tenth of the land available can be cul-
tivated at one time, and the population would seem
to have reached its maximum.

The Banparas, like most Nágás, use the 'Jatti or
spear, and the 'dháo.' They also use the cross bow.
(Hap in Naga). It is not, I hear, of recent date. In

CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

AGE OF INDIAN CAVES AND TEMPLES.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—In the XXVIth number of the Proceedings
of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
which has just reached this country, I perceive that
Dr. Bhau Daji adheres to the assertion made by him
at the meeting in July 1869, to the following
effect:—"I have personally," he says, "visited
many of the older Orissa Temples, with inscriptions
in many of them, and have also examined almost
every cave in this Presidency, as well as many in
Behar and Eastern India. I have sometimes
found Mr. Ferguson in error to the extent of one
to three centuries in respect to the age of Temples
and Caves. He generally postdated them." (No. XXVI. p. cxxxix).

Nothing would surprise me less than that this
assertion should, in some cases, at least, prove correct.
As I stated in my "History of Architecture" (vol. ii. p. 591), "when I visited Bhubaneswar
the subject was new to me, and I had had no
practice in inferring the dates of Hindu buildings
from their styles." Indeed when I last had an

opportunity of personally inspecting these build-
ings, more than thirty years ago, the whole subject
was in its infancy, and nothing had then been
published that was of any real value or assistance.
Since then numberless inscriptions have been pub-
lished and translated, and almost all the buildings
I then knew have been visited and described by
others. Under these circumstances, I would natur-
ally expect that, with all the increased knowledge
and facilities now available, any one might detect
errors in my determinations. It would hardly,
however, be in Orissa temples. I only ascribed
dates to three of them—Bhubaneswar, Kanarak,
and Jagannath. These dates I took, not from their
style, but from Stirling's Essay in the XVth volume
of the Asiatic Researches; where they are recorded
in evidence that seemed so clear that it will be very
interesting to know how Dr. Bhau Daji can upset
it. Dr. Hunter, I see, tumbles into the same pit,
and it is high time we were both rescued.

With regard to Temples and Caves in Western
India, Dr. Bhau Daji may be in possession of infor-
mation not now available to the general public; but
I have seen nothing yet in print that shakes my
faith in the general correctness of the data on which I have proceeded: but there is nothing I desire more than that any mistakes I may have committed should be rectified, and that others may thus be prevented from falling into the same errors. Actuated by these feelings, as soon as I saw a report of the discussion in the Bombay papers, I wrote a private letter to Dr. Bhau Daji, in which I explained to him that I was preparing for the press a second edition of my "History of Architecture," and how undesirable it was for the good cause we both had at heart that these errors should go uncorrected, and promising the fullest acknowledgment of any assistance he might give me in ascertaining the truth. That letter he has had in his possession now for a twelvemonth at least, but he has not yet condescended to take the slightest notice of it; and I am therefore induced to ask him publicly to make good his statement; insomuch as by doing it in print and in the form of an answer to this letter, he will secure to himself, without dispute, all the credit due to his superior knowledge and sagacity.

London, 5th July 1872.  JAS. FERGUSSON.

NOTE ON THE "GAULI RAJ."

I am glad to see this subject noticed by Mr. Sinclair, (p. 204), and I should wish to see more contributions to our stock of information on the subject. If every reader of the Indian Antiquary who knows anything, however small, bearing on the question would but contribute his mite, our store of knowledge might be considerably increased. I have come across many traces of the so-called Gauli Rāj in Gondwāna, but the subject has never emerged out of the phase of misty tradition in which it is enveloped. The easiest solution of the mystery is to refer to it an ante-Aryan period,—easiest, I say, as being incapable of contradiction by actual proofs, but this cannot be accepted for many reasons. All over the Baitooland and Chindwara districts are found groups of monumental stones, three or four feet high, and sculptured over with equestrian and other figures. On enquiry, these are always referred by the people to the Gauli Rāj; at most these stones cannot be above a century or two old. The modern race of Gaulis and Ahrs do not erect such monuments, but the Gadrīs or goatkeepers and the analogous tribe of "Bhurwaras" in Gujarāt do erect somewhat similar monuments, only of wood instead of stone. It is quite clear that the villagers of the Sāthpūra highlands fully believe in the existence in former times of a Gauli Rāj, but they can throw no further light on the subject. The following is the only tale I have ever heard making any definite allusion to the rule of the Gaulis, and it is curious inasmuch as it seems to bring the rāj within the range of a comparatively recent historical epoch. The Chaudris or hereditary Patels of Chindwara are a well-to-do family of Rājkīs, an offshoot of the Rajput stock, and the pedigrees which they show go back to a very remote period. The story told me by the present representative of the eldest branch of the family, that his ancestors were formerly in the service of the Gond Rājas as military retainers, and that on some occasion of want of means to pay their dues the Rāja gave them permission to take and plunder the fort of Chindwara then held by Gauli chiefs. This they proceeded to do, and they have lived in the fort to this day. I could get no documentary corroboration of the story, but if true it makes the Gaulī Rāj cotemporary with the Gond Rāj. It may be quite possible that the term Gauli Rāj expresses nothing more than that at some past day the upland plains of the Sāthpūra and adjoining lands were chiefly occupied by shepherd tribes who monopolized all the wealth of the country, and who no doubt carried arms to save their herds from being harried. The aborigines of the country would be in a state of serfdom to them, and look up to them as their rulers, and talk of their "raj." I think this is a more rational solution than to conjure up the ghost of some lost dynasty—a task about as hopeless as that of identifying the lost ten tribes of Israel. This however is but a humble suggestion, and I shall feel happy if I can succeed in provoking further enquiry and eliciting some interchange of ideas on this ethnological problem.

Bombay, 22nd July 1872.  W. RAMSAY.

THE KHAJUNA LANGUAGE.

Sir,—I have lately confirmed some observations formerly made by me as to the classification of the Kaju na language, of which Dr. Leitner has been a chief exponent.

This language has hitherto remained unclassified, and the reason is a simple one, because it has no neighbouring congener. It certainly has no connexion with those languages with which it is intermingled in Dr. Leitner’s vocabularies.

The group of languages which furnish the key to it is that of the Agaws, Waags, Falahās (Black Jews), Fertits, Dizzelas, and Shankalis of Abyssinia; but with these are also connected those of the Abhass in Caucasia, of the Rodyas of Ceylon, of the Galelas, &c., of the Indian Archipelago. A Siberian class and two American classes are also related.

The Rodya, the language of the Pariha of Ceylon, was also unclassified. It will be seen that it belongs to the same general family as the Kaju na. There is little direct resemblance between the Kaju na and the Abhass, or between the Kaju na and the Rodya, but the relationship of each is rather with the Abyssinian class. One chief reason for calling the attention of the readers of the Indian Antiquary to the subject is for the purpose of inviting their attention to these sources for the early philology, ethnology, and history of India. The group which I have named at present—the Siberio-Nubian—must have had possession of the whole of India before the Dravidians.

St. George's Sq., 24th Feb., 1872.  HYDE CLARKE.
ON TITLES.

SHALL say, by way of introduction, a few words about the titles that were in use at the Dihli Court.

The kings up to the time of Bábar had the title of Sultan; with the Mughuls the higher title of ‘Pádisháh’ came into use. In fact we find that the Mughul dynasty brought a new court ceremonial to India. The word ‘sultán’ is an Arabic noun and means ‘power.’ It then became, like other abstract nouns, a title; but it is still used in the sense of ‘salámat,’ or ‘rule.’ ‘Sálá’ is an old Semitic root. In Chaldee we have ‘shallit,’ in the books of Daniel and Ezra, which is used in the sense of ‘strong,’ and as a substantive, ‘a prince,’ whilst in Hebrew it occurs in Ezekiel in the sense of ‘a hard, impudent woman.’ In Arabic, the root ‘salaṭa,’ like its cognates ‘galáda’ and ‘galaba,’ means ‘to be hard,’ and its secondary meaning ‘to rule’ is generally ascribed to Syriac influence. The word sultán occurs very often in the Qurán; but it has there the meaning of hukm, and refers chiefly to that power which a prophet as such has over men. The meaning will become still clearer when we compare Act. Apost. VIII. 19, where the tetrasko, or power communicated by laying the hands on any one, is translated in Syriac and Arabic by ‘sultán.’ Among the Arabians the use of the word ‘sultán’ as a title belongs to the times after Muhammad. The pre-Islamitic Arabians used al-amir, malik, shaikh, and later al-wali, in the sense of ‘a king.’ Some Arabian chiefs had peculiar titles. Thus ‘tobba’ was the title of the kings of Yaman; and foreign kings were called by their foreign titles, as kiará (king of Persia), qaïçar (‘Cæsar’, Emperor of Constantinople), &c. The first clear case of ‘sultán’ having been used as a title belongs to the time of Ruknuddaulah deputy over Faras under the Khalifah almútí ‘bíllah, who bestowed it, according to Abúlídá, in A.H. 338, or A.D. 949, upon his nephew ‘Imád ud-daulah. A later, though better known, example refers to the reign of Mahmúd of Ghazni, who in 393 A.H., or 1002 A.D., dignified Khalíb íbí Ahmad, the governor of Sijistán, with the title of ‘Sultán.’

From this time the title of ‘Sultán’ becomes common, and is occasionally interchanged with the Persian Sháhánísháh or Pádisháh, or the Turkish Khágán or qáán. The idea of dependence on the Khalifahs of Baghdad was always implied, and the early Sultáns of Dihli, Jaunpur, &c., tried to confirm their claims as reigning princes by calling themselves náçiṟa amíri muminin, helper of the commander of the Faithful, or mümüdha khálifityáláhí, assister of the Khalifah (vice regent) of God, &c., and sending embassies to Baghdad, and later, to Egypt with presents to obtain the coveted acknowledgment (taqlid) as lawful rulers. Bábar, however, and his descendants based their right upon conquest, and from his time the emperors of Dihli are styled Pádisháh or Pádisháh í Gházi.

That the title of ‘Pádisháh’ was looked upon as a higher title than ‘Sultán,’ is best seen from the fact that from the time of Bábar the word Sultan, and in two instances the word ‘Sháh’ also, became the title of the Imperial princes, and ‘Sultán Begum’ that of imperial princesses, whilst the sons of princes, i.e. the grandsons of the reigning emperor, were called ‘Sháhízádáhs.’

Immediately after the conquest of Dihli under Iltitmísh (Altamsh), we find that the princes also were called ‘Sultán,’ and the grandees ‘Maliks,’ a title which was only abolished by Bábar. From the time of Balban, we observe that the princes get the title of ‘Khán,’ or higher titles as Khánkhánán, Ulugh Khán (great Khan) and Ikit Khán (young Khan). Under Bábar and Humáyún we also see the word ‘Mirzá’ applied to them, which is a Persian usage, and later we find that two Princes, Khurrám (Sháh-jáhán) and Muhammad Mu’azzam (Bahádur Sháh), got the title of Sháh, which they even retained after accession.

The queens had the titles of ‘Malikah,’ ‘Malikah í Jháhán,’ ‘Mákhduómah Jháhán’ (pr. served by the world), &c. Under the Mughuls the title of Pádisháh Begum appears (Núr Jhán for the cons of the emperor; but the word is then used as an epithet rather than a title.)
and Muntáz Mahall); other wives had the titles of Begum, Bánú, Khánum, Gáhibah, and Bibí, and were by outsiders and at court often geo-
graphically distinguished as Akbarábádi Mahall (the Ágrah Lady), Aurangábádi Mahall, &c. Within the harem the principal queens held darbárs and conferred titles. Standing epithets were also common; thus Akbar’s mother is invariably called Maríam Makśiné (holding the rank of the Virgin Mary); Jahángir’s mother, a Hindú princess, Maríam uzzamón (the Mary of the age); Muntáz Mahall, Moháli’aloyi (the high cradle); Odham Bái, the mother of Ahmad Sháh, Gáhibah Zámaini (the Lady of the age), &c.

The grandees, as mentioned above, had the title of malik before the Mughuls. The early kings of Dihli rarely conferred titles as personal distinctions. There were, of course, titles attached to officers, as vazir, finance minister; ákbarubak (or ákbarub), master of the horse; duid-bak, chief justice; borbak, master of ceremonies; talíz, presenter of applications; sarjándáir, quarter-master general; shihnah-i-pil, master of the elephants; dúbir, councillor; barid (the Latin weredus), the court intellígencer; kotwélbak, the commandant of the capital and the palace; the Cadr-i-jáhán, who conferred lands as madámad’ásh, ranking as highest authority in law matters and higher than all Maliks and Princes; Vakil dar, or Vakil-i-dar, the Vakil of the ‘Porte,’ and many more; but with the exception of titles conferred on princes, I think but few Maliks in the beginning of the Dihli empire got titles. It was as if the idea still lingered among the courtiers that the Khalífah alone was the fountain of honours. This did not prevent the Maliks from assuming titles as Zafar Kháň (a favourite title), Nuçrat Kháň, &c., and poets and flattering dependents may have given currency to such assumptions. The power of the Maliks was almost absolute, and inscriptions show that they even assumed the epithets of royalty, leaving the emperors nothing but the khutbah and sikkah, the honour of the Friday prayer and the right of striking coins. From the time of ‘Alá’uddin and Firúz sháh titles became more common, and area re

Afghán, when the royal power was on a firmer basis. The title of ‘khánkhánán’ was the highest, and ‘Khán Jahan’ was the second in rank. Under the Mughuls, the Pádisháh was considered the sole fountain of honours, and the power of the nobles being limited and confined, they were anxious to obtain personal distinctions for which formerly there had been no need.

The Mughul emperors considered themselves the lawful rulers of the whole of India. The existing dynasties in the Dak’hin, or Hindú rájás, were invariably ascribed to the fact that Timur left India; and the founders of dynasties were only successful rebels. Thus there was a constant reason for attacking and reducing independent states and restoring the empire to its old limits. The titles and rights of independent kings were never acknowledged by the Mughul emperors; the kings of the Dak’hin are never even called ‘Sultáns,’ and had to be satisfied with general epithets as hákin, wáit, marzbán, or dánýadár (holders of worldly property—a word successfully coined by Abúfazal), and no Hindú Rájah was called otherwise than zamindár, until he had made his submission, when he received the title of Rájah from the emperor and entered the service of the Mançábdars. From the time of Akbar, the succession in Hindú reigning families required the sanction of the emperor, and the tilák, (or gashqah, as the Muhammadans called it) was, in the case of great Rájahs, put on by the Emperor himself. Aurangzib, from religious motives, abolished the custom.

The Hindús had different titles from the Muhammadans, viz.: Ráná, Mahárájáh, Ráo, Ráwul, Rájah, Rái, Rái Ráyan, Jám, &c. These titles were conferred. ‘Mahárájáh’ occurs rarely and only in later times; but Rájahs often assumed it or were so called by their subjects. There is no case on record that the title of Khán was ever conferred on a Hindú, though many assumed it or made it part of their names; and similarly, the title of Rájah was never ‘conferred’ on Muhammadans, though now-a-days there exist a few Muhammadan Rájahs.† Epithets also occur; thus—Mán Singh was called ‘Farzand’, or ‘son’; several

* It had formerly been customary with the emperors to put the wazírubak with their own hands on the foreheads of great Rájahs, and in the present reign [Aurangzib’s]. Akád Kháň had been ordered to put it on Rám Singh; but now the custom was abolished, and Rájahs were directed to make the tádít. † An older example is Rájah ‘Ali Kháň of Khándesh under Akbar. In MSS. his name is often corrupted by well-meaning copyists to Ráj Íâkhán—raj in Arabic means ‘hoping’.

The tádít or saláma, usual at the Dihli court, consisted in placing the upper surface of the right hand near the
Jaipur Raja were called 'Mirza Raja,' or Saruood-i-Rajahai Hind, Bahadur, &c. But the Hindus were worse off as regards titles than the Muhammadans.

In treating of Muhammadan titles, we must carefully distinguish those which were conferred from such as were assumed. First of all, the title of 'Nawab' was never conferred. The word is said to be a corruption of nuwwab, the plural of nab, a deputy. The singular occurs in nab vazir, nab baba; and other ante-Mughul titles attached to offices. But 'Nawab' and 'Nawab Ghahib' occur as epithets on inscriptions and in prefaces to books as early as Akbar's reign. Again, the word 'Bahadur,' a Turkish word meaning 'brave,' was only used as an epithet. Ahmad Shah used it as title and ordered his name to be read in the Friday prayer as 'Mujhiduddin Muhammad Abu nasr Ahmad Shahu Bahadur.' Hence also 'Kampani bahadur,' the name by which the E. I. Company is still known in India. The modern 'Khah Bahadur' is, in Bengal, by permission assumed by Muhammadan Deputy Magistrates, whilst Hindo Deputy Magistrates assume 'Rai Bahadur'; it stands, of course, for 'Khah-i-Bahadur,' the courageous Khah. The compound, however, is a modern abnormal one; for 'Khah' was conferred by the Dihli emperors, and so also 'Bahadur' and 'Bahadur Khah,' but not 'Khah Bahadur.'

The word 'Khah' is a Turkish word, meaning 'king,' 'prince.' Thus we still say Khah-i-Bukhara, the King of Bukhara, for Sulthan-i-Bukhara, which is also used. The title when conferred, had a high reputation. The word occurs also, as is well known, as part of names, especially in Afghan names, and in many parts of India it is looked upon as hereditary. In fact, according to Sher Shah I think, the Afghans and their descendants are all Khahs. But the title of Khah which the emperors conferred was the Turkish title and ranked above Beg or Be (the abbreviated form of Beg). There are no cases on record to show that the Mughul emperors ever conferred 'Beg' or 'Be,' but many instances can be cited where foreigners with the title of Beg, after several years of service, received the title of Khah and then dropped the 'Beg.' I am not sure whether 'Beg' was ever conferred by the early Dihli emperors, or whether the Turks looked upon it as hereditary; but it was often used, though chiefly in official titles and in the form 'Bak.'

The chief facts which we have to remember in connection with Muhammadan titles are, (1) no title conferred by the Mughul emperors was hereditary; and (2) with the exception of the title of Khah, no title was held by more than one grandee at the same time. Thus the title of Bahadur Khah would only be conferred on a grandee, when the former holder had died, or had, through misconduct, lost it. Hence such titles, from their limited usage, were much valued; in fact they ranked so high that they gradually brought the real name of the owner into oblivion. Akbar's third Khakhkan was generally known in history as 'the Khakhkan,' but his real name Mirza 'Abdurrahim is rarely mentioned. There were many titles to which, from historical recollections, an unusual estimation attached, such as Khah Jahah, Khah Zamun, Vazir Khah, Aly Af Khan, A'zam Khan, Islum Khan, Sher Khan, Rustam Khan, Bahadur Khah, &c., and the emperors only conferred them for most distinguished services. As these titles recurred in different reigns, distinguishing epithets were used; thus we find an Afghan Akbarshah and a Khah Jahannahi- Shakhjahant. With the increasing number of the grandees after Akbar's reign the emperors had to invent new titles, and often availed themselves, for this purpose, of events or peculiar circumstances connected with the service of a grandee. Thus Jahangir rewarded a deserving officer who had first brought him the good news of a victory with the title of Khusshkhabar Khah, and another with that of Muarrikh Khan, for his knowledge of history; and Shakhjahant conferred descriptive titles as Qalahdahh Khan, Mahalldah Khan, Dindar Khan, &c. Doctors received titles as Masih uzzamani (the healing Messiah of the age), Masihulmulk, Hakim ulmulk, and so on, and many a court doctor rose to high military commands. Geographical titles were also in use, as Itum Khah, Ghaznin Khah, Khaf Khan (from Khaf, or Khawaf, in Khuran), Hahshi Khan, &c. Most of the titles have 'Khah' as the second word; but there are a few with 'mulk,' as Saifulmulk, Tajulmulk, and Im-

* I have seen in modern times the barbarous saruood for saruood.
† Observe that in many titles the Persians leave out the izafat. Besides the above examples, we have to say Khah Khah, Khan Jahah, Khan 'A'lam, Khan 'A'lam, &c.
Compounds with ‘daulah,’ which had been in common use under the Khalifahs and the Ghaznawis, and later with the Dakhín kings, were revived by Jahángir, who dignified his father-in-law Ghiás Beg, father of Nur Jahán, with the title of Itimáduddaulah, and by Shahjahan who gave the father of Mumtaz Mahall the title of Yamin uddaulah. In the 18th century, however, compounds with ‘daulah’ became common. In general, the titles became high sounding when the emperors had become puppets and derived an unexpected revenue from the sale of titles both personal and indicative of duties that were never to be performed, or from presentations at court and the bestowal of coats made of sprigged calico as dresses of honour. The power of conferring honours, and the general belief that only the Emperor of Dihli could confer them, remained for years after the last silver-plating of the audience hall and of the throne itself had been put into the melting pot; the E. I. Company reigned and coined in the name of the “great Mogol;” the Nawás Vazirs of Audh did not dare, before 1819, to assume the title of Padisha; and some independent rulers coin in the name of Shah ‘Alam.

Another class of titles may be mentioned. Jahángir introduced compounds by ending in Jang as Firuzjang, Nûsratjang, Haibatjang, Mahâbatjang, &c., which were placed after the principal title. These additions, also, became common in the 18th century, and were often assumed. Thus in the early (Bengal) history of the F. I. Company, we hear of Colonel Clive Bahâdur Galâbatjang, &c., and Mr. Verelst, Mons. Las, and other distinguished Europeans were similarly honoured.

Turkish titles as Tarkhán, and Ulugh Khán and Afghán titles, as Ulugh Majlis, Majlis-i-Ikhâtíár, Majlis ulmunjalís, Maenad i’Ali, &c., disappeared entirely under the Mughul emperors. The ‘Malik ulumará,’ or principal grandee of the courts of the early Dihli kings became, under the Mughuls, the ‘Amir ulumará,’ and the title was, after the reign of Akbar, generally given to the Khânsulwarás.

The right of displaying a flag and beating the kettledrum (naqqárah) was as much valued as a title. Vazirs, or Diwâns generally received on appointment, a golden penbox or a golden inkstand. The Khânsulwarás also, as commander of the emperor’s contingent, i.e. the standing army, received insignia. What they were is not quite certain; but flags of a peculiar kind formed part of them. All insignia were returned to the Emperor on death or dismissal.

I now proceed to the biography of—

**VAZIR KHAN HAKIM ALI UDDIN.**

He was born at Chiniot, in the Rachná Duáb,* a town to whose Shaikhzâdahs the renowned Sa’dullah Khán also belonged. Ali-muddin entered the service of Prince Shahjahán as a doctor, but he was often in civil employ and accompanied the prince in the war with the Rânás. He was the constant attendant of his master, even during his rebellion, and assisted him with 10 or 12 lakhs of rupees of his own property. When Shahjahan stayed at Janer, he was treasurer to the prince, and was, after Mahâbat Khán, the most influential officer.

On Shâhjahán’s accession, he was made a commander of 5,000, received a flag and a kettle-drum, and one lakh of rupees as a present. In the 5th year of the reign, he received the title of Vazir Khán, and marched with 10,000 horse from Burhânpur upon Daulatabâd; but as Fath Khán, the governor, sent to him his eldest son with the peshkash, which Fath Khán had hesitated to pay, Vazir Khán returned to court.

He was now appointed governor of the Panjâb, an office which he held for seven years. In the 14th year of Shahjahan’s reign, he was appointed Gubahdár, of Agra. He held this office for ten months, when he died (21st Jumâda I. 1051, or 18th August 1641, A. D.) It is said that a short time before his death, on passing one day into Agra over the Hatâqâpul Bridge, his horse fell. The fright seems to have proved injurious to him, for on his return home he made an inventory of his property and sent it to the Emperor to whom, according to custom, the property of every Amir lapsed. He died immediately afterwards.

He is said to have been simple in his mode of living and in dress; his faithfulness towards his master was proverbial. “Loyalty and piety,” he used to say, “are twin sisters.”

Vazir Khán’s name is well known up to the present day in Lahor and Chiniot. In Lahor,

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* Meaning either victorious, or dreadful in war.
† i.e. hard in war.
‡ The Duâbs of the Panjâb are said to have been called by Akbar, (1) Bihâr Jâlandhar or Bisat Jâlandhar; (2) Barî, Dûsh, (3) Rachná Dûsh; (4) Chanhat Dûsh. These names were invented to indicate the rivers which bound the Duâbs; thus Bihâr stands for Bisat and Satlaj; Barî for Bihâr and Râri; Rachná for Rawi and Chanab; Chanhat for Chanab and Bokhâr.
he built a bath, a bazaar, and several houses, and also the Jāmi' Masjid, which is still known at Lāhor as the Vazir Khān's mosque. The inscriptions on it shew that it was built in A. H. 1044, or 1634-35 A.D.—

Sāl itärikhiábinae Masjide'ālimakán.

Az khiradjustam, bagufā "sijdahgāhe ahl i fa:l,' a place of worship for the good.'

The other chronogram is better—

Tārikh inbindiepursidamaz khirad.

Guṣ́tabigokih "bani i Masjid Vazir Khān," in which the words bānī Masjid Vazir Khān, 'the builder of the Mosque Vazir Khān,' will be found to give 1044. Like other buildings in Lāhor, the mosque was desecrated by the Sikhs, who are said to have killed swine in it and used the interior as a stable.

Vazir àbād, in the neighbourhood of Lāhor, was also founded by Wazir Khān. In Chiniot, his birthplace, he built the brick wall of the town, erected many houses which he gave away to the inhabitants, as also a bazaar with shops, a mosque, an inn, a Madrasah, an hospital, and besides he dug several wells. "In fact, he adorned his native town as no other Amir in India has done." (Ma'dirul-Umarā.) Though he was anxious to revisit his native town he found no suitable opportunity for doing so.

Vazir Khān's son, Sālah Khān, served under Aurangzib as Mir Tozak. In the 29th year, he received the title of Anvar Khān, was appointed Darogah of the establishment of servants, and died in the 36th year of Aurangzib's reign.

The title of Vazir Khān was first held, under Akbar, by the brother of 'Abdul Majīd Ağaf Khān, the conqueror of Gandhānah. His biography will be found in my Ain translation (p. 353). Under Jahāngīr, the title of Vazir Khān was again conferred, namely, on Muqīm, who served as Assistant Finance Minister and as Diwān of Bengal, but he rose to no importance. Under Shāhjahān, as we saw above, the title was conferred on 'Alimuddin of Chiniot. In order to complete the series, I shall now give a short biography of the grandee who held the title of Vazir Khān under Aurangzib.

VAZİR KIHAN, MUHAMMAD TĀHIR KHURĀSĀNī.

Muhammad Tāhir was born at Māshhād in Khurāsān. He served Prince Aurangzib as treasurer, and had the reputation of being a good soldier. In the 10th year of Shāhjahān's reign, Aurangzib ordered him to invade, together with Mālūjī, the Dakhāni, the district of Bāglānāh, which the emperor had given Aurangzib as an ʿaltanghā tenure. Muhammad Tāhir invested Mālūjī, the stronghold of the Bāhrī of Bāglānāh, and forced him to submit. The district received a financial settlement, and Tāhir remained as governor in Mulhūr.

In 1062 (A.D. 1652), he was appointed by Prince Aurangzib as his nāib, or vice-governor of Khānḍeh, where he remained for several years. When Aurangzib, in 1068, left Burhānpūr to march against Dārā Shikoh, he left Tāhir in Khānḍeh, gave him the title of Vazir Khān, and conferred upon him 'the right of a flag and a kettledrum.' After Aurangzib's accession (Ramazzān, 1068), Vazir Khān was called to court, Mir Jumlah having been appointed governor of Khānḍeh, and was made, in the 3rd year, ʿubāhūr of Agra. In the 6th year, he accompanied Prince Muhammad Mū'azzam to the Dakhān, and was again sent to Khānḍeh as governor. In the following year, he was appointed to Mālwā* and received a full command of 5,000. He died in Mālwā in 1083 A. H., or A.D. 1672.

"There is a spot in Aūrangābād, still called after his name, where he had a villa. The part of Aūrangābād between the 'Little Tank' and the tomb of Islām Khān of Mashhād, was founded by his elder brother Mirzā Mahmūd and is hence called Mahmūdparah. His son, Muhammad Taqī Khān, was Bakhshi and Wāqi'ahnawis, or intelligencer, and died in the 10th year of Aurangzib. He built a palace at the Little Tank in Mahmūdparah "which still stands."

Another nephew of Vazir Khān is Rafī Khān, who was for some time Faujdar of Bāns Bareli (Rohilkhand). He was a poet and wrote under the nom-de-plume of Başīl (liberal). His large

written as ending in ah, the ḥ being silent. This peculiarity of spelling was needlessly transferred by Muhammadan writers to Indian names, and thus we have an explanation for Rājāh, Korrah, Mālwāh, Barmāh, instead of Rājā, Korra, Ḧāḥakah, &c. However, the order of the emperor only referred to the final ah (Khāf Khan, II. 399). Of course, it would be wrong to spell Persian words ending in ah with a final a, as Khaḥāh, bandah, &c.
work, entitled Hamlah i Haidari, contains 40,000 verses in Mutaqārib metre, and describes the wars of the Prophet.

THE RĀJĀHS OF NŪRPŪR (DISTRICT KĀNGRAH).

Nūrpūr lies north-west of Kāngra, on the Jabbarkhad, a small tributary of the Chakki, which flows into the Biāh. Its old name, Dhameri, the "Temmery" of old travellers, was changed to Nūrpūr by Rājah Bāsū in honour of Jahāngir, whose first name was Nūruddin. The Rājahs of Nūrpūr are generally called in Muhammadan histories 'the zamīndārs of Mau and Paithān.' Mau was one of their strongholds and was destroyed by Shāhjāhān,

The zamindārs of Mau and Paithān are first noticed in the very beginning of Akbar's reign, when Rājah Bakht Mall is mentioned as a supporter of Sikandar Sūr whom Akbar, in 965 A. H., besieged in Mānkot. When Bakht Mall saw that Sikandar's cause was hopeless he paid his respects in the imperial camp, and after the surrender of Mānkot, accompanied the army to Lāhor, where Bāhraīm Khān had him executed on the ground that he had supported Sikandar Sūr. As his successor Bāhraīm appointed his brother Takht Mall. I am not sure whether the names of these two Rājahs of Dhameri are correct, or whether the first ought not to be Takht Mall and the second Bakht Mall; for in every MS. of the Akbarnāmah that I have seen, the two names are continually interchanged.

Nearly thirty-two years later we hear of Rājah Bāsū as reigning zamīndār of Mau and Paithān. It is not stated how he was related to Bakht Mall and Takht Mall; but the historians of the reigns of Shāhjāhān and Aurangzīb look upon him as the founder of a new line, and give the following genealogical tree:

Rājah Bāsū of Nūrpūr. (Dies 1022)

1. Sūraj Mall. (Dies 1055.)
2. Bhāo Singh. (Dies 1077.)

Mūsā Mall, North-west of Nūrpūr, near the Rāvi, and "he who becomes Rājah, takes the name of Murid Khān."

Rājah Bāsū.—When Rājah Bāsū became zamīndār, he made his submission to Akbar. But when Akbar, after the death of his brother Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, King of Kābul, (A. H. 990) made Lāhor the capital, Bāsū did not pay his respects as he was expected to do, and the Emperor ordered Hasan Beg Shaikh Umār† to invade Mau. But when he had moved as far as Pathān, Bāsū, advised by Todar Mall, made his submission and went with Hasan Beg to court. In the 41st year, however, he rebelled again, and Akbar appointed Mīrzā Rustam and Aṣaf Khān‡ to reduce the district; but as the commanders did not agree, Akbar recalled them and gave the command to Jagat Singh, son of Rājah Mān Singh. Mau surrendered to him and peace was restored. In the 47th year, Bāsū rebelled a third time, and when an imperial corps was again despatched to Pathān he requested Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) to intercede on his behalf with the emperor. He waited on the prince, and accompanied him, in the 49th year, to court. Before he had reached the capital, Akbar heard that Bāsū was with Salīm, and ordered an officer to seize him. But Bāsū was informed of this and escaped to his hills.

On the accession of Jahāngīr, in 1014 (A. D. 1605), Bāsū paid his respects and was appointed Rājah and commander of 3500. In the 6th year, he served in the Dakhin, and died, two years later, in 1022. He was succeeded by his eldest son—

Sūraj Mall.—He is said to have been so unruly that Bāsū, from fear, imprisoned him. Jahāngīr after some hesitation, appointed him Rājah and commander of 2,000, and left him in possession of his paternal estates. Sūraj Mall served with Shaikh Farīd in the siege of Kāngra; but when he saw that the fort was on the point to surrender, he created disturbances in the camp, and Farīd reported him to court as a rebel. Sūraj managed to obtain Prince Shāhjāhān's intercession, and was pardoned. In the 11th year, Farīd died and Kāngra still held out. Sūraj then served with
Sháhjahán in the Dakhin. The prince, on his return, was sent to Kángrah, and though it was not advisable that Súraj should accompany him he was allowed to join the expedition and marched to Kángrah with Shah Quli Khán Muhammad Taqí, Sháhjahán's Bakshí. Sháh Quli was soon compelled to complain of Súraj Mall, but was recalled, and Rájah Bikrámajít was sent instead. The time which elapsed before Bikrámajít could join his command was used by Súraj Mall for mischief. He allowed a large number of imperial soldiers to return to the jágiro on the plea that the war had lasted a long time and their outfit was bad, but told them to return when Bikrámajít should arrive. He then plundered the whole district at the foot of the hills, which was the jágiř of Núr Jahán's father, and when Sayyid Gafi Bárha opposed him with some of the troops that had not yet left, he killed him. Bikrámajít arrived in the end of the 18th year, and Súraj Mall tried in vain to gain his favour by flattery. He therefore openly attacked Bikrámajít, but was repulsed, and Maun and Núrpúr, and the whole district, were occupied by the Imperialists. Súraj Mall fled to the hills and perished miserably soon after. Fort Kot lah also, which lies between Núrpúr and Kángrah, was taken, and Mándhú Singh, brother of Súraj Mall, who commanded it, together with his son, was sent to court (A. H. 1028).

(To be continued.)

ON THE BHAR KINGS OF EASTERN OUDH.

By W. C. BENETT, B.C.S., GONDA.

Three years ago I wrote of Daland Bal, the great Bhar heroes of eastern Oudh, that they constantly appeared in the legends of any time between 1000 A. D. and 1400 A. D., and that though they had eluded all my attempts to saddle them with a date, they probably lived at the beginning of the thirteenth century. I have since succeeded in hunting them down, and the partial elucidation of a dark chapter of middle Indian history may prove interesting.

The ancestors of the great Kanhpuria clan of Rajputs, Sahas and Rahas, are said to have completed the conquest of the western half of the Pratábgarh district in Oudh by inflicting a decisive defeat on the Bhars, whose kings Tiloki and Biloki were left dead on the battle-field. A tradition of the Bais of Dhundhia Khera relates that Abhaichand, the founder of that house in Oudh, defeated Dal and Bai on the banks of the Ganges in the Roy Bareilly district. In my report on the chief clans of the Roy Bareilly district I have proved beyond reasonable doubt that Abhaichand and Sahas and Rahas were contemporaries and lived early in the 13th century.* A third tradition states that Dal and Bal fall fighting with Ibrahim Shah Sharki of Jaunpur at Dalmau on the Ganges, and near the boundary of the Roy Bareilly and Pratábgarh districts. The locality is fixed by the fact that a large crowd of Ahirs collects once a year at a mound, the reputed tomb of the chieftains, about a mile from the fort, and offer milk to their manes. Leaving legend for history, we find that Firishtah, probably drawing from the Tabákát i Násiri, records that "In 545 (1246-47 "A.D.) Sultán Nasiruddin marched through the "centre of the Duab, and took the Tilsindah(?) "fort, and in the same year advancing to- "wards Karra laid waste the villages of Dalki "and Malki and took prisoners a number of "their family and servants. This Dalki and "Malki were kings in the neighbourhood of the "Jamná, and had formerly royal stations at "Kálinjar and Karra."

Dalmau is about thirty miles to the west of Karra, the similarity of the names Dalki, Malki, of Firishtah, Dal and Bal of the Bais and general tradition, and Tiloki and Biloki of the Kanhpurias, the identity of the dates in the Bais, Kanhpuria, and Firishtah's accounts, and the identity of locality in all, place it beyond doubt that the Dalki and Malki of history are no others than the great Bhar Kings of tradition who fell in the desperate fight with the Muhammadans under the walls of the Dalmau fort. The date of their death is therefore 1247 A. D. That the local account should have substituted Ibrahim Sharki for the earlier Muhammadan conqueror presents no difficulty, as such mistakes in tradition are of constant occurrence.

So much for the date. The next question is who were these Bhar Kings? We are helped some way towards an answer by two inscriptions discovered at Kálinjar, and criticized by Lassen

Ind. Alt. III. 796 seq.) From these we find that a man whose name is not given, but who is described as the first of his race (Pravânsa) rose to distinction among the Kayaths of Kausambhi, and took the fort of Ajaygarh. He was followed in succession by Jalnu or Hârêka, Jalhana, Gangadharâ, Kumula, and lastly Malîka. The last of this dynasty of six is identified by Lassen with Firishtah's Malki, and him I have just proved to be the Bal of Bhar legend. The inscriptions, therefore, furnish us with the information that this Bhar dynasty lasted for six generations, and we may place its commencement at about 1100 A.D. or 150 years before its destruction by Nasiruddin.

Mr. Sherring in his new book on Castes has given a tolerably accurate account of the popular idea of what the Bhars were, an idea which is confirmed by the condition of the Bhars still existing in this district of Gonda. They were aborigines and closely connected with the Chera stock, and they were, and are still lovers of the forest, great hunters and gross feeders, with a passion for pork and wine, peculiar and mysterious religious rites, and a special aptitude for sorcery. Mr. Sherring may be in the right when he identifies them with the bearded figures found in middle Indian sculptures, though it is strange that he should have fallen into the mistake of attributing to them old cities of the Buddhist period, such as Sahet Mahat ( Shrâvasti).

I am inclined to translate the unmeaning "Chandál Bhor" of Al 'Utbi (Elliot's Hist. - caste Bhawar" (Bhawar=Bhar; v. Lassen, Ind. Alt. I.448, note*) and to conjecture that, even at the time of Mahmud's conquest, a Bhar chieftain flourished at a few marches to the south of Kanauj. We are told that the Chandal Bhar was always at war with the Hindus of that place.

Lassen goes on to state that he has no hesitation in identifying Paramalabrahman, the founder of the Chandel clan with Malîka and the synchronism, and similarity of names may together be held to justify the identification. Thus much may be deduced from the above evidence,—at the time of the Ghori conquest an aboriginal tribe held a fortress not far south of Kanauj, and at about the end of the same century a chieftain of the same tribe took Kalanjar, and established a powerful kingdom, stretching from Malwa to Mirzapur and Faizabad, and with its principal strongholds at Kalanjar and Karra. The Bhar king did what aborigines in his position always do, and got himself admitted as a Kayath into the Hindu caste system. His dynasty reigned for a century and a half and was overthrown in 1247 A.D. His descendants were promoted to be Chhattris, and are now known as Chandels. The rise of the aboriginal tribes is paralleled in the contemporaneous history of Kashmir, and was probably due to the action of some general cause. Of the change of caste I could easily bring other instances, but refrain from straying into quite a new subject.

A SPECIMEN OF KASHMIRI.—THE DASTÁN SHEIKH SHIBLI.

WITH AN INTERLINEAR AND A LITERAL TRANSLATION.

By G. W. LEITNER, Ph. D.

1. Os hazrat Sheikh Shiblí der zenán
Was Highness Sheikh Shibli upon time
Dáed† ladá ak wutshan yót weddín.
Disease afflicted one he saw much wept.

Dupū Sheikhan: daed laão! dapte tzi
Said Sheikh: disease-afflicted I say thou
Dânde khend yót wadán tebêk ye tzi
Affliction from whom so much weeping is this thou

† Or 2nd Ed. vol. I. p. 534, also Fr. (Buchanan) Hamilton (1819) says:—"The chiefs of the low tribe called Bhawar trace their origin to a Nanyopdev, who brought the stud of the king of Dilli to pasture in the plains of Mathila, then entirely waste. Certain it is, that the Bhawars, about that time, extended their dominion over the Gorkhpur district as well as Tirahut, and that many petty chiefs of that tribe continued to occupy the parts adjacent to the hills until long after; and many of them continue to this day to be objects of worship among the low tribes. These may have been the descendants of collateral branches of the Kaja's family, or of the chief officers of their government; and it must be remarked, that many of them assumed the title of Deva, as all the princes descended from Nanyop...
SEPT. 6, 1872.

KASHMIRI SONG.

Töre dupnäs tshum mëh rôo-mut tôt
From there said: is to me lost beloved yär
friend

Dupis Sheikhan: tzánd wefadar yår
Said the Sheikh: find out a faithful friend
Sui yår tzánd yu naamâs te abãbã
That mistress seek who not be lost till eternity
Yår wefadar wushtan ba-hazur,
Mistress faithful see thou in God,
Tsi úsaki roomut; sui teku ná dår
Thou wilt be lost. He is not far

Tshéy besharit mainas amik tâliâs
Is good-news meaning of this to the pupil
Asil trewit ghaïr pazehâ tran-dunes7
Reality quitting another was it proper to seek?

2. Shâbe aké Sheikh binâr daed-siit
Night one Sheikh ill pain with
Daede sitin ashik katra paya kité
Pain with tear-drop fell several
Daedi sitin dáñ ówoun pat kunâ
Pain with reclined back side
Na gehâ Sheikbâs tekrâr sapnui
Suddenly? to the Sheikh objection was
Hatife awâs loynä pur-ghazab
Angel's voice struck full of wrath;
Hay Sheikhol yàt kia tshukh beyadab
Alas! O Sheikh's why art ill behaved
Yd te dizehe nd dawái-banâgí
Or thou make not claim of devotion

Nete hëzech ñâz døñeh shërmëndígy
Nor dost thou take night-day shame
Tore soçin bâdî balaë tâlîbas
From there he sent great calamities to the pupil
Yore dopus hand-u-thënd zulm nafs.
From here, he said thanks & praise tyranny self.

3. Sheikh Zunun* of Egypt saw a believer
O's wäddän daed-lad ahle-safí
Was weeping pain-afflicted pious man

Dopis Sheikhan: tshukh te wésîl amînna
Said Sheikh: art thou arrived for certain

Wast kho-tai,† wajgn Kamik tshuí
Union has become now of what thing is tamanâ
wish?

Töre dupnäs;‡ ay Zunun wutshite
The other said: oh Zunun see
Zitë muszhrë gûn bëytshâgin
Essence creator, colour incomparable

O's Azazîl nishe-arshâs pa ba-djâ
Was the devil night to throne foot on place
Malkut kian-malkan-hund peishâna
Worlds of angels of the guide (leader)
Kibri sitin gûu Azazîl lânâti
Pride with became Azazîl accursed
Girîó sitin Baba Adem Dynëti
Weeping with Father Adam of Paradise
Qâhri sitin kít wësîl dûrgâni
Wrath with how many who had reached far became
Mîhr sitin kít ghûfîl manzûr gûe
Grace with how many ignorant accepted became!
Shâkî Balamas gûu qabulas naqabal
The form Balaam to, became accepted not accepted
Sâge Ashab Kaft gau anâq gûbûl
Dog of the Ashab Kaft became there was accepted.

4. Shâbe-aké wud djenábé serwârûn
Night one wept His Highness the Chief
Tshus bo khozâz zate-sandên muzhîrûn
Am I fearing essence of him the Creator
Wishin kynsâs tshum nabuwe ete peighamberi
To this time is to me of prophecy the mission.

Andëi watam sai tsham ade
Till the last if has reached, this is to me then bërhkori.
success.

5. Sabiri Ayûb Yûnus Zakaria
Patient Job, Jonas, and Zacharias
Tzâde nauvîn dûde zahmat tay belâ
to bear caused pain of fatigue and calamity.
Wûtshite peish kîd ëw hazrat sabiras
See thou before what came saint 'the Patient' to
Mal o dunyo sihat badn niuntas
Property and goods, health, body took from him
Dirkà tulerê qiyam tznîis bâdunâs
Leech wasps worms he threw to his body
Daed-ladûn wâr tznûn na
The afflicted strength (place) he knew not wadanâs
to weep

Dôh aké ak ze gîmâ weyst pîps
Day one one two worm fell came.
Bey toçun tzkâzên tôgym máx kîos
Again lifted up from rage it flesh ate
Ahé! kodîn bey-kañ la-tshar gûu
Ah! fetched out deserted helpless was
Malkuttîn malkîn para para gûu
Of heavens angels torn torn were

* The name refers to the miraculous story of a fish presenting the Sheikh, who was travelling in a boat, with a lost jewel, which he had been falsely accused of stealing, after it had fallen into the water by accident.
† Or 'kho-tai—than.'
‡ Arifansh should be put here to complete the metre.
Khâs-pînis âs neâr az râbi
To himself especially came voice from the Lord
Namî Sâbir muni tshhâîrâwth, ay
The name of ‘patient’ shame you have made râbi!

Prophet!
Sami sûtin sabr ay nâ at yûl kîl?
Us from patience came not hand so late?
Kîne tsolit wutshet mushirâw
Why not endured, seeing the manifestation of zu-l-dîjâl?

the Glorious?
Os dâpin, ya ilahi, bôz-tam
Was he said, Oh God, hear thou
Sabr-o-takat, mehribani so t tam
Patience strength by kindness, send thou
Tsâtûn tshyûq sit sabr bemenhâ
Thy grace with patience I am taking
Ziito me ratshtam hamde nish yutâ pnehâ
Tongue my keep thou praise from than not I may fall.

Tîthên sabiren thêt kelamas pêo kusîr
Such to patients such words for fell a failing
Tümenishen kût tehî Ahmad baysâbir?
On that account what is Ahmad impatient?

Translation.

1. Once there lived a holy man, called Sheikh Shibli, who on one occasion saw a man weeping bitterly from excessive grief. The Sheikh said: “tell me 0 thou who art plunged in sorrow, who is it that has caused all these tears?” The man replied: “because I have lost my beloved friend.” The Sheikh rejoined,—“seek [another] faithful friend, seek such a friend as thou mayest never lose, and find this faithful friend only in God. Thy fault only will it be if thou lose him, for he is never far.” Of this good-news the meaning to the seeker of truth is, that he should not abandon the reality of God’s love for human friendship.

2. One night the Sheikh was suffering from pain. The pain caused some tears to fall. He reclined on his back with the pain, and unconsciously gave vent to an expression of impatience, when an angel’s voice struck his ear full of wrath; saying “why alas! O Sheikh! art thou so ill-behaved; either thou shouldst make no claim to be a servant (of God), or thou shouldst accept with resignation continual suffering. On the one part great calamities He sends to his servant, on the other the servant should give thanks and praise, considering his sufferings to be the consequence of his own sins.”

3. Sheikh Zunun of Egypt once saw a believer—a

possessor of goodness, who was weeping and afflicted, Said the Sheikh “union with God’ assuredly thou hast already attained: than such union what higher desire canst thou have?” The other said,—“Oh Zunun! consider thou Him the manifestor, the incomparable. I do not weep on account of bodily pain, but lest I should, after all, be rejected of God. [For many are those who have fallen.] Azazil himself once was near the throne of God, and the leader of angels who were residents of angelic worlds, yet, in consequence of pride, he became accursed, whilst by means of the weeping of repentance, Father Adam was [restored] to Paradise. How many Wasils [who had already attained to union with God] have not been rejected in consequence of the Divine wrath! and how many ignorant have not been accepted! Balaam was first accepted and then rejected, whilst the dog of the Ashab Kahf was accepted in His sight.”

4. One night His Highness [Muhammad] wept, and said I fear Him the Creator, for though till this time he has continued to me the gift of prophesy, yet will the result only be blessed if it he continued to the last.

5. God caused patient Job, Jonas, and Zacharias, to bear the pain of trouble and misfortune. See what happened to the holy Job. God took from him health and wealth and made his body a prey to leeches, wasps, and worms; yet the afflicted Job did not think it becoming to weep. One day a worm fell to the ground; he replaced it, when it bit his flesh with double rage. Deserted by his friends and helpless as he was, he fetched a sigh which pierced the hearts of the angels of heaven. Then came a voice to him from the Lord. “Oh prophet! thou hast disgraced thy name of ‘the Patient’; for thou hast not learnt patience, though thou hast been so long with me. Why hast thou not endured seeing [that thy sufferings were only] the manifestations of the Almighty?” Job said “Oh Lord! hear thou me and send me patience and strength. It is only by thy grace that I can be patient; keep thou my tongue lest it cease to praise thee.”

If such words were considered reprehensible in such patient saints, what will happen to me, [the author] impatient Ahmad?

“This story of Sheikh Shibli was composed by the poet Ahmad; in it there is the mention of the sorrows and patience of Saints and advice for finding one’s true friend. It is ancient, and has not much Persian in it.” (Note of copyist found in the above poem called “Dastan Sheikh Shibli.”)

Note.

Many of the vowel sounds in Kashmiri cannot be rendered by any known alphabet. Our transliteration is merely an approach. Kashmiri is generally written in the Persian character, which still more feebly represents the sounds of that very

* I.e. the companion of the cave, otherwise known as the seven sleepers of Ephesus.
interesting language. The pronunciation of Kashmiri is different in different parts of Kashmir, but, on the whole, the above attempt, which was made in 1865, to commit to Roman letters a connected specimen of the Kashmiri language, may be considered as fairly successful.† At any rate, the readers of the “Antiquary” are now offered the first instalment of Kashmiri Literature, no portion of which has been hitherto published in Kashmiri for European readers.

TRANSLATION FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF THE PRITHIRAJA RÁSAU.

By KAVI CHAND BARDÁL.

The following pages are a paraphrase of the whole of the first book of Chand’s vast poem, with the exception of the introductory portion, that is the first 136 stanzas containing about 1,500 lines.

The book opens with invocation to Vishnu and Siva and their wives. Then Chand holds a long conversation with his wife, in which he recites the names and number of verses in the eighteen Purāns, then follow some mere hymns to gods.

At stanza 48 begins the well known legend of Parikshita, and the serpent sacrifice of his son Janamejaya, after which comes the story of the foundation of Mount Abu by the Rishi Vasishtha, and the celebrated sacrifice thereon, which led to the preparation of the fire-fountain (sia* kund), from which sprung in succession the Pratihár, Cháluksya, and Panwár, and finally, as these were unable to cope with the demons, the Chahuváns. The first of the race was called Anal because he sprung from the fire; and after recording his victories over the Daityas, Dánávas, Rákshasas and objectionable beings in general, the bard briefly recounts the list of his descendants, saying nothing particular about any of them until he comes to Bisal Deb, the twenty-third in descent from Anal.

Here the present version begins, and I leave it to tell its own tale.‡ It is not in all cases a literal word for word translation. To those who read Chand for the sake of the historical, legendary, and geographical information which his poem contains, the following rendering will be highly useful and satisfactory; on the other hand, it is much less useful to the philologist, who, while caring comparatively little for the facts related, scrutinizes minutely every noun and verb in order to detect the ancient forms of inflexion, and the archaic phonesis of the language.

It is properly speaking a paraphrase. All Chand’s repetitions, his long-winded and rambling style, his unnecessary heaps of epithets are ruthlessly cut short. Here and there descriptions of scenery or festivals are omitted. In all narrative parts, however, the paraphrase is close and exact, almost approaching to a literal translation.

I have compared it with the original as contained in a fairly correct manuscript in my possession, and made such alterations as were necessary to bring it into more accurate correspondence with the original.

J. BEAMES.

PRITHIRAJA RÁSAU.

The causer of calamity to the world was Bisal Rái (the son of Bálam Ráj)—a great sinner, fond of riches: he did things that ought not to be done and things that ought to be done; terrible as an Aṣura, from mines he dug up wealth, he was blinded by lust (kam), he recollected not death (kal); right and unright regarded as equal; he acted not according to Rajniti, in many places, though a king he fixed customs not sanctioned; he paid no respect to religion; he abandoned the Vedas and followed the Tantras. Abandoning the bounds of right he abandoned also the bounds of good fame. He abandoned justice and followed injustice. No Atith(mendicant) was to be seen in his darbár. He heard his own ill name among men. For sixty-four years he ruled. He enjoyed not the happiness of a son. His body was subjected to age; he became like a stalk of poison. All his life was devoted to the desire of wealth and to kam. He was possessed by an evil spirit, he became Dhuñqhá the Aṣura. The Yoginis worshipped him, riding in a lofty chariot with four wheels, he had swords in both hands, fire issued from his mouth. Stamping on the earth he shook it. His shout was like the shout of

* Most of the explanatory words and phrases have been omitted in the interlinear translation, in order to bring each line of the original within the width of our column and thus present a complete specimen of rhymed Kashmiri—Ed.

† Conf. Tod, Rajasthan, vol.I. pp.94,95, where an extract from this part of the book is given.—Ed.

‡ The version is taken partly from the Ráś Málá of the late Hon. A. K. Forbes, (vol.I. pp.92-99), and partly from his notes written down from a vaid scéal translation into Gujarati, read off from the Hindi by the well-known Dalpatrám Dáyabhái, the Kaveshwar, who was five years in his service. Some verbal changes were made in copying the notes five years ago.—Ed.
Indra* in the cities and towns. The nine (khandas) sections of the earth began to tremble as a ship reels under the force of the wind. The Devas who protect the world trembled, and the Dīgpālas groaned. He seemed a foremost Dānava, as Vishṇu in the form of Vairāta. Birds, deer, men, and snakes fled from him,—he roared so horribly.† . . .

This Chahuvān daitya destroyed Abu. The country became void of living beings. In the jangal of Ajmer he lived many days, and annoyed things moveable and immovable‡ . . .

Gaurā, the queen of Sārang, went in her pregnancy to Rinthambh. She was of the race of Jādava, on her mother's side a Chahuvān. She had a son Anāla Rāja; he dwelt in Devagām, and was of great bashfulness. He was continually studying religion. Sambhari Dévi loved him, and he communicated with her. Though absent he beheld Ajmer in his mind. Skilled was he in all sciences, a wrestler and fighter, he learnt many spells. Day and night he enjoyed himself in hunting. Sleep never overtook him. His two arms were long. Such was Anā Bhup; very strong and majestic; on foot he hunted deer, antelopes, and boars; blue bulls he bound and brought in. In the jangal, in the mountains, among the streams, the Rai wanders with kings. He learnt music, singing, and language: divine language he utters from his heart. When he gives away horses or elephants he thinks nothing of it. He waves his blood-stained sword in the way. The head ornament of the Chahuvān race in many kinds of qualities (lit. colours) Anā lived. Believing the earth to be his own, abandoning the wisdom of childhood, angry at some sayings of an enemy he asked his mother the story. The skill of archery is good, there is none like it,—that skill Anā learned without fail with mantras too.§

He went to Gauri the wife of the king: "In whose race was I born that tell to me mother?" Mother Gauri says to her son,—"O son! do not ask that question, from fear of which the tears start to my eyes, son do not ask for thy father." The son exclaimed to his mother,—"I know not the race of my father's son. My father's name the bards mention not. I have never performed śrāddha or presented handfuls of water (tarpan) to my father. O mother! from whose body am I sprung? Who—ever mentions my name speaks of me by the mark of my mother's family. Should anyone have slain my father I wish to take up the bair (to seek revenge). If you will not tell me my father's name I will quit the body, or throw off the load of this world's affairs." Thus spoke Anā Narind. His mother, when she heard him, fell to the earth. "O son, this matter should not be told, in my mind doubt arises. From the commencement even the Dānavas have been powerful,—the Asures, powerful to shake the earth. With such you desire to contend. You are a man in mortal body. I am like Gandhāri, but I see your face alone. The race of your maternal uncle you should receive as peculiarly your own. He had ten sons. Reflecting, he built there the town of Sambhari: he dwelt himself in Ajmer in peace." "Bali Rai abandoned the whole earth and seized on fame. O mother! Pandu's sons abandoning the earth left calamity and attained delights. Śrī Ram left the earth (his kingdom). Sitā was lost, his strength obscured. Naś Rai left the earth: on his head a stain fell. Harischandra abandoned the earth, in the house of the low he filled water. Know a king to be the adorner of the earth, the earth the adorner of a king,—the Devas the adorner of the heavens, the heavens the adorner of the Devas,—fame is the destroyer of unfame, unfame the destroyer of fame,—science is the destructor of bad qualities, bad qualities the destroyers of science,—death (kāl) is the destroyer of Dharma, Dharma the destroyer of death. Parents and teachers are the adorners of children, children the adorners of parents,—thus Anā Rāja spoke: the old tale of Sambhari he asked,—"How did Dhanḍhā Rākṣasā arise? How did Sārang Deva fight? This tell to me, explaining it, O! mother. How did a man become a Dānava, this seems strange to me. If you do not tell me the truth I will abandon my body. This certainly know."¶ "This story is not fit to be told, it is death producing, no hope is left of life. O son! from hearing this story of the Dānavas the mind is destroyed, calamity was caused to your father and your father's father."

"So saying you try to frighten me. You have no pity on me. The tales of the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata I have heard throughout, O mother! No one asks the way to a place

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* Some MSS. read एक्ष for एक्ष.
† Four lines omitted.
‡ A long piece omitted.
§ Six lines omitted.
¶ The mother of the Kauravas.
was presented with the royal umbrella (chatra); his forehead; the Brahmans repeated Vedas he received the mark (tilak) of sovereignty on.

Anā said “Mother hear my words: What happens to a man who hears a tale? In old times, how many Rishis, Raos, Suras, and Dānavas have existed: well known are the stories of them. Their fights and contests men sing in Sāstra and Veda. This understand O mother! Why should I not hear? from speaking no calamity occurs: that which fate has fixed upon assuredly happens.”

(St. 163) O Son! Hear this tale of old, in reciting which my voice trembles. The Sage made at Abu a fire-pit; a man came forth to whom he entrusted royalty. Of his race sprung a great and religious king, named Bālan. His son was Bāsil Dēva, who possessed all the kingdom. In the year of Vikram 821 Bāsil mounted the throne. It was Friday the first day of the month, the month Baisak; the thirty-six races assembled—Brahmans, bards, and all men; Bāsil was presented with the royal umbrella (chatra); he received the mark (tilak) of sovereignty on his forehead; the Brahmans repeated Vedas and verses of power (mantras).

Bāsil enjoyed as happy a state as that of Indra; he restored dharma and fame. In Ajmer-nagar dwelling—his enemies subduing—Bāsil reigned a pure reign. Many mighty cities he took; in his reign the world seemed to be covered by one umbrella.

When the umbrella was placed over the head of Bāsil, and he was seated on his throne like an Indra, the Brahmans prepared a Vedi, they offered a sacrifice of the five flowers. The smoke issued—the flame burst forth; the Brahmans repeating charms (mantras) performed his enthronement, and gave him their blessing.

The king divided the lighted wick into three parts:

Two of the cups were overturned on the ground; Seeing the offering before (them, they) whispered together.

From the three cups smoke arose.

Knowing the Vedas, they remained silent:

At an auspicious time, who would say aught inauspicious?

The assembly cried ‘Jay! Jay! Bāsil Bhūpāla (earth-protector)!’ Thus ruled Bāsil Dēva over Ajmer.

He adorned the city as if it had been adorned by Vishvakarma (the architect of the gods). Abandoning irreligion, he caused religion to flourish; sinful deeds he sought not to perform. He exacted only his rights; without right he indulged not his avarice; the four castes were subservient to the Chahuvān; the thirty-six races served him. Bāsil Rāja, the religious, shone resplendent as a Deva upon the earth.

His Pat Rāṇi was of the race of Parmār. From her sprung Sārang Dēva,—she died in giving him birth. The child he gave to a merchant (baniā); the baniā’s daughter, whose name was Gaurī, was brought up with Sārang. From the same breast they drank milk, they had one seat, one bed. When the maiden (kanyā) because nine years old, Bāsil Dēva caused her marriage to be performed. After the marriage the bridegroom went into the forest, there a lion slew him. Then the baniā’s daughter took a vow of virginity, abandoning the world she began to perform penances. Very grieved was Sārang Dēva. Constantly he performed the worship of the Arihant; the Buddhist religion he adopted; he wore no sword. The Raja hearing it became sorrowful. He sent for the prince (Kumār).

Bāsil’s birth is S. 1066 or A.D. 1009, corresponding to S’ak 931, and his death A.D. 1073. He must have ascended the throne about A.D. 1001; Wilford places his accession in 1016.—En. The words in three MSS which I have collated are "Ath sai rikkas."—J. B.

* The meaning of these lines is very obscure. I suppose it to be that the king has to light three lamps consisting of wicks floating in cups filled with oil, and that some om-n was drān from the way these lamps burned. Two of the cups appear to have been upset and the wicks did not burn properly. To an attendant Brahmins appear to have observed that the wick was bad, but from prudential motives did not say anything about it.

The lines have a special significance when taken in connection with the disastrous close of King Bāsil’s reign and the poet has probably introduced them with this intent, though from ignorance of the ceremonies usually observed at coronation sacrifices I am unable to explain what it was that really took place.—J. Beams.
and received him with respect. "Why did you adopt this religion? Abandoning shame, tell me the truth. Is it because you are grieved at the death of the bania's son? Such evil doctrine should not be listened to, which is destructive of manhood and fame. You are of royal race. Remaining with Rājā in the far-stretching forest, hunt the deer. Abandon this delusion; let the Purānas be your guide; listen to the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. Pride, generosity, the field of battle, protection of the fallen,—this is our Dharma, these are the four attributes of royalty." The Prince confessing his error attended to the advice of the Rāja: that moment he called for, and bound on his sword. The Rāja, pleased, made him a present. "Go thou to Sambhar and rule there." He gave also a great elephant, clothes, a powerful horse, and a throne studded with jewels. "Go, Kunwar to Sambhar." Kayath Kirpal he made his minister, Makud his purohit—did Sărang Chahuvân the lord of Sachaur, like to Narsingh. He gave with him from Kandhār and Lār, mighty Balochis, servants (hasham) with nobles of many castes, horses, elephants, men, carriages, chariotheers and chariots.

At that time he sent for the bania: "you must not go with the Kunwar—you have made my son a great fool." He exclaimed in anger—"why do you thus punish me? Sambhari is closesto Ajmer." "If you go there I will take your life." So saying the king went with the prince, four chariots thrice told were filled with arms. At the distance of a yojan they made a halt. They enjoyed there all sorts of viands; when it was morning the son fell at his feet. Asking his blessing he went, and arrived at Sambhar. When he arrived at the lake of Sambhari, with good mind, body and speech, ten buffalocalves he sacrificed; offering the Hom sacrifice he pleased the goddess. Bending his head to the Devi, he entered the town; garlands and water-vessels were placed at the gates of the palace. Entered Sărang Deva into Sambhari the strong place; there assembled many Vaisyas and Kshatriyas; bending they touched the feet of the prince. Then Kayath Kirpal gave leave to the whole. To some he gave arms, to others dresses, according as they deserved and dismissed them with compliments. Then Jāda-vani Gauri came and touched the feet of the Parmār; the skilled in omens pronounced that a good omen had occurred, and that the Kunwar would have a good son. The daughter of the Rawat, Deva Rāja, by name Gauri the Jādavani* shone by the side of Sărang Deva as Rati beside Kama.

Then returning Bisal the king hunted deer in the forest. Seeing a place well adapted for the purpose, the desire of constructing a tank arose in his mind. He examined the good place, where the streams flowed from the mountains, where the forest was good. He sent for his principal minister: 'cause a lake to be made here, such as that of Puskar.'† Having given this order he returned home; joy without limit arose in his mind. Upon a throne he sat like Yudishthira, the son of Dharma,—did Bisal the king of men, the Indra of the world. Over his head an umbrella, on each side stood chāmara holders very beautiful to the sight,—like the two Ashwini. The thirty-six races then assembled—from head to foot nobly equipped. The king called them into his presence; he presented them with betelnut. The minstrels in their verses celebrated his praise; the king, smiling, bent his head; the assembly shone like a constellation; the Chahuvân in the midst like a moon. With compliments he dismissed them all. As they retired the bards pronounced a blessing. When a watch and five pafs of the night had passed, the rāja retired within the palace. Camphor, agar, sandal, musk, and other perfumes scented the place. It was replete of precious essences which had been strewed upon it. An apartment well coloured, fit to inspire pleasure, therein rested the Rāja. He sent for actors, for singers, and other amusements. He enjoyed the society of the Parmār's daughter the (Pat Rāni) favourite queen, who in beauty and youth resembled an Apsaras, who was dear to him as his life, whom he forgot not for one moment. With her the delights of love always he enjoyed, and no other fair one did he ever look upon. The other wives being angry, met together, and all conspired to take from the king his virility. Then they sent maidservants to the Devī. Promising presents and rewards they called the Yogini on Sunday, they changed her dress, and caused her to enter the King's door. Taking arms she gave them to the Darwān, thus she entered and went among the Queens. "Done, done, be your work," she exclaimed. They worshipped her, standing before

* That is, he married Gauri, a princess of the Jādav clan.—J. B.
† Or ‘square or oblong in shape.'
her with joined hands. "For what cause have you called me hither to-day. What woman taught you to call upon me." All the rival wives said, "Hear our grief. The Rāja does not use our bodies. O mother, except you, who can know the pain of a childless woman! The arrow of having a rival wife pierces our hearts."

"If you please I will deprive him of life, if you please I will make the woman aversive to him, if you please I will destroy desire within him, I will make the man's body like a woman's. All the wives approved of this plan." At once, O mother perform this work," they said.

Sending for fire she performed hom, burning therein the flesh of dogs and asses, and pronouncing charms. At that moment his desire (kān) became extinct. Making her presents, the wives dismissed the mother. "Abandoning this city, go to another." The Rāja became much grieved at the loss of his virility. He took the vow of chastity* for four months. In Kartik month he went to Pushkar to bathe. He heard mention of the greatness of Gokarna. He called for Jait Sing the Golwala and said to him, "you are expert (nādyar) in the knowledge of all countries; tell me all about the country of Gokarna, its mountains, rivers, tanks and jungals.

"Mahārāja there is the temple of Mahadeo (Śiva), the river Banas, shy as a virgin is there. There is a great mountain three kos in height; they who see the water which flows from it are delighted." "How far is it from Ajmer?"

"In a journey of two days one may arrive there." The Rāja mounted and went off to Gokarnā. He took great elephants with him, nobats (drums), and banners. The noise was heard in the ten directions. Enemies in various places, abandoning their own residences, fled into the jungle. In other khandas the noise sounded Bīsal Rāja reached Tachhitpura in the direction of Gokarna. There is a lofty mountain there, a swift river, many birds, gardens, and places sacred to Śiva; shaded retreats, creepers entwining the trees with leaves and flowers of various colours, plantains, and fruits, Koils, Chakors, peacocks, Sarasas, beautiful to behold. Boars, lions, companies of deer,—the Rāja seeing them was astonished. The place was very good: a place of rest. Worshipping Śiva, all were happy. In the mountain was a cave where resided a Kinnara. Drops of water fell on his head from the roof, a company of lions were his attendants. The Rāja coming suddenly and touching his feet entreated him: "Om! I praise Śiva, I praise him of the great wisdom."

Fruits, flowers, and other articles, panchāṁrīta, incense, and lamps he placed before him. Bathing (the idol) and offering gifts the Chāhuvān prayed: "I praise the lord of Bhutas, dwelling in terrible places, in whose locks Gāṅgā is visible, from whose three eyes brightness like fire issues, on whose forehead is the moon, in whose throat is poison, on his peck the (runāmāa) necklace of skulls,—the great Adi, whose voice is as the roaring of a lion, who is attended by Siddhas and Devas, whose body is smeared with the ashes of the funeral pile: I praise thee! I praise thee! I praise thee! I praise thee! He who wears an elephant's hide, who is surrounded by Vīrs and Bhairavas in a crowd, resting his feet on Nandi, attended by the four Vedas, and sixty-four Yognis, round whom sound the drum and the kettle-drum (damru)† at the sound of whose footsteps Meru mountain shakes, the atmosphere thunders; who holds the bow Piṅāka in his left hand: I praise thee! I praise thee! I praise thee! I praise thee! Him whom the liberated Siddhas and the Sādhaks, who seek liberation, worship; who holds in his hand a trident, whose name is repeated by men, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, serpents and Yakshas, by Šuras and Āsuras, by Apsarases and Rishis, whom Janaka and other Rishis from childhood worship. The earth, the winds, the air, the fire, the water, the sun and moon, the nine constellations, were created by thee. I praise thee! I praise thee! I praise thee! I praise thee! If thy name be called to mind, difficulties of the road, of the resting place, are removed, a karor of calamities is dissipated. Whose charms and spells bind all that travel in the sky, and in the earth, and disarm incurable diseases: worshipping thee whose sin would not be destroyed, the half of whose body is Gauri, who dwellest in Kailās? I praise thee! I praise thee! I praise thee! Him whom the liberated Siddhas and the Sādhaks, who seek liberation, worship; who holds in his hand a trident, whose name is repeated by men, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, serpents and Yakshas, by Šuras and Āsuras, by Apsarases and Rishis, whom Janaka and other Rishis from childhood worship. The earth, the winds, the air, the fire, the water, the sun and moon, the nine constellations, were created by thee. I praise thee! I praise thee! I praise thee! I praise thee!"

So much praise the king uttered, worshipping, touching the god's feet. The Śiddle seeing it was astonished. "This Rāja is a vessel of wisdom." The Siddha asked—"From what city do you come of what family (gotra) are you? What is your name? Are you come here on pilgrimage, or have you business with any one?"

* Under the circumstances one would think this vow somewhat superfluous: the meaning probably is that he became an ascetic for the period mentioned.—J. B.

† This description is in strict accord with the representations of Śiva at Elephanta and Elora. conf. my Elephanta, §§ 92, 94, 95, 96-72, and notes.—Ed.
"I dwell in Ajmerpur, I am of the renowned race of Chauhan; Bisal Deva is my name, O Siddha! I come to perform ablutions." The Siddha answers,—"Hear O Rāja, my words. Since you have come to this land from your home,—in this place is the unrivalled shrine of Mahādeva; always Apsarasas descend in the night. This place four men discovered: their names will I relate, explaining,—Bhasmakār, Rāvana, Mādhu, Kaitava,—these dwelling here pleased the Deva. The greatness of this Tīrthā they sung; they washed the Deva, bringing the milk of a cow, and attained whatever they desired." Thus saying the Siddha arose and disappeared. The Rāja was amazed in his mind hearing the story of the place. As much as he desired to ask the Siddha had told him at once. The Rāja sent for a thousand cows with calf, spending money and choosing the best. A thousand vessels of milk he poured upon Śiva, and took a vow to fast for three days. For three days the Rāja fasted, he abandoned water and fruit, *eating air only. One night an Apsaras came; all the Apsarases were dancing and singing. After a long while Har spake. "Apsaras go and raise that mortal." The Apsarases came to see him, and perceived that he was asleep. "Śiva is pleased with you, so the husband of Mohini (Durgā) has said this to (me). Go to your own home, Śiva's residence abandoning. Śiva is pleased with you, the desire of your heart has reached Śiva on high." Thus saying, Mohini raised up the Rāja. It was the last watch of the night. The king returned to his tent; desire increased in his mind; virility returned to him. In the morning, bating, he presented the thousand cows to Brahmans, With Panchamrita, incense, and lights, he worshipped Śiva. At that time he gave orders for the erection of a temple and the construction of a town called Bisalpur. Calling for an elephant he seated himself upon it. Hastily he returned to his own home. Travelling two days' stages in one, Bisal returned to his home; he re-entered the city; there was joy in every house. In his lofty mansion he rested, in the coloured hall of four colours: in the apartment of the women of middle age, he told to the Parmārī all that had occurred. Excited by kām, he

*When the Hindus fast on the 11th day of the month, it is allowed to them to eat fruit. The Shrawaks are not allowed.
† Red, black (or blue), yellow, and green. Usually the five colours are used, the fifth being white.
‡ Four lines of no consequence omitted.
bound a sword on his loins. The skilful in vaticination pronounced the omen to be good. As he who extends wisdom improves his own, so he who uses the sword gains territory. The raja said—"As this omen has now happened to me, I will draw my sword in all the nine divisions (khandas) of the earth. The whole world (brahmanand), I will subdue; I will conquer the earth from Meru to Meru—from pole to pole). Hear, O Kirpál, my speech:—Providing treasure prepare to accompany me. At the Bisal Sarovar (lake) firmly pitch our tents."

In writing, to the ten directions, he sent summonses: 'Let all come and meet me at Ajmer. Maharsi Parîhâr came and joined him; the chief of Mandovar came and touched his feet; all the Gahilot collected, like the crown of the assembly; the Tunwar armed from head to foot; Râm Gaur; Mahesa the lord of Mewat too came; the Mohil of Dunâpur came with his followers; the Baloch came all on foot together. The king of Bânmanwas came and joined him; the Bhatner king came to meet him; the vassal chiefs of Multan and Thatta came. The order went to Jâmesal. All the Bhumias and Bhattias were submissive. The Yâdava, the Bîghela, the dwellers in Mâlva, the Mori, the Bargujars responded to his call. From Antarved came the Kurambh. All the Mers submissively touched his feet. Jait Singh, obeying the order, came; the chief of Tachhitpur brought with him. Uldâya the Parmâr mounted and came. The Dors came to follow him from Lâr, the Chandel, the father of Tachhitpur. The king of Bânmanwas came and joined him; the Bhatner king came to meet him; the vassal chiefs of Multan and Thatta came. The order went to Jâmesal. All the Bhumias and Bhattias were submissive. The Yâdava, the Bîghela, the dwellers in Mâlva, the Mori, the Bargujars responded to his call. From Antarved came the Kurambh. All the Mers submissively touched his feet. Jait Singh, obeying the order, came; the chief of Tachhitpur brought with him. Uldâya the Parmâr mounted and came. The Dors came to follow him from Lâr, the Chandel, the father of Tachhitpur."

"This lake," says Tod, 'still bearsthe name of Bisal-ka-tal notwithstanding the changes that have accurred during the lapse of one thousand years, since he formed it by damming-up the springs. It is one of the reservoirs of the Lumi river. The emperor Jahangir erected a palace on the banks of the Bisal-ka-tal, in which he received the ambassadors of James I. of England.'

* The name of a caste or sept of Rajputs. Forbes translates it 'the great Gujar,' vide Ras Malia, vol. I. p. 96; also my edition of Elliot's Itüces of the N.W. Provinces, vol. I, p. 31.—J. B.
† The modern Thoda, near Tonk, where there are fine ruins.—Tod.
‡ The modern Thoda, near Tonk, where there are fine ruins.—Tod.
§ See note † above.
** See note t above.
• The respectfull mention of the Gahilot as 'the ornament of the throne,' clearly proves that the Chitol prince came as an ally; an inscription found amidst the ruins of a city of Mewar, alludes to this very coalition. The inscription is a record of the friendship maintained by their issue in the 12th century, Samarsiof Chitoq, and Prithirâja, the last Chauhan king of India—on their combining to chastise the king of Pattan Anhâlwald, "in like manner as did Bisaldeo and Tejsi of old unite against the foe, so &c. &c. Now Tejsi was the grand-father of Râval Samarsi, who was killed in opposing the final Muslim invasion, on the Kagar, after one of the longest reigns in their annals: from which we calculate that Tejsi must have sat on the throne about the year A.D. 1064. His youth and ineptitude would account for his acting subordinateiy to the Chauhan of Ambari. The name of Uddalakuda furthers confirms this date.' (See Trans. R. As. Soc. vol I. p. 293.)—Tod.
† The name of a caste or sept of Rajputs. Forbes translates it 'the great Gujar,' vide Ras Malia, vol. I. p. 96.
destroying the country of the Chālukya, on rolled the army, taking many, Bhumias with them, destroying the lands of those who opposed them. Throwing forward a guard of a thousand elephants in rut, when the light half of Māgh arrived, he made his camp at ten kos distance. Cities, towns, and villages, all that came in their way, they plundered.

Bāluk heard the news. Angrily at once he started up, as when flame starts up in a forest, without smoke. Bāluk Rao, the Chalukya warrior, calling for water, laved his body; he drank a handful (anjali) of water which had washed the feet of Vishnu. Hari he placed on his throat. “To-day I go forth to conquer, or to meet death. If I fly, may dishonour fall on my race. In all this land is there no warrior (kshatri), that this man has traversed it without being debarred by weapons?”

Arming his horses with plates of steel, he placed armour on his elephant. The warriors girt on their armour and weapons (silaha). When the king mounted his horse he sent word: —“Bāluk Rao has come without fear!” O Śrīkanta Bhat go to the Chahuvāna and thus declare.”

Śrīkanta Bhat went to the enemy; he met Bisal Deva Chahuvāna; raising his hands, he gave him the salutation; he told him the message of Bāluk Rao. “Your business lies with kings, what have you to do with subjects, you have done ill in that you have injured the subjects. No Hindu monarch would do so. Censuring to molest the peasants, now return to your home; to Ajmer depart and there reign. Bāluk Rao has said I am the Brahma Rai, inured to war, to fly were great grief to me, but the day of my death is a day of holiday. Of noble race are the chiefs that are around me. I have never had any quarrel with you; knowing this, turn back then, and abandon war. I and thou have to meet together in the field to-day. Who shall remain in the field, who shall fly.” When the Chahāna received this message, he at once gave orders to sound the kettledrum. Armour they placed on horses and on elephants; the warriors clad themselves in their armour; the two armies met shield to shield in their ranks; they seemed like two billows of the ocean bending their crests toward each other. The Chahuvāna made a phalanx (chakrāvyuh): Bāluk Rao, like Abhimanyu, may break it or remain in the middle. What destiny has determined will come to pass.

In the morning the two armies met as waves of the ocean. Elephants stood firm; the warriors struck at their trunks; arrows flew darkening the light of the sun. Good warriors with spear on shoulder set their horses at speed; without fear, putting their horses as they charged; each was like a drop of water in the ocean. Wounds were apparent on men’s bodies. The Chāluk’s army gave back; then Bāluk Rao assisted them. They cried “brother, brother, strike, strike!” Both armies fight and wound each other. Bāluk shook the Chakrāvyuh. The Parihar and Gahilot turned their backs; the Gahilot fled in the direction of the Tuar; the Chakrāvyuh was broken in one place; then the other warriors acted nobly and like heroes; they closed up like lions. Corpses fell to the earth; the warriors fought locked in each other’s embrace; they displayed such strength as surpasses description. At that time the Kandhār and Baloch advanced against Bāluk boldly, nothing regarding. Elephants, roar; in the field of battle are strewn heads and trunks. The warriors’ surcoats (biyo) were stained red, as if they played together at the Holi; they were bathed in gore. The elephants, streaming with blood, shewed brilliantly as the palasā flower in the spring (basant) season. Bāluk, and Bisal the king perceived each other. It was as if the moon grew dim from being opposed to the sun. The Chāluk urged on his horse, the Chahuvāna his elephant; the two rājas fought a terrible fight urging on horse and elephant, they crossed weapons with each other, when to the teeth of the elephant Bāluk urged on his steed. “Hear, king,” said the Chāluk, patting his horse, “it is night, let us break off the fight, and in the morning again resume it.” They returned each to his own tent, and bound up the wounds of all who were wounded.

All the ministers of the Chāluk came together; they forged a false paper. Having made it, they brought it to the king: —“Do you go home; the Chāluk has fled, we, all his ministers, woman finds difficulty in delivery.—Forbes, Ras Mala, p. 97, note.

† The chakrāvyuh is a phalanx of peculiar form described in the Mahābhārata as having been formed by the Kurava army. Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, broke through six ranks of it, and was slain in front of the seventh. The figure is also used as a charm when a § The butea frondosa, which bears scarlet blossoms.

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* My copy reads सहस रूप probably सहस एक i.e., 1,000.—J. B.

† The chakrāvyuh is a phalanx of peculiar form described in the Mahābhārata as having been formed by the Kurava army. Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, broke through six ranks of it, and was slain in front of the seventh. The figure is also used as a charm when a

§ The butea frondosa, which bears scarlet blossoms.
have come to meet you and to seek your protection. Call for what property you will." Pawasur hearing this, went to the Rāja, he sent for Kirpal. The Chāluk's ministers came to meet him "Whatever property you may demand we will place it at your feet." The king replied "Listen, I will place a thana here; in a month, I will build a city." Pawasur the Tuar said, "bring the tribute." They sent for property; he founded a city there. The Chāluk king gained the field, the Chāluk was wounded. Bisal returned home again, having founded Bisalnagar. 

In Samvat 936,† Bisal the king founded a royal city, handsome to behold. Bisal Rāja entered his city Ajmer. A Bania dwelt there: at his house the Rāja prepared to marry beholding the maid to be like an Apsaras. The bards exclaimed "Jay! Jay!" the sons of the Māgadhās; grain and wealth the king rained on the earth as Indrapours rain. In this way at Ajmer the king performed as it were a yajna at the baniā's house. The bride was not yet thirteen: the whole city ridiculed it. In Asārh month in the light half, on the second day, Monday, much rain came from the north, the sun was not seen for five days, at this time the Rāja enjoyed his bride.§ One night she said, "O Rāja I have a boon to beg. At Pushkar is a woman of great beauty, you should go to see her." On the second day after the Dasera the king went there and beheld a bania's daughter named Gauri performing austerities. Bisal Rāja seeing her became excited by lust, when the day came to an end he committed what should not have been committed. Everyone who heard it was sorrowful. They declared that the king was never to be satisfied. The girl forced in the midst of her penances, to the Deva pronounced a curse. "Become an Asura, King Bisal, an eater of the flesh of men." The king hearing this trembled, and touching her feet, asked how his liberation would be effected. She said his son's son who would be an ornament of the earth and a great warrior would effect his liberation.*

O! son (says the relater to her son Anā) by the strength of her penances he became an Asura.

The bania's daughter continued her penances standing in the heat between fires, in the cold water in winter, saying, "My sin has been very great, if I perform unheard of penance then I may get pardon." The king determined not to return to Ajmer, but to repair to Gokarna, the shrine of Hara. He halted at the Bisal Sarovar. [On Sunday the seventh of the month, as he was about to proceed with chariots, horses, and elephants]† the king saw a snake in his tent and shot at it with an arrow. It escaped and hid in his boot (mojarj). When he was putting on his boots to mount his horse the snake bit him [the Rāja laughed and said "that which is fated will happen." They tried medicines and spells in vain; the Rāja's pain increased. Hearing the Rāja was dead the Parṁāri became a Sati:—dying she said—"The son of the Jadavani will rule the country, may my blessing be on him"]. In that same place Bisal became an Asura, always hungry, vomiting flames of fire, eating men where there was a town or an army; as many as he could obtain he ate.

(Anā's mother says) "When your father heard this story he sent me to Rinthambh, I being then pregnant. He prepared himself to fight the Rākshasa. [His fate and mine were one, or rather, our ill fortune was alike, to stop disgrace we endured trouble. This was his desire and mine.] With a thousand men sounding the kettledrum, the Chahuvān set forth: he reached Ajmer. He found all the gardens waste and the fort broken down: Sārang Deva saw this. He thought of the bania (his foster father) and reflected that it was a female ascetic of his race that had destroyed his family. He lamented [his eyes filled with tears as he thought on his father]. Three days he remained in the fort, but he saw not the Asura. Then Sārang Deva began to take heart and think of again building the city. In the morning of the 11th the Dānava entered the city. The whole army matching their weapons ran to fight him. They fought with swords, he seized them in his mouth and broke them as a monkey breaks fruit from trees and creepers, father and son were fighting. Sārang Deva

* Colonel Tod, Western India, p. 172, mentions that one stipulation of this treaty was, that the Chālukya should give a daughter in marriage to Bisal Deva. He also mentions, quoting the Hamir Rasa, a work relating the exploits of a Chauhan prince of that name, that Bisal Deva took prince Karan, son of Rāja Bhim, prisoner.—Ras Mālā, vol. I. p. 96. note.
† This battle was probably fought about A.D. 1046, or Samvat Sake 968.—Ed.
‡ Much condensed.
§ Twelve lines left out and the rest condensed.
¶ About 100 lines are here compressed.
¶¶ About 40 lines are compressed into this passage.
* About 40 lines here omitted expressive of the king's evil life and remorse.
† In what follows the longer additions made by Mr. Beames have been put within brackets.—Ed.
fellt as falls a mountain; knowing him to be an Asura, all the men remained hidden in the city. Searching he ate the men, thence his name Dhundhá. He ruined the city of Ajmer which was like a Deva’s city. “O mother, listen! the austerity-practising maid has promised,—the Parmári too has given a blessing. I will go to Ajmergarh and return having slain the enemy.” Gauri did not agree to this matter, she advised the Kumáar to remain quiet: thus Gauri-má persuades but her son refuses to listen. She said “A man may fight with a man but not with a Dánava. Much time has passed away, the roads are broken up, he destroys the elephants and the deer of the jangal. In this house of your maternal uncle (mátru) you are living, he will come and destroy it.” Before his mother Aná exclaimed, “I will either live or die there, I will perform his service or take an opposite course.” “O son! you have conceived a bad desire, from which my soul is destroyed. Dhundha seeks men to eat them, and do you think of going to serve him.” Then replied Aná thus: “To me this seems good, to give to him my head, or to return with a chhatra raised over me. By service the Devas may be pleased; by service the Rakshasas may be subdued; by service a lion may be tamed; by service snakes may be deprived of their poisonous powers; by service is much property acquired.” His mother urged that enemies were not to be served, but Aná determinedly went to the forest of Ajmer. Long had that Dānava remained in the Ajmer forest; there he had destroyed all: there was neither Siddha nor Sadhak; neither beast nor bird. He had many pretas with him. When Aná went thither, the Rakshasa was surprised at seeing a man. “Here is a good meal for me to-day: destiny provides for us mortals food without our toil.” Aná saw the Rakshasa, having five hundred hands each holding a sword, roaring with his mouth, yawning, up he rose. Aná concealing his sword in his breast made obeisance. Firm stood his foot, but in mind much he trembled. The Rakshasa began to enquire of him “Who is your mother? who your father? what is your name? what lord do you follow?” Aná [reflecting in his mind,— if this Dhundhá should swallow me, as Indra did to Vritra, so will I do, ripping open his belly from within with my sword" said—“Gauri was the mother who bore me in her womb. My father (or ancestor) Bisal, strong in káma, I have longed to come hither to see with these eyes your form.” “What! has poverty fallen to your lot, or has disease afflicted your body, has an enemy taken your land, or has your wife deserted you, has some calamity been thrown upon you by destiny, have men driven you from them, or has your Gürn cursed you, or your mother died?” “None of all these have happened. It is to serve you that I come hither. Until I met you I had disease and poverty, || until then I was of no repute.”

The Rakshasa took him in his embrace, and placed his hand on his head. “The world and desire to live abandoning, now have you come hither.” “For this reason, I care not to live that I have no land or home. Therefore I am come to serve you. It is alike to me to live or to die. I will either give you my head or place above it an umbrella. This land from long bygone times belonged to my fathers, to ask it from you I am come.”

The Daitya was pleased beholding his son, he himself longed to assume human form. “Your descendants from father to son shall reign.” Thus saying he rose into the sky taking his sword with him. “On Sunday pay me worship.” The royalty he gave to Aná the Cha-huván: he went by the way of the air to Gangā, being afflicted by thirst. A Rishi named Ním was seated there, the Rakshasa paid him obeisance. He asked him who he was, and why he had come. Bisal told his whole tale:—“I burn with fever O Nátha! how shall my release be effected?” “You are a Kshatri, your release cannot here be effected, you should go to Kasi. Many are the sins you have committed, there they will be washed away, and you will become sinless.” Hearing this, the Rakshasa rose into the air, he arrived at Dilli, where is the place of Devas,—Nigamboth, where is Yamuná river—pure and clear are its waters. Thither the demon (nisháchar) went. He was very thirsty and wearied. In his doubled hands he drank water. His body became cooled, he walked up and down. A Rishi named Harít was performing penance there in a cave. Hearing the noise he came out to see. Beholding him he asked his story. The Rakshasa detailed the whole matter.

* From Hindi दंडना to search.
† A few lines here omitted.
‡ Rather a fine description of the utter desolation of Ajmer is here omitted.
§ The preceding three sentences are much condensed.
|| This sentence is very much compressed.
¶ He became the Kul Deva.
"In the neighbourhood of Yoginipur, on the banks of the river, I have come and drunk water, I am called Dhundhā and Bisalnripati. By a curse I have assumed a Daitya's body. To abandon it and to behold Ganga I am desirous, to wash away my sins, and again to rule in Ajaypur. O Rishi Rāja! going to Ganga I will destroy this body with my sword. Will my release be thus effected? O Rāja Rishi! instruct me that I may accomplish it."

The Rishi smiling said,—"Without penance royalty cannot be obtained. Food, wealth, wife, and children, all the happiness of the world, may be obtained by penance." The Rákshasa, receiving this instruction, began to call Hari to mind. In the Rishi cave he continued performing austerity. The Rishi went away to a tirtha, saying—"Until I return, having visited all tirthas, do you remain here penance-performing."

The demon, performing penance, continued for three hundred and eighty years. His body began to be without pain in consequence of meditating on Vishnu. At this time Anang of the race of the Pāndavs ruled at Hastinapur. On the banks of the Yamunā he founded a city Anang Pāl Tuar founded there Dilli. The King, the subjects, men and women, dwelt there, all of them in peace. Anang Pāl Tuar Narind the virtuous King: his daughter was very beautiful, eight years of age, with her companions, chaste and full of good qualities like Sītā, she came in Shrāwan and Bhadrapadi to worship Gauri. At Nigambodh on the banks of Kālindi (Yamund) they all went to worship the Gauri. At that time the rain fell with great violence, the maidens began to be wet. Anang Pāl's daughter, with five hundred maidens and a daughter of a Purohit, went all together to bathe on Yamunā's banks. They entered the cave where Dhundhā was performing penance, looking the image of death. All of them worshipped him. He enjoined of them who they were, and for what purpose they had come. They answered—"We seek as a boon from you that we may all have good warriors for our husbands, and may dwell in one place." The Dānava Rāja made them this promise; and rising in the air he flew towards Kāsi; he reached the banks of Ganga to perform sacrifice. Of his body making a hundred and eight fragments, he offered them in burnt sacrifice. He asked for a boon from Śiva. "May the fragments of my body become a hundred and eight men upon earth." Thus his body being burned with fire, his splendour (jyotis, soul) went to Devasthān. Amidst the Apsarasas he began to sing. Thus obtaining the restoration of his body, he took birth upon the earth: that matter says Kavi Chand relating I will describe.

To the cave of Nigambodh, the daughter of Anang Pāl and her maidens again having gone, found there an image of stone, which they washed with water and worshipped with pure souls, with sandal, incense, and lamps, with pure bodies. Bisal gave a boon, "you shall give birth to a great warrior, with whom no man shall be able to fight, also to a Bhat powerful in tongue. From the boon granted by Dhundhā Narind, and his having cut his body into fragments at Kāsi,—from his tongue sprung a Bhat, twenty Kshatris were born at Ajmer, of whom one was Someśvara, whose son was Prithirāja; the others arose in other places. Nījar arose in Kanjū, Jait and Salakh in Abugarh; in Mandovar the Parihār; in Karaki Kangur Hāhuli; in Nagor Balibhadra; Chand arose in Lahor;§ in Dilli Atatāya; in other places sixteen Samants. At Jhalor, Rāma Deva; at Govindgarh, Dham; [the Dahima arose at Biyana.] In Prithirāja's service, they all remained.

[The birth and dwelling of the nobles, Chand sings sweetly in the Padhari metre]:—In Jesalmer, dwells Achaleśa like the sun; Pajjun dwells in Chittod; Hari Sing arose in Gaľ Bayāna; in Kalikanḍ arose Jangār Bhīm; in Samiyangar, Narsing Rāi. Jangār Bhīm who dwelt in Junāgarh and fought many days with Bhīm who was wounded; Sārang Rāi rose, the Mori King; Bārad-Rāi, who dwelt in Asirgarh and fought with Kanhai Rai the Chahuvān warrior—the servant of Prithirāja. Tejpāl of the Dor race lived at Junaur; Kaimās, a very powerful warrior, who did obeisance to the Chahuvān; Bhobā Chandel of Gajün, who, when wounded, was protected by a Samant, and who afterwards did good service here. When Arsi Chandel was slain, the royalty was given to Bhobā. The Rāja of Dilli gave to Bhobā Chandel a country by the sea road. With the Rāja of Kanoj fighting, he kept his name in the Kalyug. On the throne of the pad—a month.

§ This is the poet himself, "and this passage is usually quoted to prove that he was a native of Lahor—J. B.
Cháluks was Bhoba Bhim; in the Dekhan country Jawalal; the Bargujar Rai was Aliya, who day by day, destroyed the Khan's country Marut Khan Ali.

Hada Hamir, Khotal Khangar, two brothers, when a famine occurred in their own country they came to Dilli. Parmár Kanak who brought a courtesan from Jaychand's house to the country of Prithiræja; he received six désası as pasiya (present). In the year 1105, in five places the Rājas were born.

 Anal came and embraced his mother. He told her all that had happened. The people, taking the mahâjans with them, re-inhabited the country. When Anâ Narind founded Ajmer and made Sambhar as it were a heap of gold, he began to seize and punish his enemies. [From village to village people bound garlandsof flowers] he dug out the treasures buried among the ruins of wasted towns. The voice of birds and animals began to be heard, the country was restored, poverty was destroyed; [bathing in water, and giving gifts to Brahmans, he ruled sixty-four years, did Anâ the King.] Taking the country by his sword, he deliveredit to his son, Jesingh Deva, who mounted the throne. Jesingh Deva discovered much property which had been buried by Bisal, and in the Bisal tank. He found no end to it. [The wealth of Anâ was a mere drop compared with it; then he adorned his house with gold, and gave the gold to three Brahmans who had charge of his granaries and wealth.] He, the Chahuvân, of good conduct, listened to the Vedas and Purānas. Abandoning pride, he did not mistake the custom of his family. For eight years he reigned. Anand Deva, his son, received the umbrella; while he ruled, he saw one day the Deva in the Varaha avatâra. He built a temple in Pushkar, called the Dharra Vihâra. [He reigned for a hundred years.] His son Som received the umbrella; he, Someśa the hero, conquered with his sword the Rājas of Gurjara and Malwa. In Maru, where the Bhattis ruled, the Chahuvân took the desert country. He married in the house of the Dilli lord; and from this marriage arose Pithal.† Anand Raj’s son Someśa defeating the army of the Moriyâs, made a fire sacrifice. [In his own city making oblations to the gods.] he enjoyed himself in Ajmer, did Someśwar.[This is that hero Someś] who conquered the Khorasani [warrior. This is that hero Someś] who laid waste the Gurjarâ land. This is that hero Someś who took the Parihar Nahr [of exceeding strength. Kavi Chand compares him to Rahu seizing the moon. The valiant hero, merciful, powerful, wealthy.]

When Anang Râja was ruling in Dilli the Kambilaj prepared a four-armed army, Vijay-pâl followed it, he came to Antarved. Anang heard this, he prepared his army and crossed the Kalindi. The Sambhar Raja heard that the Kambilaj and the Tur were about to engage. He considered that it was not the duty of a Kshatri to sit at home, and that he should either increase the fame of the house of Anâ or seek Kailâsa, or Indra’s abode (swarga) he sounded the kettle-drum (niśān) and advanced to succour Dilli, as a snake puts the jewel first. The banners (dhvaj-nejâ), châmara, and all the other paraphernalia of war, taking with him,—he reached Dilli. He met Anang Râi and entered into friendship with him; they ate together pân, full of strong flavour.† Anang told the state of affairs concerning the Kambilaj; Someśvara biting his lip, [full of anger, seizing his sword, and twisting his moustache in his hand] declared that he would destroy the presumptuous Kambilaj and arranged the plan of the battle with the Râja. At the last watch of the night the niśān began to sound: the noise of the drums was like drops of rain. Someś and Anang Râja set off together, in much joy, love, and friendship. The white umbrella borne above them, shone amidst the standards like the sun amidst clouds; the warriors armed and eager for the fight. The news was brought of Vijay Pâl’s army having arrived, drawn up in the form of a serpent (sarparyuha). Of the best of his servants he formed the fangs, himself formed the tail. Anang Pâl consulted with Someś. They resolved to form their army in the Garûd form, to swallow up the serpent; Someśwar Râi formed the beak and neck, in whose aid was Sambhar.

† † † Four lines omitted.
† † † A long description of the army is here omitted. There is nothing new in it.—J. B.
† † † The small drum with the banner.
† † † So I translate ग्हणसारापार which is the reading in my copy. Dalpatram had read “with camphor.”—J. B.
† † † The preceding three sentences are a very condensed outline.—J. B.
Review.


Mr. Sherring has already proved himself to be a careful inquirer into Hindu customs; and in his "Sacred City of the Hindus" he amassed much valuable information regarding the place of his residence, Benares. We welcome the present contribution from his pen on a subject of very great interest and no less complexity.

Mr. Sherring does not enter at any length into antiquarian discussions. His object is not to investigate the origin or history of the various divisions of Hinduism, but to describe these as he finds them now existing in the city of Benares. This limitation of range enables him to speak with the authority of an eye-witness of many, or most, of the facts which he brings forward; while, on the other hand, as representatives of nearly all the divisions of Hindus visit the sacred city, there is ample room and verge enough to include a very tolerable survey of the subject of Indian castes as they now are.

Mr. Sherring writes in a very kindly spirit. His favourite motto seems to be Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto. He speaks in terms of commendation of all that to a dispassionate mind can appear praiseworthy. Of the castesystem as a whole, however, he has no admiration; on the contrary, it is his "intense conviction" that the absolute renunciation of caste would be an unspeakable blessing to India.

The work is divided into four parts, treating of 1st, the Brahmanical tribes; 2nd, the Kshatriya or Rajput tribes; 3rd, mixed castes and tribes; and 4th aboriginal tribes and inferior castes. Prefixed to the whole is an introduction which deals chiefly with the views of Manu regarding caste. To our mind this, which is the least original, is also the least valuable part of the book. The laws of Manu in their present form cannot be safely held to be older than the third century B.C. The Sanhitâ of the Rig Veda was probably collected a thousand years before that date; and how much earlier composed, it would be hard to say. Without discussing the very difficult question of the date at which the caste system was introduced, we cannot doubt that it was long before Manu's day; and the views of the legislator regarding its origin are amusing, and little more.

Mr. Sherring's treat is far firmer—like the Macgregor's on his native heath—when he comes in Chapter I to speak of the Brahman as he is. Here is a lively sketch of his physical appearance and character:

"Light of complexion, his forehead ample, his countenance of striking significance, his lips thin, and mouth expressive, his eyes quick and sharp, his fingers long, his carriage noble and almost sublime, the true Brahman, uncontaminated by European influence and manners, with his intense self-consciousness, with the proud conviction of superiority depicted on every muscle of his face, and mani-

fest in every movement of his body, is a wonderful specimen of humanity walking on God's earth........Endowed with an extremely subtle, rather than with a powerful mind, which by long habit perpetuated from age to age, and from family to family, he has trained to the utmost keenness; dogmatic, self-willed, pertinacious, and supremely arrogant and vain."

Mr. Sherring goes on to tell us that this remarkable being has lived his day; that his prestige is rapidly declining; and that the lower classes have availed themselves of European schools and colleges more than the highest have done. We accept the statement on his authority as true regarding Benares and the North-West Provinces; but it hardly holds good of Calcutta, and still less of such places as Punâ, Nâsik, and most cities in Maharashtra.

From the great mass of valuable information with which the author supplies us, we can only make an extract here and there. Here is his description of an important class of functionaries with whom he has often been brought into contact, the Gangâputras, or sons of the Ganges:

"The name is given to those Brahmins who preside over the religious ceremonies performed on the banks of the Ganges. At Benares their number is very large. The ghats, or stairs leading down to the river are apportioned out to them; and they watch over their several boundaries with much jealousy. Moreover, they lay claim to the entire bank between high and low water-mark, which is considerable, seeing that the difference is upwards of fifty feet. As a class, they are notorious for coarseness of manners, licentiousness and rapacity. Yet the tens of thousands who every year visit Benares are entirely at their mercy. Many of these come from remote parts of India, and not a few are females. Most of them arrive tired and worn out by travel, yet full of joy at the thought of having a length reached the sacred city. Unexpectingly, they entrust themselves to the sons of the Ganges, who with all their wickedness at home, have a reputation abroad for sanctity. These enfold them within their toils, fleece them of their money, and otherwise behave towards them in a shameless manner, while the poorer pilgrims, being generally utter strangers, having no means of redress, patiently submit to maltreatment. It would be well if the Government authorities exercised control not only over the Gangâputras but also over all the priests of the temples in Benares, so as to secure their good behaviour and the comfort of pilgrims and other worshippers."

Of the Marâthâ Brahmins, Mr. Sherring speaks thus:

"The Maratha Brahmins are a very distinguished race among the Brahmanical tribes of India. For quickness of intellect, for energy, practical power, and learning, they are unsurpassed. In Benares itself, which is famous for its Pandits deeply read in Sanskrit literature, they are highly respected for their intelligence and knowledge. As a people they seem to possess, wherever they are found, those great mental gifts which formerly made the Marathas so formidable."

On the question why the Marâthâ Brähmans—particularly the Konkannah division of them are so fair,—our author is opposed to the view adopted by Mr. Campbell, (Lieutenant Governor of Bengal,) in his work on Indian Ethnology—that they came by sea from the north and so have received less admixture of aboriginal blood. Mr. Sherring maintains that in the North-Western Provinces—

"The Brahman is quite as fair, and exhibits quite as strongly the physical characteristics of his race as the Maharatta Brahman of the Konkan. He is occasionally as fair as the lightest
Eurasian half caste; and in his face the red blush is seen to come and go as in that of the Englishman. The remarks of Mr. Campbell would go to prove an almost tribal distinction between the Mahrusta and all other Brahmins, consisting in a far greater party of Brahmanical blood. I suspect that these tribal distinctions among the Brahmins are in the main of a provincial character, and to be accounted for on geographical grounds rather than ethnological."

A very interesting question, this—and one which merits fuller investigation than it has yet received. For ourselves, we see no difficulty in believing, that the Brahmins in, and near, the Panjab may have descended the Indus, or, for that matter, the Sarasvati, which in Vaidik times was a copious river flowing either into the Indus or the ocean. We also doubt whether climatic differences will sufficiently explain the striking diversities of colour among Brahmins. Still we express no decided conviction; we are happy to hear Mr. Sherring’s pleading, and in the meantime, we take the matter, as the Scotch judges say, *ad arzandum.*

We cannot follow Mr. Sherring into the endless ramifications of Brahmanism, which he sets down with wonderful minuteness. For example, he enumerates all the eighty-four divisions of Gujarati Brahmins; and fourteen of Maratha Brahmins, with gotras in numbers without number.

In Part II he speaks of the Rajputs in Benares. Including the district and province of that name, he finds ninety-nine Rajput tribes; and of all these in succession he gives a longer or shorter account. All this we are compelled to pass over. As, however, Mr. Sherring is no dry-as-dust collector of curiosities, but a man who steadily views the past in its bearing on the present and the future, we must in justice quote some of his opinions on the condition of India as affected by caste changes that have come already or are fast coming. First, however, let us hear what he thinks of the Rajputs’ physique and morale."

"In ancient times the two functions of this race were ruling and fighting. Only one of these, the latter, still remains. A large proportion of the sepoys of the Indian army have ever been, and still are, Rajpoos. The number, I imagine, has somewhat diminished since the mutiny. Yet this occupation is regarded by all classes as a legitimate and natural one for the members of this caste. The physique of the Rajpoos, in the opinion of military men, peculiarly adapts him for the life of a soldier. He is generally tall and well made, with a good development of muscle, but with a smaller proportion of bone. He is of somewhat large build than the Brahman, yet does not display in his countenance the Brahman’s high intelligence and commanding dignity, nor has the Brahman’s thinness of skin and delicacy of complexion."

Now as to their condition—

"Formerly, they could command armies, or divisions and sub-divisions of armies, and were employed as rulers over provinces and districts, or else governed in their own right. Such occupations gave scope to their ambition, and an object on which their intelligence and energy might expend themselves. But all this has been changed. Not being employed now in such offices, or in any other of great national or social interest, life is to many of them without a purpose. The majority of the higher classes of course are succeeded with an existence by luxurious indolence; yet not all. They feel, however, that it is useless to be ambitious, for that there is nothing for them to do, and very little for them to gain. A few make themselves conspicuous by their liberality and public spirit, in laying out vast sums of money on colleges, schools, hospitals, asylums, and the like. Yet their secret personal ambition is mostly directed to very inferior objects. To secure a higher place in the Governor-General’s Durbar, or more frequent salutes, or a greater number of guns at each salute, some will devote years of time, and large sums of rupees, and will engage in a course of intrigues of the most intricate character."

True and weighty words; although we think the shading is, just by a shade, too deep. All Rajputs did not rule; only princes and chiefs did so. Now, although "the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war" have happily to a great extent passed away in India, and so one half of the Rajput chiefs of today is gone, what hinders him from continuing the other half, and with double diligence? He may find a noble sphere in governing his subjects; and if he govern them well, he will not be molested by the British authorities. Even were his powers reduced, which they are never likely to be, to the dimensions of those of an English nobleman, why could not the Rajput chief find, like the nobleman, honourable employment in managing his estates? It is true all this requires that he be educated and so fitted to bear his part in the renowned victories of peace. Let the British Government look to that prime requisite. So much for the chiefs. As for the mass of the Rajput, they can beat their swords to ploughshares. They make bad traders, and would be driven out of the market by cunning Vaisyasa; but they take kindly to agriculture. Let them go in for farming; it is no hardship, and no disgrace. "He who cultivates barley, cultivates purity," was said—or, at least, is said to have been said—by Zoroaster, the great and wise: and over India, so far as our experience goes, with the exception of Lower Bengal, the occupation of tillage is deemed perfectly honourable. A question, however, of an interesting kind emerges here. If, in these halcyon days of peace, the races in India that are by descent and profession fighting men, can find few fields in which to exercise and augment their hereditary valour, will they not gradually sink into a timorous herd quite unequal to stand, in the shock of arms, before the warlike races of the extra-Indian North? If aught should once more precipitate these on the fertile plains of Hindustan, where is our security? Can we hold India with British bayonets alone, that is, can we supply them in sufficient numbers? The other point. In Britain you pick up any lad at the corner of a street, say a shoemaker, or the ninth part of a man, a tailor; and in a few weeks or months you manufacture that very raw material into an erect, martial looking man, who meets the hurtling shot and shell as steadily as if he had been trained to it all his days. We apprehend you cannot do this with an Indian tailor or shoemaker. The question then is a very serious one—where are
the fighting men to come from who shall recruit our native army? But we are getting beyond our depth, and shall wisely return to civilian themes.

In Part III. Mr. Sherring treats of the mixed castes and tribes—Vais'yas, S'udrás, and others. He compares the position of these in the social scale to that of the middle classes in England. He has several pages of thoughtful writing as to the effects of our rule—slow, but certain as the action of gravitation—in depressing the ascendant class and the war-like nobility of the past, and in elevating a great body of the fighting men to come from who shall recruit our native army?

in Indian society can surpass these revolutions in magnitude?

In Part IV. Mr. Sherring treats of the aboriginal tribes and inferior castes. The most interesting point which he has dwelt upon is the Bhar tribe—once of great importance in the regions around Allahabad and Benares. Mr. Thomason said of them:—"The inhabitants were a powerful and industrious people, as is evident from the large works they have left behind them." They seem to have been skilled in the arts both of peace and war. We are ready to think of the races that preceded the Hindus in the possession of India as having been savages or semi-savages; yet even amidst all the passionate invectives of the Veda against them, we cannot glean from its pages such a notion of the Dasyus. Black-skinned they were, probably flat-nosed, and inferior in physical appearance to the worshippers of the "beautiful nosed" (sus'ipra) Indra; but barbarians—at least in many cases,—they certainly were not. We agree with Mr. Sherring:—"I know not why we should be so ready always to ascribe to successive troops of Hindu immigrants all the ancient civilization of India. The more I investigate the matter, the stronger do my convictions become that the Hindu tribes have learned much from the aboriginal races."

We regret that we must stop. We part from Mr. Sherring with much respect for him as a pains-taking, conscientious and intelligent investigator. His book is a repository of very important information; and the spirit in which it is written is very genial—friendly to all that is good—and worthy of a Christian minister. So far as the castes in Benares are concerned—and these are largely representative of India generally,—we do not know that this work leaves anything to be desired. J. M. M.

THE KHATTRIS.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—Perhaps some of your readers may be able to throw some light on the origin of the caste of Khattris in Hindustan. I have attempted, whenever I have had the opportunity, to discover what I could from members of the caste themselves; but their accounts are various and conflicting. As it is highly desirable that we should know as much as we can about the history of Hindu castes, I am sure you will be ready to admit such a discussion to a place in your columns.

I will therefore briefly state what I have been able to discover on the subject, and ask your readers to aid in elucidating the matter as far as possible. The Khattris are divided into four sub-divisions, viz., the Panjâbî, the Lahori, the Dihliwâl, and the Pûrbi, and these four sorts are separate from each other and have not the jus connubii or the custom of eating and drinking in common with each other. They deny being anything but pure Hindus and are reputed especially religious, worshipping the ordinary deities of Hinduism. There are no Sâra'ogis (Shrâvâks) amongst them. They are without doubt immigrants into Hindustan at a comparatively late period. Their Purohits are invariably Sarsuti (Sarasvati) Brahmins and they have the peculiar custom among them of the Purohit eating with his Jajman (Yajamâns). If you ask them concerning their origin, nine out of ten will reply that they are the offspring of Râjputs: they generally say Kshetraj Râjputs, and one account is that they are sons of a Râjput woman by a Sûdra father. I am not inclined to place any reliance on statements like this for the simple reason that every caste which cannot explain its origin, invariably invents the Kshatriya theory of paternity. A more detailed legend concerning their origin runs as follows:—When Parasu-Râma was exterminating
the Kshatriyas, a pregnant girl escaped from the massacre and took refuge with a Sarasv Brahman. He gave her shelter, and when asked by the pursuers concerning her, replied that she was his cook (Khattri) and to prove it ate bread from her hand. The tradition is deserving of notice as attempting to explain the meaning of the name Khattri and the peculiar custom of the Purohit and Kshatriyas, a pregnant girl escaped from the Jajmans eating in common. But I do not think (Khatri) and to prove itate bread from their women ever wore turki kapra; while the attempt at explaining the meaning of the name He gave her shelter, and when asked by the pursuers concerning her, replied that she was his cook (Khattri) and to prove it ate bread from her hand. The tradition is deserving of notice as attempting to explain the meaning of the name Khattri and the peculiar custom of the Purohit and Kshatriyas, a pregnant girl escaped from the Jajmans eating in common. But I do not think

Khattris deny that they ever had the custom of rikābikhānd (viz., eating from vessels) or that their sub-divisions. Ignorant village Jats (Pachhäde or Dhé) have incidentally compared to their own account is that Nának Shah was a Khattri. I hope that some of your Panjābicor culethetheory, but the tradition is still held by the respondents will be able to illustrate these points of difficulty with facts which have come under their own notice.

The question of the origin of the Tāgas—another subject of controversy—is connected again without doubt with the history of the Khattris. Sir Henry Elliot gives a quotation from the Mirat-i-Sikandari in his Supplementary Glossary, page 109, which states that the Tagas were expelled from their caste by the Khattris for drinking. The Tagas ridicule the theory, but the tradition is still held by the Khattris. I hope that some of your Panjābi correspondents will be able to illustrate these points of difficulty with facts which have come under their own notice.

The Koh-i-Nár (vernacular journal) of 15th June 1872 has a classification of Khattri sects; I believe, but I have not been able to examine it.

Query 10, Concerning Chaturanga.

In my paper on Chaturanga, I have identified (p. 61) the 'Radhacant' on whose information the treatise of Sir W. Jones On the Indian Game of Chess, in the As. Res. vol. II pp. 159-165, is based, with Radhakanta Deva, the author of the Sabdakalpadruma. But after more mature consideration, I have become more than doubtful of the correctness of this identification, or, I should rather say, I am convinced already of its impropriety.

As Sir W. Jones speaks of his Radhakant as “my friend” (p. 161), acknowledges that the passage “was copied for me by Radhacant and explained by him” (p. 163), and says that, “Radhacant and his preceptor Jagannath are both employed by Government in compiling a digest of Indian laws (p. 165),” — we are led to assume, that this Radhakant was already a young man of distinction when the paper was written (about 1790). Now Rāja Rādhakanta-Deva died on the 19th of April 1867. To have been the same person with the friend of Sir W. Jones, he ought to have been more than a hundred years old at the time of his death; but we have the distinct statement in the preface to the Parisishita-vol. of his Sabdakalpadruma that he was born Sake 1705 i. e. A. D. 1783 (vānāmba

Law,” in which Colebrooke (Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 504) found mentioned,—“the elephant, horse, and chariot as pieces of the game of Chaturanga”; 2. The very passage on Chaturanga given in Raghunandana’s Tithi attra (ed. Serampore, I. 88, 89), and stated by the Radhakant of Sir W. Jones to be a part of the Bhavishya Purāna;” or 3. Any other passage on Chaturangakrida on the occasion of the Kojāgara of the Kaumudi festival, or at any other festivity.

Berlin, 4th July 1872.
A. WEBER.
In Mr. Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments* there is no allusion to the practice of certain of the Chota Nagpur Kols to erect monuments to their deceased friends. It would appear that the brief accounts of the custom hitherto published have escaped notice.

Referring to the geographical distribution of Dolmens, Mr. Fergusson has written—"They do not exist in the valley of the Ganges or any of its tributaries." This is not strictly accurate, as the tributaries of the Ganges which drain Chota Nagpur pass through a country in parts of which both ancient and modern Dolmens or tables, and Menhirs abound.

The following notes and accompanying sketches were made a few years ago in the district of Singhbhum. The facts described will, I trust, prove sufficient to draw attention to the rude stone monuments of that district.

The Chota Nagpur division, as is well known to those interested in Indian Ethnology, is the present home of numerous aboriginal races, nearly, if not quite all of which have been assigned by Col. Dalton to positions under the two great family groups of Kols, known as Mundás and Oráons.

Various customs with regard to the final disposal of the dead are practised by these different races; but it is with Mundás, and among them a particular race only—the Hos, that we have to do at present.

The Hos with a few exceptions are now to be found only in a portion of Singhbhum known as the Koilehán, or Hodesum as it was called by Col. Tickell. There they live shut out from all Aryan influences, observing a most rigid conservatism with regard to the traditional customs of their race. Notable among these customs, as being one that must force itself on the attention of any traveller in the district, is the erection of stone tablets and slabs (Menhirs and Dolmens) over the graves and to the memory of the deceased. Although it is only in the Koilehán that these monuments are erected at the present day, they are to be found scattered throughout Chota Nagpur and to some extent in the Orissa tributary mehals; in some cases in localities upwards of one hundred miles distant from the Koilehán, and which, according to Col. Dalton, cannot have been inhabited by the Hos for centuries.

There are few parts of the Koilehán, where an extensive view of several villages can be obtained, which do not include several groups of upright monumental stones. These groups may include any number, from a single stone upwards, and there is no restriction to odd numbers, as is said to be the case in the Khasia Hills.

The stones selected for erection are generally more or less rectangular or cylindrical in form, but sometimes they are of very fantastic shapes. These latter, however, it is important to observe, are not due to either freak or design upon the part of the people. They are the natural forms of the flags which they assume in their exposed positions in the rivers. Beyond being prized from the beds by means of crowbars, they are not, as a rule, touched with any tools. I have often come across the spots in the river sections whence stones for this purpose and also larger ones intended for dolmens or tables had been raised. The geological formation in the Koilehán consists partly of slates and schists, which supply an abundance of flags suited to the purpose. When these rocks contain an appreciable quantity of carbonate of lime, the chemical action of the water produces honey-combed surfaces and more or less irregular outlines.

In portions of the country not now occupied by the Hos, where the rocks are granitic, and flag-like masses of rock can seldom be obtained, the ancient monuments are more massive in shape and of smaller size. I cannot help thinking that the geological formation may have had something to do in determining the selection of the Koilehán as the final resting place of the race.

The rivers, where the stones are raised, are not unfrequently several miles distant from the villages near which the Menhirs and Dolmens are erected. The transport of the stones is effected in the following manner. Partly according to the estimation in which the deceased was held, partly according to the amount of refreshments—chiefly rice-beer—which the surviving members of the deceased's family are prepared to stand, a greater or less number of men assemble and proceed to the spot where the stone

*The Damhād and Kosāi, &c. which join the Hugli. The Subarnikā pursues an independent course to the sea.*
is to be raised. If the flag selected is not very heavy, it is placed on a wooden framework, and so carried on the shoulders of the men to its destination. When however the stone is of large size, it is placed on a kind of truck with enormously massive wheels, specially constructed for the purpose. Sometimes it is necessary to make a road for the passage of such a truck; at others the number of men pushing and pulling with ropes is sufficient to carry it over all the obstacles which are encountered on the way.

No. I.

Group of Cenotaph stones or Menhirs, at a village near Chaibassa, in Singhbhum.

The history of the group of stones figured in sketch No. 1 is as follows: The stone on the left was erected to the memory of Kundapa thur, Manki, or head man of the village of Pokaria, a few miles south of the station of Chaibassa. The next two stones were erected to Kûnchi and Somâri, daughters, and the fourth to a son of Pasingh, the present Manki. This was in 1869, since that time others may have been added; possibly Pasingh himself, having lost father, wife and children, has also died.

For some reason there is no memorial stone here to Pasingh's wife Seni. I rather think however, there was one standing by itself somewhat nearer the village. But in the centre of the village, under the shade of some glorious old tamarind trees, a stone, conspicuous among many others from its uncommon size, covers her remains, and affords practical evidence that respect for her memory was not wanting. Its dimensions are 17 feet 2 inches x 9 feet 2 inches x 10 inches.

No. II.

Menhirs—Cenotaph stones, Singhbhum.

The second sketch represents a group of stones situated in a plain a few miles to the south-west of the other. Of its history I do not know the particulars.

The groups of Menhirs which occur scattered throughout the Kolehan are, so far as my observation went, in no way limited as to the number of stones. I have counted as many as 30 stones in one group, and my impression is that I have seen more than that number. A circular arrangement is seldom seen, generally the stones are either ranged along a straight line or an arc.

Only one instance can I remember of seeing in Chota Nagpur any attempt at sculpture on stone monuments: this was in the district of Hazaribagh. The stones had the appearance of great antiquity and, whether rightly or wrongly, they were attributed by the people of the neighbourhood to an ancient settlement of Kols.

Though not rich in ancient temples or other Hindu remains—as compared with some other parts of India—the Chota Nagpur division with its stone monuments of the aborigines and its cave temples, mines, and other traces of the early Jains is for the Antiquarian, as it is well known to be for the Ethnologist, a noble field for research.

NOTES ON THE RASAKALLOLA, AN ANCIENT ORIYA POEM.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c., BALASOR.

No. II.—Continued from p. 217.

A noticeable feature in this poem is the readiness with which the poet's native language lends itself to the metres which he employs. Consequently there are very few of those arbitrary lengthenings and shortenings of vowels, elisions of case and tense-endings which in the oldlest Hindi and Gujarati poems so much obscure the real language of the period. In reading
the latter class of poems we are never sure that we are being presented with a real living picture of the language as it was actually spoken by the contemporaries of the author; we have to allow for so many licenses of form and construction that it is only by observing the shape taken by a particular word, in places where no \textit{vive metri} occurs to change it, that we can feel even tolerably certain that we have at length lit upon its genuine colloquial guise. No such difficulty confronts us in Dinkrishna's flowing and facile verse. If we except an occasional diaeresis such as परंतु for परंतु, समरण for समरण and a few other easily recognized licenses, the language is the same as that in which the gentle and refined Oriya clodhopper of to-day fondly curses his wife or his bullocks, or grumbles over his daily pill of adulterated opium.

In the third canto the Gopis hear that a son has been born to Nand and rush tumultuously to Nand's house to see the infant. Here occurs one of those absurd pieces of exaggeration which so frequently, to European taste, spoil the beauty of Indian poems. The Hindu never knows when to stop. Starting from the generally accepted opinion that the female form is most symmetrical and beautiful when the waist is slender and the parts immediately below it large and round, the poet proceeds to make the waists of the Gopis so absurdly thin and their continuations so enormously large that they become, instead of the idea of loveliness he intends them to be, monsters of deformity. One charming creature who appears to have combined in her own person every possible disproportion, is thus addressed by the girdleround her waist—

\begin{verbatim}
Kāhā kāṭiye dākī kānchī mālā
Kaho achhi, "dhire are abalā!
Kāma mada tu hoi matta, bhoji
Karu majhā thāre jāere helā,
Ki! tu janu nāhu e jere saru
Kuchā jugalā tora jere gurū?
Karu achhu jāhā druḍha gamana
Kāle eḥakū heū achhi šamaṇa.
Ki to sāhāṣa jāyājība prāye,
Ki bā eḥā thāre e re nirdāye?
Ki ki hoi e jebā jiba bhangi?
Kāle tu hi maribu eḥā lāgi.
\end{verbatim}

From the waist of one the girdle calling Says, "gently, gently, O maiden!
The swit pace which thou maintainest
And thy twin breasts how heavy?
What! knowest thou not how slender it is
The swift which thou maintainest
Shortly will be its destruction.
What, is thy boldness like the spider's,
Or why on this (the waist) art thou so pitiless?
What will happen when it shall break?
What, art thou so pitiless?
At that time thou wilt die."

The poet seems rather proud of this tasteless trifling for he specially remarks that this is to be regarded as a metaphor, and is elegant and fanciful (ādhyāhāra).

The Gopis crowd round the two infants, and examine them with every mark of delight. The sun, the moon, night, lotuses, the sea, and all sorts of plants and animals are called into comparison, and are pronounced inadequate to rival the beauty of Kṛishṇa's black skin, or Balarāma's white one. The Gopis then go home looking back and lingering and loth to depart, and the canto ends.

The metre of the second canto, which I omitted to describe before, consists of four lines to the pada or stanza. The first and third are very long consisting of 29 mátras each. There are cessuras at the eighth and sixteenth mátras, the syllables of which generally rhyme with each other. The last syllable of the first line rhymes with that of the second. Owing to the great length of the lines it is customary to write the first sixteen mátras as one line and the remaining thirteen as a second line. The third line has nine mátras with cessura at the fourth, and the fourth line thirteen with cessura at the eighth mátra; thus:

\begin{verbatim}
1. ka | ra | ā | he | sa | dhu | ja | na=mā | ne |
     ma | na | e | ka | tā | na
     kar | na | de | i | ka | ma | la | na | ya |
     na | ka | thā | kū
2. The same.
3. ka | la | ka | ra|an | dha | ra | pra | ye
     du | ri | ta | kha | ye
3. Kṛish | na | ka | thā | ēra | va | na | re
     du | ri | ta | kha | ye
\end{verbatim}

The rhyme-syllables are in italics.

The metre of the third canto is very simple. It is the Rāg kedār chakrakeli, and consists of two charans to the pada, each containing nine mátras with no cessura. The charans rhyme.

The fourth canto is in the Ahārī metre with 12 mátras to the charan and two rhyming charans to the pada. There is a cessura at the ninth mátra. Thus—

\begin{verbatim}
kā | na | de | i | ū | na | ā | he | sā|dhu | ja | ne.
kū | mā | ran | ka | jan | mi | le | ke|te | di | ne.
\end{verbatim}

It relates how Kṛishṇa in his cradle destroyed
various demons sent against him by Kańska. In the description of the Nāg Putanã, who turned herself into a beautiful female, we see what sort of dress and adornment was considered chic in Dinkrishna's time; for this reason it is worth quoting,—

Kalã kutila kuntasækhosã khosi,  
Kamaniya phula málã achihi misî;  
Kapilare sindhãra moodala chithã,  
Katîshhare mohu achihi urdhvareti;  
Karne tãtaka, bhramari, phula sohe;  
Kãnthe kantha-ãbharaña mana mohe;  
Kari tãmbûla-bolare oshiha ranga,  
Karu achhi purushanku dhairja bhanga;  
Kanhtî násã-ãbharaña násaqûte,  
Kajvala paripûrita netra-tate;  
Karne sari jae jai achihe lâñji,  
Kàmî dekhile hoihe kãme gaujî;  
Kare taña, churî, kapîlî râje;  
Kwañika-kwänâ pâhuropa padare baje;  
Kantha-tate deênria-ñale bâñdëlli  
Kalà-megha ñârhi ñaëhi pindëli.

Her black wavy hair knotting in a knot  
A garland of lovely flowers she has mingled in it;  
On her brow a round mark of vermilion;*  
With her glance she is ravishing Siva;  
In her ear the tãtaka,† bhrarmari‡ and flowers shine;  
On her neck the necklace fascinates the mind;  
Dyeing her lip with betelnut juice;  
She is breaking down the composure of men;  
In her nostril the Kanthi§ and nose-jewel;  
The lampblack completely surrounds her eye;  
The streak of it extends as far as her ear;††  
Amorous men seeing it would go mad with love;  
On her hand shines the târa,¶ bracelet, and armlet;  
“Twang twang” sounds the anklet on her foot;  
On the pit of her neck she has bound a deînria*;  
A dark-blue sârhi she has put on.

It will be seen that then, as now, the wearing of gewgaws and ornaments was highly popular. In spite of all the profusion of jewellery, however, the lady's dress consists of nothing but a sârhi.

The sârhi is a broad and long cloth wound tightly round the waist in such a way as to expose the right leg half way up the thigh, the end is then brought round over the head. In the present instance, however, it must have been worn only over the shoulders as we have the head decorated with flowers. The wearing of the sârhi over the shoulders only is customary among the non-Aryan hill-tribes to this day, and may possibly have been the custom among the Aryan population also in former times. It is so worn also by the Telingas. As the connection of the Oriyas, until recent times, was greater with their neighbours to the south than it was with those on the north, we may suppose that the habit of wearing the sârhi on the head is of late introduction from Bengal.

The fifth canto relates the childish sports of Krishna, and is itself very childish and tedious. Krishna seems to have spent his time principally in stealing and devouring curds, cream, and butter, of which articles his diet appears to have chiefly consisted. He also makes jokes with the Gopis, and indulges in double entendres of a very ungodlike character. The sixth canto continues the same subject ad nauseam.

One or two passages a little more sensible than the rest may be quoted. Here is a description of Krishna's roguishness:

Kandhâi hasaë binæ kàrnæ;  
Ki pari châñhe se nayana koñe,  
Kila kinchita bhâbaku barbâñ,  
Kahûn kahûn motâlaku pài;  
Kâlita amùba ñagare jàta,  
Kahûn ñikhilà e ete charita?  
Ke bole dine mu kahilidhire,  
Kåhùn kigolakaragopapüre—  
Kipâñ mo purakubijena kara  
Kete khá'íbadâdhi, dudha, Śara.  
Kesabâ Šuni boile hasi  
Kete pânistodudhe achhimisi; (Gopi loquitur).

Having made me cry he makes me laugh for nothing.

How he looks out of the corner of his eye!  
He increases one's playful disposition,  
From time to time meeting answering glances.

Only yesterday he was born in our presence,  
Whence has he learnt such conduct?

* The vermilion on the forehead denotes a married woman, but is now generally smeared in a great patch across the parting of the hair.
† तारा is a small earring worn in the outer edge of the ear; sometimes eight or ten of them are worn one below another all round the ear.
‡ अमर is a large earring hanging from the lobe of the ear, so called from its resemblance to a bee (अमर).
§ This is considered a great beauty.
¶ These are various kinds of rings and bracelets.
* अमरिच small ornament shaped like a flower and usually enamelled in various colours.
Oct. 4, 1872.

CAVES OF PITALKHORA.

In the matter of grammatical peculiarities it is noticeable that Dinkrshna uses frequently the old plural in e as kumára, a boy; pl. kumáre. This is very seldom heard in modern Oriya, and never in the classical style. An old-fashioned peasant from the interior of the country may now and then use it. In the modern language the analytically formed plural by the addition of mane is always used as róiá, pl. róiómane,—kings; in inanimate objects, however, the final e of the termination is dropped, as kántha, wall, kánthamán, walls.

There occurs also the old universal Aryan locative in e as gope, in Gop; pure, in the town. The moderns affix re and would say gopa-re instead of gope; the affix re is already in use, as are also ku, ru, and the ar or ara of the genitive in this poem.

With regard to the short final a, it must be remembered that it is necessary to express it in writing poetry for the sake of preserving the rhythm, but that in common conversation it is hardly ever heard, and when heard is a short Ö.

Dinkrishna knows only the old forms of the personal pronouns which our high-flying modern writers condemn as vulgar. These are—

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<td>tu</td>
<td>tote</td>
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The plural of mu is amhe (pronounced ambhe) and that of tu is tumhe (tumbhe) but as the learned have taken ambhe and tumhe into use as equivalents for I and thou, they have had to make fresh plurals ambhemáne, and tumhe-máne. Dinkrishna uses only the two first, and always in their proper ancient signification.

(To be continued)

THE CAVES OF THE BRAZEN GLEN AND OTHER REMAINS

ABOUT MAUJE PÁTNA, TALUKA CHALISGAUM.

By W. F. SINCLAIR, ASSISTANT COLLECTOR IN CHARGE KHANDESH FORESTS.

About ten miles south-west of the Chalisgaum Station of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway (N. E. extension) the Sátmala Hills open into a curious valley, included in the limits of the deserted village of Pátña.

The nearest camping-place is at the village of Warthán, 8 miles on the way, but it is a poor little place, and any visitor who had not been spoken the assistance of the district authorities 10 or 12 days before, would get nothing in it. Two miles from Warthán is the gateway of the valley, flanked on the left by steep rocks passable only by a single foot path, called the Gai Ghát, and on the right by the old hill fort of Kanhéré. In the sides of the latter are four caves which I have not had time to examine closely, but I believe them to be all viharas, and of the sort having stone lotus-headed pillars. They
are called by the natives the houses of Nāg Arjuna, his wife Dūrpadā, and his son Abhimān, and the fourth the Singhāl Chauri,—names not unsuggestive. For although Dūrpadā (Draupadi) and Abhimān belong to Arjuna the Pāndava, I have never heard that hero called Nāg Arjuna elsewhere. But Nāgarjuna is the name of a Buddhist author of some repute, and I believe common among that sect. The name "Singhāl Chauri" too, seems to point to a connection with Ceylon. There are, I believe, other caves on the top of the fort and beyond it, but of more doubtful character.

Immediately below the fort are the remains of the village of Pātna, the more recent of which indicate a place of about 200 houses; but much older mounds, enclosing a large area, show that in times before the population first dwindled and then disappeared altogether, there must have been a considerable town here, which is not to be wondered at, considering the water supply, the security of the place, and its position, on what was one of the chief passes of the Sātmala Hills. Near the village is a small temple of Bhawāni, supposed to be very old. It contains some of the most obscene sculptures in Western India, which appear to me to indicate a more recent date. Above the village is the wider valley called the Bhawāni Khorā, and half a mile up it is a very ancient temple of the goddess, said to have been built either by a Rākshasa or by Hemād Panth, who is as misty an architect here as elsewhere. The legend of the place is that the goddess, usually called here "Ai," was shikaring the Daityas (Rākshasas) in these parts, shortly after she slew the buffalo devil further south. She "flushed" a Daitya in the precipices about the Gai Ghāt, (which we passed on our left in entering the valley), and hunted him round the cliff still they came to a ravine called the Gañw Dhara, where the poor Daitya, being hard pressed, dived into the solid rock, and burrowed to a fabulous depth, as easily as a mole in an English tulip-bed. However, the goddess was not to be easily beat, and she got him out somehow, and finished him with her trident. In honour of which event Hemad Panth built the little temple in the valley and devout Hindus make pilgrimage there twice a year, and present iron tridents to the goddess, some of them

As big as cart axles, and nail horse-shoes to her door, a practice curiously analogous to our Western custom of nailing them to stable-doors and boats’ stems. The Hole which the Daitiya made is shown to this day, and is neither more nor less, to my thinking, than the remains of a ruined Chaitya cave. There is a long inscription on the west face of the temple which the Pandit whom I sent to copy it failed to decipher, and the stone is too much covered with oil and other beastliness for rubbing off.

Above the temple the main valley of Bhawāni Khorā splits into several lesser glens. The most westerly terminates in a fine waterfall and pool somewhat like that in Lēnapur of Ajañtā. The next is a pass, of which I forget the name, and the third is a long deep glen, containing nothing but a teak and bamboo plantation, which the visitor had just as well keep out of. The remains of several ruined caves appear in the face of the cliff between this and the next ravine, the Ganesa Ghāṭ, up which there is a pass to the Dekhan formerly of considerable importance; above it is the Ganes’a Tākā a curious underground cistern, possibly as old as the caves. The fifth is the Gañw Dharā, or village glen, before referred to; and the sixth is the Pitāl Khorā or Brazen Glen, the stream of which falls over an impassable cliff, a little behind the temple of Ai Bhawāni. There is however a pass over a spur between these two last, by steps cut in the rock, which, although they were perhaps not actually cut by the Buddhist monks, appear to me to be the successors of an earlier stairway probably of their making. This ladder is called the Sātpāyara Ghāṭ or pass of seven steps, but there are really about eighteen.

Having got to the top of this very steep and tiresome but not dangerous pass, we go up the Pitāl Khorā for about a mile to where the ravine opens out a little, below a waterfall under and to the right of which are the caves. The first cave is a vihara, cut right under the fall (in flood) and of considerable size, but not otherwise remarkable. The next called the Rang Mahāl is a Chaitya about the size of the Chaityas at Ajañtā. The roof has been supported by timber horse-shoe rafters, long gone, and two rows of polygonal pillars without capitals, separate the nave from the side-aisles.

Dr. Bhau Daji found an inscription here recording a grant of certain privileges to a College established by Changadeva, the son of Lakshmidhara, the son of the celebrated Bāṣakārachārya. The donor was Sonhadeva, a chief subordinate to Rāja Sinchana, and the grant is dated Śaka 1138, A.D. 1206. A transcription and translation are given by Dr. Bhau; see Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. I. pp. 411, 414, 418.—Ed.
These pillars are partly hewn in situ, and partly built up of separate pieces, and on their plastered surface and that of the side walls are several paintings of Buddha, either seated or standing, always supported by the lotus, crowned with an aureole, and overshadowed by a triple umbrella. The colours are brighter than any now at Ajanta. I could find no inscriptions but some scratches on the plaster, which I do not believe to be ancient, and some flaring red paint letters recording the visit of Dr. Bhan Daji and Mr. Somebody Garud of Dhoolia. The next cave is a vihara and very curious. The cells are divided by pilasters having each a capital something like a wool sack or a ship's rope fender, carved in so intricate a pattern that at first I mistook them for inscriptions. Above this capital each plaster has a separate pair of animals. The first are humped bulls, the second winged griffins, the third winged dogs, the fourth winged horses, the fifth winged antelopes, the sixth elephants and the seventh winged tigers. There are one or two more, destroyed and unrecognisable.

In the large Chaitya I had in vain tried to persuade my Bhill guard that the caves were built by men like themselves, which they stoutly declared to be impossible, disputing among themselves whether the five Pandus or the Daityas could have done it. However in this vihara they held a fresh palaver on the subject, and finally the naik came forward and said that after all they thought the sahib was right.

"For these cells were obviously made to sleep in, like those in the lock-up, and no man will presume to say that the Daityas and the Pandavas could squeeze themselves into such holes as these." Next to this cave is another vihara the entrance to which is blocked up, but after ascertaining that there was no wild beast inside, I crept in through a breach in the wall of the sculptured vihara, my men following. However this, and two more beyond it, are similar in character to the first cave under the fall.

These caves must have had a fine façade, and probably there were one or two small ones above, approached by passages the remains of which still exist, but the whole front of the cliff has come down in a common mass of ruins, destroying the upper caves, and blocking up the lower ones.

I heard of an inscription near here, but was unable to find it. I believe these caves were in former days reported on by Mr. Rose, C.S., a copy of whose report is given in Dr. J. Wilson’s “Second Memoir on the Cave Temples” in the Bombay Asiatic Society’s Journal (vol. IV. p. 357-359). They have been visited by Dr. Bhan Daji, but that learned Orientalist has not, I think, published the result of his researches. The local legend of Bhawani hunting the Daityas into the rock points, I think, to a Brahmanical raid upon the Buddhists, and it may be noted that the Gai Ghát is the only pass by which a force from the plain could turn the flank of the whole group of caves and block up all avenues of escape, without being easily perceived.

The whole Sátmala range is full of promise for the archaeologist. Two years ago Mr. Campbell, C.S., discovered a new group in the old fort of Wasigarh, which I believe Major Gill has further explored, and Mr. Pottinger, C.E., found what I believe to be a large vihara near the Gotala Ghát. Caution, however, and a double gun loaded with ball are necessary in all these places. In one cave in the Pital Khorā I found fresh traces of a panther, and in the next some gnawed bones that told their own story.

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THE DATE OF THE NYAYAKUSUMĀNJALI.

By KASHINATH TRIMBARK TELANG, SENIOR DAKSHINA FELLOW, ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE.

In the preface to his edition of the Nyayakusumanjali, Professor E. B. Cowell has endeavoured to fix the age of Udayanāchārya, the author of that work. The result of his reasoning he thus states:—"Perhaps, therefore," he says, "we may without fear of much error fix Vāchaspati Miśra in the tenth and Udayanāchārya in the twelfth century." This conclusion, Prof. Cowell bases on the fact, that while on the one hand Udayanāchārya is mentioned with expressions of high respect by Mādhavāchārya, he has, on the other, commented on a work of Vāchaspati Miśra, who is himself one of the commentators of the great Śankarāchārya. Now as the dates of Śankarāchārya and Mādhavāchārya may be taken with tolerable safety to be respectively in the eighth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era, we have, according to Prof. Cowell, "a
terminus a quo as well as a terminus ad quem to limit our chronological uncertainty." And the Professor then divides the interval between the two termini as stated above.

Now we think that, plausible as this reasoning appears, there is a flaw in it. What proof have we that the Udayana who has commented on Vāchaspati Miśra is the same with the Udayana who wrote the Kusumānjali? Independently of any light which may be thrown upon this question by other considerations, the fact itself cannot be assumed as beyond controversy. On the contrary, we think there is positive evidence calculated to upset such a conclusion, and we propose here to set forth that evidence.

In the introduction to his edition of Vāchaspati Miśra's Sāṅkhya-tattvākṣara, Professor Tārānāth Tarkavāchaspati of Calcutta mentions that Vāchaspati Miśra has written a work in answer to the Khandanākhandakhādya of Śrī Harsha, entitled Khandanoddhāra.† We do not know from whence this information is derived: it may be from the enumeration of his own works said to be given by Vāchaspati Miśra in his Bāmatinibandha, to which we have not access, and the Khandanoddhāra has no place in the list reproduced by Dr. Hall.‡ If, therefore, Dr. Hall’s list omits nothing that is in the list as given in the Bāmati, and if that list includes all the works written by Vāchaspati Miśra, the statement made by Prof. Tārānāth ceases to have any weight. We find it difficult, however, to understand how the statement could have been made without some sufficient authority, and if there is such authority, it is possible that the Khandanoddhāra, if Vāchaspati Miśra really wrote it, was written after the Bāmati had been finished. It is unfortunate that Prof. Tārānāth has not given the authority for his statement; for reasoning in the absence of such authority must be merely hypothetical.

Now if we adopt Prof. Tārānāth’s statement, the results we arrive at deprive Prof. Cowell’s arguments of all weight. The series of authors appears to stand thus:—1st Udayana; 2nd Śrī Harsha; 3rd Vāchaspati Miśra. This clearly appears to result from the following words of the author of the Khandana: “Therefore,” says he, “in this matter, it is not impossible for us to adopt your own verses with only some letters altered.” And he then proceeds as follows:

“Vyāghāto yadi śāṅkāsti, na chechchhankā tatatarām.
Vyāghātāvadhirāsankā tarkāsankāvadhih kutah.”

Now these verses are distinctly and expressly a parody of the verses in the Kusumānjali,—

“Sankāchedanumāsteyevā na chechchhankā tatatarām.
Vyāghātāvadhirāsankā tarkāsankāvadhirama-tah.”§

We have thus (1) Udayana’s Kusumānjali; (2) Śrī Harsha’s Khandana which quotes it; and (3) Vāchaspati Miśra’s Khandanoddhāra, which is an answer to (2).

Now it will be observed that this series reverses the chronological relations of Udayana and Vāchaspati as laid down by Prof. Cowell. And this leads to the further result that Prof. Cowell’s terminus a quo is lost, whatever may be said of the terminus ad quem: for if Vāchaspati comes after Udayana, we have no link to connect Udayana and Śāṅkara.

If, then, Prof. Cowell’s argument must be given up, the question arises—What can we substitute for it? The age of Bāna’s Harsha, as fixed by Dr. Hall, will not help us in this matter; for while Bāna’s Harsha is a royal personage,‖ the Harsha of the Khandana is a mere dependant of a king of Kānṭhakubja. And in this case, the supposition that some writer at the king’s court gave to his work the king’s name is also negatived by the fact that Śrī Harsha is stated at the close of the Khandana to be the name of the author himself—who is further described as a “kavi.”¶ One hint, however, we get from Dr. Hall’s catalogue. At page 26, we find a work noted, which is said to have been composed in 1252, and which quotes or mentions Udayana. Who this Udayana is, however, does not appear from Dr. Hall’s note. A further circumstance, which will throw some light on this matter, and which is less open to question, is to be found in Dr. Hall’s preface to the Vāsavadattā. We there learn, that the Naishadhiya is quoted in the Sarasvatikā-ṭh-bharana—which work, according to Dr. Hall,‖

§ See the Khandana (Calc. edition), p 91, and the Kusumānjali, p. 28.
‖ Vāsavadattā, Pref. p 17.
¶ Khandana, 199.
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THE DATE OF PATANJALI.

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*is unquestionably more ancient than the Harsha of Kashmir.* Now the author of the Naishadhiya is the same with the author of the Khandana,† and the Harsha of Kashmir reigned from 1113 to 1125. The Kusumânjayi, at the latest then, cannot be later than the eleventh century, and may go back into the tenth or even an earlier period. And this conclusion we arrive at, be it remembered, independently of the circumstance about Vâchaspati's having answered Sri Harsha, the authority for which is at present unknown to us.

If we take Vâchaspati Miśra as coming after Śri Harsha, the results seem to point towards the same date. Vâchaspati is quoted in the Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha of Mādhavāchārya, as an authority on the Śāṅkhya philosophy,§ and allowing a sufficient interval between those two writers—Udayana, at the latest, might come in the eleventh century. Furthermore, we find a writer of even earlier date than Mādhava quoting both Vâchaspati Miśra and Udayanâchārya. We allude to Bhatta Rāgīlava who wrote his work entitled Nyāyasūravichâra in A.D. 1252.|| We thus confirm from these different sources the conclusion that at the latest, Udayanâchārya flourished about the eleventh century, and that, for aught that appears to the contrary, he may have flourished even at an earlier period.

One more fact may perhaps be added. According to Mādhavāchārya's Śāṅkararavijaya, Śri Harsha, Bāṇa, Mayūra, Udayana, and Śāṅkarāchārya were contemporaries, and all the first four philosophers were vanquished in controversy by the last. Śri Harsha, it may be added, is here particularized as the author of the Khaṇḍana; Bāṇa and Mayūra are represented as having flourished in the districts of Avanti; about Udayana, there is nothing less vague than that he was an opponent of a dualism, and that he was unable to vanquish Śri Harsha.|| He is called Kaviunda.

There is one stanza in this work of Mādhavāchārya's which seems to make some allusion to Vâchaspati Miśra. We cannot, however, be sure of this, and will therefore leave the reader to judge for himself. Śāṅkara tells Śureśvarāchārya that the latter will become "Vâchaspati" in his next birth in the world, and that he will write an excellent commentary on his Bhāṣya, which will live to the end of time. The words of Mādhava are—

"Vāchaṃpatitvamadadigamya vasundhārayām Bhavyāṃ vidhāṣyasitamām mamabhāṣya-tikām."‡

The word Vâchaspatitvam may, and probably does mean only "the quality of being a master of style or language." But the "tikā" alluded to is probably the Bhāmati of Vâchaspati Miśra, and there may possibly be an oblique reference to the name of its author in the word "Vâchaspatitvam." But we do not feel sure of this and the commentary affords no help. It may be added, that there does not seem to be any historical objection to this account of Mādhava. Śri Harsha in the Khaṇḍana alludes to Śāṅkara,§ but that would not by itself negative the possibility of their having been contemporaries. Of course, this must not be understood as equivalent to an admission that Mādhava's account is wholly trustworthy. Bāṇa and Mayūra, and Dandin who is mentioned with them, are now hardly known as philosophers. But if that account is accepted as meaning that, according to Mādhava, Vâchaspati Miśra flourished in the next generation, or the next generation but one, after Śāṅkarāchārya, it may corroborate the other statement made by Mādhava, about Udayana's having been confuted in controversy by Śāṅkara.

ON THE DATE OF PATANJALI AND THE KING IN Whose Reign He Lived.

By RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE, BOMBAY.

In Patanjali's Mahâbhâshya or great commentary on Pânini, a rule (vârtika) laid down by Kâtyâyan, is given, teaching that the Imperfect should be used to signify an action not witnessed by the speaker but capable of being witnessed by him and known to people in general. Of this rule Patanjali gives two instances;

"The Yavana besieged [aruṇat] Sâketa" and

* Vasavadatta, Pref. p 18 and 17.
† So stated by the author himself in the Naishadhiya. See Dr. Hall's Vâ avadatâ, 16, and in the Khandana, p. 26.
‡ Prof. Wilson quoted in Dr. Hall's Vasavadatta, 15.
§ See the new Calcutta edition by Taranath, p. 168.
|| Dr. Hall's catalogue, p. 26, referred to above.
¶ Madhav, xiv. 157. ** Ibid 141.
† XV. 72, 157. ¶ Xiii. 73.
§ See the Khandana, Calc. ed., p. 2.
"The Yavana besieged [arunat] the Mādhya-mikas." The siege of Sāketa, therefore, must be considered to have been an event capable of being witnessed by the speaker, i.e. by Patanjali himself, in other words, some Yavana king must have besieged Sāketa in Patanjali's time. Sāketa is the usual name for Ayodhyā. Reasoning in this way, the late Prof. Goldstücker arrived at the conclusion that the Yavana here spoken of must have been Menandros, King of Baktria, who is said to have pushed his conquests in India to the river Yamuna. Menandros, according to Prof. Lassen, became king about 144 B.C. Patanjali therefore must have lived about that time.

But there is another passage in Patanjali not noticed by Prof. Goldstücker, in which the name of the king of Pātaliputra, during whose reign he flourished, is given, and which enables us to arrive at the date of the author of the Mahābhāshya in another way and from other data. In his remarks on Pān. III. 2-123, Patanjali quotes a vārtika of Kātyāyana, the meaning of which is "A rule should be made teaching the use of the present tense [lat] to denote an action or undertaking which has been begun but not finished." The examples given by Patanjali are:—"Here we study;" "Here we dwell;" "Here we perform (as priests) the sacrifices (instituted) by Pushpamitra." Then Patanjali asks "How is it that Pānini's rule III. 2-123, (Vartamāne lat), which teaches that the present tense should be used to denote present time, does not extend to these cases?" The answer is, "the time here involved is not present time." How not? This question is answered by Kaiyata, whose gloss upon this runs as follows:—"The phrase 'here we study' means that study has begun but not ended. When the students being engaged in dining and doing such other things do not study they cannot then properly say 'we study' [according to Pān. III. 2-123, i.e., they cannot use the present tense, for it is not study that is then going on, and consequently the time is not present;] hence the rule by Kātyāyana." The sense of the whole is, that when an action, such as that of studying or performing the great sacrifices, spreads over many days, the present tense should be used to denote it, if the action has begun but not ended, even though at the time of speaking the speaker may not be actually performing the action. "Here we sacrifice for Pushpamitra," is Patanjali's example. Now this cannot be an imaginary instance, for such a one would not bring out the distinctive sense that Patanjali wishes to convey, namely, that the action has begun but not ended. This example then expresses a fact; i.e., that at the time Patanjali wrote, there lived a person named Pushpamitra and a great sacrifice was being performed for him and under his orders. If he employed priests to perform the great sacrifices for him he must have been a king; for in the olden days it was Indian kings that propitiated the gods and patronized the Brahmins in this way. The sacrifices were always expensive, and were treated rather as extraordinary festivals than ordinary religious performances. But in another part of the Mahābhāshya we are actually told who this Pushpamitra was. Pānini (in I. 1, 68) tells us that any grammatical change or operation that he may have in his work prescribed in the case of a certain word ought to be made applicable to that word alone and not to what it signifies, or to its synonyms. This, however, does not hold in the case of his own technical terms. Thus, for instance, to form derivatives in a certain sense from the word agni (fire) the termination eya should, he says, be applied to agni. The meaning of this rule should not be stretched so as to make it applicable not only to agni, but to other words also, having the sense of agni. Vahni for instance also means fire but does not take that termination. But in the case of the technical terms of grammar, the change or operation should be effected in the case of the things (which of course are words) signified by that term. Thus, for instance, when he tells us to apply a certain termination to ghu, it is to be applied, not to ghu itself, but to the roots to which the name ghu is given by him. Now Patanjali, after a long discussion of this rule, in the course of which he
shows that it is not wanted, though out of respect for the great Acharya he does not distinctly say so, tells us that there are some sūtras in which the rules given are applicable,—1, sometimes to the synonyms of the words,—2, sometimes to the individuals comprised under the species denoted by the words,—3, sometimes to the words alone, and, sometimes to any two of these three. In these cases some indicatory letters ought, he says, to be attached to the words to show to which, or to which two, of the three categories the rule is to be applied. Then in such rules as II. 4, 23, which teaches that a Tatpurusha compound ending in the word sabbā (court or assembly) preceded by rājan (king) becomes neuter he tells us that j should be attached to rājan and others, to show that the rule is applicable only to the synonyms of Rājan and others, and not to rājan or others themselves, or to the individuals comprised under the species denoted by rājan and others. And the instances he gives to show that it is not applicable to individual rājās or kings are Pushparmitra-sabhā (the assembly or court of Pushparmitra) and Chandragupta-sabhā (the assembly or court of Chandragupta) in which we see that the compound is not neuter but feminine. We thus come to

*Patanjali* विश्वभूमि निति सन्नपति राजापितम. जिन् ज्ञानः दर्शायसि वस्तुबद्ध परिवर्तनमेवावेदात्, किम् प्रक्षे बनम्। राजायन्ते। समराज्यालक्षणाः। इस्मेतोऽर्जुनसम्म, तैयय सम्म, नाशिनेन न भन्ति राजसाम्। काशीराजसाम्। न वनस्पति...पुष्पमित्रसम्म वनस्पतिसमाः।†

† See am.-n-gst others his comments on I-3-2, II-1-16, II-3-26, 111-3-134, and 136 and V-3-57. In the second of these, one of the examples given is भूमिश्वरम् विश्वमर्यादीयः।

Pātaliputra was situated on the banks of the Sóna.

† And I may say the Purāṇas do not mention another king of the same name of any country whatever. The name Pushparmitra does occur elsewhere, but in that case there is no agreement among the Purāṇas. The Vishnu and the Vāyu make it the name of a dynasty and according to the former it was a Bāhuka or foreign dynasty. The Bāhāvata only mentions it as the name of an individual, but this Purāṇa, from the manner in which it has corrupted several names and some facts, is not much to be depended on. See Wilson, *Vish. Pur.* 1st edn. p. 478.

This Pushparmitra is spoken of in the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kalidāsa. Prof. Wilson calls him a general, and Prof. Lassen the general of his son, who is represented in the drama as king of Vīḍāsī. Prof. Lassen, Ind. Antiquitates. (Vol. II. p. 211 and 450) is constrained however by other evidence to admit that he was king; but he thinks he reigned at Vīḍāsī, and that his son was co-regent with him. Prof. Wilson supposes that he usurped the throne for his son rather than for himself. But the first portion of the passage on which they seem to base their conclusions is this:—Devāya senapateh Pushparmitraya sakṣāt...lokāh priyātāḥ. Professor Lassen understands this to mean "a letter has been received from Pushparmitra, the general of the lord (i.e. Agnimitra.)" But who ever heard of a father being Commander-in-Chief to his sons? And immediately after, Pushparmitra

the conclusion that Pushparmitra was the name of a king.

Now we know that the most powerful kingdom during a few centuries before Christ, the sovereigns of which extended their sway over a large portion of India, was that of Magadha, the capital of which was Pātaliputra. And Patanjali so often speaks of this city in his work† that we must infer that he had a great deal to do with Pātaliputra, and perhaps lived there for some time, and that on that account the city and things concerning it were uppermost in his thoughts. The Pushparmitra then that he speaks of in the two cases here pointed out, must have been king of Pātaliputra in his time. And the fact of his being mentioned along with Chandragupta in one of the two cases strengthens this inference. For Chandragupta the Maurya was king of Magadha, and there was no other Chandragupta till several centuries afterwards when the Gupta dynasty came into power.

Now looking into the Purāṇas we find that there was only one king of Magadha of the name of Pushparmitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty, which succeeded the Mauryas.† He was the Commander-in-Chief of Bṛhadratha, the

is represented as about to perform an Aśvamedha sacrifice, which none but kings who pretended to paramount supremacy could institute. In other authorities also it is Pushparmitra that appears as the conqueror or usurper and not his son, and Pushparmitra therefore could not have been his son’s general; nor does Kalidāsa say he was. Agnimitra’s commander-in-chief was Vira-sena, to whom he was more than once represented in the play as issuing orders. The words above quoted are to be thus interpreted. “A letter has been received from the lord Senapati, general,” Pushparmitra’s i.e. the genitive Devāya ought to be taken as an epithet of Pushparmitra, and not as connected with or governed by Senapati. Indeed the title Devāya shows that Pushparmitra was king, for it is applied in the dramatic works to kings only, and there is even a rule to this effect (see Dr. Hall’s *Deśarūpa*, p. 109—Devāya svāmiti rājāpi). And Senapati (general) must have become a distinguishing epithet of Pushparmitra, for he was the general of Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya king. And even in the Vishnu Purāṇa the epithet Senapati seems to have been applied to him somewhat in this way. “Iataḥ Pushparmitrā Śena paścāt Svāminam hatvā rājyaṁ kariṣyāḥ.” The first two kings of the Vaṃśya dynasty in Surāshīra, were called Senapati; nor does it follow from this passage that Vīḍāsī was the capital of Pushparmitra but rather the opposite. For in the letter which he sends to Agnimitra, he invites the latter to come with his wife to be present at the Aśvamedha sacrifice. If Vīḍāsī had been his capital, the sacrifice would have been performed at that city, and no such invitation would have been necessary. It follows, therefore, that some other city was Pushparmitra’s capital, and what other could it have been but Pātaliputra, the capital of the Mauryas whom he had supplanted, and which in the Buddhist account given by M. Burnouf is mentioned as his place of residence. Agnimitra his son may probably have been appointed by him Governor or King of Vīḍāsī, while he himself reigned as supreme monarch at Pātaliputra: for the practice of appointing sons to govern remote provinces existed in the time of the Mauryas. May not Patanjali be alluding to this Aśvamedha sacrifice in the instance quoted in the text.}

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THE DATE OF PATANJALI. 301

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last Maurya king, and usurped the throne after having killed his master. The ten Mauryas are said to have ruled the kingdom for 137 years. The accession of Chandragupta, the first of these ten, has been fixed about 315 B.C. Pushpamitra, therefore, must have raised himself to the throne about 178 B.C. The Mātsya Purāṇa assigns him a reign of 36 years; i.e. from 178 B.C. to 142 B.C. It follows then that Patanjali wrote his comments on Pāṇ. III. 2, 123 some time between these limits. The limits assigned by Dr. Goldstücker, reasoning from the one example he considers, are 140 and 120 B.C. But there is apparently no reason why he should not take into account the earlier years of Menandros’s reign. For, according to Prof. Lassen, Menandros must have become king about 144 B.C. The passage in the Mahābhāṣya, on which I base my conclusion, is not far from the one noticed by Dr. Goldstücker. The latter occurs in the comments on III. 2, 111, while the former in those on III. 2, 123. We thus see that when this portion of the Bhāṣya was written, a Yavana king (who must have been Menandros) had laid siege to Sāketa or Ayodhyā, and Pushpamitra was reigning at Pātaliputra; and if we adhere to Lassen’s chronology these two things could have happened only between 144 B.C. and 142 B.C.; for there is, I think, no reason to distrust the chronology of the Purāṇas here, since the date arrived at from the statements contained in them coincide in a remarkable degree with that determined from the evidence of coins. And even supposing that Prof. Lassen’s date is not quite accurate, it must be admitted that it cannot be very far wrong.

We thus see that Patanjali lived in the reign of Pushpamitra, and that he probably wrote the third chapter of his Bhāṣya between 144 B.C. and 142 B.C. And this agrees with the conclusion drawn by Prof. Goldstücker from a statement in another part of the work that the author of the Mahābhāṣya flourished after the Maurya dynasty was extinct. Since all the passages then, and the different historical events they point to, lead us to about the same period, the date of Patanjali so derived must be regarded as trustworthy, and in the History of Sanskrit Literature it is of great importance.

ON THE VRIHATKATHĀ OF KSHEMENDRA.

By DR. G. BÜHLE.

Amongst the numerous Indian collections of fables the Kathasaritsāgara of Somadeva takes the first place. With its 24,000 stanzas, it surpasses the Hitopadesa, the Panchatantra, the Vēlāpanchavīnā, the Sīhăsamāvalāvīnā and the Sukasaptatī not only in bulk, but it actually includes abstracts or versions of several of these works, as well as of other romances. This latter circumstance would make the Kathasaritsāgara, one of the most important tests for determining the age and development of Indian fables, were it not that peculiar difficulties connected with questions regarding the origin of the ‘Ocean of fable-streams,’ obliged Sanskritists to use it with great caution.

Somadeva, who according to his own statement, composed his work about the beginning of the 12th century A. D. for the amusement or consolation of Queen Sūryavati or Sūryamati, the mother of King Harsha of Kashmir declares that it contains the essence of the Vṛihatkathā, written by one Guṇāđīhya in the Paisāchi Prakrit

*The Buddhist work Avoca Acandana erroneously makes him the successor of Pushvadharman, and the last of the Mauryas. See Burnouf, Introduct. à la Hist. du Bud. I. p. 432; Lassen, Ind. Alt. II. pp. 371, 272, 345, 346.—Ed.
† Vīh. Pur. VI. 24, or Wilson’s translation.
‡ Wilson’s Prīṣā, P. 1st Edn. p. 471. The Brahlmāṇḍa Pāīṣā is a tree with the Mātsya. (See Dr. Hall’s note in his edition.)
§ Various dates have been assigned to the accession of Menandros from B.C. 200 to B.C. 126. But the facts here brought forward may be used as a corrective. The manner in which Patanjali (in the passage alluded to in the next para of the text) contrasts the times in which the Mauryas lived with his own shows that when he wrote, the new unity had completely superseded the old. This may have taken twenty years or more. He could not have said “the Mauryas did such and such a thing, but in these days it is not so,” if he wrote only five or six years after they were displaced. Patanjali therefore may have written the passage as early as B.C. 150. Now in order that about this time Pushpamitra and Menandros should be contemporaries, it is necessary that the date of the accession of the latter should not be pushed higher than about 175 B.C. nor lower than 142 B.C. for Menandros reigned for about 20 years according to all the writers; and the only two dates that fall within these limits are those assigned by Geni. Cunningham, (B.C. 160) and Prof. Lassen. If we take that of the former, the limit between which the third chapter of the Mahābhāṣya was written will be about 158 and 142 B.C. But I have adopted Prof. Lassen’s date as it agrees sufficiently with all the facts.
—literally the dialect of the goblins—and that it differs from its original only in the language and by a condensation of the too prolix narrative.*

After this statement the Kathâpithâ, or introduction to the work, gives the wonderful origin of the tale at great length. (Kath. I. 1–13—I. 8) Śiva, we are told, once narrated to Pârvati the marvellous history of the seven Vidyādhara Chakravartins. He was overheard by one of his attendants, Pushpadanta, who communicated it to his wife Jayâ, a servant of Pârvati. The latter again spread it amongst her fellows and the indiscretion of Pushpadanta soon became known to the divine pair. Pârvati, filled with anger, then cursed Pushpadanta and condemned him, in punishment of his fault, to be born as a mortal. His brother Mâlyavân, who dared to intercede for him, received a like sentence. But when Pârvatî saw Pushpadanta’s wife, her faithful attendant, overwhelmed by distress, she relented so far as to set a term to the effects of her curse. She decreed that, when Pushpadanta, on meeting a goblin or Paisâcha called Kânapâbhûti, in the Windhyas, should remember the great tales and his former birth and should tell them to Kânapâbhûti, he should be delivered from his mortal body. Mâlyavân also should be allowed to return to heaven, when he had heard the Vrihatkathâs from Kânapâbhûti and had spread them on the earth. Agreeably to this order, Pushpadanta was born in Kausâmbi, as Wararuchi Kâtyâyana, and became a great grammarian and the minister of Yogananda, the last of the Nandas. After an eventful life he retired into solitude and on a pilgrimage to the temple of Pârvati Windhyavâsini, he met Kâmabhâti in the forest. He remembered his former life and communicated to the Pišácha the seven ‘great tales.’ Having accomplished this he re-obtained his celestial nature, according to Pârvati’s prediction. Mâlyavân, also, who in his human birth had become Guṇâdhya of Pratishthâna and had served King Sâtavâhana to as minister, came accompanied by his two pupils Guṇadeva and Nandideva, to the dwelling place of Kâna bhûti. He received from him the seven stories in the language of the Pišáchas and wrote them down in 100,000 Ślokas each, with his own blood. By the advice of his pupils, he sent the whole to Sâtavâhana, hoping that the king being a man of taste, might preserve and spread them. But that monarch rejected with disgust a work that was written in the language of the goblins and with blood. On receiving this news Guṇâdhya burnt six of his stories; the seventh was preserved with difficulty through the entreaties of his pupils. King Sâtavâhana, who accidentally learned that the recitation of the remaining book charmed even the beasts of the forest, repented of his former conduct, repaired to Guṇâdhya’s habitation and obtained the M.S. of the remaining story. He studied it with the help of Guṇadeva and Nandideva, and wrote the introduction, detailing its origin, likewise in the language of the Pišáchas.† The book then became one of the stories that are famed in ‘the three worlds.’

This account of the composition of Somadeva’s original, which traces the story from Śiva, through Vararuchi and Kânapâbhûti, to Guṇâdhya, his pupils and Sâtavâhana, looks as if it were purely legendary. Its nature has led Professor H. H. Wilson,§ who first made known Somadeva’s work by an analysis of its contents, Professor H. Brockhaus,|| the editor of the Kathâasaritsâgara, and Professor Lassen,¶ to doubt Somadeva’s assertion, that he worked up an older Prakrit poem. These three scholars are, on the contrary, of opinion that Somadeva collected various works of fiction and digested them into a harmonious whole. Their view was certainly defensible twenty or even ten years ago, when the number of Sanskrit works, generally accessible to European Sanskritists, was not very large. But it is no longer tenable since Dr. F. E. Hall collected, in the introduction to his Vâsavadattâ, a considerable mass of trustworthy evidence, which proves that a Vrihatkathâ in the Paisâcha Prakrit existed, many centuries before Somadeva. The most important witnesses there adduced, are Daqû who mentions a Vrihatkathâ composed in the Bhutabhâshâ, in his Kâryâdarśa, I. 38, and Subandhu who, in the Vâsavadattâ, speaks of a Vrihatkathâ, divided into sections called Lambas.

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* Kathâasaritsâgara, ed. Brockhaus, I. 1. 5.
** Vrihatkathâdâ sārasya samgrahe rachayâmyaham| and I. 1. 10—
† Yathâ mūlam tathaiva iti manâgopayatikramâ| granthavisaratavasamkhepanâtra bhûthâ cha vidyate| Compare for the last line Hall, Vâsavadattâ, Introd. p. 23.
‡ Alia S’âtavâhana or S’âlivâhana.
†† Tâbhûyam saha cha kathân tâmâsvasya [âsvâdyâ?] as

§ S Collected Works III. 189 seq.
|| Kathasaritsâgara, I. p. viii.
¶ Indische Alterth. III. 1084 & IV. 811.
* p. 22-24.
†† Regarding the Paisâcha dialect, see Lassen, Instit. Prakrit. pp. 377 and 439.
The former of these two poets is at least as old as Bānabhaṭṭa, the protegé and court-poet of King Harshavarmanha who lived in the first half of the 7th century, and the latter is certainly older, since Bāna praises his work in the Harshacharita.* It appears to me incontestable, that both Daṇḍi and Subandhu speak of the Vṛihatkathā, which, according to Somadeva’s statement, was the basis of his Kāthāsārītāgāra. For Daṇḍi says that the Vṛihatkathā was composed in the dialect of the goblins, and the Vṛihatkathā which Subandhu knew was divided into Lambas, just as Somadeva’s work is made up of Lambhas. On this evidence it may, therefore, be safely asserted, that Somadeva’s statement, that he translated and abbreviated a Vṛihatkathā written in the low popular dialect, to which the writers on Alaśkāra and grammar give the name Paiśāchi, deserves full credit,† and it is highly probable that Somadeva’s original was in existence at least 1,300 years ago. But it remains an open question whether Guṇāḷhya was really the author of the old Vṛihatkathā and whether he merely contented himself with abridging it, or whether he embellished it by additions of his own—a point which is of the highest importance in determining the value of his book for the history of the Sanskrit fabula books.

It gives me great satisfaction, that by the recovery of the Vṛihatkathā of Kshemendra, I am able fully to corroborate the above conclusions, which are based on Dr. F. E. Hall’s researches, and to determine more accurately the value of Somadeva’s book. I lately acquired for the Government of Bombay a MS., the colophon of which runs as follows: “itte vyāsa-dāsā-parākhya-kṣemendra-viravirāchitā vṛihatkathā samprāṇaḥ, granthasau [khyā] 7080, Samvat 1742 varṣhe bhāṣad-vanapasaṇe ṛuklapakṣhe 11 guruvārā samāptaḥ | śrisivam astuḥ | śrīrāma, i.e.—Thus the Vṛihatkathā composed by Kshemendra called Vyāsadāsapaṇa is completed. Number of granthas (16 syllables) 7080, Samvat 1742 (A.D. 1685) etc. According to the Anukramaṇikā or Index, which apparently was made by the poet himself, it should contain the following Lambhiukas or sections:

6. Śūryaprabhā. 15. Alaiṅkāravatī.
7. Maṇḍanamanchukā. 16. Śaktiyāsas.

Actually however I find only lambhas I—IX. and XIV—XVIII. and among these lambha IX. is incomplete.‡

The names of the Lambhas of Kshemendra’s story, though the order is changed, correspond exactly to those of the Lambkas of the Kathāsarītāgāra and the contents of the sections of the Vṛihatkathā, as far as I have compared them, are almost identical with those of the corresponding chapters of the Kāthāsārītāgāra. Kshemendra writes in the Anushtubh metre like Somadeva. But he does not know the division of the Lambhas into Tarangas. His style is not so flowing as Somadeva’s and in his excessive eagerness for brevity, he sometimes becomes obscure. In order to give an idea of Kshemendra’s manner of narrating, I subjoin the part of the Kathāpitha, which corresponds to Kāthāsārītāgāra, I. 4. 1—92.*

† I may mention that Paṇḍit Premchandra Tarkavāgis’ā, the editor of the Kavyākāra, holds the same opinion, vide his gloss on K. I. 38.
‡ Regarding the identity of Śāṭavāhana and Śālivāhana, see Wilson, Coll. Works, III. 181, note. Weber, Hondafronta, p. 2. sed.
§ If I speak of the recovery of this work, I mean simply that, as far as I know, no other copy of the book is accessible to European Sanskritists. The work seems to have been in the hands of Prof. Wilson’s pandits. See Aufrecht, Oxford Catalogue, p. 84a.
* Kathāp. fol. 1–22; Kathāv. 22–44; Lāvān 44–65; Naravāhā 65–73; Chaturd. 73–85; Śūryap. 85–99; Madanam. 98–130; Vellā 130–134; Saṅkāriv. 134–256, where a break occurs: Ratnap. 1–26; Aṃlak. 26–45; Śaṅtī, 45–78; Mahārājyābh. 78–81; Suratamanjari, 81–92. The last page 94 is again numbered 330.
* Vṛihatkathā, fol. 95a, l. 6—
"ittvṛūtavāgarvidyāhprāpyasarvāh sukhoṣitah | avāpamukākos’khyāya-manvatvaparavaguroṣu sūtām | 1| 1 || upakāsam-anārāvyahānabākatvajñanānān | anarāsanirākṣyabhāvanabhājanaṇaṇaṣaṣṭakamām padpām | 1| 2 || vyākhyadattasakhte saraṇeṣāyaṃ mayivisṛute | pāśīnīrṇāma varshasya śūṣṇyāḥ purvasa jādāsya āyaṇ || 3 || tapasā s’ankarāpraptavya navana vākyakarṣayam va’vā || 3| 5 ||

† Mahārājyābhishekhaḥ ca paśc’ḥatauratamanjariḥ—fol. 349a (92a) līne 2 seq.
∥ Kathāp., fol. 1–22; Kathāv., 22–44; Lāvān, 44–65; Naravāhanā 65–73; Chaturd. 73–85; Śūryap. 85–99; Madanam. 98–130; Vellā 130–134; Saṅkāriv. 134–256, where a break occurs: Ratnap. 1–26; Aṃlak. 26–45; Śaṅtī, 45–78; Mahārājyābh. 78–81; Suratamanjari, 81–92. The last page 94 is again numbered 330.
∥ Vṛihatkathā, fol. 95a, l. 6—
"itt’vṛūtavāgarvidyāhprāpya sarvaḥsukhoṣitah | avāpamukākos’khyāya-manvatvaparavaguroṣu sūtām | 1| 1 || upakāsam-anārāvyahānabākatvajñanānān | anarāsanirākṣyabhāvanabhājanaṇaṇaṣaṣṭakamām padpām | 1| 2 || vyākhyadattasakhte saraṇeṣāyaṃ mayivisṛute | pāśīnīrṇāma varshasya śūṣṇyāḥ purvasa jādāsya āyaṇ || 3 || tapasā s’ankarāpraptavya navana vākyakarṣayam va’vā || 3| 5 ||
∥ mahārājyābhishekhaḥ ca paśc’ḥatauratamanjariḥ—fol. 349a (92a) līne 2 seq.
∥ Kathāp., fol. 1–22; Kathāv., 22–44; Lāvān, 44–65; Naravāhanā 65–73; Chaturd. 73–85; Śūryap. 85–99; Madanam. 98–130; Vellā 130–134; Saṅkāriv. 134–256, where a break occurs: Ratnap. 1–26; Aṃlak. 26–45; Śaṅtī, 45–78; Mahārājyābh. 78–81; Suratamanjari, 81–92. The last page 94 is again numbered 330.
Having heard this (story of the origin of Pātaliputra) and having received all sciences from my teacher, I, (Vararuci) who dwelt at my ease, obtained in marriage the daughter of Guru Upavarsa, called Upakosā. After I married Upakosā, whose eyes resembled blue lotuses, I became the empire over which Cupid rules and a vessel of all happiness. Whilst I, living in the company of Vyādi and Indrādaṭṭha acquired the name of omniscience, a pupil of Varsha, Pāṇini by name, who was formerly a blockhead, obtained by virtue of his austeritys, keeping his senses in subjection, a new grammar from Śiva. Disputing with me for eight days, he proved himself an opponent of equal force. When I conquered him at the end of that period, Hara, bewildering me by a growl, bereft me, through anger, of the recollection of Indra's grammar. After I had suddenly forgotten that work, I resolved to perform austerities in order to obtain the sight of Bharga who is the destroyer of Cupid and the wish-fulfilling husband of Parvati, and I placed money for the household expenses in the hands of a neighbour, a Vājī called Hīranyāgupta. After I was gone my faithful Upakosā, though left alone in the beauty of her fresh youth, being versed in the Vedas, performed the vow which is becoming for wives whose husbands are absent. Time passed on and on the young foujdar of the king* the domestic priest, and the minister saw that beauty with the swan-like gait, who bathed daily and played with the thick spray which had the appearance of a thin and transparent garment, whose broad hips resembled sandbanks, who was dark-blue in colour, whose eyes had the appearance of newly opened lotuses and who was a bud of Cupid, going like Yamunā to the Ganges.† Gazing at her all three fell in love with her and stood apart from each other.

* Dandāvāsika is elsewhere explained to mean 'door keepers,' but Kṣemendra always has it where Somadeva gives dandāvāsikā.

† It seems to me impossible to express in English the pens contained in each of the epithets given to Upakoṣā. They are chosen in such a manner that with a different interpretation they apply to Yamunā also.
the son of the minister said to her—'Love me.' She, who had finished bathing, seeing that night had come, became afraid and spoke to him, 'Be it so, on the third day at night-fall I will meet you secretly.' Speaking thus to him, she went. After leaving him she addressed the domestic priest to this effect, 'On the third day hence, in the second watch of the night, I shall be at your disposal.' Turning away from him she said to the foujdar, 'On the third day hence, in the third watch of the night I am ready to do your will.' After she had made this assignation, she let her go and she went home, filling as it were, by her frightened glances, the sky with lotuses.

Being in want of her husband's money she tried to remedy its concealment (by the banker). But Hiranyagupta asked her for an assignation in her house. She said to him, 'On the third day hence, at the end of the night, I will obey thee, what harm is there (in my doing it)?' She told that story to her domestics. When the third day had come, the excellent minister, trembling and having lost all control over himself, entered in the night her house, where the lamps had been extinguished. Upakośā called him by his name and said, 'On you I have placed my affection.' At her order he entered a dark room in the interior of the house. There the servant-maids smeared for a long time the limbs of the lover with a soft unguent consisting of oil and lamp-soot. But, when in the second watch of the night the domestic priest came in haste, Upakośā showed to the (first lover) an open wooden box, said 'Enter, enter quickly here comes the master of the house,' and made him enter it. Closing it with an iron bolt, she said to the domestic priest, 'You must not touch me without having bathed.' He also was treated in the same manner (as the first lover). When he had been anointed with oil and soot, the third also came. Forsooth, who escapes being deceived and made a fool of by the rogue Cupid! After the priest, overwhelmed with fear, had been disposed of in the same box (as the first lover), the third also, in his turn, was made to resemble a goblin. At the end of the night the excellent Vāniā Hiranyagupta arrived, and the foujdar was concealed likewise in the wooden-box. Then Upakośā, facing the box, spoke to the Vāniā, who was sitting at his ease on an excellent seat, 'Give me the deposit.' Hiranyagupta replied, 'Love me, sweet smiling one. I have the money, fair-browed one, which your husband deposited with me.' Hearing this she exclaimed in a loud voice, 'Hear ye deities of the house, be witnesses, ye gob...
ately after the enumeration of the lambhas, given above.

Áchārya of the Bhāgavatas." He further narrates
taking the Vrihatkathā in hand, in the following
lesson Brahmans, who gave on the occasion of
the dust of the lotus feet of Soma, the illustrious
rāyanah thereceived the highest happiness through
cessors. "Sarva proclaimedit first; Kāmabhūti
maining statements are merely a recapitulation
him the Vrihatkathā, attributed to Gunādhya
the fact that Kshemendra actually had before
given above according to Somadeva. But in the
reason it has been rewritten in Sanskrit."

Though Kshemendra is fuller in his statements
about himself than Sanskrit poets usually are, still it is difficult to fix his age even approxi-
mately. His Vrihatkathā is quoted in
Dhanika’s commentary on the Daśārūpa and
by Dhunḍhirāja on the Mudrārākshasa. If we
could trust the quotation in Dhanika’s Avaloka,
we should obtain a respectable age for Khe-
mendra. For, as Dhanika lived under Manor, it
would follow that Kshemendra lived not later
than in the beginning of the 10th century. But
unfortunately, the passage of the Avaloka in
which the quotation occurs, is given by only
one of Dr. Hall’s MSS. The other two omit
these verses. It may therefore be an interpol-
ation. The quotation by Dhunḍhirāja and
another in the Sāṃgadharapaddhati do not
carry us beyond the 14th century. None of
the personages mentioned by Kshemendra are
known except his teacher Abhinava-gupta. The
latter is cited as an authority on Alankāra
by Mallinātha and Mammata and Sāṃgadave.
He therefore appears to have been known in
the 12th century.]

Whilst it is thus impossible to decide with the
certainty the question of priority between the

month, he was possessed of taste was asked by
the pure-minded Brahman Rāmāyasa, and
thinking over the story in his mind, he composed
for the delight of clever persons this river flowing
with nectar. He composed this amusing story
at the order of the omniscient Devadhara, who
had obtained royalty over the Brahmans.”

The reading dhūtā is in the last line for kritā is
evidently the better one. Chāpikya for Chāpihka,
is a mistake of the copyist who, being a Gujarāti,
saw no difference between a and i.

An Abhinavagupta is also known as one of the teachers
of a sect of Saivas. A work of his is mentioned by Hall,
vide Berlin Catalogue, no. 804.

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ation. The quotation by Dhunḍhirāja and
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the 12th century.]

Whilst it is thus impossible to decide with the
certainty the question of priority between the

kadhīdevā viprena dvādasayūnamapunāsitaś ||
prātihātīdaśasvāsāsamvāchhachataś ||
kathāṃ etam asmiyāya dīnasūri viplavāhakahā ||
vidadhe vibudhānanda suhdhāyandataranginiṃ ||
as śrīvedadharāṅkhāryasa dhv ripaṣadapaidhiteś ān (sūgū M.) ||
sarvaśūre yaśayā chakre kathāṃ etām vinodiniūm.||
I am far from considering the emendations in the last
sloka as certain.

See F. E. Hall, Vāsavadattā, Introd. p. 55 and Darśār-
peka, p. 61. The lines quoted by Hall are thus rendered
by my MS. fol. 17a. 6–

Chāpikyanāmaṃ tenāthā s'akutālaśchīhri rahasā ||
kṛtyāṃ vidhāya saptāhāt saputo nihaṭā nipaiā ||
yogayā yevasā śye spruvenāsāsūtastataś ||
chandragupto dhrto rāîye chāpihkye mahasāsaś ||

Chandragupta is the son of Wallabhāchārya (16th century).

By my MS. fol. 17a. 6–

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the better one. Chāpihkya for Chāpihka, is a mistake of
the copyist who, being a Gujarāti, saw no difference
between a and i.

§ A prakāśa by Kshemendra a Kashmirian, is quoted by
Purseottama, the son of Vallabha-chāhārya (16th century).

The work may possibly be the Lokaprakāśa, written by a Kshemendra, pupil of Vyāsa;
vide Berlin Catalogue, no. 804.

An Abhinavagupta is also known as one of the teachers
of a sect of Saivas. A work of his is mentioned by Hall,
vide Catalogue, p. 199, as well as several works by a pupil of this Sāiva
called Kshemendra. It is not unlikely that Kshemendra
may be the same as Kshemendra. But as the works quoted,
by Dr. Hall, are not accessible to me, I leave the question
undecided.
Vṛihatkathā and the Kathāsaritsāgara, I think we shall be more fortunate in regard to the clearing up of another point, viz., whether either of the two poets used the other's composition, or whether they both worked up independently the lost poem attributed to Guṇāḍhyā. On this point we have first their statements, which affirm distinctly that each had before him a Prakrit original, not a Sanskrit one. A number of other circumstances corroborate the truth of this assertion. In the first place it seems to me impossible that Somadeva could have used Kṣemendra's work. In very many passages the latter gives so short and undefined an outline of the narrative, that it would go beyond the power of anybody to construct out of that the connected and clear story given by Somadeva. One example of this kind is contained in the portion of this kathā, translated above, where all details about Upakośā's and Vararuchi's first acquaintance and marriage are left out. Other instances from the Kathāpithā—the only portion of the two poems which I have carefully compared—are,

1. Kathāsaritsāgara I.2, 8-23, gives a full account of how Kāṇabhūti learned the reason why, in consequence of a curse, he became a Yaksha, by overhearing a conversation between Śiva and Pārvaṭī; the Vṛihatkathā states briefly, that Kāṇabhūti heard Śiva, who haunts burial-places, tell the reason of his being cursed, but omits to mention with whom Śiva conversed, nor does it give the story explaining why Śiva dwells in burial-places.

2. The Kathāsaritsāgara, (I.3, 4-22), gives a full account of the descent of Putraka, the founder of Pātaliputra, how his father and uncles were born at Kanakhala, migrated to Rājagriha, and then to Chinchini, married the three daughters of Bhojika and finally left them, and how one of the forsaken wives was delivered of Putraka. Instead of this story the Vṛihatkathā states drily, 'During a great drought, three brothers, Brahmans, forsook their three wives and went to another country. In time one of the wives, who was pregnant, bore a son.†

3. Further on in the same story of Putraka, the legend of Brahmadatta is left out by Kṣemendra.

4. In the same story the Kathāsaritsāgara relates that Putraka puts up in the house of an old woman, during his stay at Ākārshikā. The Vṛihatkathā calls the town Ayājñikā and leaves out the particular circumstance alluded to. But it gives a long description of Maya, the daughter of Mahendravarman and the embarrassment and doubts experienced by Putraka, when he first saw her asleep. The conversation of the two watchmen, whose stanza decides him to awake the sleeping beauty is given, but differs from that of the Kathāsaritsāgara.‡

I could easily add a dozen other instances, where particulars given in the Kathāsaritsāgara, are hinted at but not developed in the Vṛihatkathā. It seems to me, however, that those adduced will suffice to show that Somadeva worked on something else than Kṣemendra's poem.

On the other hand, it is not likely that Kṣemendra used Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara. For he differs from the latter work frequently in a manner which seems to indicate that his statements are not mere fanciful alterations of Somadeva's narrative. In several passages, where such differences occur, Kṣemendra's statements are more sober and simpler than Somadeva's. Thus, whilst in the passage regarding Pāṇini's and Vararuchi's disputation, Somadeva says that 'Śiva standing in the clouds gave a great growl and thereby the grammar of Indra (defended by Vararuchi) disappeared from the world,' Kṣemendra contents himself with saying 'that the growl of Śiva confused Vararuchi and made him forget the grammar of Indra.' Further on in the same story Somadeva tells us, that 'Vararuchi obtained a revelation of Pāṇini's grammar from Śiva and the permission to complete it by adding the
Vārttikas.* Kshemendra merely states, that 'Vararuchi, through the grace of Śambhu, recollected the grammar (i.e., that of Indra).’ Again in the story of Putraka, Somadeva states that 'Yogananda saw his queen asking a Brahman guest (about what is not said) and became jealous.' Kshemendra says that the queen asked a Brahman about the lunar day (tithīpāsā evājñānam bāhūsamānām). Now this looks exactly as if Somadeva had had before him a bad MS. which contained the syllables ‘tithi’ and as if, not understanding their real meaning he had made the word atithi out of them and referred that to the Brahman.

All these circumstances make the statements of Somadeva and Kshemendra, that they remodelled a Prakrit original, perfectly credible. But if that is granted, the recovery of Kshemendra’s work furnishes us with a powerful instrument for determining the exact contents of the old Paisachi Vrihatkathā. The old Vrihatkathā having been reconstructed, we shall further obtain important results for the history of those works, which like the Panchaśāstra, the Viṣṇu Pancha Viṣṇu are embodied in it. For Gunadhya’s Vrihatkathā possessed certainly a higher antiquity than the Persian or Mongolian translations of those fable-books. I must defer the exploration of the portions of Kshemendra’s work, which contain these stories books, until later; but I may state now that the Vrihatkathā includes them just as well as the Kathāsārasāgara.

AN INTERESTING PASSAGE IN KUMĀRILA BHĀṬṬA’S TANTRAVĀRTTIKA.

By A. C. BURNELL, M.C.S., M.R.A.S., MANGALORE.

The most famous Mīmāṃsā treatise existing in India, is Kumārila Bhāṭṭa’s Tantravārtti, a commentary on the Jaiminiśtras, but supplementary to Śabara’s Bhāṣya. It seems uncertain if this work exists in a complete form, but the examination of a number of MSS. leads me to the conclusions arrived at by Dr. F. E. Hall, that the chief divisions bear distinct names, improbable though this may seem:]

Granted the premises, it is a very subtle and well-reasoned treatise, but since Dr. Goldstücker is no more, it is little likely to attract attention in England or India. Among a mass of arguments which are neither interesting nor of any importance, there are however casual notices of customs, races, and languages, that certainly deserve excerpting. Prof. Max Müller has already given one relating to the Buddhists, but the following which, I believe, is the earliest known mention (in Sanskrit) of the Dravidian languages has passed unnoticed. Kumārila-Bhāṭṭa lived at the end of the seventh century A.D. so it is interesting to remark that the words he mentions are still good current Tamil words, and his evident acquaintance with

* Kath. I. 4-88.
† Kathās. I. 6, 88.
‡ According to the conflicting statements of the grammarians either form is possible. See Lassen, Inst. Prak. 439 & 440.
this South Indian dialect is worth notice, as he is said to have been a native of the South. The passages which follow are from the annotations on pāda 10th of the 3rd pāda of the first lecture, and the subject of discussion is:—

Ye brāhmaṇa nātisṛtaḥ: śravaṇaśrivagīśirśaṇamḥ.

Tevāṃ suṣṭhaṇdhiśero yāsti pāṭṣhā ṇātivānaiśvaitiṃ.

'It is now considered:—(as regards) words which are not known to the inhabitants of Arāvārta, if they have a meaning known to the Mlechchha is that to be accepted or not?'

Kumārila suggests (but only to reject thenotion) that by application of affixes, &c. it may be possible to convert them into Sanskrit words, and he gives the following examples:—

\[\text{ā satā afāzī, 'Ṭūśāāśūait ānīāsāīsāīārārifārāI.} \]

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The first word chor, is the Tamil coru, and means (as Kumārila states) 'boiled rice;' nāder = way, is the Tamil nādi; so pāmp = snake, is perfectly correct, and āl = person, āl = person, and vair = vāyiru, the belly—are common Tamil words and their meanings are correctly given. It must however be remarked that the consonantal terminations of chor, pāmp, and vair, have now assumed a vowel ending, which is written u, but is pronounced in a vague and indeterminate manner.

There can be little doubt that Bhaṭṭa Kumārila regarded the South Indian (Dravidian) dialects as Mlechchha or unbrahmanic, uncivilized languages; he does not say so expressly, but his words imply that he thought so. It is not to assume too much therefore if we infer that about 700 A.D. brahmanical civilization had but little penetrated the South of India. Brahmans had, no doubt, begun to find the South a promising field of labour, but there could have been very few settlers. Hiwen Thsang, who visited the Telugu and Tamil countries in 639-40 A.D., mentions that the inhabitants were chiefly Nirgranthas (i.e. Digambara Jains),§ he mentions a few Buddhists, but has not a word about Brahmans.||

The vague term by which the Tamil language is mentioned—Andhra drāvid abhāśā is remarkable, as it indicates that a systematic study of the so-called Dravidian languages can hardly have begun in the 8th century. The Sanskrit grammar of Telugu (there called Andhra) by Nānayya (a Brahman) is to be attributed to the 10th century, and the Śabdamāṇiṣadrāpaṇa, a Canarese grammar which displays a very large acquaintance by its author with Sanskrit grammar is to be attributed to about the same time. All earlier civilization in Southern India, so far as it is known, is connected with the Jains. Drāviḍa is not in use as the name of a language; since Dr. Caldwell's Comparative
Grammar appeared, it is technically used to designate the South Indian family of languages.

The last few words mention the Pārāsika Yavana, Romāka and Barbarā languages. The first three, it is almost unnecessary to remark, are Persian, Greek, and Roman (Latin); what language is intended by Barbarā is not easy to say. The Greek word βαρβάρος is here not to be thought of*; it may perhaps be intended for Bod-pa, Tibetan, or for Burmese, which (if I recollect rightly) is called properly Mrāmmā.

At all events, in addition to the proofs furnished by the Astronomical treatises, this list of languages will show that the Brahmans knew much more of foreigners than is commonly supposed, or they indeed have ever been willing to admit.

There is another reason for believing that Southern India was brahmanized but comparatively recently, and this is taken from the Nībandhas or law-digests. In most of these we find a chapter termed Deśānirṇāya, and in the Smṛitichandrikā which belongs to about the 10th century A.D. this is pretty full. The country of the Brahmans, as is well known, originally comprised but a small part of the vast peninsula now known by the name of India, (conf. Mānava-Dh. Ś. i, 17 and fig.), and at the time the Digests were compiled the lawyers had to determine how far the laws of Āryāvarta and Brahmāvarta held good in other countries. In the end they are obliged to admit that people must follow the customs that prevail where they live; the question had evidently arisen very recently. I do not mean to deny for a moment that a few Sanskrit names are found some centuries earlier in South India, such as are preserved to us by classical writers, but they occur only in the fertile deltas or important seaports of the South, and were probably introduced by Buddhist missionaries. Indeed the process is so slow that the brahmanization of wild tribes in Central and South India is going on to this day, and is yet far from complete.

Mangalore, 11th August 1872.

SKETCHES OF MATHURĀ.

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IV.—BARŚANA AND NANDGANW.

BARSANA, according to modern Hindu belief the home of Krishna’s favourite mistress Rādhā, is a town which enjoyed a brief period of great prosperity about the middle of last century. It is built at the foot and on the slope of a ridge, originally dedicated to the god Brahma, which rises abruptly from the plain, near the Bharatpur border of the Chhátá Pargana, to a height of some 200 feet at its extreme point, and runs in a south-westerly direction for about a quarter of a mile. Its summit is crowned by a series of temples in honour of Lāṭī Ji, a local title of Rādhā, meaning ‘the beloved.’ These were all erected at intervals within the last 200 years and now form a connected mass of building with a lofty wall enclosing the court in which they stand, each of the successive shrines was on a somewhat grander scale than its predecessor, and was for a time honoured with the presence of the divinity. But even the last and largest, in which she is now enthroned, is an edifice of no special pretension; though seated, as it is, on the very brow of the rock, and seen in conjunction with the earlier buildings, it forms an imposing feature in the landscape to the spectator from the plain below. A long flight of stone-steps, broken about halfway by a temple in honour of Rādhā’s grandfather, Mahābhān, leads down from the summit to the foot of the hill, where is another temple-court, containing a lifesize image of the mythical Brikha-bhān robed in appropriate costume and supported on the one side by his daughter Rādhā, and on the other by Srīdāma, a Paurāṇik character, here for the nonce represented as her brother.

The town consists almost entirely of magnificent mansions all in ruins, and lofty but crumbling walls now enclosing vast, desolate, dusty areas, which once were busy courts and markets, or secluded pleasure grounds. All date from the time of Rūp Rām, a Katāra Brāhman, who having acquired great reputation as a pandit in the earlier part of last century, became Purohit to Bharatpur, Sindīha, and Holkar, and was enriched by those princes with the most lavish donations, the whole of which he appears to have expended on the embellishment of Barsāna and the other sacred places within the limits of Brāj, his native

* Though Fick (Indogerm. Wörterb.) 2nd edn. considers that the Sanskrit word is borrowed from the Greek.
country. Before his time Barsána, if inhabited at all, was a mere hamlet of the adjoining village Unchá-gáw, which now under its Gújar landlords is a mean and miserable place, though it boasts the remains of a fort and an ancient and well-endowed temple, dedicated to Baldeva. Rúp Rá́m was the founder of one of the now superseded temples of Lárjí-Ji, with the stone staircase up the side of the hill. He also constructed the largest market-place in the town with as many, it is said, as 64 walled gardens; a princely mansion for his own residence; several small temples and chapels and other courts and pavilions. One of the latter, a handsome arched building of carved stone, has for some years past been occupied by the Government as a police station without any award of compensation, though the present representative of the family is living on the spot and is an absolute pauper. Three chhattris, commemorating Rúp Rá́m himself and two of his immediate relatives, stand by the side of a large stone tank with broad flights of steps and flanking towers, which he restored and brought into its present shape. This is esteemed sacred and commonly called Bhánokhar, that is, the tank of Brikha-bhá́n, Rá́dhá's reputed father.

In connection with it is a smaller reservoir, named after her mother Kirat. On the margin of the Bhánokhar is a pleasure-house in three stories, known as the Jal-mahall. It is supported on a series of vaulted colonnades which open direct on to the water, for the convenience of the ladies of the family, who were thus enabled to bathe in perfect seclusion, as the two tanks and the palace are all enclosed in one court-yard by a lofty bastioned and embattled wall with tower-like gateways. Besides these works, Rúp Rá́m also constructed another large masonry tank for the convenience of a hamlet in the neighbourhood, which he settled and called after his own name Rúp-nagar; and on the opposite side of the town, in the village of Gházipur, faced with octagonal stone gháts, the sacred lake called Prem Sarovar.

Opposite the latter is a walled garden with an elegant domed monument in the form of a Greek cross to his brother Hem-rá́j.

Contemporary with Rúp Rá́m, two other wealthy families resided at Barsána and were his rivals in magnificence. The head of the one family was Mohan Rá́m, a Lávaniya Brá́hman; and of the other Lá́ljí, a Jantia Thá́kur. It is said that the latter was by birth merely a common labourer, who went off to Lakhnau to make his fortune. There he became first a Harkárá, then a Jamadár, and eventually the leading favourite at court. Towards the close of his life he begged permission to return to his native place and there leave some permanent memorial of the royal favour. The Nawá́b not only granted the request, but further presented him with carte blanche on the State Treasury for the prosecution of his designs. Besides the stately mansion now much dilapidated, he constructed a large bádi still in excellent preservation, and two wells sunk at great expense in sandy tracts where previously all irrigation had been impracticable.

The sacred tank on the outskirts of the town called Priya-kund, or Piri-pokhar, was faced with stone by the Lávaniyas; who are further commemorated by a large Katra, or market place, the ruins of the vast and elaborate mansion where they resided, and by elegant stone chhattris at the foot of the hill. They held office under the Rá́ja of Bharatpur, and their present representative, Rá́m Náráyan, is now Táhsildár of Káma in that territory.

Barsána had scarcely been built, when by the fortune of war it was destroyed beyond all hope of restoration. In 1774 A.D., the Ját, who had advanced upon Delhi in support of the cause of Zábita Khán, and in consequence of ill-success were returning to their own country, were met at Hodal in Gurgáñw by Najaf Khán hastening up from Agra. Dislodged from their position, they fell back upon Kotban and Kosi, where they remained for nearly a fortnight, and then finally withdrew towards Dig, but at Barsána were overtaken by the Vázír and a pitched battle ensued. The Ját Infantry, 5000 strong, were commanded by Sumroo, or to give him his true European designation, Walter Reinhard, a celebrated adventurer who had first taken service under Súraj Mal, and was still with his son Naval Sinh, the then Rája of Bharatpur. The ranks of the Imperialists were broken by his gallant attack, and the Játs feeling assured of victory were following in reckless disorder; when the enemy rallying from their sudden panic turned upon their pursuers, who were too scattered to offer any solid resistance and effectually routed them. They contrived however to make good their retreat to Dig; while the town of Barsána was given over to plunder and the stately mansions, so recently erected there, were reduced to their present state of ruin in the search for hidden treasure. Naval Sinh died some twenty days after the battle, but whether in consequence of wounds there received
Is not certainly known. He was succeeded by his brother Ranjit Siīh; but the whole country had been so thoroughly subjugated, that the title was at first merely a barren honour. It was only at the intercession of Sūraj Mal’s widow, the Râni Kishori, that the conqueror allowed the new Râjâ to retain the Fort of Bharatpur with an extent of territory yielding an annual income of nine lakhs. Barsâna never recovered from this blow, and in 1812 sustained a further misfortune, when the Gaurna Thákurs, its Zamin-dârs, being in circumstances of difficulty, and probably distrustful of the stability of British rule, then only recently established, were mad enough to transfer their whole estate to the oft-quoted Lâlâ Bâbû for the paltry sum of Rs. 602 and the condition of holding land on rather more favourable terms than other tenants. The parish now yields Government an annual rental of Rs. 3109, and the absentee landlords about as much, while it receives nothing from them in return, though their donations for charitable purposes in the neighbourhood of their own home in Bengal are often on a magnificent scale. Thus the appearance now presented by Barsâna is a most forlorn and melancholy one.

The hill is still to a limited extent known as Brahmakâ-pahâr or Brahma’s hill: and hence it may be inferred with certainty that Barsâna is a corruption of the Sanskrit compound Brahma-sânu, which bears the same meaning. Its four prominent peaks are regarded as emblematic of the four-faced divinity and are each crowned with some building; the first with the group of temples dedicated to Lâpî Ji, the other three with smaller edifices, known respectively as the Mân-Mandir, the Dân-garh and the Mor-Kutti. A second hill of less extent and elevation completes the amphitheatre in which the town is set, and the space between the two ranges gradually contracts to a narrow path which barely allows a single traveller on foot to pass between the shelving crags that tower above him on either side. This pass is famous as the Sânkari-khor, literally “the narrow opening” and is the scene of a melâ in the month of Bhadon, often attended as many as 10,000 people. The crowds divide according to their sex, and cluster about the rocks round two little shrines erected on either side of the ravine for the temporary reception of figures of Râdhá and Krishna, and indulge to their heart’s content in all the licentious banter appropriate to the occasion. At the other mouth of the pass is a deep dell between the two high peaks of the Mân-Mandir and the Mor-Kutti with a masonry tank in the centre of a dense thicket called the Gahrwarban; and a principal feature in the diversions of the day is the scrambling of sweetmeats by the better class of visitors, seated on the terraces of the Peacock-Pavilion above, among the multitudes that throng the margin of the tank some 150 feet below.

The essentially Hindi form of the title Lâpî, equivalent to the Sanskrit Lalitâ, may be taken as an indication of the modern growth of the local cultus. Even in the Brahma Vaivarta, the last of the Puránas, and the one specially devoted to Râdhá’s praises, there is no authority for any such appellation, though it gives a professedly exhaustive list of her titles, which are 16 in number and as follows:—

Râdhá, Râsesvari, Râsâväsini, Râukâvari, Kinshâa-pânâdlhikâ, Kinshâa-priyâ, Kinshâa-svarâpîni, Kinshâa, Vrindâ-vani, Vrindâ, Vrindâvanalîni,
Chandrâvati, Chandra-Kântâ, Sata-chandra-nibhânana,
Kinshâa-vâmânga-sambhûtâ, Paramânanda-rûpini.

Nând-gânw, as the reputed home of Krishnâ’s foster-father, with its spacious temple of Nand Râe Ji on the brow of the hill overlooking the village, is in all respects an exact parallel to Barsâna. The distance between the two places is only 5 miles, and when the naikâra is beaten at the one, it can be heard at the other. The temple of Nand Râe, though large, is in a clumsy style of architecture and apparently dates only from the middle of last century. Its founder is said to have been one Rup Siīh, a Sinsinwâr Jât. It consists of an open nave, with choir and sacristy beyond, the latter being flanked on either side by a Raso and a Sej-mahall, and has two towers, or sikharas. It stands in the centre of a paved court-yard, surrounded by a lofty wall with corner kiosks, which command a very extensive view of the Bharatpur hills and the level expanse of the Mathurâ district as far as Gobardhan. The village which clusters at the foot and on the slope of the rock is for the most part of a mean description, but contains a few handsome houses, more especially one erected by

Chintâ-Khori Kundi, corresponding to the more common Sanskrit compound Chinta-harana.
the famous Rúp Rám of Barsána. With the exception of one temple dedicated to Manás Devi, all the remainder bear some title of the one popular divinity, such as Nar-síňha, Gopini-šáśti, Nritya-Gopál, Giri-dhán, Nanda-nandan, Rádhá-Mohan and Jásodá-nandan. This last is on a larger scale than the others, and stands in a courtyard of its own, half way up the hill. It is much in the same style and apparently of the same date as the temple of Nand-Ráe, or probably a little older. A flight of 114 broad steps, constructed of well-wrought stone from the Bharatpur quarries, leads from the level of the plain up to the steep and narrow street which terminates at the main entrance of the great temple. This staircase was made at the cost of Bābū Gámi Prasád of Calcutta in the year 1818 A.D. At the foot of the hill is a large unfinished square with a range of stone buildings on one side for the accommodation of dealers and pilgrims, and at the back is an extensive garden with some fine khirni trees, the property of the Rájá of Bharatpur. A little beyond this is the sacred lake called Pán Sarovar, a magnificent sheet of water with noble masonry Gháts on all its sides, the work of one of the Rájás of Bairdván. This is one of the four lakes of highest repute in Braj; the others being the Chandrasarovar at Parsoli by Gobardhan, the Prem-sarovar at Ama in the Máṭ Pargana. According to popular belief there are within the limits of Nand-gáów no less than 56 kunds; though it is admitted that in this degenerate age all of them are not readily visible. In every instance the name is commemorative of Krishna and his pastoral occupations. Like Barsána and so many other of the holy places, Nand-gáów is part of the estate of the representatives of the Lálá Babá, who in 1811, A.D., acquired it in free gift from the then zamíndárs.

The above sketch has entered rather largely into details regarding two comparatively unimportant places. But such minutiae are the most trustworthy exponent of provincial customs, speech and traditionary ideas; and their recital in the present case has been further intended as an attempt—first to rescue from oblivion the name of a local worthy, who has been somewhat hardly treated by posterity; and secondly, to illustrate by a view of the fortunes of one small town, a curious transitional period in Indian history. After a chequered existence of 500 years, there expired with Aurangzib all the vital energy of the Muhammadan empire. The English power, its fated successor, was yet unconscious of its destiny and all reluctant to advance any claim to the vacant throne. Every petty chieftain, as for example Bharatpur, scorning the narrow limits of his ancestral domains, pressed forward to grasp the glittering prize; and spared no outlay in the attempt to enlist in his service the ablest men of any nationality, either like Sunroo to lead his armies in the field, or like Rúp Rám to direct his counsels in the cabinet. Thus men, whatever their rank in life, if only endowed by nature with genius or audacity, rose in an incredibly short space of time from obscurity to all but regal power. The wealth so rapidly secured was as profusely lavished; nor was there any object in hoarding, when the next chance of war would either increase the treasure ten-fold, or transfer it bodily to a victorious rival. Thus a hamlet became in one day the centre of a princely court, crowded with magnificent buildings, and again, the architect had well completed his design, sunk with its founders into utter ruin and desolation.

ON SOME EMINENT CHARACTERS IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

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VIKRAMADITYA.—This name is applied to several kings and consequently causes considerable confusion. The first sovereign that is known by it was the Vikramáditya from whom the well known era takes its name. He is said to have been the son of a Brahman named Chandragupta, who married four wives, one of the Brahman caste, another of the Ksatriya, the third of the Vaiśya, and the fourth of the Sudra caste. They were called Brahmani, Bhánumati, Bhágavati, and Sindhumati respectively. Each of the four bore him a son. Vararuchi was born of the first wife, Vikramárka of the second, Bhaṭṭi of the third, and Bhartrihari, of the fourth. Vikramárka became king while Bhaṭṭi served him in the capacity of the prime minister. After an incredibly long reign he is said to have been killed by a prince of the potter caste, named Sálivahana in 56 B.C. and in that year commences his era. He is considered one
of the greatest of the sovereigns of India. He was distinguished for his learning, his patronage of Sanskrit literature, and liberality to the poor. Several marvellous stories are related of him in the account of him called the Vikramārkacharita. He is there figured somewhat as Charlemagne and Arthur are in the romances of the Middle Ages. Whatever may be the authenticity of the Vikramacharita and other books which give accounts of him, they prove beyond all doubt, that this sovereign was most popular, that his reign was a long one and was distinguished by many great deeds and that he was very religious and protected the Varnasramadharma or duties of caste and the religious orders. He is said to be the author of a kosha or lexicon; but of what kosha, we cannot ascertain. From a catalogue of books sent by a Brahman from Kadappa, it would appear that this book is the Saúsaravarta; but this statement is contradicted by Medinikara,* who in a list of lexicographers, enumerates most of the koshas which are prior to his book, and there mentions the kosha of Vikramārka as a separate book. While from the Haravali it appears that the Sañsara vartawas written by Vikramārka‡. He is also said to be the author of a treatise on music.

The name of Vikramāditya was assumed by several kings and this, as remarked above, occasions some confusion. Subandhu in his Vásavadatta says—

Sárasavattā vigatā navakā vilasanti
charati no kankah. Sarasivakirtis eshum
gātavati bhru Vikramāditye

Now Subundhu quotes the Bṛhitakathā which is believed to be the same as the Kathasarit-Sāgara. But the author of this book says he compiled it for the recreation of the grandmother of Harshadeva; and this prince is said in the Bājatarininginī to have been the son of Kulasa, the son of Ananta, the son of Sangrāmarājā. From a reliable source it has been ascertained that Sangrāma ascended the throne in 1027 A.D., and his son Ananta in 1052, and Harsha the grandson of the latter in 1059. This last prince reigned only twelve years and consequently Somadeva must have written the Kathāsārīt Sāgara between 1059 and 1071. (Wilson on Hindu Fiction). From this it may be inferred that the Vasavadatta was posterior to the Bṛhitakathā and that its author must have flourished in the twelfth century. We learn the following from tradition. Subandhu, the author of the Vasavadatta, wrote the poem with a view to be rewarded by Vikramārka, and before he completed it that sovereign died. The author finding a new sovereign on the throne who was destitute of the learning, taste, and judgment necessary to appreciate his poem, became hopeless and vented his despair in the stanza quoted above. From this it follows that Subundhu was a contemporary of Vikramārka. Who this Vikramārka was we cannot determine.

According to Major Wilford’s Essay on Vikramārka and Salivāhana, there were three Vikramārkas who were all alike celebrated for their power, greatness, and good government. The first of them was the Vikramārka who flourished before Christ and is said to have been killed by Śalivāhana. The second was the same with Śrīkama Deva. This prince is said to have reigned A.D. 191. The third Vikramāditya commenced his reign in 441. The second of these three princes was also called Śūrdaka. In the Skanda Purāṇa, Kumarika Khandā it is said that a great king named Śūrdaka will reign in the year of Kaliyuga 3290, that is in 198 A.D. This agrees well with the former date. But we are not certain about the identity of those kings, for the Skanda Purāṇa does not specify the Sudraka of whom it speaks.

There is a short grammatical treatise in Sanskrit containing about 700 anushtup stanzas divided into four chapters, and called Prayogachandrika. The author calls himself Vesalabhupati, the ornament of the Chogan dynasty.

* उपाध्येयो नामालयो नामालयो नामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामालयो मामाम
In the beginning of the book there is a stanza which runs as follows:

Chandrāvatī, vādana, chandrā chakora vikrama-mālita bhūpathanasya yonayatantra vēțā.

"The son of Vikramārka who was as fond of the face of (his wife) Chandrāvatī as the Chakora is of the moon." I think that there is a stanza at the end of the book concerning the age of the author, but as the book is not at hand I cannot quote it.

BHOJA.

This prince was the son of Sindhula, King of Dhārā in Malwa, and his uncle was called Munja. While he was very young his father died, and on account of his minority his uncle ascended the throne. The young prince made great progress in learning various arts and sciences. His popularity gradually increased and excited the envy of his uncle, who apprehended that the young king would soon depose him. He wanted therefore to secure his position and contrived how to put his nephew to death. He sent for Vatsarāja, one of his tributary princes and, having communicated to him his design, asked him to murder the young Bhoja in a solitary wood. The latter, though unwilling to execute such an odious commission, could not refuse, and accordingly he took the young prince to the place appointed. But when he went there and contemplated what he was going to do, he was seized with horror and his own conscience prevented him from doing it.

Instead of murdering the prince he took him privately to his house and presented to the king his sword besmeared with the blood of some wild animal which he had killed. When the king asked him what his nephew said before his death Vatsarāja gave him a leaf on which the young king had written a verse. He read as follows:

Māndhāta, that king who was the ornament of the Kṛitayuga died. Where is the enemy of Rāvana (Rāma) by whom a bridge was built to the ocean? Others such as Yudhishthira went to heaven. The earth followed none of them; but it will certainly follow you."

No sooner did the king read this verse than he fell down thunderstruck, but was soon consoled by Vatsarāja, who told him that he did not murder his nephew as he was ordered to do, but took him to his house and concealed him there. As soon as Bhoja was brought before him he embraced him and humbly asked his pardon. Soon after this the king placed his nephew on the throne and retired to the woods to perform ascetic ceremonies. The young Bhoja having thus got the throne of his father, invited poets and philosophers from all parts of India. The book from which I have taken the foregoing account makes the following poets his contemporaries:

Karpīra Dhanapāla
Kalinga Bāna
Kāmadeva Bhavabhūti
Kālidāsa Bhāskara
Kokila Mayōra
Sṛṭāchandra Mallinātha
Gopāladeva Mahośwara
Jayadeva Māgha
Tārendra Muchukunda
Dāmodera Rāmachandra
Kokila Sivakāla
Mayúra Sāmbradeva
Vishnu Kavi

There are gross anachronisms here, but the author, Vallālasena who is said to have written the work in the 12th century, did not perceive them, and his object was to eulogize the patron age of Sanskrit literature by this prince. This King of Dhāra is said to be the author of the Champurāmāyana. There is internal evidence at least to show that it is not the work of a Brahman.

It contains a stanza in the beginning which is as follows:

Uchairgathirjagatisidhyatidharmatat eschet
tasyapramācha vachanaihkritaketaraischet
teshåmprakāsanadasāpimahi Suraischet.

"If salvation comes from virtue, if the authority for virtue is given by words not composed (the Vedas) and if the work of spreading them is to be done by the Brahmans, whither will my homage go but to them?" This verse could not have proceeded from the mouth of a Brahman. At the end of each Kanda it is said to have been written by Bhoja. Other works are ascribed to him, viz., the Sārasvatī Kannāhara, a treatise on rhetoric, a commentary on the lexicon of Amarasiṅha, a treatise on music, Rājavārtika, a commentary on the Patanjali sutra, and the Charuchārya. But there is no mention of these works in the Bhojacharitra.

In the Vikramārka charitra it is said that Bhoja who was the King of Ujjayani and was the descendant of Vikramārka wanted to ascend the
throne of that celebrated sovereign, which he discovered under the ground. While he was abroad on a hunting excursion he came to a field of growing corn. A Brahman was watching over the ground from an eminence and while there he invited every passenger to reap the rich corn. But when he got down he began to abuse severely every one who, tempted by his invitation, entered the field. This struck the king, who with a view to find out the cause ordered the Brahman to come down from the eminence and sat himself there. But no sooner did the king do this than he was inspired with a degree of liberality which his mind never before felt. But when he came down he began, as the Brahman did, to censure the freedom of the people whom he called to reap the corn. He then thought there must be something under the ground below the eminence; and accordingly he dug out the earth and found a throne or Simha-
sana, adorned with thirty-two putlis. He brought it home on a propitious day appointed by the Brahmans and wanted to ascend it; but he was interrupted by one of the putlis, which having assumed the form of a maiden, related to him one of the great achievements of Vikramârka and asked him whether he was so great as that sovereign and on his acknowledging his inferiority to him the speaker disappeared. The next time he came to ascend the throne he was interrupted by another putli in the same manner and at a third time, by a third and so on. He tried to sit on that throne 32 times and was prevented every time by a putli; and last the throne itself disappeared. It is difficult to ascertain who this Bhoja was. But this is evident that the author wanted to show that the king was inferior to Vikramârka in respect of power, greatness and liberality.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 176.

(Continued from p. 527).

The fourth paper is a 'Note on Ghargãon, Asām,' by J. M. Foster, F.R.G.S., containing somewhat lengthy extracts from Robinson's Descriptive Account of A'sam (1841), from Bernier's Particular Events in the Empire of the Great Mogul, and from the 'Loss of the Ter Schelling' in Tales of Shipwrecks and Adventures at Sea (London, 2nd ed., 1852).

In 'Translations of Selected Portions of Book I of Chand Bardai's Epic,' by J. Beames, B.C.S. M.R.A.S., &c., the opening stanzas are thus, rendered:—

1. Satak metre. Om 1—
First reverently bowing, bowing, the poet adores the feet of the Gurus.
(Taking) refuge at the feet of the highest, the afforder of support, the husband of the opulent Lachhi;
(Who) stands the lord of vice and of virtue, consuming the wicked, the lord of heaven, blessing with success;
(Who is as) sandalwood to the life of living beings moving on the earth, lord of all, bestower of blessings.

2. Vathizdi metre.
First having indeed proclaimed a blessing
Having honoured the sacred writings, (whose) beginning is the Veda,
(Whose) three-fold branches, in (all) four directions
(Are) possessed of colour, and leaves (like) letters
Religion having sprouted (out through) the bark
Flowered fair in (all) four directions
Its fruit, (virtuous) deeds, springing out
Immortal, dwelling amidst mortals
(Firm as) counsel of kings, (or as) the earth, the wind shakes it not
Giving to life the flavour of nectar,
The Kali (yuga) affixes no stain to it
Containing truth, wisdom, and (perpetual) freshness.

Taking possession of the earth (like) a garden plot
Irrigating it with the fullness of the Veda, as with water
Placing in it good seed||
Upsprung the shoot of knowledge

With thrice six branches rejoicing the three worlds
Leaves (of various) colours, leaves (like) mouths there were;
Colour of flowers, and weight of fruit (it had)
Speech unfailing, princely,
Rejoicing with fragrance the sight and touch
A'san tree of hope to the parrot(-like) poet.

§ I read संपूज्य. Another reading is संप्रव, which seems to have arisen from an omission of the vowel by the copyist.
|| This strange line I read as if for श्री श्री मुम स्थ गग.
Combining branches of three qualities
With leaves of many names, red as earth
It flowered with good deeds, and good thoughts
Complete deliverance, union of substances
The twice-born of pure mind have experienced
the flavour of perfect wisdom
A banyan tree of delight, spreading abroad virtues
The branches of (this) excellent tree in the three worlds
Unconquered, victorious, diffusing virtues.

5. Bhujanga prayāta metre.

First be the well adorned Bhujangi° taken
Whose name this one, is spoken in many ways
Second, be taken the god, the lord of life
Who placed the universe by powerful spells on Seshnāg.
In the four Vedas by the Brahmans the glory of Hari is spoken,
Of whose virtue, this unvirtuous world is witness.
Third, the Bhārati Vyāsa spake the Bhārath,
Who bore witness to the more than human charioteer.†
Fourth Suka devā at the feet of Parikshit
Who extolled all the kings of the race of Kuru
Fifth
Who placed a six-fold necklace on the neck of King Nala.
Sixth Kalidasa, fair of speech, fair of wit,
Whose speech is that of a poet, a master-poet fair-speaking,
Who made the pure fragrance of the mouth of Kali,
Who firmly bound the dyke of three-fold enjoyment.
Seventh, Danda mali's charming poem,
The wave of whose wit is as the stream of Gangā.
Jayadeva eighth, poet, king of poets
Who only made the song of Govinda;
Take all these poets as thy spiritual guide, Poet Chand,
Whose body is as a sacrifice inspired by Devi.
The poets who have uttered praises and excellent speech,
Of them Poet Chand has spoken highly.

6. Duhā.
The speech in verse of Chand, excellent.
Hearing him utter, his wife (says)
Purifier of the body, O poet,
Uttering speech immortal, soft
Good men hearing it are rejoiced,
(Thou) of the glancing eye, in the flower of thy youth,
Beloved of my soul, giver of bliss,
Wife, free from all evil qualities,
(Thou) who hast obtained the fruit of the worship of Gauri.
As many poems as there have been from first to last


Saith the wife to her husband:

Purifier of offspring, great poet,
Uttering spells and charms,
Like an oblation offered to Devi,
Hero of spells, very terrible,
Giving pleasure to kings by thy poetry;
The childish sports, one by one,
Of the gods having extolled in thy poems,
Having uttered unchecked speech,
From which to me (comes) wisdom,
That word which is the visible form of Brahm.
Why should not the best of poets speak it?

8. Kavit, Chand's speech.
To his wife (saith) the bard Chand,
muttering soft and low,
That true word of Brahm,
Purifier of (all) others itself pure,
That word which has no form,
Stroke, letter, or colour,
Unshaken, unfathomable, boundless,
Purifier of all things in the three worlds,
That word of Brahma, let me expound
The glory of the Gurus, pleasing to Saraswati.
If in the arrangement of my phrases I should succeed,
It will be pleasing to thee, O lotus-faced one

Thou art the poet, the excellent bard,
Gazing on the heavens with unclouded intellect.§
Skillful in the arrangement of metres.
Having made the song of the Peacock-youth:
The wave of thy wit is like Gangā,
Uttering speech immortal, soft
Good men hearing it are rejoiced,
(Thou) as a spell of might.
The incarnation King Prithiraj the lord,
Who maintained the happiness of his kingdom,
Hero, Chief of heroes, and all his paladins,
Of them speak a good word.

10. Kavit Chand's speech.
To her of the elephant-gait, Chand
Singing a pleasant rhyme (said),
Ravisher of the soul, tendril of enjoyment,
Possessing the fragrance of the ocean of the gods,
(Thou) of the glancing eye, in the flower of thy youth,
Beloved of my soul, giver of bliss,
Wife, free from all evil qualities,
(Thou) who hast obtained the fruit of the worship of Gauri.
As many poems as there have been from first to last

§ Of the many senses of नादः, the one here given is the only one that will yield any meaning.
† These words are probably a corruption, उत्तराध्य साराय being for उत्तराध्य, more than earthly, from उत्तर, over, and यो, earth, and साराय, charioteer. It is an allusion to Krishna's acting as charioteer to Arjuna in the great war.
‡ I cannot understand this line.

* I do not know what the allusion is here.

t These words are probably a corruption, उत्तराध्य साराय being for उत्तराध्य, more than earthly, from उत्तर, over, and यो, earth, and साराय, charioteer. It is an allusion to Krishna's acting as charioteer to Arjuna in the great war.

This seems to be an allusion to the Sanskrit poem called Kumara Sambhava, or the "Birth of the War-god" Kartikeya, whose emblem is the peacock. Chand may have written a paraphrase of that work, as he seems to have been well acquainted with Sanskrit literature.

गुरु is still the common Panjabi for a "word." Many of these Panjabi words occur in Chand, which is natural, as he was a native of Lahore.
Consider how endless a string (there is) of them,  
The description of this matter (is in) many books,  
Thus having taken in the best counsel.  

11. Paddhari metre.  
First reverencing my first of gods  
Who uttered the imperishable word Om!  
Who made the Formed out of the Formless,  
The will of his mind blossomed and bore fruit,  
The sheen of the three qualities, inhabiting the three worlds,  
Shining on gods in heaven, men on earth, serpents (in hell).  
Then in the form of Brahma leaving the Brahma-egg.†  
The lord, the essence of truth said the four Vedas,  
The creator uttered them, unwritten,  
Without qualities, having neither form nor line,  
He who made the heaven, earth, and hell,  
Yama, Brahma, Indra, the Rishis, and guardians of the worlds,  
Winds, fire, clouds, ether,  
Rivers, ocean, earth, mountains, and their inhabitants,  
He created eighty-four lakhs of living beings  
I cannot come to an end of the description of them.  
He made a tendril of eighteen colours,  
Of various kinds, subject to all qualities,  
No one can resist his commands,  
Placing the order on his head (one) bears grief in the body.  
Day by day the sun-god when night turns to dawn‡  
Rises; this comes to pass by force of the lord’s command.  
The moon every night obedient to order  
Rises in the sky, being without division,$  
The guardians of the regions remain patiently pressed down by the earth,  
Their joints do not ache though they remain firmly pressed.  
He appoints to the wind its measure and the place of its going,  
It neither exceeds nor falls short, makes joy to the body.  
Indra’s heaven, clouds, and sky (obey his order);  
He makes the rain to rain joyfully.  
Firm and immoveable remains the earth (like) the glory of the lord,  
It cannot shake or move for an instant in distress.  
The wave rising touches the sky,  
On the brink of the ocean there remains no trace of it;  

Having obtained its limit, not one (wave) passes it,  
It advances only so far as the lord’s command (allows).  
His order no one can refute,  
Neither in the past, nor in the future, nor in the present.  
The Veda describes Brahma as illimitable,  
Filling the water and land he remains in every material object.  
Then spake Vyasa eighteen Puranas.  
Arranging the incarnations in various order  
He describes with clear intellect every god,  
He searched out all of them, he did not confound their character.  
Then Valmiki, the incarnation of Rau,  
Related in a Book of a hundred krores (of lines)  

essence of truth.  

The mighty bear, the story of the friendly monkey.  
Again five poems five poets made,  
Placed a light in the breasts of ignorant men,  
In a few words wisdom is shown,  
I might make a boast, then you would laugh.  

12. Duhái, Hearing the poem of Poet Chand,  
Delighted in her mind, his wife (says),  
Thou art the poet, the charming poet,  
Laughing being prevented.  

Thou who hast spells on thy tongue—ocean of spells  
Excelling in the description of witness  
Like the shining moon  
Thou bestower of heavenly blessings,  
Grant a gift to me, O poet!  
The eighteen Puranas  
Their names and quantity all;  
Thou telling the tale, joy (will be) to me,  
Past and future existences will be purified,  
The darkness of ignorance is destroyed by hearing this,  
The filth of (spiritual) blindness is removed from the heart.

Mr. Blochmann’s paper on Koch Bihār, &c, has been already noticed (p. 222). The last paper is  
‘Notes on Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Dinājpur, Dhākā, Dhāmrāi (N. of Dhākā), Badāon  
and Aīlāpur (E. of Badaon)’ by the same.

At the last meeting of the Asiatic Society, Mr. Blochmann exhibited a rubbing of an inscription made by Mr. W. M.  
Bourke from a ruined mosque at Khālna near Hugli. The inscription states that the mosque was founded during the  
reign of Aladdīn Abū Muzaffar Fīrūz Shāh, son of Nūrşāh  
† रजनी भोर, literally ‘dawn of night,’ which would convey a different meaning to our minds.  
‡ क्रांच चाराय, (for बारिक), but there is another reading प्रायः उचारिः which is not intelligible.  
§ and श are often written for one another in the MSS.
and attempting to prevent it, the corpse falls from the precipitous Mount Pellegrino, on which it is intended, if possible, to secure the stone with this inscription on it for the Indian Museum.—Englishman.

**Bombay Br. Asiatic Society.**

At the monthly meeting of the Society held 8th August 1872.

Dr. Bhau Daji read the following report on 19 gold coins received from the Collector of Belgaum—3 larger and 16 smaller.

The larger three are circular, flat pieces weighing 66 grains. On one side each has a circular line very near the run which is headed. Within the circle is the figure of a lion rampant, face to the left. In front of the neck is a short inscription in Devanagari characters, comparatively modern, mentioning the name of one of the years of Brihaspati Chakra, or sixty years cycle of Jupiter. In that year the coin was probably struck.

In one the name of the year is Subhakrata, the 80th in the cycle. The second has Pramoda, the 4th in the cycle, the third has Pingala, the 51st in the cycle.

A little above the ear of the lion and close to the circular line is a small circle and the crescent, evidently to represent the sun and the moon.

The coin having the name of the year Pingala, has the Srashtika symbol, just behind the raised tail, whilst that with the name of the year Pramoda has the same symbol under the raised front foot.

The form of the lion has a general resemblance to the lions found in the cave of Elephanta and in the ruins of Mathura.

On the obverse of the coin with the Subhakrata year, is an inscription of five lines within a circle, the first line is in modern Devanagari characters, and may be read Siva Chitta. The line under has the same name but in a different character, probably the old Dravidian alphabet. The third line has the name of Sri Siva Chitta in Devanagari.

The fourth line reads exactly as the third, but the character is the old Caneese.

The fifth line has again Siva Chitta in Devanagari.

The coins having the name of Pramoda and Pingala have on the obverse inscriptions in five lines.

1. 1st. Sri Sapta ko.
2. 2nd. tisa lavvav ar vī
3. 3rd. ra Jaya kesi.
5. 5th. ra mari.

In the coin with the name of the year Pingala, the letter vi is at the commencement of the third line, and instead of lavvavara there is labhavara, which is equivalent to labhavara in Sanskrit.

The legend may be translated—

"The brave Jayakesi who obtained the favour of Sri Saptakotis and was the enemy of Mallavarma."

The temple of Saptakotis (Siva) is Narven in Goa. In my paper on Mallavacharya, I have stated that Mallava Mantri established the shrine in the time of Harihara. The sixteen coins are all alike, being 59 grains in weight. On one side is the representation of an elephant with trappings, badly carved and never entire in any one of the coins. On the obverse is a conventionalized leaf. These coins appear to be cast and not die struck.

The age of the coins, judging by the alphabets, is later than the thirteenth century of the Christian era. We have the name of a King Jayakesi and his enemy Mallavarma, but I am unable to find at present their exact position in the dynasties of Southern and Western India.

**MISCELLANEA.**

1. In the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 174, Prof. Weber mentions that an Aesopic fable,—that of the flight of the tortoise through the air, is found in Buddhagosa. This reminds me that the story is represented in a small panel sculpture at the entrance to the Mundot (Buddhist) temple in Java, near Boro Bodor. The fact is mentioned by me in the *J. As. S. Ben.* of 1862, p. 20.

2. Sultan Baber mentions (p. 144) a curious superstition in the hill country north of the Kâbul River (Kuner, Bajaur, Swât, &c.,): "It is the custom, when a woman dies, to place her on a bier which they lift up by the four sides. If the woman has lived virtuously, she shakes the bearers to such a degree that even when they are upon their guard, and attempting to prevent it, the corpse falls from the bier."

In an annual procession where I write (at Palermo) in honour of the Patron Saint of the City, St. Rosalia, a bier containing her bones, real or sup-

* Since writing the above I am told that the shaking is intended to commemorate the bringing of the bones down from the precipitous Mount Pellegrino, on which they are believed to have been discovered in a miraculous way. But this may be a postfactitious reason.

3. I know not if the Maramat Department at Madras still flourishes by that name. But it is worthy of note that a standing commission for the maintenance and repair of the ancient Cathedral here bears the name of Mâramâ. It is a curious trace of the former extent of Muhammadan power to find the same official phrase thus current in Palermo and Madras.

4. It seems to me all but certain that the Semyll of Ptolemy and the Periplus, the Saimur or Ta'îmûr of the Arab geographers, is Chaul. I should be glad to learn the oldest known native spelling of the latter name. Châmeul Châmul, or Chineur would easily run into Semyll-
It was probably also the Sibor of Cosmas, as the order of his names indicates, rather than Supāra.

Supāra, on the other hand, appears to correspond exactly to the Scally of our old traders, the Bandar of Surat, north of the Tapti. Supāra is represented by Lassen to be a corruption of (Sanskrit) Sūrprāka "Fine shore." Is Scally a Hindu name, in which case it might be a surviving trace of Supāra, or is it only the Arabic Sūkhīl, "shores"? I have seen the latter suggestion somewhere, but on the other hand Supāra is called Sūfālāh by Abulfeda, which comes near Scally. And Langlois quoted by Rienaud, says that Supāra or Sūfālāh "answers to the place called by the Sanskrit writers Subahlikā," which comes nearer still. Gildemeister says of Sūfālāh "de cujus situs omnis interit memoria." But if Scally is Sūfālāh, its memory is not so perfectly perished. Supēra is mentioned by Friar Jordanus, a contemporary of Abulfeda's, who was there as a missionary. This is perhaps the latest mention of the name in that form.

5. Perhaps few readers of the Antiquary, though it is published at Bombay, know that four Franciscan missionaries, comrades of the said Jordanus, suffered martyrdom at Thānā, at the hands of the Mussalman "Melic," or Governor, in 1321. The story is told at length by Friar Odoric a few years later.

6. Cosmas mentions as exported from Kalliana (near Bombay) sesamum logs (Σεσαμιν έλοι). The Periplus also names among exports from Bari-gaza "spars of sesamin and ebony" (ζαλάγας έσαμιν νιη και ινινις). And Kazwini (in Gildemeister, p. 218) quotes some verses on the products of India by one Abulbiasi, in Sind, in which are mentioned "arbore Zingitana et säsim et piper." No commentator to my knowledge has explained what this timber is. But is it not manifestly säsim, or as it is more usually called (at least in upper India) shisham? If I am right in supposing the blackwood of Bombay to be a kind of säsim, we see how old the export is. What is the Arbore Zingitana (ζαγιραλ-Ζανιη) in the last quotation? Can it be ginger? A Sanskrit etymology is assigned to the word zingiber, but the medival map of Marino Sanuto (circa 1320) connects the name and article with Zinj or Zanzibar.

Palermo, August 23th, 1872.

SUPARA.

Albiruxi says, from Bharuj to Sindan is 50 parasangs; from thence to Subarah 6 parasangs; and from thence to Tanahis 5 parasangs. Had he given these distances as 40, 10, and 5 respectively they would have agreed remarkably well with the distances from Bharuj to Sanjān 106 miles in a direct line, Sanjān to Supārā near Wasāi (N. Lat. 19° 25'; E. Long. 72° 53') 41 miles, and from Supārā to Thānā 17½ miles. The last distance, however, is so nearly 5 parasangs, and the distance from Bharuj to Supārā so nearly 56, that it can scarcely be doubted that Supārā is the Subarah of the Arabs and the Soupara of Ptolemy.†—EDITOR.

THE GAULI RAJ.

I see in the Indian Antiquary page 258, some remarks by Mr. Ramsay on my suggestions about the Gauli Rāj. Monuments similar to those that he mentions are very common in that corner of Khandesh which lies on the head waters of the Panjara River west of Pimpalner. I believe that the Bhils erect them both of stone and wood at this day, but had no time when I was there to go into the subject. The favourite figures are horsemen and warriors, and a curious symbol like "the young moon with the old one in her arms." I do not know whether it represents that or the Sun and Moon.

With reference to Mr. Ramsay's concluding remarks I must point out that I have "conjured up the ghost of some lost dynasty" with some success, as I have induced him to contribute the Chindwārā legend to the stock of published information on the subject. And when he guesses "that at some past time the upland plains of the Sathuras and adjoining lands were chiefly occupied by shepherd tribes," I think he is more open than I am to chaff about the ten lost tribes of Israel.

Tribe or dynasty, they are gone, and it is the totality of their disappearance that leads me to believe that they cannot have been a nation, for that seldom perishes utterly, while it has been often seen in Europe and Asia that a mighty dynasty can collapse.

And like the baseless fabric of this vision Leave not a wrack behind."—W. F. Sinclair.

ON GOMUTRA.

The remarks recently made before the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Bābu Rājendralāla Mitra with regard to the use of beef among the Hindus of ancient days, seem to have startled a good many, and have suggested an inquiry as to the period at which the cow came to be regarded as a sacred animal in this country. As a contribution to this enquiry, it is perhaps worthy of note that one of the "products of the cow" appears to have been held sacred in the days of Patanjali. In his commentary on Pānini I., 496, occurs the sentence. "Gomutra sūṣṭeyāt" which may be rendered,—"Might there be [a drop] at least of Gomutra?" This looks very like an inquiry by one who holding the "mūtra" sacred, required it for purposes of purification.

Now the date of Patanjali has been ingeniously fixed by the late Dr. Goldstücker in the middle of...
the second century B.C.; and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar has, I understand, been able to find a further confirmation of Dr. Goldstücker's conclusion. It would seem therefore that the cow must have been revered at as early a period at least as the second century B.C.

Kashinath Trimbak Telang.

PUBLICATION ON CHAND.

We learn that Mr. J. Beames is preparing for the Bibliotheca Indica, published for the Bengal Asiatic Society, the text of Chand's Prithiraja Rāṣṭra, with the words divided, from a collation of several MSS., and that Dr. Hoerle, Professor of Sanskrit at Jaynagar's College, Benares, will prepare the second part, beginning with book XXIII. The two parts will be carried on simultaneously, and the first fasciculus containing about 2,000 lines will appear immediately.

JAGANNATH.

Though there is nothing positively indecent in the festival of Jagannath itself, the Pundas or priests, who have the management of it, are notoriously immoral men, and many females who go on pilgrimage to Puri return no more to lead chaste lives. Nor is that all. The sculptures on the temple from top to bottom and the paintings on the car are the foulest and the most abominable possible. Even those who have every faith in Jagannath cannot help being shocked by them.—Indian Mirror.

CAR AT SRIRANGAM.

From actual observation I am compelled to endorse what you say of the frightful immorality and obscenity of some of the religious rites of actual, living, and popular Hinduism. Banāras is bad enough, with its myriad Lingas continually worshipped. But I have seen nothing in Banāras so beastly and corrupting as the band of copulatives that encircle the new car of the great god of Sri rangam. You may be aware that this granite god Rangan-iyarga once a year leaves his angry Juna, Rangam-iyargari in the temple and is dragged in his giant car, by a thousand Brahmans and their deluded ones, with songs and shouting, to spend three nights in the pretty little temple of Nachh-eram, the dancing goddess.—Rev. C. H. Dall in the 'Indian Mirror.'

HILL OR ABORIGINAL TRIBES IN THE DEKHAN.

I am indebted to the learned Dr. Carter, the Civil Surgeon of Sattara, for the short account that I propose to give on the above points. According to his opinion, the aboriginal tribes in the District are either settled or wandering. In the first class he places (1) the Ramnas, who inhabit the eastern parts of the District; (2) the Mangs and Be- rudhs, who occupy the parts which lie adjacent to the Kolhapur State; (3) the Kolis, who live in small numbers in the hilly tracts near the Bhor State; and (4) the Dhangars, who live either on the top of the hills which form the outskirts of the Sahyadri, or on the plains of the eastern part of the District, where they find sufficient room to pasture their flocks. In the other classes he places the Wadars, Vanjas, Katkadis, and Dombarias. The last, however, do not wander only in this Collectorate, but pass and repass through it in the course of their migrations to other Zillas. They have no distinct grammar or vocabulary of their own; but the settled tribes speak the Marathi language with a mixture of a few words peculiar to each tribe, and the wandering tribes those of the districts from whence they come. The Vanjars, the Doctor thinks, come from Khandesh, but I am humbly of opinion that they are Vancharas, that is, wanderers in the forests on the sides or in the tracts which lie at the foot of the Satpura range of hills. They are also found in large numbers in the Eastern and Western Berars. The Katkadis and Dombarias, the Doctor believes, come from Telang, as the dialects which they speak resemble the Telugu. I have had no time to make inquiries of them, and can therefore offer no opinion of my own.

The Dhangars (Shepherds) are the quietest and most innocent race of people. They wander in the district in search of pasture for their herds and flocks, but often return to their settled homes on the plains or mountains. Their religion, language, and manners, are to a great extent like those of the Kunbis. But the temples in which they worship their deities are mere piles of large unhewn stones, which Captain M. Taylor in one of his works remarks resemble the places of worship of the old Druids. These people render great service to the cultivators, who invite them with an offer of a reward to pen their flocks in their fields, so that they may leave behind them valuable manure. The founder of the Holkar family in Malwa sprang from this race.

The Wadars, a rude and hardy race of people, wander over all parts of the Dekhan. They speak a dialect which I think neither resembles the Maharashtrā nor the Telugu. They are principally engaged in cutting large stones and rocks, and working stone quarries; they work very hard and spend money as fast as they get it in drinking and other vices. They have a distinct system of religion of their own, and their manners and customs differ widely from those of the general mass of the Hindus.

There is another race of people in this District which cannot properly be called a hill tribe. They inhabit the Murlas, or low valleys at the foot of the Sahyadri, and are known under the appellation of the Konkanis of the Marhas. They are a very peaceable race of men, extremely ignorant, simple, and superstitious. For six months in the year they subsist on coarse corn, which they grow on the sides of their mountains, and pass the remaining half of the year either in hunting or obtaining roots and bark of trees which serve them as food.—Bombay Educational Record.
KIRTDNS, OR HYMNS FROM THE EARLIEST BENGALI POETS.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., &c. &c.

A special interest attaches to the six short hymns which I now lay before the public for the first time. Not only do they represent a large and widely popular class of compositions hitherto almost unknown to European scholars, but they are at the same time absolutely the earliest known specimens of Bengali literature, and thus present to the philologist a means of solving many very obscure and difficult problems, while to the student of Indian philosophy they exhibit to the fullest extent the natural and unrestrained sentiments of a follower of the Vaishnava creed in its first and purest stage.

These hymns are still sung in every village in Bengal. I believe there are some thousands of them living on the lips and in the hearts of the peasantry which have never been reduced to writing. Collections have been made, and I believe a few have been published in Bengali, but not in such a way as to be generally accessible to English readers. From their internal structure and from historical considerations they may be ascribed to the end of the fourteenth, and beginning of the fifteenth century, and are therefore genuine representatives of the speech of Bengal five hundred years ago.

I.

Rāg Sindhāramadhur-tāla.
Anjana ganjana, jagajjana ranjana,
mechapanja jini* baranā:

Tarumāruna, ſthalakamaladalăruna,
manjiraranjitacharanā:

Dekha sakhināgararājabirâje:
Sudhaisudhāmaya hāsabikasita,
chändamalinehelSláje:

* Jini—having conquered, an old form of the aorist participle.
* ſirunahas two meanings. In the first place it means "the dawn," in the second "red."

fbiráje. This form of the simple indefinite present is common to all the languages of the Aryan group, though its meaning as a present is somewhat obscured by modern usage in Marathi and Hindi; the older form is in-aīsa in sanskrit, and is contracted from the Sanskrit ending -ati. In the forms šāje, pāje, čīte, we have the old oblique case of the noun which expresses both instrumentality and location; in the poems of the medieval period of all the seven languages this form occurs though in the modern development of each of them it has met with a different fate.

Bhel is still used in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, but is no longer current in Bengali, which uses instead the more modern form huk, (hoilam, hoile, &c.).

This poem contains more grammatical forms than the preceding one; and those who are acquainted with the Bengali of the present day will see how little these forms have as yet acquired of the distinctive characteristics of that language. Thus—

Sun, Šun Mādhaba, nirdaya deha!
Dhik rahu aichhan tohari Uā śinehā!

Translation.

Rādhā loquitur;
Surpassing collyrium (in blackness) delighter of human kind,
Conquering in hue the cloud-masses:
Tender as the dawn, redder than the nelumbium,
His feet adorned with manjira:

See, dear friend, shinesthe king of youths:
(His face) expanded with nectared smiles is fair
( § so that) the moon has become dim from shame:
Annihilating the pride of the lotus with his eyes,
Love's snare:

Bonding with his eyebrow's snake-like noose,
The race of women, distress of goddesses:
Made musical by bees hangs the beautiful
Garland of keli and kadamba flowers:

In the heart of Gobind Das is ever firmly fixed
that gracious form.

The lines being very long I have divided each one into two, with the exception of the third, which is a sort of chorus, and shorter than the rest. The whole piece thus consists of eight lines. The end of each line is marked by a colon (:).

II.

Lólít Rágįnt.

Translation.

Radha speaks;
Surpassing collyrium (in blackness) delighter of human kind,
Conquering in hue the cloud-masses:
Tender as the dawn, redder than the nelumbium,
His feet adorned with manjira:

See, dear friend, shinesthe king of youths:
(His face) expanded with nectared smiles is fair
( so that) the moon has become dim from shame:
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II.

Translation.
Kahe kahali* tahuń† sakhyit bâta!
Jâmâni banâchasi† ânihis sâta?
Kapaţa neha kari Râika pâsa,
Ána ramaği sânga karaha bilâsa.
Kokâhe rasika sêkhara bara Kâna?
Toñh sama murukha jagate nâhi ána.
Mânika taji kânche ablîshâa,
Chhiye! chhiye! tohari rhabasamaya bhâsha;
Bidyâpâti champâka bhâna,
Râi nê hera tohari bayâna.

Translation.

(ammuimium irae)

Râdha loquitur;
Hear, hear! Mâdhava, pitiless body!
Fie on such love as this of thine!
Why didst thou say a word of meeting,
At night thou goest with another?
Having made deceitful love to Râî (Râdhika)
Thou makest sport with another woman.
Who saysthat Kânî is the crown of lovers?
Like thee another fool there is not in the world.
Leaving the diamond thou delightest glass;
Fie! fie! on thy enamoured words.
Bidyâpati says—O thou who resembllest the champak
Râî will not look on thy face.

† Eºº may be also Ōºº, as n and l are written alike in Bengali MSS. It is 2 sing. pret. and drops the original S (क्षत्रियो+स), It is the same in modern Bengali: Bhojpurî, Kahîta.

§ HT is a somewhat anomalous oblique singular of तू thou as in Bengali तू is generally pronounced j, we are perhaps justified in transliterating this word tujá when it will be an analogous form to mujh in the same line. It occurs again a little lower down; the dropping of the aspirate of the h is one step in the transition from the Bihar forms mujh, tujh to the Bengali mo, tu.

$
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Sing.} & \text{Bhojpurî} & \text{Bengali} & \text{Oriya} \\
\hline
1. rakhâ & râkhîba (6) & râkhîba & râkhîba (6) \\
2. rakhâba & râkhîba & râkhîba & râkhîba \\
3. rakhî & râkhîba (6) & râkhî & râkhî \\
\hline
\end{array}
$

The words in the text agree with the Bhojpurî of Behar better than with the modern Bengali in one respect, namely, in that they retain the n in the second syllable, or in other words they affix the terminating syllable to a base rakha, not as in Bengali to a weakened base rakhi. The curious variations of the terminal vowel in the several persons may perhaps be referred to excessive corruptions of the forms bhavasi, etc. in which for reasons not yet fathomed one vowel has acquired the ascendant in one case, another in another. Thus in the 3 sing. the e is probably for -at from -ati, and Oriya has changed e to a as it has in the genitive sing. of the noun where it has -ar for the Bengali -er.

$\text{Kahe kahali}$ should also like तू तू be read kâye, being the common Prakrit form for kârya.
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I am obedient to thee, thou knowest it well,
Why dost thou burn my soul?
If thou wilt not look on my face,
to what place shall I go?
Without thee to what end shall I preserve my life,
I will abandon my own life:
When Kānh had made all this entreaty,
and still she looked not on his face:
Gobind Das says vain was hope,
weeping really then went Kānh.

IV.

Rāg: Dhyānesri.

Hari! Hari! boli dhari dhari uthaï
bolat gadgada bhākha:*
Nila gaña na heri tāhāri bhārama† bhāba
bihisanche‡ māgeyeś pākha:
Ki karaba chandra chandana ghana lepana
kisalaya dharaṇi sayaïne:
Āna beýārī, āna pāya, aukhada:j
Gobinda Dās nahi ājānē:

TRANSLATION.

(Radha repents of her coldness.)

"Hari! Hari!" she calls, lying on the ground
she rises up.
Speaking trembling words.
Looking at the blue sky thinking of his wandering,
She asks from the birds wings:
"What availsthe moon, thick smearing of sandal
paste,
Kisalaye leaves, or lying on the ground?2
Bring him, friend, bring him to my feet," a remedy
Gobind Das knows not.

V.

Sri Rāg.

Hām ati bhīti rahanu tanu goī,¶
So rasasāgara thor* nā hoi;
Bāsa nāhi hoyalaka jañi sāți,
Madana lātā jānu dānśana háti;
Puna kātā kākuti kaola anukula,
Tabhā pāpa hiya majhū† nāhi bhula.

* bhāka. It is a distinctly Hindi peculiarity to pronounce this “bhāka.” ¶ is in Hindi regularly k, but not in Bengali. That it must be so pronounced here is evident from its rhyming with pākha, a wing.
† Bihisanche: my authorities are not in accord about this word. One writes it ‘bihisangam,’ a second, ‘bihisan,’ while a third suggests ‘bihisanche’; the above seems the more probable reading.
‡ Māge: i.e., Bhām.
¶ goi probably corrupted from goyāia, causal from root gam, meaning "having caused to go," that is, having borne or endured.
* Thor probably corrupted from śāthir.
† Meṣa a form of Ṛṣu i.e., Ṛṣita.
‡ Payila for pāhīla, first.
ed made a deep impression on the philosophical minds of the Hindus, and led to that outbreaking of new religious theories which was reduced to system by Chaitanya in Bengal, by Rāmānand and his disciple Kabir in Hindustan and by Nānak in the Panjāb. Vishnu is the supreme being; the whole Hindu Pantheon sinks into the position of ministers to his will; by a further extension of the same line of thought this supreme being is in everything—he is everything. We must love him, for we are a part of his essence. He has provided us with a concrete expression of this love, in his sports with Rādhā and the gopis. Let us then meditate on these, let our hymns and songs be of these. Let Rādhā typify the human soul and Kṛishṇa the divine essence. But in man's nature the divine and the animal are strangely mingled—he is half god, half beast. The glowing temperament of the Indian poet, unrestrained by any of those curbs and checks which Europe has agreed to obey, led him into the wildest excesses. The love at first intended to be purely spiritual soon degenerated into mere earthly lust, and the scenes between Rādhā and her lover are often more suggestive of the brothel than of the temple.

I give as an example of the least offensive of this class a short kirtan.

VI.

Bālā ramanī ramanē nāhi sukhā,
Antāre madana dei digna duḥkha ;
Sab sakhī meli sutala pāsa
Chamki chamki dhali chhāta je niśwāsa
Karāte kole morāi sab anga
Mantra nā sunāi janu bāla bhujānā
eri eka kara dhali mudita nayāna,
rōgī karaye jana aushadha pāna.
Tālā ādha dukha janaṃ bharī sukhā,
Ithe kāhe dhali moṛasi mukhā?
Bhaṅaye Bidyāpati śunaha Murāri
Tuḥu rasa sāgara mukhini nāri.
To a young girl in love there is no pleasure,
In her heart Madana causes double pain;
All her companions assembling lay beside her
Starting, starting, the girl heaved sighs,
When taking her into the arms she contorts all her body,
As spells are disregarded by the young serpent.
Covering her closed eyes with her hands,
As a sick man takes medicine;
For a moment is the pain, for life is the joy;
From this O girl! why do you turn your face?
Bidyāpati says, hear, o Murari!
Thou art the ocean of love, the girl is but young.

This is Horace's

"Nondum subactā ferre jugum valet
Cervice; nondum munia comparis
Āsquare, nec tauri ruentis
In venerem tolerare pondus."*

But it is at first sight rather startling to see the metaphor applied as it is in this case to the first effect upon the soul of the awakening influence of divine love. Accustomed as we are to keep the flesh and the spirit widely apart and to regard them as antagonistic to one another, it is strange and revolting to be brought face to face with a phase of thought in which the fleshly serves as a type of the spiritual. Unaided human nature has in Vaiṣṇavism soared high and nearly touched the goal of truth, but for lack of revelation it has fallen back and lies groveling in the mire.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge the source whence I obtained these interesting hymns. I have to thank Babu Jagadishnāth Rai for his kindness in procuring them for me, for assisting me with his advice in translating and making notes on them.

He has promised to endeavour to procure for me some more of them, which if the specimens herein given should prove interesting to any class of readers, I will publish in due course hereafter.

THE CELTS OF TOUNGOO.

BY FRANCIS MASON, D. D.

MR. W. THEOBALD, of the Geological Survey, in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for July 1865, and again in the Proceedings for July 1869, first brought to public notice the existence of stone implements in Burmah "both of the palaeolithic and neolithic types."

In the latter number of the Proceedings he furnished a very full and interesting article, illustrated with figures of the principal types, and remarked:—"The entire number of all types which I have observed in Burmah amount to 50 or thereabouts."

* Carm. II. v.
At the March meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the present year, Capt. Fryer exhibited more than one hundred specimens of celts which he had collected in Burmah, the largest collection ever made; but no detailed description has yet been published of them.

In the Rangoon Times of April 18, 1872, the Curator of the Phayre Museum acknowledges the reception of twenty-five specimens from Capt. Fryer with tabular notices of "Implement—Rock Material—weight—where found."

All the specimens collected by Mr. Theobald and Capt. Fryer are from the Tenasserim Provinces, Pegu, or Arakan. It is here proposed to notice a few which have come under my own observation in the Toungoo district.

One of the most common forms of the small stone implements is given in Fig. 1 a.* The edge is bevelled down on both sides, but more on one side than the other, as may be seen by the form of the border given in Fig. 1 b. The specimen from which these tracings were taken is made of basalt, as most of this type are; occasionally they are met formed of schistose rock. Some specimens have the corners at the cutting edge more angular, and others more rounded than the one figured. A second form has a cutting edge on three sides, and is even slightly sharpened behind. A sketch of one is given in Fig. 2 and is formed of a schistose rock, as are all of this type that I have seen. A third form is that of a small adze with shoulders. A tracing of one is given in Fig. 3 a. and its side in Fig. 3 b. The specimen was formed of basalt, as are most of the specimens I have seen in Toungoo.

But the most remarkable stone instrument, which I have seen or heard of in Burmah is a curved two-edged sword or dagger, but the point is broken off. It is nearly ten inches long by three and a half broad, at its widest part, and is six tenths of an inch thick. Three inches of the lower part is narrowed down to two inches and a half in width for a handle, leaving the blade on each side to form a shoulder. It is made of basalt, but where the stone has not been recently chipped or ground down, it has a soft whitish incrustation, owing to the decay of therock from exposure to the atmosphere. On this surface some regular cross lines have been drawn, some of which are nearly obliterated; but for what object is not clear.

A tracing of the instrument is given in Fig. 4 a, and of the end, to show the thickness, in Fig. 4 b.

All the celts collected by Capt. Fryer are of stone, as are also all those collected by Mr. Theobald excepting the "fragment of a brass celt which was shown me near Maulomain, and was regarded by me of doubtful authority."

In the Toungoo district copper celts are not uncommon. They are sometimes little wedges of the same size and shape as the most common of the stone celts. Fig. 5 is the tracing of one. It is 1-8 inches long by 1-7 broad, and 6 thick at the end; and weighs 10 tolas. It is bevelled down on both sides at the edge and has evidently been cast in a mould with, I think, some admixture of metal not copper.

Another, but rarer form, is that of a small spade, cast with a hollow socket in which to insert a wooden handle, such as are used in cultivation by both Burmese and Karens and other tribes at the present day, but made of iron. A tracing of one is given in Fig. 6. It is 3-2 inches long by 1-7 wide at the broadest part. In the specimen figured, a portion of the upper side of the socket has been broken off.

A third form is that of the hollow spearheads. A figure of one is given in Fig. 7 a. The length is 4-4 inches hollow with a depth of 3-9, leaving 0-5 solid at the margin. The width of the broadest part is 3-2. The lines in the figure are on one side only, and are raised above the surface, showing that they were in the mould when the instrument was cast. Fig. 7 b. is a tracing of the end, showing a hollow space 1-6 inches long by 0-5 wide. The chevron is hardly pre-historic.

Another spearhead of the same general outline but smaller, with sharper barbs, and one larger than the other, was brought me by a Shan who said it came from the borders of China. A sketch of it is given at Fig. 8. It was 3-4 inches long by 2-6 broad at the blade.

Besides the forms usually recognized as celts, the Karens associate with them a miscellaneous collection of circular articles both of stone and bronze. The most notable among them is a stone quoit, 4-3 inches in diameter, with a hollow in the centre 2-2 across, leaving the stone circle 1-1 broad; and which is 0-5 thick on the inner side, but is bevelled off to a sharp edge on the margin. I have heard of several specimens, but the one I examined is a fine polished instrument made of striped jasper, and before the edges

* The lithographs are 3-4ths of the scale of Dr. Mason's tracings.—Ed.
were chipped off for medicine, was a perfect circle. A tracing is given in Fig. 9.

The figure of a fragment of a smaller but similar instrument is given in Fig. 10 a. It is 0.5 of an inch thick on the inner margin, like the former one, but only 0.8 or 0.9 broad and is bevelled down on both sides to form an edge on the outer margin. A section is represented in Fig. 10 b. It is made of reddish brown compact rock which is scratched with a knife, and looks like magnesian limestone.

A small circular pebble with a hole bored through the centre had evidently, by the wear of the rock, been used at some period of its history, for a spindle whirl, and among the numerous non-descripts brought me for examination was a small article made of jade, of which a tracing is given in Fig. 11. It is only 1.5 of an inch thick. The material is unquestionably Chinese and there can be no doubt but it is of Chinese workmanship. It is said that the inhabitants of Manchuria used jade-tipped arrows as late as the twentieth century.

In regard to the use of the implements noted, some of the copper ones appear to have been used for spades and spearheads, and some of the stone ones for adzes and knives or cleavers or daggers; while others are doubtful. There is no reason however to believe that any of them were ever used for such purposes in Burmah. The material of which nearly all are made shows conclusively that they were not made here but have been imported. The far larger proportion of the stone ones are made of basalt or other rock foreign to Burmah, and have probably been introduced from Hindustan. In the northern parts of Burmah, they are usually made of jade and undoubtedly come from China; as do the copper ones, for there is no copper in Burmah, but it is constantly imported from China. The reason they have been introduced into Burmah, both by sea and by land is that they are regarded by all the native tribes as thunderbolts fallen from heaven, and that they are talismans or amulets, protecting from evil and curing disease.

But supposing for the sake of argument, that these spades and hoes were formerly used in Burmah for agricultural purposes, their use necessitated the existence of means to cut down trees and clear the forest, and, therefore, of iron instruments, for all the celts in Burmah would not cut down a single teak tree; so we are forced to the conclusion that these stone and copper implements co-existed with iron, when we may suppose iron was scarce and not sufficiently abundant for all purposes; a state of things which it is not necessary to go down to below zero in the Mosaic chronology to find.

Not many days walk from Balmoral, where the Queen eats off gold and silver, I have seen, in the latter half of the nineteenth century people dining on wooden dishes. Now were these people, with their wooden platters in the pantry, sunk by a sudden catastrophe into the mud of the lake by which they dwell, they might, before the century closes, be dug up again a veritable "cran-nog," and by the reasoning now applied to celts, it might be proven that they lived in a "wooden age" before crockery was known.

Many people stand masticating the truths of the Bible as an ox does his fodder, lest they should incontinently swallow a myth, but at sight of such trumpery shams as these Hindu and Chinese "Brummagem" wares, they instantly read us marvellous dissertations on pre-historic times, long before Moses was born or thought of, on this wise—"These stone instruments clearly prove that there was a period in pre-historic times when the Burmese or the inhabitants of Burmah, of whatever race they were, were wholly unacquainted with the arts of fabricating iron, steel, and metal instruments for cutting, and they resorted to the more difficult work of fashioning stone into adzes and axes, and other cutting instruments."—Credat Judaeus Apella, non ego.
DONDRA INSCRIPTION.

BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, C.C.S., ANURADHAPURA.

LIKE Cape Komorin on the continent of India, Dondra Head on the island of "Happy Lanka," has always been a place of pilgrimage, and seems to have derived its sanctity from its being the extreme southerly point of land, where the known and firm earth ceases, and man looks out upon the ocean—the evermoving, the impassable, the infinite.

The worship of Neptune is no modern cultus, but even now when standing on those points, or on Śiva's rocky headland at Trinkomali, who does not feel a touch at least of the grand afflatus that inspired Byron's hymn to the "far-sounding sea?" It is at least acknowledged that no one who cannot enter in some degree into the feelings which gave rise to the worship of nature can hope to understand the history of the religious movements of the world.

The history of the temple on the headland at Dondra is at present quite unknown. Sir E. Tennent* describes its destruction as follows:—

Dondra Head, the Sunium of Ceylon, and the southern extremity of the island, is covered with the ruins of the temple, which was once one of the most celebrated in Ceylon. The headland itself has been the resort of devotees and pilgrims, from the remotest ages. Ptolemy describes it as Dagana, "sacred to the Moon," and the Buddhists constructed there one of their earliest dagobas; the restoration of which was the care of successive sovereigns. But the most important temple was a shrine which in very early times had been erected by the Hindus in favour of Vishnu. It was in the height of its splendour when, in 1587, the place was devastated in the course of the marauding expedition by which De Souza d'Arronches sought to create a diversion during the siege of Colombo by Raja Singha II. The historians of the period state that at that time Dondra was the most renowned place of pilgrimage in Ceylon, Adam's Peak scarcely excepted. The temple they say was so vast, that from the sea it had the appearance of a city. The pagoda was raised on vaulted arches, richly decorated, and roofed with plates of gilded copper. It was encompassed by a quadrangular cloister, opening under verandas, upon a terrace and gardens with odoriferous shrubs and trees whose flowers were gathered by the priests for processions. De Souza entered the gates without resistance; and his soldiers tore down the statues, which were more than a thousand in number. The temple and its buildings were overthrown, its arches and its colonnades were demolished, and its gates and towers levelled with the ground. The plunder was immense—in ivory, gems, jewels, sandalwood, and ornaments of gold. As the last indignity that could be offered to the sacred place, cows were slaughtered in the courts, and the cars of the idol, with other combustible materials, being fired, the shrine was reduced to ashes. A stone door-way exquisitely carved, and a small building, whose extraordinary strength resisted the violence of the destroyers, are all that now remain standing; the ground for a considerable distance is strewed with ruins, conspicuous among which are numbers of finely cut columns of granite. The dagoba which stood on the crown of the hill is a mound of shapeless debris.

I have not been able to find Sir Emerson Tennent's authority for stating that the Buddhists consecrated there one of their earliest dāgo-bas: and the statement is in itself so unlikely that a good authority for it is all the more needful; and again—what can be the derivation of the name Ptolemy gives to Dondra, namely, Dagonâ or is it Dāgoba? or is it Diva-nagara? which becomes in Elu Dewu-nuvara, in modern Sinhalese Dewin'dara,† and in the English corruption Dondra? No attempt has been made to repair the temple since its destruction by the Portuguese and Major Forbes‡ thus describes its state in 1840:

"Dondra or Dewinuara (city of the god), is situated four miles from Matura, on a narrow peninsula, the most southerly point of Ceylon, latitude 5° 50' N. and longitude 80° 40' E. Here, interspersed amongst native huts, gardens, and coconut plantations, several hundred upright stone pillars still remain: they are cut into various shapes, and exhibit different sculptures; amongst others, Rāma, with his bow and arrows, may be discerned in various forms. A square gateway, formed of three stones elaborately carved, leads to a wretched "mud edifice," in which four stone windows of superior workmanship are evidences that a very different style of building had formerly occupied the site of this hovel. It is now, however, the only temple of Vishnu at Dewinuara; a station reckoned particularly sacred by his votaries, as being the utmost limit which now remains of his conquests when incarnate in that perfect prince and peerless warrior Rāmachandra. Although his temple is so mean, the place still retains much of its sanctity; and an annual festival, which takes place at the full moon in the month of July, continues to attract many thousands of the worshippers of Vishnu. From the

† In his now rare book Eleven Years in Ceylon, vol. II. pp. 176-179.
temple, a broad road, overshadowed by coconut trees, leads to a group of plain stone pillars near the sea-shore; but from these my attention was attracted by a single pillar, situated on a rocky point, over which the sea breaks amidst hewn stones, the remains of some ancient building.

If Rāma's expedition and conquest of Lanka existed in any form, or had any foundation material than a poet's fancy, this lone pillar may be considered as an index which has resisted the waste of ages, and now battles with the waves of ocean to maintain its position, and mark the utmost limit which remains of Vishnu's conquest and religion. The pillar is of a form alternately octagonal and square, and exactly resembles columns that are to be seen on the sacred promontory of Trinkomali.

Near the temple of Vishnu stand a Buddhist vihara and dagoba; and a quarter of a mile farther inland is situated a stone building called Galgana, consisting of two rooms; the roof as well as the walls are of the hewn stone, and exhibit excellent specimens of masonry. On the top there appears formerly to have been a dagoba; but the ruin is now covered with shrubs and creeping plants that find root in the interstices of the building. These remains of Buddhism were completed or restored in the reign of Dāpulu the Second, A.D. 686. A stone, which had been rescued from the rubbish near one of the ruins, was pointed out to me at the house of my friend, Mr. B—, the collector of the district, with whom I was residing. It owes its preservation and present place of safety to Mrs. B—, to whom I am indebted for much information regarding the antiquities in this part of the island. In the inscription on this slab I recognised the name and sounding titles of the King Prākrama Bahu, a zealous restorer of religious buildings, and a most persevering recorder of his own virtues and power: he reigned from A.D. 1153 to 1186.

On an upright stone, near the temple of Vishnu, is cut an inscription in the ancient Cingalese character: although considerably decayed, by perseverance it might probably be deciphered. The inscription on the latter stone I have succeeded in completely deciphering with the exception of one line and the one engraved on the front and two sides of the former I would transliterate thus—

Śri.
Śri Sanga
Bo Śri Prākrama Bāhu
chakrawarti swā
n pawat
yutuyi
min wahanseta
wi saga

10 warusha tinen mok sa-
lautan Mok sab-
meri era tun bo ranata ga-
prayaohana tu etikala da pol wa-
ektehe tayi pilima geta
taya pilima geta
Nila sela gas 200yi
Deva rajuru
siyayu jjuru-sāmīntat
matu mu
warī Śri Prākrama Bāhu

which written continuously is "Śri Sanga Bo Šri Prākrama Bāhu Chakrawarti swāmin wahanseta 10 warusha tinen Bhūmi-mahā-wihārayaṇa era tun-bo ranata gata etikala da pol wat-
tayi pilima-geta gas 200 (desiyayi) Dev-rajuru-
sāmīntat warrī Śri Prākrama Bāhu yutuyi mi
tu me lese mekunge paramparāwen pawni sa ga mok sampat sēdhīya yutu. Me gas prayaohana windinawu matu matu pela induwa yutuyi minisu (1 minisu) lautan mehī prayaohana ekkothe Nila selaśiyu yutu."

The words in italics are doubtful and give no sense: (and though unfortunately the grammatical construction is not clear without them) yet their being so scarcely impairs the value of the inscription whose importance lies in the name of the king, the name of the god, and the numerals used.

I would translate:

"In the tenth year of the overlord (Chakrawarti) Śri Sanga Bo Śri Prākrama Bāhu . . . near to the Bhūmi-mahā-wihārayaṇa, let those who increase these gifts, and maintain their unbroken succession obtain the bliss of release in heaven (swarga-moksha-sampatti). Those who enjoy the fruit (prayaohana) of these trees ought from time to time to plant seedlings. People who pick up the fruits ought to present them to Nila (Vishnu)."

First as to the name of the king: Sanga-Bo (for Bodhi) and Parākrama Bāhu (for Bhoja) are both common epithets of Ceylon kings. The first came into use after the martyrdom, 248 A.D. of the first king and Buddhist devotee of that name, and nine kings are given by Turnour with the name of Parākrama Bāhu: but no king is given with the name mentioned in the text.

Forbes states that the temples were completed or restored by Dāpulu the second A. D. 686, and Tennent has copied the statement, but I find nothing to support this in the books. The

published in July 1871. [See Ind. Antiquary, p. 59.—Ed.]

T. W. R. D.

Note p. 118 loc. citat.

§ Turnour gives in his list two kings under the name of Dāpulu. The second one began to reign 686 and the other 736 A.D.

§ There is only one column, on which is an inscription.—

† It is published with text translation and notes in the last number of the Ceylon Asiatic Society; and the facsimile will be found in the Proceedings of the C. A. S.
They profess to be Hindus, but while they follow the Hindu religion in the main, they also practise some ceremonies borrowed from Musalmans and others, which are apparently remnants of an older superstition. Their own tradition of their origin, as communicated to me by an old Pali of this district, is as follows:—

"The whole country of Behar, from whence the Pâlis and Koch are supposed to have come, was once governed by a celebrated king named Jarasindhu; his subjects used to fight for him with sticks as they had no weapons of iron. He claimed to be a Khetriya, and the descendants of his subjects, believing themselves to be of the same family, call themselves Râjvañsī to this day.

"Now there was a poor old man living in the country (his name I learn from other sources was Haja) who had two daughters, unmarried virgins; the name of the eldest was Hirā and of the second Jirá. The god Śiva used to visit them, and at last Hirā became pregnant by him, their old father discovered it, and became very angry with them, and used to reproach them continually; but still they used to meet Śiva every day in secret, till it happened that their father had gone away on some business, and they ventured to bring him into the house, and began to talk with him, and Hirā said, 'I have become pregnant by you and my father is angry with me; all his caste are my enemies, and my time of delivery is approaching.' Śiva replied, 'Take courage, the son which shall be born to you must be concealed and brought up secretly, you must call him Kagendra and by my favour he shall become king, and thirty-six of his descendants shall reign after him.' While they were talking thus Hirā's father appeared at the door with a stick in his hand: they were all three frightened and the old man lifted up his stick to strike Śiva, but by that time all his body had disappeared except his feet which the old man struck, and from that circumstance Śiva is still known and worshipped by the name of Jalpeswarnāth.* Sometime after this Hirā, although she was still a virgin, bore a beautiful boy, and as she was afraid of her father and kinsfolk, she made a ring (koch-kośā)† of kusa grass and concealed him in it, and brought him up secretly and gave him the name of Kagendra.

"In course of time this child became king of Behar, and although king Jarasindhu was a Khetriya, yet because Kagendra was brought up in a koch, his tribe is still known by the name of Koch, and because the five ceremonies† were not used at his birth, the Koch do not use them to this day.

"Some time after this Parasurām, son of Jamidagni, cleared India of Khetriyas twenty-one times, for he fought with them as hereditary enemies. In the course of his travels he came to Behar, and the king and his Râjvañsī took sticks in their hands, and went forth to meet him, but he was no ordinary warrior, and moreover used a battle-axe. The Râjvañsī could not withstand him, and some by fording, some by swimming, crossed over to the west bank of the Tista. The king saved himself by telling Parasurām that he was a Koch. From that time forth those who escaped by fleeing into this country have been called Pâlais (from TºſſºOperators, and as the Khetriyas boast that they have never been defeated, and these men were routed by Parasurām, they are also called Bhāṅgakhetriyas, and the few men of the Koch caste who inhabited the country before the battle are called Desis." This tradition must be taken for what it is worth, but there can be no doubt that the Pâlis and Koch are a people of Mongolian race who migrated into this district from the North-east. The story they tell of their ancestors being conquered by Parasurām probably refers to their conquest by the Aryans, and that they came from the east side of the Tista seems almost certain.

They live under an almost pure patriarchal system, each family has its head and each village has its mandal; while again four or five villages are placed jointly under a patwari, the mandal and patwari are generally appointed by the zamindar, of whom they are the local representatives. The greatest respect is paid to the elder members of the family in every household; there is a headman who is called, if the elder brother—darbāriya bhai(दरबारिया भाई), or if he is any other relative—dewāniya (देवानीया); the other members of the family are absolutely

* Worshipped at Changrabanda in Jalpaiguru: the image is enclosed in a pucka well, a large mela is held there every year.

† Probably connected with the Sk. root द्रु or कुष to construct.
subject to him, they can do nothing unless his consent is first obtained, no marriage can be solemnised or suit instituted unless he agrees. He is looked up to with respect second only to that shown to the zamindar: all the business of the family is conducted through him, he pays the rent and manages all money matters. He is excused from labour in the fields and is allowed to eat salt while the other members of the family must content themselves with the saline matter extracted from the ashes of plantain and other trees. He is also allowed to have two or more wives, while no other person is allowed to have more than one, and his favourite wife is excused from working in the fields and allowed to eat salt.

The dress of the Palis is very different from that worn by ordinary Hindus; in the hot weather the men wear nothing but a thread round the loins which is called (fālā; Śikhai and on it a piece of rag called pājhal (पाज़ल), on great occasions they also wear a cloth on their heads or round their body, and in the cold weather a piece of cloth is given them by the head of the family and returned to him again at the beginning of the hot season. They all wear a necklace of wooden beads, their head is shaved all round, and the hair which is left is tied in a knot at the top. The women weave a cloth of jute called mekhri (मीख्री), which is their only dress. It is about three hāths in length and two in breadth and coloured with red, black, and white stripes. This cloth is not worn across the shoulder as is usual amongst Hindu women, but in a straight line across the breasts under the armpits falling down as low as the knees. The use of these mekhris is gradually being discontinued, and cotton cloths are being introduced, coloured in the same way, and worn in the same manner; they are called pātāni (पातानी). The women attend hā's and markets and carry burdens on their heads; they carry their children hanging in a cloth at their backs, and help the men to work in the fields; very few of them wear silver or metal ornaments, but all have bangles of conch shell.

They have no fixed age for marriage; some of the women remain unmarried till they are grown up, while others are married when they are three or four years old. In an ordinary marriage the amount of the dower to be paid by the bridegroom is fixed by the mediation of a Ghatah, called by the Palis 'kamiya' (कामिया). After this is settled the bridegroom's relatives go to the bride's house and give her family betelnut and pay part of the money; this is called (दार्गुया) darguā. When all the money has been paid, the marriage day is fixed and a procession is formed consisting principally of women who go to the bride's house; after they have been welcomed by the girl's family, her sister's husband or some other relative takes her on his back and carries her to the bridegroom's house; the bride is now often brought in a doli; no music or dancing is used at the procession; the women of both the bride and bridegroom's party clap their hands as they go along and pretend to quarrel with each other and repeat the following mantra—

"We have been to the ploughed field
We have come to the bridegroom's house
Where is your water pot to wash our feet."

When the bride reaches the bridegroom's house, his friends plant four plantain trees in the courtyard and connect them with a thatched roof, covering a gunny-cloth spread on the ground on which the bride and bridegroom are made to sit. The bridegroom first of all stands under the roof and the bride makes a pratiksha round him five times, then they sit down facing the east. The bride sits at the right hand of the bridegroom, no priest is required for this marriage, but if a priest is employed, he sits facing the north to the right hand of the bride and bridegroom and recites some mantras. The bride's guardian then gives her to the bridegroom and joins their hands and pours water over them and says, "From this day the honour of the family is in your hands." An offering is then made which is called an "Arghya," though the word seems to be used with a meaning different to that usually ascribed to it; it consists of rice, cowdung, vermillion, a hair comb, and a candlestick with five branches, and two pots of water each containing a mango branch, with a garland of flowers made of sola.

The father and mother of the bridegroom then come and the father places the garland on the bridegroom's head and the mother places it on the bride's head, and then they both make them a present, and throw the pots of water with the mango branches over them. After that they take the arghya and invoke blessings on them, all the friends do the same, and the bride and bridegroom present each other with betelnut, and the bride will distribute rice among the guests. The guardian of the bridegroom then washes the feet of the mahunt, or principal per-
son present, and gives him betelnut, and all
the assembled guests repeat this mantra—

"Take rice and eat,
Let the thorns of time be far away,
Let that which is empty be refilled
Victory to Jagannāth, let there be peace,
The name of Hari is sweet as honey."

The bride and bridegroom then go to the
house of the bride's father, he makes them pre-
sents and the next day they return home.

Widow marriage is commonly practised both
by the Palis and Koch, they call it kāhin (काहिन); it
nearly corresponds to the Musalman nika.
If an elder brother dies leaving a widow, his
younger brother has a right to marry her; if he
refuses to take her she can marry into another
family, but in that case a dower is usually paid
by the bridegroom. In this form of marriage,
five or six widows or married women go by night
and take the widow who is to be married to a
place where three roads meet; in the meantime
the bridegroom takes some vermillion and mixes
it with oil and puts it on a plantain leaf and
goes to the place, one of the women puts the
vermillion on the bride's forehead and another
washes it off again, saying that the name of her
old husband is obliterated while that of a new
husband has taken its place. This is done three
times, and the woman is then taken home and
made to sit with her husband on a piece of cloth,
they then present each other with water, and a
flower made of sola is tied on the bridegroom's
knee and another on the pot containing the
vermillion; the friends who are present are then
feasted, this is all done privately so that no one
can see, no purohit is required for this ceremony,
and no unmarried person is allowed to be pre-
sent.

Another form of marriage is the ghārjiyā
(घारजीया). In this the guardian of a virgin settles
with a man to give him the woman in marriage,
this is arranged through a kamāyā. After the terms
are agreed on, the kamāyā takes some parched
rice and curds and goes to the man's house, and
presents them to him, and then brings him back
to the woman's house. The man is called ghār-
jamai, because he lives in his father-in-law's house;
he occasionally lives there two or three years
before the marriage is completed.

When the marriage ceremony takes place, the
gharjamai is made to sit in the courtyard, and
sprinkled with water from a mango branch, and
after that he presents all the friends who have
assembled with betel.

There is another form of marriage called
dāngiyā (दांगिया,) which is perhaps the most curious
of all. If a widow is rich she selects a husband
for herself, and settles with him through akāmāyā,
the man is called a dāngiyā (दांगिया). When
all is arranged he goes to the widow's house at
night, and strikes against the wall with a lāthi;
on hearing this she comes with a dao, and cuts
the string round his loins, and catching his hand
takes him in and feasts him. He says with tears,
"Rice boiled from uncleaned grain and pulse for
vegetables is the food of a dāngiyā, he has lived
all his life in his father's house;" he is then con-
sidered to be married to her, and takes all the
property her former husband had.

The ceremonies performed after a death are
very similar to those common to all Hindus, and
need not be described at length. The Palis re-
main impure for thirteen days afterwards, some
of them burn and others bury their dead, this
depends on the custom of the family.

At the birth of a child the whole family
remains unclean for five days, which is
called Pāñchi (पांच). Neither the gharbhardhān
गघरभर्डन or panchāmrita (पंचमर्त) ceremonies are
known to them. On the third day after
the birth a fire is lighted in the house
where it took place, and the nurse a Hariani
scatters the ashes on the ground, the house itself
is thoroughly cleaned, this is called Dhyulmusi
(धुलमुशी). On the fifth day the whole house and
its furniture and all the clothes of the family
are cleaned, and a barber is brought who shaves
the whole family; the mother is then made to
sit down in the courtyard and the child's um-
bilical cord is put on it, and covered with khair
(खाई—saline ashes of plantain leaves). Some
turmeric (धुर) and five cowries are also put with
it. The woman faces the east and the barber the
west, and the plantain leaf is put between them.
The barber first cuts the woman's nails, and puts
the parings on the plantain leaf, and then washes
the child, and shaves the father's head, and
after that the child is again bathed and shaved,
this is called dokāmā (डोकाम). The hair which
is shaved from the head of the father is collect-
ed and put on the plantain leaf, and the whole
is afterwards burnt. The barber and father then
bathe together, and the father distributes food
to all the people who are assembled, and gives
the barber some rice and curds, he also makes
him and the nurse a present. The mother next
places her child in a winnowing fan (फल) and
puts it in front of a tulsi tree, which she salutes, after that five or six women take the child to a well, and draw water five times in a lota, in which a mango branch has been placed, the water is poured out as a libation, and the god to whom it is offered is invoked by name. This is called (चुया, चुयाः) chuyāchhuyā; no purusha is required for these ceremonies. The Palis are not acquainted with the usual Hindu ceremonies of shaving the head, boring the ear, and naming a child. Both the Palis and Koch worship the usual Hindu gods, but they have also deities of their own to whom they seem to pay greater respect. The tutelary goddess of the Tista river is almost universally worshipped by them under the name of “barni Thakuranī” in the month of Chait. Some of the ceremonies they practise are very curious and appear to be quite unknown to the common Hindus; amongst them is an annual festival held in honour of Durgā, whom they call Gumbira. The head of a dead man is taken, or if that cannot be procured, a skull which is painted to resemble life and offered before the goddess with singing and dancing.

When the land is suffering from want of rain, the women assemble at night, and covering their bodies with red powder go naked through the village with swords in their hands and singing indecent songs; notice is given beforehand, and no man is allowed to leave his house that night. This ceremony is called hudundyao (हुदूंडय) an expression of which I have not been able to find the exact meaning but या या may possibly be the Sanskrit root य or दीर्घ the heaven and I am told that हुदूंड means “open” but it resembles no Bengali word with which I am acquainted. I should be glad of suggestions on this subject. This interpretation would afford a good meaning, as the women might well be supposed to call on the heavens to open in time of dearth.

The Palis are subdivided into three classes—the Shadu, Bābū, and Desi Palis. The Bābū Palis, or Byabahari, as they are also called, eat pigs and fowls and drink spirits, and the Desi Palis will eat shellfish. Both the Shadu and Bābū Palis use cows in ploughing. The Shadu Palis for the most part follow the tenets of Chaitanya, the founder of the Bairaghi sect. The Koch are the palki bearers of the district; they seem to be about on an equality with the Palis in respect of caste; no Brahman will take water from either Koch or Palis. I am informed that a few Koch are to be found in Dakha and one or two other districts, but the Palis I believe are peculiar to the districts mentioned above.

ON SOME EMINENT CHARACTERS IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

By M. SASHAGIRI S'A STRI, B.A., ACTING SANSKRIT PROFESSOR, MADRAS.

(Continued from page 315.)

KĀLIDĀSA.

Of this great poet nothing is known except his works; nor does he say anything of himself. Some place him at the court of Bhoja, while others say that he was a contemporary of Vikramārka of whose court he is said to have been one of the nine sages. An inscription found by Mr. Wilkins at Buddha Gaya, of which he published a translation, alludes to “the nine gems” (Wilson's preface to the Sanskrit Dictionary.) According to Bhoja charitra he was a contemporary of Bhoja; but this book forfeits all its claim to an authority since it enumerates Bāna Mayūra Bhavabhūti, Māgha and Mallinātha as the contemporaries of that prince. Kālidāsa is said to have been the author of Raaghuvaṇa, Kumāra Sambhava, Meghasandesa, Ritusahāra, Nakoldaya, Setuprabandha, *Śakuntalā, Vikramorvsa, Mālavikāgnimitra, Jyotirvidabharana Śruta-bodhini, Vṛītatārāvali, Śringāratilaka, Praśnottaramālā, and Häsyåravva. We cannot believe that the author of Śakuntalā was the same as the author of Nakoldaya. But there is a tradition that there was a poet at the court of Bhoja, inferior to Kālidāsa, who, grudging the great poet the reputation he had acquired by his excellent works, observed that he could not produce a poem with yamakas and prāsas or puns of...
SANSKRIT AUTHORS.

Nov. 1, 1872]

Various kinds nor a poem with a subject invented by himself. To remove this reproach Kālidāsa, it is said, wrote Nalodaya and Meghasandeśa. Who the opponent of Kālidāsa was, we cannot ascertain, but there is one stanza in the Meghasandeśa which runs—

Adrehéringam harati pavanan kimavidityun
mukhibhih kimsvidityun
mukhibhih kimsvidityun
mukhibhih kimsvidityun
mukhibhih kimsvidityun
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mukhiba

From this it follows that the banishment of Yaksha from the court of Kubera, and his residence in Rāmagiri was a pure invention of Kālidāsa's, but the Kathasaritsāgara alludes to a Yaksha doomed by Kubera to live in the Vinḍhya Mountains. As the author of this book flourished in the eleventh century A.D., he may have borrowed it from Kālidāsa and consequently there is no inconsistency in the tradition. Besides the ordinary meaning there is one which the commentator gives at the end of his commentary on that stanza, from which it is learnt that Nichula was a friend, and Diśnāga an opponent of Kālidāsa's, that the latter out of envy condemned this work not withstanding its merit, and that the poet addressing himself to Megha, i.e., (the Megha Sandeśa) says "you go abroad from this place in which there is a friend of mine called Nichula and spread in the world putting down, as you proceed, the gestures which Diśnāga makes with his hands, expressive of his pride and his disapproval of you and other works of mine."

There is a work in the Oriental Manuscript Library in Madras called Nānārthasabdaratna, the 'Gem of Homonymous words.' It is divided into three nibandhas, and at the end of each it is said to have been written by Kālidāsa. Iti ārikālidāsavivarāchite nānārthasabdaratnetā
kālikeshāntavarādyāntārthavachchhahadapakara
kekaikadhātvarthavichhāramanye prathamam nihbandhanam samāptam. "Thus ends the first nibandha in the Gem of Homonymous words" composed by Kālidāsa, a great poet, which contains words that have (all) the letters from ka to ksha (arranged in order) at their end and which is interesting on account of its discussing (or more properly referring to) the meaning of each dhātu or root. There is also another book called Tarala. This is a commentary on the above book. The author says that his name is Nichula Yogindra, and that he wrote the work at the request of the king Bhoja.

If this be genuine it will no doubt reduce Kālidāsa's antiquity and place him at the court of Bhoja, and thus authenticate all the accounts given of him and the king in the Bhojacharitra. From a philological point of view it will be a very important work demanding the attention of literary students. Now if this had been the work of Kālidāsa who is believed to have been versed in every branch of Sanskrit literature, we might expect that it would be quoted as the Amara, the Viśvaprakāśa, the Śabdārnava, and other lexicons. But if we look into the various commentaries of Amara, and Mallinātha's commentaries on the Raghuvanśa and other poems, we nowhere find the name of this book; nor is Kālidāsa ever quoted as a lexicographer. If he was an author of a Kosha surely his name, or the name of his work would be mentioned by Medinikāra in his list of lexicographers, for Medinikāra mentions the name of each lexicon which he knew or the name of its author. The following is a list enumerating nearly all the authors that have written lexicons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author's names</th>
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<tr>
<td>Katyāyana</td>
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<td>Dhāranidhara</td>
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Hemachandra .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Vāgbhaṭṭa .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Mādhava .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Dharma .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Tārapāla .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Chandragomi .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Vāmana .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Kesavaswāmi .......... Kalpadru.
Yādava .......... Vaṭayanti.
Mahēśvara .......... Vaṭayanti.
Sriharsha .......... Vanavilāsa Dwirūpakośa.
Rājadeva .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Purushottamadeva .......... Trikāndasesha Harāvali.
Bhāma .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Mahīpa .......... Nāmamālā and Anekārthasangraha.
Medinikāra .......... Medini.
Dandāhinathathā .......... Nānārthā Rattamālā.
Rāmeśwaraśarmā .......... Nānārthā Rattamālā.
Padmanābhadatta .......... Bāhūripayoga.
Madhureśa .......... Nānārthā Rattamālā.
Jaṭādhara .......... Nānārthā Rattamālā.
Śivadatta .......... Nānārthā Rattamālā.
Chakrapāṇidatta .......... Nānārthā Rattamālā.
Jayabhāṭṭa .......... Nānārthā Rattamālā.
Sujana .......... Nānārthā Rattamālā.
Hanwira .......... Paryāyapada Manjari.
Vallabhaṃśa .......... Saraswati Vilāsa.
Śarasaṃvata Miśra .......... Visva Medini.
Dhananjayabhattāraka .......... Paryāyasabdaratnakosa Ratnam.

Here we find neither the name of Nānārthā Šabadaratanakosa nor of Kālīṇāśa. To come to the internal evidence:—The work is divided into three chapters each containing a set of homonymous words without any arrangement except its combining into one group words which have the same termination or Pratyaya which are strung together in one Unādistūtra. The object of the Kosha appears to be to illustrate the Unādisūtras, and in this respect it is like the Unādikosha of Rāmaśarma. As a specimen I quote two passages one from the book and the other from its commentary.

From this theory I feel compelled, with the greatest diffidence, to dissent. The character and position of the sculptures discovered in 1845 impress me strongly with the conviction that my conjecture will prove correct; and this point will, I trust, be satisfactorily cleared up if the Government shall be pleased to sanction a thorough investigation of the locality.

The edifice which occupied the site of the mound still known as the Dipal-dinna, or “hill of lights” was probably one of the most magnificent dagopas ever constructed. It seems to have suffered serious damages at an early period, probably during the great Buddhist persecutions in the sixth and twelfth centuries. When the mound was first seen by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Mackenzie in 1797, it was much in the condition in which I found it. He states that, in the year preceding his visit, Venkatadra Naidu, the Vasanreddi Zamindar, in removing a large stone from it for a pagoda he was then building, came on the brick-work of the original edifice, and dug a circular trench, 10 feet wide by 12 feet deep, in hopes of finding additional building material. The central area was still untouched and a mass of rubbish thrown out of the trench prevented any observation of its original state; but he "conjectured that the whole had, previous to its opening, formed a solid circular mound." The sculptures then visible were few and insignificant. The most remarkable, representing a seige, had been removed to some distance, where it served as a covering or roof to one of the small temples frequent on the outskirts of Hindu villages, and appears to have been the same referred to by Mr. Ferguson.

After Captain Mackenzie's visit the zamindar, seized with the idea that the mound contained treasure, sank a shaft down the centre, but only found the covered stone vessel containing a crystal casket with the relic of Buddha. Disappointed in this expectation, he determined to enlarge the excavation, and convert it into a tank or bauri; and in doing so, covered the walls still deeper with the earth thrown out. Of Colonel Mackenzie's operations in 1816 no record remains; but I could not learn that any extensive explorations had been made by his orders. His surveyor probably ascertained the lines represented in his plan by running shafts into the mound at various points. A few stones only were sent by him to Calcutta; I did not see more than four or five in the Asiatic Society's Museum in 1841. A few more that remained exposed were taken to Masulipatam, by direction of Sir Frederick Adam, in 1855-56, for the purpose of ornamenting a proposed choultry or town well; but it never was built, and the sculptures were appropriated by Mr. Alexander, the Master Attendant, after whose death the Collector was ordered to claim them as public property, and they were sent, I believe, to the Central Museum in 1855-56. I observed some more built into walls in Amravati, but not many. These should be examined and reported upon.

It is probable that the other three entrances will be found in a more or less perfect state and that much of the outer wall or "rail" will also be discovered to be erect and in situ, especially on the west half of the circle; whilst the sculptures of the "inner rail," or what I should term the base of the dagop proper, are probably buried deeply under the sides of the excavated tank. Most of the upright slabs laid open by me had never been disturbed, but, as I explained to Mr. Fergusson, a few only had been re-arranged to form a small chamber or shrine in the gate-way; perhaps after the injuries done to the building in the sixth century, and may be due to a later local family, professing Buddhist tenets which is referred to in inscriptions extant in the neighbouring temples, as flourishing in the eleventh or twelfth century.

Some of the stones transported to Madras in 1846 should still remain in the Government Museum, and ought to be carefully preserved as illustrative of the original architecture. Among these I may mention the other lion (regardant), the shafts of the columns immediately under it in the entrance wing, its ribbed melon-shaped base and capital, the miniature dagop of sand-stone that had surmounted the monolithic pillar, etc. The stone vase and the crystal reliquary, which I recovered from the zamindar's sequestrated property in 1863, should also be figured in any future description of the ruins.

The Krishnadivision contains many other Buddhist remains which ought to be explored. About 1840 the Collector, to obtain material for repairing the high road between Bejwada and Bandar, demolished a mound of brick-work, in which were found four stone-vases, each containing a crystal reliquary, not deposited in the centre of the mound as at Dipal-dinna, but in the four sides. The country people called the place Langa-dibba, and ascribed it to a courtezan (larga), the favourite mistress of

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* They are described in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX., pages 275-8.
† *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 152, note.
‡ There is an account of the 'Ruinsof Amravati, Depal-dinna and Darmakota' in the *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XV. (1823) pp. 464-478, taken from a 'Calcutta Journal.' And as it appears from internal evidence (see p. 470) to have been written in 1819, when Col. Mackenzie was in Bengal, and two years before his death, it is probable that it was from his pen. It contains no details of explorations however.—Ed.
§ See Captain Tripe's photographs of the *ElliotMarbles*, p. 29, No. 72.
¶ No. 74 in the same photographs represents the pillar, and Plate 89 in *Tree and Serpent Worship*.
* A similar deposit was found some years ago by the zamindar of Pittapur in the Rajahmandri district.
" The four stone-vases, each containing a crystal box, were seen by Sir Henry Montgomery in 1818, who induced the Raja to send them to the Government Museum where they now are. They were figured in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XV., and Plate 2, but without any description, *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIX. p. 225.
a former Rāja, who built it and several others of a height to enable her to see the lights at Dipalindna. Two of these were said to be at Gudivāda and Bhattipral; and I ascertained that a remarkable mound did exist at the latter place, but I had no time to visit it. Mr. Boswell indicates other sites promising to repay examination. Mr. Boswell alludes in Section VI. (J. A. p. 154) of his paper to a collection of inscriptions:—These, I regret to say, came to an unfortunate end. I had obtained copies of almost all the inscriptions of any value throughout the Northern Sarcars, amounting to several hundreds and filling two large folio-volumes. These, with three volumes of translations, were despatched by my agents in a vessel laden with sugar which encountered a gale in the Bay of Biscay, and shipped a great deal of water. Although soldered in tin-cases, the combined action of the sea-water and sugar completely destroyed them, together with many books, drawings, and other manuscripts. I have still a number of Copper Sāsanams which I hope to utilize. These with three volumes of translations, were despatched by my agents in a vessel laden with sugar which encountered a gale in the Bay of Biscay, and shipped a great deal of water. Although soldered in tin-cases, the combined action of the sea-water and sugar completely destroyed them, together with many books, drawings, and other manuscripts. I have still a number of Copper Sāsanams which I hope to utilize.

ON THE GONDS AND KURRUS OF THE BAITUL DISTRICT.

From the Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Baitul District.||

By W. RAMSAY, Bo.C.S.

The Gonds are found in all the wild and jangal villages, and also in some of the more open ones, where they live chiefly by manual labour in the fields, following the plough or tending cattle. The Kurkus are almost entirely confined to a few taluks of the Saoligarh Pargana, which belongs to a Kurku proprietor, Gainda Patel. Some of the Kurkus are very industrious in the cultivation of rice, but the majority of them are very similar to the Gonds in character and disposition; these latter have no idea, and no wish, beyond living from hand to mouth, taking no thought for the morrow, and consequently obliged to put up with little food and scanty clothing. Their favourite mode of livelihood is by cutting grass and firewood, which they sell in the nearest market, but they also carry on a certain amount of agriculture, chiefly by that method termed Diya. They are thoughtless and improvident beyond measure, and greatly addicted to drink; to obtain which they will put up with any sacrifice; on the other hand, they possess that great merit of most rude and savage tribes, viz., truthfulness, which is developed in them to a remarkable degree, the more so when compared with the opposite character of the Hindu generally in that respect. The Gonds are found more or less over the whole of the range of the Sāthpurahills as far as Amaranathak to the east and also north of the Narmadā.
having a perfectly different religion; they also however claim a Rājput origin, and I believe that some of their chiefs on the hills adjoining Berar still arrogate to themselves the title and privileges of Rājputas. It is popularly believed that the Gonds are divided into 12½ gotas or tribes, corresponding to the 12½ castes into which the Hindus have been divided; but I believe this to be a mere invention of modern times, put forward by some of the Pradāns, or the priest class of Gonds, in affection of Hinduism. The gotas of the Gonds are properly family distinctions, marking different branches of the original stock; as a proof of which I record the fact that only members of different gotas are allowed to intermarry, the wife being adopted into that of her husband. I believe that originally there were but two well recognized gotas, termed "Dhurwa" and "Wika;" from the former the royal race and the chief Thākurs or Chiefs are said to have sprung; and from the latter, the remainder of the population. At the present day, the number of recognized gotas is very great, so much so, that I have failed in meeting anyone who pretended to know the names even of all of them.

As far as I have been able to discover, there are 22 gotas belonging to the "Wika" branch of the race, and 24 to the "Dhurwa." Besides the gotas there are a number of "Jats" as they term them; such are the Pungudyas, Pradāns or priests, Dhotya, Duburyas—makers of liquor to be used at ceremonies,—Chirkyas and Ojās—musicians employed on similar occasions,—Kotyas, who make images of deities, and various other professional divisions; these again are subdivided into the gotas. The whole subject is involved in great obscurity, owing to the want of any records, and the utter ignorance and want of education among even the better situated Chiefs and Thākurs.

The Gond religion is a peculiar one. Besides the subdivision of the race into gotas, the gotas themselves are again divided into classes according to the gods they worship. There are three classes generally recognized, worshipping seven, six, and three gods respectively. The first class comprises, I believe, the Rāj Gonds, the priest caste, and perhaps some others; the second class comprises the bulk of the gotas as its followers, while the three god worshippers are termed "Muraskolas;" there are said to be some gotas that worship five, and some four gods, but this is a matter of some doubt. This is the theory of the religion as expounded by their "wise men;" but the great bulk of the nation know little of these distinctions. They follow in the steps of their fathers in the ceremonies attending marriages, births, and deaths, some of which are very peculiar, all involving more or less outlay on drink, and they all know some god to whom they make their customary offering at stated times. The religion generally of the Gonds may be divided into two heads, which for want of better terms, I would call "precative" and "deprecative;" the one addressing itself to the powers of good, and calling for blessing; the other addressed to the powers of evil, and intended to avert calamity; the latter rites frequently involve the shedding of animal blood as an expiation: of course with such an ignorant race, almost every object of external nature is made at times to serve as the visible symbol of the divinity. The lowest class of Gonds, a sort of outcaste tribe, called "Dhuryam," are even said to worship the dung of pigs! It is hardly possible for the imagination to carry one lower than that.

It is worthy of remark that one of the ceremonies after a death consists in killing a cow and sprinkling its blood over the grave; in default of this it is said that the spirit of the departed refuses to rest, and returns upon earth to haunt its relatives in life. From my own experience I am convinced that this ceremony is by no means universally acted up to, and not at all in the case of Gonds, living in the open country, and in contact with the Hindus. The Gonds as a rule bury their dead; but I have been informed that in the case of Gonds who, as it is expressively termed "die in their beds," that is in easy circumstances and better position than the mass, they are burned after the manner of Hindus. Another peculiar custom of the Gonds is that of serving for a wife in her father's house precisely as Jacob did for Rachel; the period varies from 7 to 10 years.

The language of the Gonds is quite peculiar to themselves, and, as far as I know of it, contains no element of Sanskrit or other roots of the present Hindu languages. The language and religion of the Kurkus are perfectly distinct; the former has a decided affinity to Telugu; their religion consists chiefly in the worship of Mahadeva, whose symbol is the "Linga;" they also worship the sun. Altogether they are much more allied to the Hindus than the Gonds both as regards their language and their religion.

There are but few wandering tribes, and professional criminals are but a handful; this would naturally be the case in a purely agricultural district, possessing no large towns; all have employment, more or less, and consequently the chief incentives to crime are wanting; occasionally dacoities are committed by Banjāras, but these occurrences are few and far between. Formerly the Gonds were the chief offenders in this respect, but they have now been greatly reclaimed from their former habits, and now seldom break out into crime except under pressure of want. As I have said before they live entirely from hand to mouth; during the intervals of the harvests they subsist mostly on jangal produce; during seasons of failure they are utterly dependent on the bounty of the Malguzar, and if the bountiful hand be withheld, want will necessarily drive the sufferers to extremes.

Education must be pronounced to be still in a low state throughout the district generally, though improvement is gradually taking place in this respect.
As yet education has not found its way among the Gonds, and I see little prospect of its doing so for many years to come, or until they have made further advances in general civilization.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Bombay Br. R. Asiatic Society.

At the monthly meeting of the society held on Thursday, the 12th September 1872. Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., read a paper on the Gonds, and I see little prospect of its doing so Thursday, the 12th September 1872. Professor Ramdate of the Mahābhārata, of which the following is an abstract—

There is a notice by Colebrooke, in the 9th vol. of the Asiatic Researches, of a copper plate grant in the possession of some Brahmans in Southern India, purporting to be from Janamejaya, of the race of the Pándavas. This king is described in the grant in the same terms as in the Mahābhārata. The grant was pronounced to be spurious by Colebrooke, since it appeared to be very modern. From the solar eclipse mentioned in the abstract:

\[ April 1521 \text{ A.D.} \]

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The earliest literary date is that of Patanjali. Prof. Goldstücker places him in the second century B.C., and the writer of this has recently discovered that he lived in the reign of Pushpadattra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, who reigned from B.C. 178 to B.C. 142. Pāṇini must have preceded him by about three centuries, and the Sūtras and Grihya Sūtras of the three Vedas, must have preceded Pāṇini, or some of them were probably written about the same time with him. The Sūtras again presuppose the Brāhmaṇas, between which and them a considerable interval must have elapsed. Now the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣhit and Bhārata, the son of Dushyanta, as very powerful kings (VIII. 21, 23). This shows at least that some of the elements of the story in the Mahābhārata run far into antiquity. In the Grihya Sūtra of Aśvaśayana the name of the Mahābhārata occurs. It is questioned whether the Mahābhārata here referred to contained the story of the Kurus as the epic now known by that name does. But the question does not appear reasonable, since another author (Pāṇini), who probably lived soon after, or at about the same time, mentions the names of some of the characters in the story, and the name of the poem also. Pāṇini in his Sūtras, not Gānas, mentions Vāsudeva and Arjuna (IV. 3. 98), Yudhishṭhīra (VIII. 3. 96) and the Mahābhārata, (VI. 2. 38). The first is a remarkable rule, for it teaches the formation of derivatives from these names signifying persons devoted to or worshipping Vāsudeva or Arjuna. And the manner in which they are mentioned together, reminds one of the great friendship which, according to the Mahābhārata, existed between them, and looks like a reference to the representation of those heroes contained in that poem. Patanjali, in his commentary on this Sūtra, says no reason why Vāsudeva should have been mentioned in this Sūtra, since the same derivative from the name is taught in another rule. He says this Vāsudeva is the name of the great god Vāsudeva, thus showing that in his time, and even in those of Pāṇini, the heroes of the Mahābhārata had come to be worshipped as gods. Patanjali gives

For he tells us that he was patronized by Sri Harsha the same as Harshavarman (the contemporary of Hiwen Thsang) who was conquered by Satyas'raya, a Chālukya prince mentioned in the Iwalli inscription as then reigning, and whose great-grandson was on the throne in 705 A.D. (Dr. Hall's edn, of Vaisaradatta p. 14, 17, notes, and Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. Vol. III., p. 203-11). Kalidāsa lived before Bāna, as he is mentioned as a famous poet by the latter in his Harsha-Charita. Bāna flourished in the first-half of the seventh century. For he tells us that he was patronized by Śrī Harsha the same as Harshavarman (the contemporary of Hiwen Thsang) who was conquered by Satyas'raya, a Chālukya prince mentioned in the Iwalli inscription as then reigning, and whose great-grandson was on the throne in 705 A.D. (Dr. Hall's edn, of Vaisaradatta p. 14, 17, notes, and Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. Vol. III., p. 203-11). Kalidāsa lived before Bāna, as he is mentioned as a famous poet by the latter in his Harsha-Charita. Bāna flourished in the first-half of the seventh century. For he tells us that he was patronized by Śrī Harsha the same as Harshavarman (the contemporary of Hiwen Thsang) who was conquered by Satyas'raya, a Chālukya prince mentioned in the Iwalli inscription as then reigning, and whose great-grandson was on the throne in 705 A.D. (Dr. Hall's edn, of Vaisaradatta p. 14, 17, notes, and Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. Vol. III., p. 203-11). Kalidāsa lived before Bāna, as he is mentioned as a famous poet by the latter in his Harsha-Charita. Bāna flourished in the first-half of the seventh century. For he tells us that he was patronized by Śrī Harsha the same as Harshavarman (the contemporary of Hiwen Thsang) who was conquered by Satyas'raya, a Chālukya prince mentioned in the Iwalli inscription as then reigning, and whose great-grandson was on the throne in 705 A.D. (Dr. Hall's edn, of Vaisaradatta p. 14, 17, notes, and Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. Vol. III., p. 203-11). Kalidāsa lived before Bāna, as he is mentioned as a famous poet by the latter in his Harsha-Charita. Bāna flourished in the first-half of the seventh century. For he tells us that he was patronized by Śrī Harsha the same as Harshavarman (the contemporary of Hiwen Thsang) who was conquered by Satyas'raya, a Chālukya prince mentioned in the Iwalli inscription as then reigning, and whose great-grandson was on the throne in 705 A.D. (Dr. Hall's edn, of Vaisaradatta p. 14, 17, notes, and Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. Vol. III., p. 203-11). Kalidāsa lived before Bāna, as he is mentioned as a famous poet by the latter in his Harsha-Charita. Bāna flourished in the first-half of the seventh century. For he tells us that he was patronized by Śrī Harsha the same as Harshavarman (the contemporary of Hiwen Thsang) who was conquered by Satyas'raya, a Chālukya prince mentioned in the Iwalli inscription as then reigning, and whose great-grandson was on the throne in 705 A.D. (Dr. Hall's edn, of Vaisaradatta p. 14, 17, notes, and Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. Vol. III., p. 203-11). Kalidāsa lived before Bāna, as he is mentioned as a famous poet by the latter in his Harsha-Charita. Bāna flourished in the first-half of the seventh century. For he tells us that he was patronized by Śrī Harsha the same as Harshavarman (the contemporary of Hiwen Thsang) who was conquered by Satyas'raya, a Chālukya prince mentioned in the Iwalli inscription as then reigning, and whose great-grandson was on the throne in 705 A.D. (Dr. Hall's edn, of Vaisaradatta p. 14, 17, notes, and Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. Vol. III., p. 203-11). Kalidāsa lived before Bāna, as he is mentioned as a famous poet by the latter in his Harsha-Charita. Bāna flourished in the first-half of the seventh century. For he tells us that he was patronized by Śrī Harsha the same as Harshavarman (the contemporary of Hiwen Thsang) who was conquered by Satyas'raya, a Chālukya prince mentioned in the Iwalli inscription as then reigning, and whose great-grandson was on the throne in 705 A.D. (Dr. Hall's edn, of Vaisaradatta p. 14, 17, notes, and Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. Vol. III., p. 203-11). Kalidāsa lived before Bāna, as he is mentioned as a famous poet by the latter in his Harsha-Charita. Bāna flourished in the first-half of the seventh century.
name of the Bhārata, and the death of Pāṇdu, by the
curse of Kindama Muni, his wife Pritha having re-
mained a widow all her life, the death of Abhimanyu,
the widowhood of Uttārā, Arjuna's being killed by
Babhruvāsana, and afterwards restored to life by Utupi,
and several other incidents are alluded to in different
parts of the work. (Kod. Cal. edn. of Samv. 1919,
p. 57, 138, 103, 196, 197.) The Mahābhārata then
existed in a form, complete so far as concerns the
main story, in the first-half of the 7th century A.D.
Béna mentions a work called Vāsavadattā, in the
Harsha Charita, (Dr. Hall's Vāsavadattā, p. 13), which
is very probably a tale of that name by Subandhu.
Subandhu is mentioned in a verse by Rágasekharā,
from whose works there are quotations in the Saras-
vatl-Kanṭhabharana (Dr. Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat. p. 209a)
attributed to King Bhoja, and consequently to be re-
ferred to the early part of the 11th century A.D.
Subandhu's Vāsavadattā contains allusions to Bhūna's
having killed the giant Baka, to the skill of the
Pāndavas in gambling, to the Chikhasās, the officers
of king Vīrāṅga, Arjuna, Duḥśāsana and others. The name
of the Mahābhārata also occurs several times (Dr.
Hall's edition, p. 15, 21, 27, 33, 70, 106, 147.)
One of the characters in the Mṛchchhakatikā, a very old
play, mis-quotes the Mahābhārata. According
to him Draupadī is dragged by the hair by Rāma
instead of Duḥśāsana, Subhadra becomes the sister of
Visvāvasu and not Krishna, and she is carried away
by Hanumān, instead of Arjuna. There are also many
allusions in other parts of the play (Cald. edn. of
Sakā 1792, p. 28, 31, 109, 199.) Mṛchchhakatikā is
mentioned in Dhanika's commentary on the Daśārūpa.
There is a commentary by Sānkaračārya on the
Bhagavadgītā, an episode of the Mahābhārata. In his
principal work the Bhaṭshaṭa on the Vedānta Śūtras
there are quotations from the Bhagavadgītā, (Bibl.,
the Śāvityrupakāhāna, in the Sarvaparva of the
Mahābhārata, occurs in the comments on Śūtra
1.3, 24 (1b. p. 276.) Sānkaračārya is considered to
have lived in the 9th century. In a Tamil chronicle
he is spoken of as having converted a king of Chera
of the name of Tiru Vikrama, recently discovered, it appears that
this king probably reigned in 346 A.D., and another of
the same name in 826 A.D. The drama of the Ven-
sanhaṭra by Bhatta Nārāyana is based on the latter part
of the story of the Mahābhārata. In the prologue
Nārāyana speaks of Krishna Dvaipāyana, the author of
the Mahābhārata, in terms of reverence. The Kirā-
tárjunīya of Bhāravi and the Siśūpālaśāvadha of Māchā
are also based on parts of the Bhārata story. There
are quotations from these works in Dhanika's, commen-
tary on the Daśārūpa by Dhananjaya (Dr. Hall's edn.
pp. 118, 142, 143, 146, 150, 151, 152, &c., &c.) Dhan-
ika was possibly the brother of Dhananjaya, who was
patronized by Munja, uncle of Bhoja. A copperplate
grant of the latter part of the 10th century mentions a
Dhanika, who is very probably the same as the commen-
tator of the Daśārūpa. (Dr. Hall's Daśārūpa, p. 3,
notes.) These authors are also quoted in the Sarasvatī
Kanṭhabharana.

Hemadri tells us that he was a minister to Mahādeva,
a Yādava king of Devagiri, who, according to Mr. Elliot,
ascended the throne in 1182 Saka, i.e., 1200 A.D. (Jour.
R.A.S. Vol IV. p. 28.) In the Daśārūpa of this author
there are many quotations from the Mahābhārata. Theu
Jñānes'vara, a Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgītā,
was written, as the author tells us, in 1212 Saka, i.e.,
1290 A.D. Jñānes'vara speaks of the Mahābhārata in
terms of reverence, and we are told that the Bhagavadgītā is an episode occurring in the
Bhishmaparva of that work, as it does in our
existing copies. Sāyana was a Minister of Bukka,
king of Vijaynagar, whom he mentions in all his
works. Bukka was on the throne in 1334 A.D. (Prin-
s'eps Chres. Tab.) Sāyana mentions the Mahābhārata,
and quotes from the work in the Sarvadarśana Sa-
graha (Bibl. Jad. p. 64, 128.) in the commentary on
Pāraśara's other works (Prof. Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat.
p. 265a, 266b.) In the Sarvadarśana Sarvagraha (p. 172)
there are quotations from the Kāvyaprakāsa and this
latter quotes from the Veniśahāra. Sārṇgadīvara, in
his Pañchadīvara tells us that his grandfather was patron-
ized by Hammira, a Chauhān prince, who came to the
throne, according to Col. Tod, in 1300 A.D. (Dr.
Hall's Vāsavadattā, p. 48 notes.) Sārṇgadīvara's work
contains verses from the Veniśahāra, Kirātarjunīya,
Siśūpālaśāvadha, Bhagavadgītā and other parts of the
Mahābhārata.

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**REVIEW.**

A TRACT ON SACRIFICE (Yajñātantrasudhāniḍh) by Revd. F. Kittel, Basel M. Soc. Mangalore, 1872.
12mo. pp. 184.

The west coast of India has been for nearly three
centuries the seat of a very considerable literary
activity. By the end of the 17th century the Goa
Jesuits had introduced printing and published many
Konkani works in the roman character, which they
first used in a scientific manner. In the 17th and
18th centuries they and the Carmelites continued
the work of research chiefly in the Cochin territory.
At the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th
centuries all enquiry seems to have died out, but
since 1835 the Basel Missionaries have amply made
up for previous deficiencies, and both by the import-
ance and also by the number of their works, they
have surpassed already all that had been done be-
fore. Dr. Gündert's Malayalam Grammar and Dic-
tionary are well known to every philologist as proof
of German patient labour and true science. The
little work now noticed is by a well known member
of the same society, and though essentially a Mis-
sionary work, it deserves being brought to the
attention of all interested in India on account of the
mass of information it contains on the ancient
Vedic sacrifices. The use to which this is applied
does not come within the scope of the Indian Anti-
quary, but many persons will be glad to know that
they can here find a thoroughly trustworthy and accurate, though brief, account of all the ancient Vedic rites. Information of this nature has hitherto been obtainable only from rare Sanskrit MSS. or scattered and, to the general public, inaccessible, articles in scientific German periodicals. In pp. 20-48 the learned author gives the essential parts of each of the twenty-one sacrifices according to the usual arrangement, and he also gives copious reference to the Srautastūtra printed and MSS. the Brāhmaṇas and Sāhitās, with very appropriate explanations of the meaning and purpose of the rites.

The Indian sacrificial rites are very numerous and often exceedingly complex; they therefore form a very uninviting object of study. But some knowledge of them is necessary to all who would understand even the modern Sanskrit literature and Hindu ideas, and Mr. Kittel's tract will, I think, be found the most useful aid to be had at present by students who cannot have recourse to the original texts. The object of this "Tract" is purely Missionary, but the description of the Vedic rites is of general interest, and is throughout well done.

A. B.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

WAS SIHARAS THE SAME AS S'RI'HARSHA?

Sir,—I do not know whether the Siharas of the Chachnāma, (Sir H. Elliot's Hist. of India, p. 153) has ever been explained to mean Sri Harsha, but it appears to me that it would be a very natural Prakrit form of that name. The loss of the R and the change of S into Š are very common phenomena, illustrated by the conversion of the Sanskrit Śrāvasti into the Prakrit Śāvattha. I therefore venture to suggest that Siharas of Kanauj is really Śrī Harsha as pronounced in the local dialect with which the author of the Chachnāma was brought into connection. Now if this Śrī Harsha was Harshavarman the second, the predecessor of Hiwen Thang's Śīlāditya (and the name of his father as given in the Chachnāma, Rāsal, looks suspiciously like a corruption of Rājyavandhana, whom we know to have been the father Harshavarman II.) it is obvious that the Chachnāma is guilty of a gross anachronism in making him fight with an uncle of Rai Dāhir of Sindh.

The date of the composition of the Chachna ma is involved in obscurity, but it appears to me that this argument makes it very unlikely that it could have been before the death of Mahammad Kāsim. There are other facts tending to throw suspicion on the book, such as its romantic stories, and the bier trouvē name of Buthiman for the prime minister of Chach. The only possible way out of the difficulty that I can suggest is that Śrī Harsha might have been used as a family name for the Bais Kings of Kanauj, and refers to the last of the series Jayāditya, but there is nothing whatever to show that this was the case, and the name Rāsal, as well as the existence of another family name Aditya, makes the supposition unlikely.

This anachronism relates to an event which at the outside could not have occurred more than thirty years before the Arab conquest of Sindh, and I have invariably found oral tradition pretty accurate in its chronology for at least eighty or a hundred years. Beyond that, of course, it gets wild in the extreme. It is not likely that the author of the Chachnāna, if he was co-temporary with the events he describes could have been so grossly mis-informed about quite recent occurrences.

W. C. BENNET.

Gondah, Oudh, 26th January 1872.

GINGER.

As regards Ginger, the derivation of which Col. Yule asks about (I.A. p. 321),—it is supposed to be from the Sanskrit Śrīgava (see Colebrooke, Amarakosha, II. ix. s 43, 37), but this is derived from the Malayālam name of the plant, and the Greeks probably took it direct from the same. In Malabar green ginger is called i nch i and in chiver is from inchi, 'root'. Inchi was probably in an earlier form of the language y i st i or c h i st i, as we find it in Canarese stānt i. Ginger is chiefly exported even now from Malabar, and in earlier times the Greeks procured it almost exclusively from that province, so that there is every probability that the name is Dravidian and not Sanskrit. If we look at the form of the Sanskrit word, it is impossible to doubt that it is a foreign word altered by the Brahman, who, by their pedantry, disguise all they meddle with.

A. C. BURNELL.

Mangalore, Oct. 17th, 1872.

BELGAM FAIR.

Fairs in honour of Lakshmi are very common in the Southern Marātha Country. They are celebrated once in two years in almost all large places. The fair of Belgam however surpasses all the others. It takes place every twelfth year. The goddess Lakshmi is held in great veneration by the common people; but this goddess is not the same as that celebrated in Purānas. The tradition about the origin of this fair is as follows:—

A son of a Māhār left his home and went to a village where he used to pass through a street, on one side of which was the house of a Brahman who taught boys to recite the Veda. The Māhār's son
took this opportunity of learning by heart some part of the Vedas and made himself acquainted with all the duties of a Brahman. When this lad had accomplished this he put on a sacred thread and gave out that he was the son of a Brahman and easily passed for a such because he had learned everything that a Brahman is expected to know. He then went to the house of the Brahman who taught Vedas and asked his permission to learn with the other boys. The Brahman readily gave; for his strong memory and intelligence gave promise that he would turn out a celebrated Vaidika (one who knows Vedas by heart.) The boy soon gained the favour of his teacher, who gave him his daughter in marriage. After residing for a few months after his marriage with his father-in-law he went back to his native place and made his parents acquainted with all his adventures. He built a separate house that he might live in it with his wife, and after binding the people of his caste by a promise that they would not divulge the secret of his caste to his wife, he went again to his father-in-law's house and took her to his newly built house. Notwithstanding the precautions, the Brahman girl heard enough of his low caste. No words can describe her indignation when she learned that she was wedded to a Mâhâr. Immediately she returned to her father's house and poured a torrent of abuse on him. After this she returned to her husband and attempted to kill him; but he escaped from her grasp and entered the body of a buffalo which was killed by her. She also set fire to the house in which her mother-in-law was residing, and finally became a dêvi or goddess after her death. It is in honour of this goddess that the fairs are celebrated and buffaloes killed.

I have given the substance of what I was able to gather from inquiries among the common people of this place. In Belgâm a large car of the height of about fifty feet is prepared every twelve years, and a statue of the goddess is placed on it and carried in procession through the thoroughfares of the town. The car of this year was so heavy that it required three days to draw it through the town though some two hundred men were pulling it. When this car reached the green between the town and the fort of Belgâm, twelve buffaloes and hundreds of goats were killed. A large concourse of people was assembled on the green. There was a dispute as to who should kill the first buffalo between two Patels, each of whom claimed the right. Everywhere on the green the work of slaughtering went on on the 14th July last. The head of the buffalo which was borne in procession before the car was carried round the town and buried in the ground and over it a small hut was built. During the twelve days on which Lakshmi remains in a temporary shed on the green, no mills are allowed to grind.

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* See *Indian Antiquary* p. 251 and Aufrecht's *Catalogue 209a* there cited.

† P. 30. Prof. Cowell's Preface to Mr. Boyd's *Nagananda*
Tārānāth" to be quoted from by Gangesopādhyāya, one of the greatest of the Naiyāyikas of Bengal. But I was not till lately aware of the century in which that great logician flourished, and Dr. Hall's catalogue gave no help in that direction. I have since found it stated, however, in the second number of Mookerjee's Magazine, (following apparently the statement to the same effect in Bābu Rājandralāla Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. I. Part III.) that Gangesopādhyāya lived seven centuries ago. This date, I take it for granted, either originates in, or is confirmed by, the traditions belonging to the school of Nuddea with which Gangesopādhyāya's name is connected. And assuming it to be correct, it follows that Vāchaspati Miśra should be assigned to somewhere about the eleventh century, and the dates of Harsha and Udayana as based upon his, should undergo a corresponding modification. With that modification it will be seen that this argument also as now developed supports the conclusion of the foregoing one in the more precise form which it has assumed.

KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG.

17th October 1872.

AJANTA FRESCOES.

LOVERS of art all over the world are growing keenly alive to the importance of preserving accurate and careful records of the old works while there is yet time, before each tinge has wholly escaped the plaster. They will be glad to know that Mr. Griffiths, of the Bombay School of Arts, goes with a few of his students to the Caves of Ajantā at the end of November, to copy the very beautifully painted decoration which still clings to the walls in spite of damp, neglect, bats, and the relentless tooth of time.—Pioneer.

ELEPHANTA CAVEs.

On the representations of Mr. Burgess to the Government of Bombay respecting the conservation of the Caves at Elephanta, the Government of India has sanctioned a monthly expenditure of Rs. 50 for their protection, and the Public Works Department is directed to carry out, in communication with Mr. Burgess, the improvements he has suggested. These include fencing at the entrance to keep out cattle, proper drainage to prevent water standing in the caves during the rains, and the removal of the earth accumulated at the main entrance of the great cave.

CONCLUDING VERSES OF THE PRITHIRAJA RASAU.

By the son and successor of Chand, relating to the sack of Delhi and the death of Prince Raina-śi, the son of Prithvirāja.

"Glory to Prithvirāja! Renown to the Chauhān.

Renown to Prince Raina-śi who gave his head for the land, watered with his blood. Unfading be the wreath of praise. He, whose wisdom is blind, cannot understand this story. Should princes not reward you† in reading it, munmur not, Hīngalāj will reward you. To hear the renown of Prithwirāja, the jackal would assume the part of the lion. To hear the renown of Prithwirāja, the miser would unlock his stores. To hear the renown of Prithwirāja, the dumb would shake his head in delight; for its relation is a sea of virtues. The ignorant, on hearing it, will become stored with wisdom. In hearing it, the coward will become a hero. It is not the bard who says this, it is Sarasvati herself: for Uma delights to hear it; and the lord of the lyre dwells in its praise. The ills of life it can remove; it will remove even your foe. It can bestow offspring and riches; and, though death it cannot remove, it can cause it to be envied."—(Trans. R. As. Soc., Vol. I, pp. 153, 154.)

Honour to Prithvirāja's name!
To Raina-śi eternal fame,
Who for his sinking country fell!
Let deathless verse their glory tell,
In strains that with their martial fire,
May every mortal breast inspire,
Instruct the dullest, rudest boor,
In strains so soothing immortal ears,
And Uma's self enraptured hears.
What can ensure such rich reward,
As eulogy from tongue of bard?
It cures all ills, subdues all foes,
As eulogy from tongue of bard?
What can ensure such rich reward,
As eulogy from tongue of bard?
It cures all ills, subdues all foes,
As eulogy from tongue of bard?

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD "LOOSAI.

HAVING been frequently asked the origin of the word "Loosai," I endeavoured, in my last interview with the chief Dambum (Poiboi's governor and present minister), to obtain this information from him, and, as far as the imperfect means of communicating with him through a rude interpreter permitted, ascertained that the word was derived from "Loosai Kor," the name of a place at present inhabited by the Saibi and Holugno Howloongs, probably the Hkonugtso mentioned by Mr. St. John of America. This country is said to lie between the Loosais and Poois east of the head of the Koladain river. The Loosais were at one time a weak and unimportant tribe, but the country alluded to being healthy and productive, they increased to a great extent, and then took the name of their place of residence, and thus became Loosais, just as the people of Wales are called Welshmen.—Major-General W. F. Nuttall, in the Englishman.

* See the Skōkhyatattvakāumudī Introduction p. 8. It is much to be wished that Professor Tārānāth would give us the authority for this statement.

† Addressed to his brother, and future bards.

‡ The patroness of bards.

§ Narada.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF PURUSHOTTAM DEB.

A. D. 1483.

Obverse.
Reverse.
ON A COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM BALASORE (A. D. 1483.)

By JOHN BEAMES, B. C. S., &c.

This plate is in the possession of the Bhuyāns of Garhpadā, an ancient and respectable family of zamindars. Their estate of Garhpadā is situated on a rocky spur of the Moharbanj hills about 15 miles north of the station of Balasore. The plate records the grant of the estate to their ancestor, Poteswar Bhat, a Brahman by Rája Purushottam Deb, King of Orissa. This monarch ascended the throne in A.D. 1478 and the 5th year of his reign, the date of the grant, would be therefore 1483. The Bhuyāns however read it the 25th year of his reign which would make it 1503. This I shall show presently is incorrect. The text in Roman characters is as follows:

Obverse.

"Śri jaya durgāyainamah | bira Śrīgajapati gañreshwara nava | koti karnātaka-vargeswara Śrī purushottama deva maharājaunark | poteswara bhataniku dāna sāsana paṭā | e 5 anka mesha di 10am somābāra grahaṇa-kāle gaṅgā-garbhe purushottampura sāsana bhūmi chaudasa ashtottara bāl1408ṭi dāna delun e bhūmi yāvachchān dārke putra pautrādipurushānukrame bhoga karu thibā jalārāma nikhşepa sahit bhūmi delun.

Reverse.

Yāvach chandraśchastiryaschayavat tishhati medini |
Yāvad dattāmayāhv eshā sasya | yuktā basun dharā ||
Swaddattām paradattām vā brahmaṃyittim haret yaḥ |
Shashṭir varshaḥsaheśrāṇi viṣṭāyām jāyate kṛṣṇaṃ |
Śrī madangopalāḥ | śaṇanam mama.

Translation.

Reverence to Śrī Jaya Durgā. Of the hero, the illustrious Gajapati, lord of Gañ, lord of the tribes [of the country] of the nine forts, Karnatā and Utkala Śrī Purushottam Deb Mahārāja to Poteswar Bhat a deed of gift of a śāsan. In this fifth year of my reign the tenth day of Mesh, Monday, at the time of an eclipse, in the womb of Gaṅgā, I have given Purushottampura Śāsan land fourteen [hundred] and eight besides, ba 1408 tis, as a gift. This land as long as the moon and sun, son, grandson and the rest, generation after generation remaining I have given the land together with its tanks and gardens.

(The above is in Oriya; the rest is in Sanskrit.)

Reverse.

As long as the moon and the sun, as long as the earth shall stand,
So long be the gift upheld of this rich grain-bearing land;
Whoso of his own or another's gift a Brahman shall deprive,
For sixty thousand years a worm in dung shall be born and live.

Śrī Madanagopal my protection.

The marks at the end are; first, the ḍakūṣh or elephant goad, the special sign manual of the kings of Orissa, referring to their ancient title of Gajapati or lord of elephants; second, the śaṅkh or conch-shell of Viṣṇu (Jagannāth), third and fourth the khandā or straight sword, and the katar or dagger, both emblems of the warrior-caste, the khanḍā belonging especially to the hill-people, and the katar to those of the plains.

With regard to the wording of the deed one or two points may perhaps stand in need of explanation.

Gaureshwara or lord of Gañ i.e. Bengal, is a constant empty boast of the kings of Orissa, who claimed to rule from the great to the little Gaṅgā, i.e. from Gaṅgā to Godāvari. Their kingdom did frequently stretch as far as the latter river, and even beyond it; but only twice in all their annals did they reach the Ganges and then only for a brief period each time.

"Karnātaka kala" is a mistake of the engraver for karnāṭottaka "Karnata and Utkala," the form which occurs in all the deeds and descriptions of the monarchs of Orissa. This very Purushottam Deb conquered Kanjikaveri or Converam and spent the greater part of his reign on the Godavery. The expression later on in this plate "Gaṅgāgarbha" probably refers to that river the "Sāngangā" or little Ganges of the Oriyas as there is no record of this king's having ever visited the great Ganges.

"Śāsan" in Orissa is a patch of rent-free land with a village inhabited and cultivated exclusively by Brahmans, generally on behalf of some god, whose temple is in their village and whose worship they are theoretically bound to keep up. As a rule the poor thakur gets very little worship and the money goes into the Brahman's bellies.
or on to their backs. These Brahman's Śāsans are scattered all over the country and are detected at once by the large comfortable homesteads, the groves of cocoa-palms and fruit trees and the generally superior style of cultivation. The cocoa-palm flourishes well in Orissa, but is not grown except by Brahmans owing to the popular superstition that if a man of another caste plants them, he or his children will die in a year and a day.

"e 5 anka." The letter which I read e this' was read by the Bhuyāns as a 2 which it only very distantly resembles.

"Mesha"—the sign Aries, and technical name for the month Baisakh (see my note at p. 64 Indian Antiquary.)

"Di10am” and “bā1408ti.” This is the Oriya fashion of writing figures, the name of the article is divided in two and the numbers written in between, the above forms stand for 10 diam, and 1408 bātī respectively. Thus they would write 10 rupees, ta10nka = 10 tanka; 5 maunds would be mānā, 30 years ba30tāsara, and so on.

"Chaudasa ashtottara" here again the engraver has omitted the letter t he should have written “Chaida sata”—fourteen hundred. As the grant is in Oriya and not in Sanskrit perhaps he meant the sa to do duty for sau, as the short vowel is pronounced o, and Oriyas often carelessly write so, no for sau, nau. The grant of so vast a tract of country to a single Brahman (1408 batis = 28,160 acres) seems to support the native tradition that Garhpaśā and the adjacent country was at that time uninhabited, or at least only sparsely peopled, and this idea is further countenanced by the fact that the king gives his own name to the grant, calling it "Parushottampur Śāsan."

The reverse contains merely the usual Sanskrit formula observed in all such grants.

The subsequent history of the Śāsan is singular and interesting. Potesar Bhat obtained possession and he and his descendants held the estate for some generations. In the reign of the bigoted Emperor Aurangzeb, however, Sarbesar Bhat, the then proprietor, was ousted by the Rāja of Moharbhānj whose territories adjoined the grant. The Bhat applied to the Subah of Bengal who sent a small force and drove away the Rāja's troops. Before restoring the land however to the Brahman, he demanded payment of the expenses of the expedition. The Brahman in vain represented that having been dispossessed of his land, he was unable to pay; the Subah refused restitution. Sarbesar then journeyed all the way to Agra where he laid his case before the Emperor. Aurangzeb was no lover of the Brahmans and paid very little attention to him, and at last to get rid of him tauntingly told him he should have his land back and be let off paying the costs of the expedition if he would turn Musulman. The Brahman resisted for a long time, but finding that the Emperor was deaf to remonstrances, he eventually consented, embraced Islam and returned to Orissa with an order for his restitution to his estates. Since that time the family has been Muhammadan, and the present head of it, Ghulam Mustafa Khan, and his brothers are men with quite a Mughal type of countenance, probably derived from frequent intermarriages with Mughul and Pathan ladies.

The archaic form of the letters in this grant renders it very valuable as showing the gradual development of the modern Oriya alphabet from a southern variety of the Kutila type. I would call attention to the two forms of the \( \mathfrak{c} \), also to the double \( \mathfrak{c} \), and the \( \mathfrak{f} \); The appended \( \mathfrak{c} \) and \( \mathfrak{f} \) are also very antiquated and singular, shewing especially the absence of all distinction between the long and short \( \mathfrak{c} \) and the gradual growth of the now somewhat abnormal \( \mathfrak{c} \).

ON THE DERIVATION OF SOME PECULIAR Gaurian VERBS.

By Rev. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, D. Ph. TÜBINGEN,
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By the term Gaurian I understand the Sanskritic vernaculars of North India.

The Gaurian languages possess a class of verbs which, though, as a rule, easily traceable to a Prākrit or Sanskrit origin, they have not received from either the one or the other language, but have formed by a process peculiar to themselves.

All Sanskrit and Prākrit verbs can be divided into their component parts, viz., the conjugational affix, the verbal base, and the root; e.g., 'kathayati' consists of the affix ti of the 3rd
Gaurian verbs.

Pers. sing. pres., of the base 'kathaya,' and of the root 'kath' (which last is obtained by separating the affix of verbal derivation 'aya' from the verbal base 'kathaya'). Similarly the Prākrit 'kahei' consists of the affix i, the verbal base 'kahe,' and the root 'kaha.' Now in most cases the Sanskrit verbs have passed through the Prākrit on to the Gaurian, merely subject to certain phonetic modifications; as Sanskrit 'kathayati' becomes in Prākrit 'pavisai,' and in Gaurian (Hindi) 'paise,' where the affix, being a final short vowel, has been dropped according to a general Gaurian phonetic law [compare Sanskrit (Vedic) 'chalya' Prāk. 'chalia,' Gaur. 'chali' or 'chal.'] In some cases, however, the Gaurian has lost the original base of the verb, and replaces it by a new base of its own formation. This new base is the participle perf. pass. formed from the root of the verb which the original verbal base has been lost; and to this new or secondary verbal base all the conjugational affixes are added, exactly as they would have been added to the original verbal base, if it had not been lost.

The verbs formed in this manner may be considered as a kind of nominal verbs; only that these secondary verbs, being substitutes for the lost original verbs, are in meaning identical with the latter. If we should suppose that the English language had lost the verb "to draw" with its whole conjugation excepting the past part. "drawn," and had formed from this participle a new verb "to draw," but with the same meaning as "to draw," and conjugated regularly, thus pres. "he draws," past "he drawn," fut. "he will draw," &c., we should have an exact parallel of what has actually happened in Gaurian. A few examples will fully illustrate this.

In Sanskrit there is a root 'viś' which with the prefix 'pra' (i.e., 'praviś') means "to enter"; and with the prefix 'upa' (i.e., 'upaviś') "to sit." Their respective verbal bases (adding the derivational affix a) are 'praviśa' and 'upaviśa.' The 3rd pers. sing. pres. (adding the inflexional affix ti) are 'praviśati' and 'upaviśati.' In Prākrit these forms are found in the modified form 'pavisai' and 'uvavisai.' In Gaurian, on the other hand, not only these forms but the whole conjugation of 'praviśa' and 'upaviśa' have disappeared altogether; and in their place we find substituted the two verbs 'paiṭhāna' and 'baiṭhāna' with a regular and complete conjugation, e.g., the 3rd pers. sing. pres. of 'paiṭhāna' and 'baiṭhāna' are 'paithe' and 'baithe,' just as 'paise' and 'baise' which would be the regular Gaurian modification of the Prākrit forms 'pavisai' and 'uvavisai,' if they had passed into the Gaurian. It is not difficult to recognize the principle and method of formation of these two new verbs. Their verbal bases are 'paitha' and 'baitha'; and these, as can be very easily shown, are identical with the past part. pass. of the roots 'praviś' and 'upaviś,' viz., with 'praviṣṭha' and 'upaviṣṭha,' of which they are merely phonetic modifications according to regular phonetic laws; namely, Sanskrit 'praviṣṭha' becomes in early Prākrit 'paviṭṭha,' in later Prākrit 'paitthā,' in Gaurian (Hindi) 'paiṭha.' Similarly Sanskrit 'upaviṣṭha' becomes in early Prākrit 'uvaviṭṭha,' in later Prākrit 'uaiṭṭha,' in Gaurian (Hindi) 'vaiṭṭha' or 'baiṭha.'

The general phonetic laws involved in these changes are the following:—1. The early Prākrit changes all Sanskrit compound consonants, if initial, to simple consonants, and if medial and dissimilar, to similar compound consonants; and 2. It turns all medial single surds into sonants.

3. Gaurian makes sanṭhi of all vowels placed in hiatus by the second Prākrit law, changes all similar compound consonants into single consonants, and, by way of compensation, lengthens a preceding short vowel and turns into a triphthong (ai, au) a preceding diphthong (e, o).

For details and exceptions from these laws, as affecting the Prākrit, I must refer the reader to Prof. Cowell's excellent edition of the Prākrita Prakāśa.

To the secondary bases 'paittha' and 'baitha,' thus formed, the conjunctural affixes are added exactly as they are added to original bases. The affix of the infinitive is nā (or rather and, for Sanskrit aniyaṇam); hence 'paitthanā' and 'baithanā,' just as 'kahanā' or 'chalanā' (for Sanskrit 'kathaniya' 'chalaniyām'). The affix of the 1st pers. sing. pres. is 'ūnā' (Skr. ātu) hence 'paiṭhūnā' and 'baithūnā' just as 'kahunā' or 'chaluṇā' for Skr. 'kathayāmi,' 'chalāmi.' The affix of the 3rd pers. sing. pres. is 'eī' (Skr. ati); hence 'paitheī' and 'baitheī,' just as 'kaheī,' 'chaleī' (for 'kathayati,' 'chalati'). The form 'paitheī' transliterated into Sanskrit would give us a form 'praviṣṭhaī,' separable into 'pra' (prefix) visht (root) a (verbal derivational affix) ti (conjunctural affix); similarly the form 'paithāna' would represent a Sanskrit form 'praviṣṭhaṇyaṃ,' separable into 'pra' and visht (root) and aniya. That is, they would postulate a root or dhautu 'visht;' and this may perhaps illustrate the origin of not a few dhātus of similar phonetic construction (as 'chesht to search,' gosht to accumulate, which are now enumerated among the primary roots, but
which doubtless are really secondary roots derived from original verbal bases.

A few more examples of this kind of secondary Gaurian verbal bases or verbs are the following:—

Uthanā' to rise, to stand up, from the secondary base 'uth' for 'uthya,' Prākrit 'uṭṭhia,' Sanskrit 'uṭṭhita' (from the prefix 'uṭ' up and root 'sthā' stand). Again 'ugana' to spring up, from the secondary base 'uga, Prakrit 'uggā,' Sanskrit 'udgata' (from 'nt' up and 'gam' to go). Again 'ubhanā' to erect, to rise, from the secondary base 'ubha,' Prākrit 'ubbhia,' Sanskrit 'ubbhita' (from 'ut' up, and 'ibhi' to hold). The Prākrit form 'ubbhia' becomes in the first instance 'ubhya,' which we have in the low Hindi participle and adjective 'ubhyā' erect or reared up. Next 'ubhya' is contracted into 'ubha,' which we have in the Marāthi adjective 'ubhā' erect (see Col. Vans Kennedy's Marāthi Dictionary). And from this form 'ubha' the secondary verb 'ubhanā' is derived. The original verb would be 'ubharanā' from the Sanskrit 'ubharanīyam;' just as 'chalanā,' from Sanskrit 'chalaniyam.' This original verb, indeed, has not altogether disappeared from the Gaurian; for it exists with a very limited meaning and in a slightly modified form in the verb 'ubhalanā' to boil, to bubble up.

There is a peculiarity about the verb 'ubhanā.' It has an apparently irregular causal. According to the regular Gaurian manner of forming causals, the causal of 'ubhanā' should be 'ubhānā.' This form, indeed, is probably used in low Hindi when the verb is employed in its literal meaning to cause to be erect. But when it is used metaphorically (as applied to the mind) in the sense of exciting or provoking, it forms the causal 'ubhāranā.' This irregularity, however, is only apparent, for 'ubhāranā' is only the Gaurian phonetic modification of the Sanskrit causal of the original verb; that is, 'ubhāranā' represents a Prākrit form 'ubhāraṇājanā,' and Sanskrit 'ubhāraṇyam,' which is the past part. pass. of the verbal base 'ubhāri' (or 'ubhrārya), the causal of the original base 'ubhara'; and 'ubhara' is the base of the root 'ubhrī' from which the past part. pass. 'ubhīra' is derived, which in its turn gives rise to the Gaurian secondary base 'ubha' and secondary verb 'ubhanā.' The Sanskrit original base 'ubhara' with 3rd pers. sing. pres. 'ubhāri,' &c. would be in Gaurian 'ubhara,' ubhare,' &c.; but all these forms have disappeared in Gaurian (except, as already noticed, in the form 'ubhalanā'), and have been substituted by the secondary base 'ubha' with its conjugation 'ubbe,' &c. But fortunately, the Sanskrit causal of the original base has been preserved in Gaurian; and thus a clue is afforded us for tracing the (otherwise somewhat obscure) origin of the verb 'ubhanā' and the adjective 'ubha,' e. g. the 3rd pers. sing. pres. of the verb 'ubhāranā' is 'ubhare,' Prākrit 'uṭṭhare' or 'uṭṭharei,' Sanskrit 'uṭṭharei'at; just as Sanskrit 'kathayati,' becomes Prākrit 'kahedi' or kahēi, Gaurian 'kāhe.'

The case of the two verbs 'ubhanā' and 'ubhāranā' serves to illustrate the origin of another group of verbs, viz., 'puganā' and 'pukāranā,' and 'chanā' and 'pahuñchanā.' The verb 'puganā' means to arrive, and occurs in low Hindi (Maṛāṭī), and in Naipiāli. The same word occurs in Panjābī as 'pūjanā' or 'pūjjanā' and in Marathi as 'pochanē.' The Marāthi form 'pochanē' has an alternative form 'pahuñchanē.' The latter form is the only one preserved in high Hindi where it is 'pahuñchanā.' It occurs also in Panjābī as 'pahuñchanā.' It follows from this comparison, that the low Hindi 'puganā' and the high Hindi 'pahuñchanā' are identical. From this again it follows that the syllable 'pu' of 'puganā' is identical with the element 'pahunā' of 'pahuñchanā,' being merely a contraction of two syllables into one, such as is not uncommon in the modern vernaculars; and further that the element 'ganā' is identical with the element 'chanā.'

The next question is, what is this 'ganā' and chanā? In the first place we observe, that in Naipiāli, as a rule, the initial k of the root 'kara' (Prākrit for kṛ) to do is softened to g; and, second, that the two verbs 'ubhanā' and 'puganā' are conjugated identically; e. g., in Naipiāli, as 'ubhikana' having risen, so 'pugikana' having arrived; as 'ubhyo' risen, so 'pugyo' arrived, etc. Putting this together we must conclude, that as 'ubhanā' is derived from 'ut' and the root 'bhara' (or bhīrī), so 'puganā' is derived from 'pu' and the root 'kara' (or kṛī); that, in fact, the element 'ganā' is a phonetic modification of kanā and is a verb formed from a secondary base derived from the past part. passive of the original verb 'kara.' This participle in Sanskrit is 'kṛita,' in Prākrit 'kīda' or 'kia,' in Gaurian 'gya' (or kya), a form which we

* The same Sanskrit or Prākrit causal is preserved in the Gaurian verb 'sambhālanā,' to keep, to support. For 'sambhālanā' is the brk. 'sambhrāṇyam,' Prāk. 'sambhrājanam,' the 3rd pers. sing. pres. is 'sambhāle,' Prāk. 'sambhāre,' or 'sambhāredi,' Skr. 'sambhrājanāti,' etc.
have in the Naipāli past tense, ‘puγyo.’ This form ‘puγyo’ then stands for an original form pu + krita. From the past part. passive ‘puγya,’ the secondary base ‘pug’ is derived, as ‘ubha’ from ‘ubhya; and from the secondary base ‘pug’ the verb ‘puganā’ is derived. In the next place, this result is confirmed by an examination of the verb ‘pukāranā.’ We have seen that the causal of ‘ubhanā’ is ‘ubhāranā.’ On the assumption, that the element ‘ganā’ of ‘puganā’ be identical with ‘kanā’ and a derivative of the root ‘kara’ (or kri), if we form a causal of ‘puγanā’ (or its original form ‘puγanā’) analogous to the causal ‘ubhāranā’ of ‘ubhanā,’ we obtain the form ‘puγāranā.’ Now this assumed causal really exists, and is, in fact, nothing else but the verb ‘pukāranā,’ mentioned above. For ‘pukāranā’ means to call, and “to call some one” means really nothing else but “to cause some one (by means of the voice) to arrive.” The verb ‘pukāranā’ originally must have had a wider meaning, i.e., in general “to cause to arrive.” In course of time its use and meaning was restricted to a particular mode of causing to arrive, viz., by means of the voice.

Having thus discovered the origin of the element ‘ganā,’ the next question is what is the origin of the other element ‘pu’ or ‘pahūn.’ We have already seen that the Naipāli past tense ‘puγyo’ represents a Sanskrit form pu + krita; just as ‘ubhyo’ a Sanskrit form ‘ud’ + ‘bhritaḥ.’ The element ‘ud’ is a prefix; but there is none among the Sanskrit prefixes, which could have been phonetically modified to ‘pu,’ or still less to ‘pahūn.’ But there is another way of accounting for this element. It may be an adverb qualifying the participle ‘kritaḥ.’ In that case, since the verb ‘puγanā’ means to arrive, and the element ‘ganā’ to make, it must be an adverb meaning, “near;” for to make near is the same as to come or to arrive; if, e.g., I make near a town, I arrive at it. This is well illustrated in the well-known prayer, *αςαςι is # 8A warō Tºtriat i.e., come to me, God, and be gracious to me always; or literally “make near to me, O God, etc.” Now there is a Sanskrit adverb ‘pāsvarā’ or ‘pāsvarē’ meaning near, which still very commonly occurs in Gaurian poetry in the form ‘pahūn’ or ‘pahūn.’ The original Sanskrit past participle from which the secondary verb ‘puganā’ is derived, must have been pāsvarākrița or pāsvarēkrița. I think, for reasons which it would take too long to detail here, that it was the latter pāsvarēkrița. This form would be represented in Prākrit by passammi kiä or pahammi kiä. The latter form would change in old Gaurian to ‘pahānkya’ or ‘pahāhākyā;’ and of these again the latter would change in Modern Gaurian to pahōnkya.* And finally from this form, a secondary base ‘pahōnka’ and a secondary verb ‘pahōnkana’ would be derived. This form ‘pahōnkana’ or slightly modified ‘pahūnkana’ or ‘pahūnkanā,’ must have been (at all events ideally) the form of the verb on which all the different Gaurian modifications of it are founded. These modifications most probably took place very early. In Marāthī, Hindi, and Panjābi the guttural keleton to the palatal keleton thus we obtain the forms, Marāthī—‘pahōnchaṇē,’ Hindi—‘pahūn chaṇā,’ Panjābī ‘pahōnchaṇā’ which are also sometimes met with in a slightly corrupted form without the anusvāra ‘pahūnchaṇā’ and ‘pahuchanā.’ Next the element ‘pahūn’ (pahū) or ‘pahum’ (pahu) was contracted to ‘pū or pu, and at the same time the hard guttural keleton was in Naipāli (and low) Hindi softened to ‘pū, and the hard palatal keleton in Panjābī to ‘pū, thus we obtain the Marāthī form ‘pāchaṇē,’ the Hindi ‘puganā,’ Maywāri also ‘pugavō,’ the Naipāli ‘pūgana,’ and the Panjābī ‘pujanā’ or ‘pujaṇā.’ The change of gutturals to palatalas is rather common in the Aryan family of languages (see Bopp, Comp. Gramm. § 13, 14); and it is not without example in the Indo-Aryan branch of it itself; e.g., the Sanskrit ‘kirāta a savage, becomes in Prākrit ‘chilāda;’ the Prākrit ‘kiyo’ (for Sanskrit ‘kriyā’) becomes in Gaurian ‘chiyo’ (for kiyo which is the old Marāthī postposition of the genitive); to the Hindi (gen. postposition) keleton corresponds in Marāthī chē, in Sindhi jo. In all these instances as well as in the original form (pahōn kiä) of the base ‘pahūncha,’ the guttural keleton is immediately followed by the palatal vowel ‘p.’ This circumstance naturally accounts for the transformation of the guttural keleton into the palatal keleton. Very similarly a Sanskrit dental, followed by a palatal semivowel or palatal vowel ‘p,’ changes in Prākrit and Gaurian

* This Gaurian o must not be confounded with the Sanskrit diphthong o, with which it shares the same letter. It is a pure vowel, the long o, the Greek Omega (Ω), and like it equivalent to the Sanskrit a. Gaurian possesses also the corresponding short vowel ɵ, the Greek omikron, and like it equivalent to the Sanskrit a, from which it is not distinguished in writing. For this statement as well as for the consecutive phonetic changes given in the text, there is abundant evidence. But this paper has already run to such a length, that I must refrain from entering into them here.
into a palatal; as tya, dya, dhya, etc., become resp. chcha, jja, jha; e.g., Skr. 'satya' true=Prākrit 'ajja,' Gaur. 'ajja'; Sanskrit 'madhya' middle, = Prākrit 'aja.' The Panjābiform 'pujanā' has the same relation to the Marāthi form 'púchaneš' as the Sindhigenitive postposition 'jo' to the Marāthi 'chā.'

There is another theory of the origin of the verb 'pahūchnā' and its group of modifications. According to this theory, it is derived from the Sanskrit noun 'praghārṇa' guest, or from the Sanskrit past participle passive 'praghūrmita,' also meaning guest. The first of these two words may be set aside at once, as it does not account for the consonants ch, j, q, which are the distinguishing feature of that group of verbs. In the other word 'praghūrni,' the dental t is supposed to be the original of the palatal ch. It is not proved that the word occurs in Sanskrit. Still this need not be an insuperable objection. But it is fatal to this theory that the Sanskrit dental t is always elided in such words, in their passage through the Prakrit to the Gaurian, and therefore cannot have originated the palatal ch; and 2, that a dental never changes by itself into a palatal, but only if followed by a palatal sound (as in ty, dy, etc.); and 3, that the theory does not account for the verb 'pukāranā,' and not easily for 'puganā.'

THE MERKARA PLATES.

I. NOTICES OF THE CHERA DYNASTY.

The inscription of which the accompanying plate presents a facsimile is engraved on three copper plates 8 inches by 32, and varying in thickness from 0.065 to 0.1 inch. They are secured on a ring 0.25 inch in thickness and about 3 inches diameter inside, closed by an elephant in relievo with its trunk down, and measuring 0.97 by 0.88 inch. They were first brought to my notice by Mr. Graeter who gave me a transcript of them, and called my attention to their age and the names of the kings mentioned in them. Through the kindness of the Rev. G. Richter of Merkara, I have been able to obtain the use of them in order to prepare the facsimiles.

As illustrative of the history of the Chera dynasty, the following extracts are given from Wilson’s Mackenzie Collection:

"CHERA.—Another political division of the south of India which may be traced to periods of some antiquity, is that of the Chera kingdom, which is always enumerated along with the Pandyan and Chola states, by original authorities. The boundaries of this principality seem to have been of little extent, and it was probably most commonly feudal to its more powerful neighbours except where it had extended its northern limits so as to interpose a mountainous barrier between it and its enemies. The northern limit of Chera varied at different periods, being originally placed at Pabini near Dharapura, whilst at a subsequent period the capital, Dalavannpur or Tālkād above the Maisur Ghāts, indicates a considerable extension of the boundary in this quarter, and the Chera principality probably included the greater portion of Karnāta. Its eastern limits were the possessions of Chola and Pandya, and the western those of Kerala. In its early state, however, it comprehended the extreme south of the Malabar coast or Travanter, and consisted of that province, Wynād, the Nilgiri mountain district, the southern portion of Koimbatur, and part of Tinnevelly. In this tract we have in Ptolemy he people called Carei, and not far from it Carura regia Cerobothra in which, making an allowance for inaccuracies of sound and expression, we have the Cheras and Karur still a city in this district, and Cherpatti, the sovereign of Chera. It seems probable, therefore, that in the commencement of the Christian era, Chera, or as it is also called Konga, was an independent principality. Of its history, either before or since, little satisfactory occurs, until periods comparatively modern. Lists of princes, one of thirty, and another of twenty, who, it is said, ruled in the Dwapar and beginning of the Kali age, are given but they are unaccompanied by details: another series of twenty-six princes adds the political events of their reigns, and closing with the conquest of the province by Aditya Vermā, a Chola prince in A.D. 894, it enables us to place the commencement of the dynasty in the fifth century. The occupation of the country by the Chola Rājas was not of very long continuance, and in the course of the tenth century the capital Tālkād was that of the first or second sovereign of the Hayasāla or Belāla dynasty of the sovereigns of Karnāta. The name of Chera appears to have been discontinued from this period, and the districts were annexed to the neighbouring principalities of Karnāta, Madura, or Tanjor."

district of Salem and Kollapatnam, with addition of parts of Tinnevelly and Travancore. The boundaries, according to the Tamil authorities, are the Palli ni river on the north, Tenkasi in Tinnevelly on the east, Malabar on the west, and the sea on the south.

"According to this work, the series of Konga or Chera princes, amounted to twenty-six from Vira Raja Chakravarti to Raja Malladeva, in the time of whose descendant the kingdom was subdued by the Chola Raja, in the year of Saliyan 816 or A.D. 894."

"From the Tanjor sovereigns, Chera passed under the dominion of the Bela Rajas of Muisur, and finally under that of the princes of Vizayanagar, of whom some account is also given in this work."

Professor Dowson gives an abstract from a MS. translation of this Konga desa Rajaikal at the India House, from which the following account of the Chera kings is taken:

1. "Sri Vira Raja Chakravarti was born in the city of Skandapur, and was of the Reddi or Ratta tribe (kula) and of the Suryavansa (solar race); he obtained the government of the country and ruled with justice and equity."

2. Govinda Raja, son of Vira Raja, was the next king.


4. Kala Vallabha Raja, son of Krishna Raja, was next in succession.

Of these kings nothing more than their equity, justice, and renown is recorded.

5. Govinda Raja, son of Kala Vallabha, was the 5th in succession; he conquered the hostile rajas, exacted tribute from them, and ruled his country with justice and renown. This king made a grant of land to a Jaina Brahman, named Aristanan, and was installed in the temple of Sankara Deva, at Skandapura. He exacted tribute from many rajas whom he conquered, and by his munificence and charity cleared away the sins of his predecessors of the Ganga race; his title was Srimati Sampati Kongani Varna Dharma Mahadhi Raja.

6. Chaturbhujya Kanana Deva Chakravarti succeeded, he was of the same race, but his parentage is not mentioned. He is stated to have had four hands; he was versed in the art of archery and various sciences, and ruled with equity and renown, 'obtaining the honorary insignia of all the other rajas.'

A Jaina named Nagya Nandi, a learned and venerable man, was minister to the three last named rajas.

‡ A Telugu tribe, see Ellis's Mirasi Right, p. xii.
§ Wilson, Mack. Coll., p. 199, has Kumara deva, and apparently intended for the 7th king. He omits the names of the 12th and 15th in this list, and his series ends with Gunatama Deva.—Ed.

7. Tiruvikrama Deva Chakravarti I., son of Chaturbhujya Kanana, succeeded, and was installed in A. Sál. 100 (A.D. 179), at Skandapura. The celebrated Sankaracharya (called in the MSS. Sankara Deva) came to this king and converted him from the Jaina to the Saiva faith. After his conversion he marched into the southern country and conquered the Chola, Pandya, Keral, and Malayalam countries, after which he returned. He made many grants in charity and in encouragement of the learned; a deed of grant, dated Vaisakha-suddhi A. Sál. 100,—year of the cycle, Sidiarthi (A.D. 178), to Narasinha Bhatt, Guru, of the Bharadwaja gotra, is stated to be in the temple of Sankara Deva, at Skandapura, This king governed the Karnata as well as the Konga desa.

8. Kongani Varma Raja succeeded; he was of the Konavar or Kouyavan tribe and Ganga-kula, and was installed at Vijaya Skandapura in A. Sál. 111,—year of the cycle, Pramodiota (A.D. 188), and reigned for fifty-one years; he exacted tribute from many rajas whom he conquered, and 'by his munificence and charity cleared away the sins of his predecessors of the Ganga race; his title was Srimati Sampati Kongani Varna Dharma Mahadhi Raja.

9. Srimati Madhava Mahadhi Raja, son of Konangi Varma, succeeded, and was installed in the government of the Konga desa, at Skandapura; he was learned in all the sciences and maxims of justice, ruled with equity, and was renowned for his munificence to the learned and the poor.

10. Srimati Hari Varma Mahadhi Raja, son of Madhava Raja, succeeded; he was installed at Skandapura, but 'resided in the great city of Dala- vanpura, in the Karnata desa.' He exacted tribute from many different rajas, and was renowned as an eminent hero among all kings; he ruled according to the maxims of polity, and being very wealthy made many grants of land, one of which is recited, viz., a grant of land in Tagatuir, a petta (suburb) of Talakad to the Brahmans for the worship of Mulashan Iswara in that place, dated Panguni, A. Sál. 210,—year of the cycle, Saumya (A.D. 288).

11. Vishnu Gopa Mahadhi Raja, son of Hari Varma, succeeded, and was installed at Talakad or Dalavanpura; he conquered the Parava-dik (eastern country) and was renowned as a great warrior; he made many grants to Brahmans and to the poor, and being a zealous votary of Vishnu, erected many temples to that deity; hence he derived his name of 'Vishnu Gopa.' 'The Konga and Karnata desas were both under his command: having no children he adopted a lad of his own race, named him Madhava, and resigned the crown to him.

* The writer of the MS. has evidently understood the title Chaturbhujya, "four armed," as having a personal and literal reference to this prince; it is however a title of Vishnu, which is frequently assumed by his followers.
† Lassensays (Ind. Alt. II. 1017, note) the word titira preceding this name is Tamul, and is to be regarded as a translation of the Sanskrit Sri.—Ed.
but a son being born to Vishnu Gopa, that son was son of all the desas, 'and ruled them with justice.

Gopa, was installed at Dalavanpura, and on that occasion he granted some 'cities near the Kanavái and the mountains to his adoptive brother, Madhava Mahadhi Raya, who had lately ruled; he governed the kingdom equitably; he was a zealous votary of Siva, and having set up a Linga at Dalavanpura granted some lands for its support: he had no son.

14. Dindikara Raya, son of Kûlatai Raya, of the family of Vishnu Gopa's adopted son Madhava ruled for some time, but was deposed by the Mantri Senapati of the late raja, who installed

15. Srimat Kongani Mahadhi Raya, son of Krishna Varma's younger sister, in A. Sál. 288,—year of the cycle, Parabhava (A.D. 360). This prince was learned in sciences and in languages, 'he conquered all the desas and took tribute from their rajas,' and granted many charities. A person named Yarachandra Dindikara Raya, who had some desas under his charge during the reign of this king, made a grant of the village of Parola-kanûrn near Alûr.

16. Dûrvaniti Raya, son of Kongani Raya II, succeeded and ruled the Konga and Karnata desas. This prince is represented to have been deeply versed in magic and the use of mantras; by repeating the mystical word OM when his enemies were drawn up against him, they were enervated and dispirited, so that he obtained easy victories over them. He conquered the countries of Kerala, Pándya, Chola, Drávida, Andhra, and Kalinga, and exacted tribute from the rajas thereof; all hostile kings were afraid of him, and hence he was called Doony Veeroota Raya (Dharma virodhi, or Punya virota) the unjust Raya.

17. Mûshakara Raya, son of Dûrvaniti, succeeded, he was learned in the military art, and took tribute from those rajas whom his father had conquered, keeping them in subjection and fear. He resumed the grants which had been made to the Brahmans and the poor; and hence he obtained the title of Brahmataya Raya.

18. Tîru Vikrama II, son of Mûshakara, succeeded; he was a learned man and well versed in the science of government; 'he obtained possession of all the desas,' and ruled them with justice.

19. Bhû Vikrama Raya, son of Tîru Vikrama succeeded, and was installed in A. Sál. 461,—year of the cycle, Sidhârthi (A.D. 539). He ruled the two countries of Konga and Karnata, and conquered many other countries. From the great number of elephants which he procured, the title of Gajapati was given to him; he had several weapons made of ivory which he kept by him as trophies of victory.

He maintained all the charitable and religious grants which had been made by his ancestors in the countries which they had conquered, as well as in the Chera and Karnata countries.

20. Kongani Mahadhi Raya III, succeeded his father Bhû Vikrama, and governed the countries with justice and equity. He made his brother commander of his armies, and several rajas having refused to pay tribute, he collected his armies and conquered the Chola, Pándya, Drávida, Andhra, Kalinga Varada, and Maharâashtra desas, as far as the Narada river, and took tribute from them; he then returned to his capital, Dalavanpura, which he strongly fortified, and made many benefactions. The title of Bhû Vikrama Raya was taken by him. He acted in these campaigns, and in the government of the country under the advice of his youngest brother Vallavagi Raya.

21. Raja Govinda Raya succeeded his father, and ruled the country with equity and renown, subduing all the hostile rajas. He was 'esteemed a most pure person in the Gangâkula,' and from his attachment to the Lingâdharî sect, was called Nandi Varma.

This prince resided for some time at the city of Muganda-pattana.

22. Sivaga Mahâ Raya, brother of Govinda Raya succeeded; he was installed at Dalavanpura, but resided for some time at Muganda-pattana, ruling the kingdom justly. In A. Sál. 591,—year of the cycle, Parâmòdîta (A.D. 668), he made a grant of the village called Halihallito a learned Brahman of Drâvida desa.

23. Prithivi Kongani Mahadhi Raya, grandson (son's son) of Sivaga, succeeded; his commander-in-chief, Purusha Raya, conquered the hostile rajas, and the king conferred upon him a grant of twelve villages near Skandapura, and the title of Châvurya Parama Narendra Senâdhipati, in Chaitra, A. Sál. 668,—year of the cycle, Pàrthiva (A.D. 746). This king ruled the country in felicity, and was known by the title Siva Mahâ-raya.

24. Raja Malla Deva I. son of Vijayaûditya Raya, younger brother of Prithivi Kongani Raya, succeeded, and ruled the Konga and Karnata desas. This prince always dressed with magnificence and elegance. He is recorded to have made a grant to his Senâdhipati of twelve villages belonging to Vijaya Skandapura situated above the Kanavái along with Vijaya Skandapura. The mantras of his tribe, the nobility, and the Mallikârjuna Swâmi, were declared witnesses to the grant.

25. Ganda deva Mahâ-raya, son of Malla-deva, succeeded; he was a powerful prince, and obtained the different insignia of all the rajas. He fought with the Drâvida Raja in Kâñchi desa, defeated him and exacted tribute from the country; he fought also with the Chola Raja, 'into whom he carried terror, and afterwards established amity with him.' He maintained a friendship with the Pândya Raja.
DEc. 6, 1872.]  

THE MERKARA PLATES.  

was renowned among the Gangá-kula for protecting the kingdom.

26. Satya Vákya Ráya succeeded his father Ganda-deva, and ruled the kingdom in equity and justice, punishing the wicked and protecting the good. He was never failing in truth, hence he obtained the title of Satya Vákya Ráya (the truth-speaking king).

27. Gunottama Deva, brother of Satya Vákya, was installed at Dalavanpura; he ruled the kingdom in an equitable manner, allowing many charities, and maintained friendship with the other rajas.

28. Malla Deva Ráya II., younger brother of Gunottaina, succeeded during the lifetime of the latter, whom he is stated to have kept at Vijaya Skandapura. This king was a very valiant man and defeated the Pandya Rája, who had attacked him.

In the reign of this prince, his brother Gunottama made a grant of land in Ani, A. Sá. 800,—year of the cycle, Vikari (A.D. 878), to a Jaina, for the performance of worship to a Jainadeity.

On the 7th Vaisãkha sud, A. Sá. 816,—year of the cycle, Ananda (A.D. 894), a person named Tirumalayan, built a temple, and to the west of it erected an image of Vishnu, which he called Tirumala Deva, upon some land "in the midst of the Kávéri," where in former times the western Ranganád Swámś had been worshipped by Gautama Rishi, but which was then entirely overrun with jungle. This place he called Sri Ranga pattana (Seringapatam).

Prof. R. G. Bhandárkar's remarks given below will show the importance of the inscription in connection with this abstract. And Mr. Rice's transcription will aid those unacquainted with the original character in reading it. The Canarese has been rendered by I, equivalent to ū by I, ந by r, and the second form by r.

II. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

By B. LEWIS RICE, EDUCATIONAL INSPECTOR, MAISUR.


A transcription was also prepared by Prof. Bhandarkar, but as he was doubtful about the Canarese portion of it, I have used Mr. Rice's, transliterating it from Devanāgari into Roman characters.—J. B.
varsha pṛthuvi vallabha mantri Taḷavana nagara ērivijaya jīnalakke Pūnāḍu ὤ sahāra Eḍenāḍu saptari madhye Bāḍaṇgeppa nāma Avinīta mahādhīrāja bhaddatena padiye āroḍaṇā śruṇa

[III.] [kolpānikiṇṇoṣṭa gaṅgeyadu ambalimāṇṇa Taḷavanauparadu] taḷa vittiyaṁaṇ vogari gejjeḷollānikiṇṇoṣṭa gaṅgeyáduna rngaṇīnaṁ niśatamaṇṇaṇaṁ saṁamodana pannikōḷḷaṇaṁ manoharaṇaṁ daṭṭaṁ Bandeguppegrāṁasaṁ śaṁṭaraṇaṁ pārbbaśyāndiśi keṣuji gaṅoj jègo Karivaḷḷi kyōṭṭagara Bandeguppeya trīsandhiya satti koraṇā śaṁyāndiśa daṇḍa gaṇi tāṭakaṇaṁ puna daṅṣiṇasaṁyādyā disi bahu śuḥ hiye bālankā vṛṣkhaṇa puna paśchimha mukhade sanda bhumūlika paṇṭiye puna Bandeguppeya kyōṭṭagara trīsandhiya kole Chaṇḍiṅgaḷa puna naṁyaṭadeśaṇaṇa kathaka vṛṣkha me puna paśchimasaṁyāṇa disi pṛduṛdvṛṣikhaṇa śaṁṭeṛtiana vāṭa vṛṣkhaṇa puna tore vallame uttarā mukhade sanda bhumūlika paṇṭiye jambu padiya tāṭakaṇe puna vāyavyade galechāṅka vṛṣikhaṇa puna Bāḍaṇgeppaṁ muṭṭagiya Koleyaṇūra Dāsāṇūra trīsandhiya neggīla gume nīduṛḷaṇgē puna Gajaseleya gaṛṇa unāra disi kāyga maṇḍ раčā || iledu keṭaṅgye puna paṅguba mukhade sanda bhumūlika paṇṭiye puna kaṇḍapaltigāla vāṭa vṛṣikhaṇa puna iṣānade Bandeguppeya Dāsāṇūra polmada trīsandhiya tāṭakaṇe koḍiṅgaḍi chiṅčāṅya vṛṣikhaṇa keṭaṅgrama dīṇeṅa pāṛbbaṇde kūṭṭaśaṁṭaṇaṁ || tasya sakṣiṅa Gaṅga rājaṅka sakalāsthiṅkaṇa puruṣha Perbbakkavāṅa Marugareya sendrika Gaṇjenāda nirṛggunṭa maniyu Gureya Nandolaśaṁbāḷaṅḍa bhrītyāṅsyaṁdesa sakshi Tagadūra kulgovarun Gaṅgānuran tagadaran Albogede nandakaruṇa U mmaṭura bheḷḷarunā Āḷagṣeyarunā Bāḍaṇgeppaṁ bheḷḷarunā duggiṅgerunā svadatta paraddattā gṛāyo haretṛa vasundhararun śaṁṣtiṅa varsha-saḥasāriṅaviṣṭāṅgya jāyate krīṇaṁ va subhi vasulāḥ blu kā rājaṅbhīb Śaṅkarāṅbha yasya yasya yadā bhūmi tasya tāda paṅga || ābhāṃ svantu vīṣāṅa ghoranā na vīśāṅa vīṣam ucyate vīṣhamkāṅṣaṅa hoṛiṇi devasvaṛu paṅktiṣaṅgā ṕāṃ sāmānoya dhaṛmaṃ hetaṅu niḍiṅaṅa kāle kāle pāḷaṅyo bhavadbīb sarbbāṅetenā blāṅgaṁ pāṭṭivendṛa bhūyo bhūyo yāchate Rāmabhaṭṭaṅ || Visva-Karmma Ṛikhitāṅ.

Translation.

May it be well. Success through the adorable Padmanābhā* resembling (in colour) the cloudless sk}y. A sun illuminating the clear firmament of the Jāhnaviracet distinguished for the strength and valour attested by the great pillar of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword, adorned with the ornament of the wound received in cutting down the hostsof his enemies, was Kongāṇi Mahādhīrājā, of the Kāṇvaṇasa gotra. His son, inheriting all the qualities of his father, possessing a character for learning and modesty, having obtained the honours of the kingdom only through his excellent government of his subjects, a touchstone for (testing) gold, the learned, and poets, skilled both in expounding and practising political science, the donor of lands to the Dattaka line,† was Māḍhava Mahādhīrājā.

His son, possessed of all the qualities inherited from his father and grandfather, having entered into war with many elephants (so that) his fame had tasted the waters of the four oceans, was Hari Varmma Mahādhīrājā. His son, devoted to the worship of Brāhmans, gurus and gods, having humbled himself at the feet of Nārāyaṇa,§ was Viṣṇu Gopa Mahādhīrājā. His son, with a head purified by the pollen from the lotuses—the feet of Triyambaka, having by personal strength and valour obtained his kingdom, daily eager to extricate merit from the thick mire of the Kali Yuga, in which it had perished, was Māḍhava Mahādhīrājā. His son, the beloved sister’s son of Kṛṣṇa Varmma Mahādhīrājā, who was the sun to the firmament of the auspicious Kadamba race, having a mind illuminated

* Viṣṇu. † Jāhnavi Kula: The same as Gaṅga Kula or Vana. § May also be rendered ‘the author of a treatise on the law of adoption.’
With the increase of learning and modesty, of indomitable bravery in war, reckoned the first of the learned, was Kongani Mahādhirāja. To Vandanandi Bhatāra, the disciple of Guṇanandi Bhatāra, who was the disciple of Jananandi Bhatāra, who was the disciple of Silabhadrā Bhatāra, who was the disciple of Abhananda Bhatāra, who was the disciple of Gunachandra Bhatāra, of the Kondakunda race, the line of gurus to the Datta named Avinīta; in the year 388,‡ the month Māgha, Monday, the nakshatra being Śvāti,§ the fifth day of the bright fortnight. (The village) named Badaneguppe, situated in the middle of the seven of Edenāṅga in the... thousand of Pūnād, having been obtained by Avanīta Mahādhirāja Bhadatta, minister of the sovereign of all the continents, conqueror of the city of Talavāna,¶ for war on the Jains. (He) plundering and taking possession of the six associated villages, obtaining by friendship (or flattery) Uyambalī and the town lands of the city of Talavana, procuring the enjoyment of royal rights in Pirikere—presented the charming (village). The boundaries of the village of Badaneguppe:—east, a red stone, Gajasele, the sāktī post at the junction of the three paths of the Karivali rest-house and Badaneguppe: south east, a bank covered with the bandhuka:§§ against to the south, a thicket of milk-hedge,¶¶ against to the west, a line of many medical plants,¶¶ then the pond at the junction of the three paths of the Badaneguppe rest-house and Chandigåla: again south west, a clearing-nut tree: again to the west, a [pedulde] tree, a [sāntareti] banyan tree, thence the bed of the stream: again to the north, a line of many medical plants, then a [kadapaltegāla] banyan tree: again north east, the bank at the junction of the three paths of Badaneguppe and Dāsanāru [polmada], the [kodigaṭi] tamarind tree, and so the mound of [kentaramū] which joins the eastern boundary.

Witnesses thereto:—Perbba Kavana, the man who is a friend in all things to the line of the Gangā rājās. Maru Gereya Sendrika, Gajenāḍ Nirggunta Maṇiya, Gureya, servants of Nandula Simbālādana. Country witnesses††:—Tagaduru†† Kulugora, Gāṇiganur Tagada, Algodate §§ Nandaka, Ummaturu || Belōra Alageya Badaneguppe Belōra Deggiviya. (Signature (?) of three letters.)

Whoso by violence takes away land presented by himself or by another shall be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. The earth has been enjoyed by Sāgara and other kings. According to their (gifts of) land so was their reward. Poison is no poison, the property of the gods that is the real poison. For poison kills a single man, but a gift to the gods (if usurped) destroys sons and descendants. Merit is a common bridge for kings. This from age to age deserves your support, O kings of the earth. Thus does Rāmahbadra beseech the kings who come after him.—Written by Visvā Karmma.

III.—REMARKS ON THE MERKARA COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

By Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The genealogy of the kings of Chera as given in the grant is:—

1. Kongani I.
2. Madhava I.
3. Hari Varmma.
5. Madhava II.
6. Kongani II.

These names agree with the 8th to 12th and 15th given by Prof. Dowson from the Tamil

† Baku mālīka.
†† Strychnos potatorum.
‡ Jambu.
§ Small caltrops.
|| Dāsanāru, a village to the north of Badaneguppe.
|| Gangā rājā kula sakalakṣayika purusha.
|| Nirggunta, perhaps nirganta, the village servant who distributes water to the irrigated fields.
++ Brahmaṇīgam.
+++ Desa sakshi.
†† Tagaduru, a village N. W. of Badaneguppe.
|§§ Algod, a village near Badaneguppe.
||| Ummaturu, a village N. of Badaneguppe.
The sixth king Kongani is placed after Dindikara in the Tamil chronicle, and is mentioned as the son of Krishna Varma’s younger sister. As his relationship with any other king of the dynasty is not given, it is to be understood that the Krishna Varma here meant is the one who is represented in the list as the son of Vishnu Gopa. But in the grant before us he is mentioned as the son of Madhava, represented in the chronicle as the adopted son of Vishnu Gopa, and the Krishna Varma whose nephew he was, is spoken of distinctly as “the sun in the sky of the prosperous race of the Kadambas.” In this place therefore the grant gives us information, while the chronicle as appears from the abstract is silent.

The date of the grant is 388. What era is meant we do not know. The dates in the chronicle are in the Saka era, from which it appears likely that this is also to be referred to that era. If so the date is 466 A.D. or 467 A.D., for 173 years, i.e., each reign lasted for 43 years, which is very improbable, since each of them was the father of his predecessor’s son. But if 388, the date given in the grant be taken, the duration would be at least 73 years, which would give 18 years to each king. The first date in Prof. Dowson’s abstract must therefore be considered to be an error, while the second may be depended on. The Professor considers all the dates to be too early and proposes new ones. But Prof. Lassen inclines to defend the chronology of the chronicle, which is supported by this grant.

was the Pandyas king Vana’skara, who probably reigned in the second century [see Wilson, Jour. R. As. Soc., Vol. III., p. 215]. I consider it proper therefore to follow a different course and to support the traditional chronology as being upon the whole correct. My reasons for this are as follows:—Of the Bellalakings it has already been noticed [Dowson, in Jour. R. As. Soc., Vol. VIII., p. 24], that they reigned on an average nearly 30 years, so that a somewhat longer duration appears admissible in this case. Secondly, it must be remarked that it is true that of the Chera princes only two (the 12th and 14th) had short reigns, and two others (the 11th and 27th) abdicated the throne, but one (the 8th) reigned fifty-one years and one (the 23rd) was the great grandson of his predecessor, so that to him a tolerably long rule may be allowed. Only against the commencement of the dynasty and against the first date can a valid objection be raised. The 5th king, Govinda, is said to have made a grant of land in the 4th year of the Saka era in 82 A.D., it may, however, be legitimately doubted whether this chronology had come into use in the southern districts of India so soon after its establishment. To the insecurity of the chronology of the earliest period of the kings of Chera also, the circumstance that of the fifth it was only known that he was of the same descent as his two predecessors and that his father was not known—bear testimony. We can scarcely go far wrong, however, if we place the rise of the Chera dynasty back in the commencement of the Saka era, because at that time the two adjoining kingdoms of the Pandyas and Chola already existed.

Lassen’s notices of the Chera kings, (both in II. pp. 1017-1020, and IV. pp. 243-245) are founded almost exclusively on Dowson’s article above referred to.—Ed.
Female education has now made such progress in Bengal, that the writings of women both in prose and verse are beginning to appear not unfrequently in print. A very interesting collection of female compositions was given to the public a few months ago by the adjudicators of the Hare Prize Fund,—the fund having for its special object the production of works in Bengali fitted for the instruction of women. The adjudicators seem to have made a very good selection of papers written not only for, but by, women. The volume extends to 267 pages, and it is interesting throughout.

I have selected for translation the piece which, on the whole, appears to me the most spirited in the book. If I do not over-estimate its merits, it is possessed of much life and colour. It is said to have been composed by a lady of Dhākā (Dacca).

I am far from thinking the rendering of verse into verse an easy task—I almost assent to the dictum of Voltaire, Les poètes ne se traduisent pas. If, then, any of my readers maintain that my lines but poorly represent the vivacity of the original, I certainly shall not dissent from the judgment. In one thing I hope I have succeeded—I mean, in reproducing the tone of the Bengali. The poem is sad throughout; and the sadness deepens as the strain proceeds. I have done my best to make the version a faithful echo of the plaintive note of the unhappy Hindu woman.

The measure in the original is Trochaic; the first two lines of each stanza are octo-syllabic, the last two decasyllabic. I have also used Trochaic metre; each line containing seven syllables.

The original has double (generally called female) rhymes always; but I do not possess a sufficient mastery over our somewhat intractable language to imitate the poetess in this respect.

I give the original in Roman character, with the hope of attracting a much larger number of readers than would attempt Bengali letters. The relation between Bengali and most of the dialects of Northern India is such that no person who has a good knowledge of one of these will find serious difficulty with the lady's composition.

Hardly anything as yet has been done towards the use of Romanized Bengali; and several questions in orthography thus remain undetermined. Initial ŋ in Bengali sounds like j in Sanskrit; and I have written it j, though with hesitation. Kṣ sounds kā in Bengali; but I have not had courage to throw out the s. For the most part v sounds like b; and I have so given it, as 'subarna' for suvarṇa. But when the word occurs in the contracted form 'śvarṇa,' I have not dared to write 'śbarna,' the Bengali pronunciation—though corrupt enough—having then no sound of b in it.

**Pā’lita Kapotinī’r prati.**

Bala ogo kapotini
Kena eta bishādini
Heritechi balago tomāya
Prakāsiya bala nā āmāya.

Eta duḥkhikona duḥkhe
Āchha sādā adhomukhe
Netranāra kara sambaraṇa
Sudhāo āmāya bibaraṇa.

Subarna śikala pade
Sadā āchha uchchapade
Subarna piṇjare abasthāna
Itheo ki bhole nā go prāṇa?

Tomāra santosha tare
Apuṛbba kotarāpure
Rahiyāchhe khābāra sakala
Tabe tumī kena go chaichala?

Bala kari bicharana
Kari āhārārana
Tātei bā kata sukhodaṇa
Bala more haiye sadaya.

Śuna go kapotapiye
Balite bidare hiye
Āmio go piṇjaravāśiṇī.
Kibā sukhe bahiche svechchādhīṇī.

Āchha tumī je sukhete
Śvarṇamaya piṇjarete
Āmādera nāhi eta sukha.
Tumi kena hao go bimukha?

Nā deya gaṇjanā keha
Dāśitva bhāra nā baha
Annajale nāhika abhāba.
Tabe kena bhāba nānā bhāba.
Translation

TO A TAME DOVE.

1 Pretty dove, oh tell me now,
   Why so sorrowful art thou?
   As I stand and look at thee,
   All thy case explain to me.

2 Sure, thou hast some secret woe,
   When I see thee drooping so ;
   Speak, my bird,—and dry thy tears—
   All thy troubles, all thy fears.

3 On thy foot a chain of gold,
   Thou thy perch on high dost hold,—
   And in golden cage dost dwell;
   Should not that content thee well?

4 For thy comfort, all around,
   See what pretty cups abound,
   Which all dainty morsels fill!
   Yet thy heart is heavy still.

5 Say, when thou abroad didst fare,
   Pecking, picking, here and there,
   Was thy life a life of bliss?
   Do, kind birdie, answer this!

6 Nay, my cherished darling, nay,
   Hear what else I sadly say,
   I too am encaged like thee—
   (Blessed, doubtless, are the free.)

7 But the solace that is thine
   In that golden cage so fine,
   Never comes to such as I;
   Why then pines my darling, why?

8 Words ungentle vex not thee,
   Nor great load of slavery;
   Every want at once supplied,—
   Why art thou not satisfied?

9 And when thou at liberty
   Flitting wrt from tree to tree,
   Was thy happiness so great?
   And so wretched now thy state?

10 Wandering ever, ill at ease,
   Perching but on forest trees,
   Lonely was thy life and sad —
   Surely, now thou might’st be glad!

11 But I can discover now—
   As I watch thy feelings—thou
   Seest the truth, that this can be
   Hardly called captivity.
12 Listen then to what I say,—
Think how miserable they,
Captives in Zenana drear,
Lowest thralls, and crushed by fear.

13 Still the same, we drag along,
Ignorant of right and wrong,
Knowledge and religion, none!
Life a dreary monotone!

14 Thou art not a slave always;
Thou but comest a few days,
Just to look on misery;
Then away thy sorrows flee.

15 But the heart will die, before
Half our trials it count o'er;
Oh were I a dove like thee,
Then, methinks, I'd blessed be.

16 Bird! thy happier lot to see
Makes a woman envy thee;
Filled with shame she hides her face,
So to cover her disgrace.

17 Shall I speak to God on high?
But I tremble as I try!
We are not Thy daughters, sure,
Who must woes like these endure!

18 All untrained in truth, the soul—
Swayed alone by harsh control—
On, like purchased slaves, we go:
Ah! dost Thou then mean it so?

19 Still, although the heart is broken,
Must the pang remain unspoken:
Veil the face, and hide the woe,
Ah! dost Thou then mean it so?

20 Wretched custom's helpless slaves—
Whelmed in superstition's waves—
Thus our precious life doth go:
Ah! dost Thou then mean it so?

FAC-SIMILE OF A PERSIAN MAP OF THE WORLD, WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

By EDWARD REHATSEK, M.C.E.

In ancient times our globe was divided into various portions, and as early as the Vendidad, (Fargard XIX. 43) "The earth consisting of seven Keshwars" is mentioned. These divisions the Greeks named climates (from 'klima' inclination) the number of which was also considered by them to amount to seven. Muhammadan writers do not agree on the breadth of the climates. Zakryah Qazvin in his Ajāyb-ulbuldan or "Wonders of countries" assumes every climate to be 255 Farsakhs broad; making 1 Farsakh = 12,000 cubits, 1 cubit = 24 fingers, 1 finger = 7 barley-grains, whilst other writers agree with occidental geographers in assuming exactly half an hour's difference of time between each climate. The number of climates has gradually been so much increased, that we have at present 24 horary and six mensual climates on each side of the equator. In the absence of more accurate means to ascertain the Latitude of a place, it was sufficient to know its longest day, to tell immediately to what climate it belonged. Thus for instance, supposing the longest day of a town to be 15 hours, and subtracting 12 from this number, we have three hours, and as the difference between each climate is 30 minutes, the town will be situated in the 6th climate.

The ancient geographers who believed only that portion of the earth to be inhabited which was known to themselves, were quite contented with seven climates; but Ptolemy during the second century of our era added seven more, northern ones, and thus made the whole world to extend from the equator 64 degrees northwards and 20 southwards, according to our present reckoning. The subjoined table shows the first 17 climates, with the breadth of each and also the degrees of geographical northern or southern Latitude answering to each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Climates</th>
<th>Longest day</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Breadth</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12 30</td>
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<td>36 28</td>
<td>6</td>
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This Persian Map of the world (of which I have made a fac-simile, keeping everything exactly as it was drawn in the original, and translating only the writing or transcribing it in Roman characters) was in a dilapidated state and is of no great value except as a curiosity, since documents of this
kind must make way to correct geographical notions, and must very soon disappear altogether; the only way of rescuing them from total oblivion is to insert them in some journal. The owner of it was a Muhammadan from Junner in the Bombay presidency, but could give no clue as to who drew the map and when. Maps of this kind remind us of our own ancient European geographical delineations which were as crude as the present one, and contained analogous superstitious descriptions of unknown and remote countries.

It may be presumed that the draftsman was an Indian Mussulman, because he has inserted in no other country so many names of towns and rivers as in India, but he has strangely enough omitted Cálcutta and Madras; neither is any European country mentioned by name except Portugal. Farang and Rúš are only general denominations; the former designating all European, and the latter all the Slavonic nations; and it is only within the last few decades since the Russian conquests in Asia that the name has been applied to them specially. Rūm formerly designated the Byzantines who are called by this name in all the Arabic books treating on the conquest of Syria, A. H. 12: now however it means Turkey.

In this map the climates were intended to be equal according to Qazvín's scheme, but the execution is not very accurate; especially in the 4th climate, which is so convergent and narrowing towards the West as to catch the eye. Qazvín takes 25 Farsakh to a degree and makes each climate 225 Farsakh, i.e., 9°4' degrees broad, or according to another reading 226, i.e., 11°4'. The climates of this map begin at the equator, in which case according to the first reading it would extend to 65°8' N. Lat, and according to the 2d to 79°8'.

The representation of Africa—for that is evidently meant by Habš or Abyssinia—is rather small, and its termination does not fall even as far south as the equator; it is in the first climate, like the southern extremities of Arabia and of India. All the other countries are just as much out of proportion as these.

The mountains are coloured brown, and a belt of them equal in breadth to one climate, runs across the whole earth occupying a portion of the 4th and the 5th climate, due East and West. "And He hath thrown on the earth mountains firmly rooted, lest it should move with you." (Qurán xvi, 15.)

The traditions about Alexander and his doings are endless and contradictory, but all agree with the historical fact of his having founded Alexandria. In this map also the tower of Alexander, which may have been a lighthouse, and is in other documents stated to have reflected in mirrors events which took place at distant places, such as Constantinople, is laid down, but the extraordinary circumstance is added, that it is built of Qaqah stone, and that everyone who looks at it dies laughing, laughing. This addition induces me to conclude that the spelling Qaqah is a blunder, and that the projector of the map wrote Qaḫqāh which, though occurring in dictionaries, must be considered to be only an onomatopoeia or imitation of a natural sound, like cachinnation: hence the tower was built of the Ha-ha-ha stone.

The word Qalmaq does not occur in dictionaries, its sound is like that of Kalmaq, but it is not possible to translate it otherwise than by "store" or some analogous word according to the context.

Gog and Magog are two savage nations not defined by traditions except in vague terms, they are said to be descendants of Japhet, the son of Noah; also that the Gog are a Turkish and the Magog a Gilány tribe; some say they were anthropophagi, and this appears also from the statement on the map. They are twice mentioned in the Korán, i.e. Surah xviii and xxi. It may also be observed that the draftsman has omitted to insert the region of the Durāpūjī, the timber-legged men, and of the Kelym-Posh the carpet-eared tribes, and other monstrous beings which occur in old Arabic and Persian books, and may easily be recognized as having been taken from Ktesias, or his imitators and embellished.

In the Korán, Surah xviii., v. 91-96, the following words occur about Dhulqarnyn: "And he prosecuted his journey [from south to north] until he came between the two mountains, beneath which he found a certain people, who could scarce understand what was said. And they said, O Dhulqarnyn, verily Gog and Magog waste the land; shall we therefore pay thee tribute on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them? He answered, The [power] wherewith my Lord has strengthened me is better [than your tribute]; but assist me strenuously and I will set a strong wall between you and them. Bring me iron in large pieces, until I fill up the space between the two sides [of these mountains]. He said [to the workmen] blow [with your bellows] until it make [the iron red hot] as fire. He said [further] bring me molten brass that I may pour upon it. Wherefore [when this wall was finished, Gog and Magog] could not scale it, neither could they dig through it. (Sale, p. 247).

This Dhulqarnyn, i.e., two-horned is by the commentators said to be Alexander the Great; but at present scarcely any doubt can remain that the rampart placed here and called the rampart of Gog and Magog is the great wall of China, it was built about the end of the first century of the Christian era, and is still called wan-le-chang-ching, ten-thousand-li-long-wall.

The state of ignorance in which the rampart appears on the map is in conformity with the verses of the Korán just quoted.

* Causin de Perceval (vol. i. p. 66) tries to identify it with fortifications which extended from the west shore of the Caspian Sea to the Pontus Euxinus built, it is said, by Alexander the Great, and repaired by Yeędgilf II.
ON SOME KOCH WORDS IN MR. DAMANT'S ARTICLE ON THE PALIS OF DINAPUR.


I beg to offer the following solution of the curious phrase *hudm dyao* applied as stated in Mr. Damant's interesting paper on the Koch tribes, to a ceremony observed by them to procure rain.

The Koches (if I may be pardoned the expression) are, as the writer justly observes, a non-Aryan tribe and belong to that section of the southern or sub-Himalayan Tibetans of which so many scattered fragments are to be found on our northern frontier. Having been for four years Collector of Purneah, I took much interest in this tribe who, together with the Mechis and Dhimals occupy many villages in the Kaliaganj Thānā of that district. The best account of them is to be found in Brian Hodgson's *Aborigines of India*, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1847, and still procurable from the Society. Hodgson laments that he was unable to pick up many words of bondside Koch, as that people have for some time past abandoned their original speech for Bengali, and accordingly in the long list extending over 102 pages, which he gives of their vocabulary, hardly a word is to be found which is not pure Bengali. It is well known however that some expressions of their ancient Tibet dialect do still survive among them, and Mr. Damant has I think been fortunate enough to pick up one of these.

I was led to think of the possible Tibetan origin of these words *hudm dyao* was the *m*. In Tibetan *ma* is the sign of the feminine, and is added to verbs, participles and all other parts of speech in that monosyllabic language to denote that the thing or action is done by or refers to a female being or thing.

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I am disposed, if not absolutely certain, to refer these words to the following Tibetan origin. The word *ryuug* pronounced *dyu* means the act of running. When a final consonant in eastern Tibetan is rejected, the preceding word is often lengthened, we thus get *dyo* or *dyau*; *shod*, pronounced in eastern Tibet *hyud* or *hud*, means first, 'open,' § then 'dissolute, licentious, loose,' and *ma* is the feminine affix. The whole phrase then would roughly mean the running of the licentious or dissolute women, an interpretation which corresponds fairly enough to the state of the case. Of course in a rude and only semi-Tibetan dialect like Koch, and after the lapse of ages, we cannot expect to find all the signs of case and tense faithfully preserved, but I think the similarity is still sufficiently striking to carry conviction to most minds. It will be interesting if Mr. Damant can recover for us some more words of this hitherto lost dialect.

* Pärṇiyā, from Sanskrit purāna old: it was the oldest Aryan settlement in those parts.
† It has been printed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IV., N. S., for 1870 p. 178.
‡ This *sh* is not to be pronounced like the *sh* in 'shall,' but as two distinct sounds *s-hod*.

§ This agrees with what Mr. Damant was told by the Palis, and it is possible that with them the original meaning 'open' may have been used for 'naked,' so that the word might be rendered 'naked women.'
ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE KRISHNA DISTRICT.

Extracts from a Report by the late J. A. C. Boswell, M.C.S.

(Proceedings of the Madras Government, 14th Dec. 1871.)

We generally find that the conception of a divine being is associated, among most races, with the power of destruction, before men’s minds attain the idea of beneficence or wisdom. Hindus readily admit that the worship of Siva is of much greater antiquity than the worship of Vishnu. And now we see how the serpent is brought into the worship of Siva. One of his great titles is Nāgabhushana, the snake-adoomed one. The serpent, worshipped originally as a fetish, becomes naturally and appropriately, like the Greek idea of the snaky locks of the Gorgon, a symbol in the representation of Siva, the destroyer. With this power of adaptation, we can readily imagine how the religion of the Scythians was calculated to find acceptance with the aborigines in this country, the Dasyus, or whatever name they went by; and we see how the worship of the snake instead of ceasing became naturally an accessory and development of a more advanced system.

In connection with this I may here mention the recent discovery of a very interesting stone at Inkollu in the Bapatha Taluk. There is a temple here dedicated to Siva under the designation of Bhimes-varavāṇi. Close to the temple there are two very ancient sculptured stones. Upon one there is a large representation of the Nāga, and on the other side of the same stone there is a male figure in what I venture to call the ancient Scythic costume, the cap and the tunic. On the second stone there is another figure sculptured in the same costume in the same style of art. Now, this serpent is to this day an object of worship. It is painted with vermilion and turmeric, and receives offerings of fruits and flowers; but in regard to the Scythian figures even Hindu imagination is for once foiled. It is not often that the natives of this country are at a loss to give the name of some one of their gods to any piece of sculpture that may turn up; but with regard to these figures the people confess utter ignorance. There they stand among their objects of veneration, but they do not worship them; they do not know what they are. If we can really identify these figures with the Scythic period, the age of the cromlechs and tumuli, then we shall have gained an important step. The style in which these works are executed, though the stone used is very coarse, is considerably in advance of the mode of sculpture employed in many of the serpent stones.

On the other hand, I have been informed by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, Civil and Session Judge of Mangalore, that such, or somewhat similar stones, abound in Kurg and all through Maisur, and are called Kolle kalla, slaughter-stones, usually set up to commemorate the deaths in battle or by wild beasts of some chief; sometimes to commemorate boundaries or grants. There is one, he states, by the roadside within a mile of Mangalore, bearing a male and a female figure, side by side, standing with crossed legs, both with high caps and tunics which, he takes it, are nothing but the old Hindu or Polygar costumes coming down to recent times and exhibited on numberless temples of known date. Offerings are made to some of these sculptured figures whose deeds are still remembered. We have here a very interesting subject of ethnological research. We know what the dress and appearance is of modern Tartars. In the Amravati sculptures, nearly 2,000 years ago, we have these Scythic Tartars clearly portrayed in their characteristic costume, almost invariably in connection with horses, and then we have occasional allusion to the ax wºol, Skuthoi, in ancient classical records that have come down to us. A careful and systematic examination and comparison of the contents of the cairns and kistvaens all over the country will probably afford much useful material from which to draw deductions as to the stage of civilization reached by that early race, and the influence they exerted upon succeeding generations. But at present private individuals open these ancient tombs andransack the contents in a most reckless manner. Curiosity satisfied, the few articles found may be kept, or, more probably, are thrown away as useless, and no record is preserved of the result. If this state of things goes on, the remaining Scythic remains in the country will, in a few years, be entirely destroyed. I would strongly urge that Government issue orders for the protection of all such ancient remains and then let research be made by qualified persons under official authority, and let all that is found be brought together to one Indian Museum to be carefully preserved, where those who take an interest in such matters may be able to examine them.

To return to the Krishna. In another Sivalayam, in the same village of Inkollu, there are built into the wall parts of a frieze, apparently taken from an older temple, representing animals, &c., with figures. There are portions of similar friezes to be seen in a choultry at Vinukonda and in a temple at Pichkar in the Bapatha Taluk. This is what we find, indeed, in many of the old temples in the district. Stones have been used in their construction which are evidently the relics of more ancient buildings.

I have briefly adverted to what I conceive to have been the order of transition from a fetish to the Linga as a symbol, up to the representation or ideal embodiment of the thing symbolized in Siva, the destroyer. The next stage seems to have been the adorations paid to the akuti as the symbol of vitiates much of his reasoning. Mr. Walhouse’s views are well deserving of development. —Ed.
female energy and creative or productive power, as a part and distinct from, and yet intimately connected with, Almighty power. I have found several images of this kind which appear to be of considerable antiquity, and the form represented is the same in each, a female figure with four arms holding in each hand a sword, a mallet, a trident, and a chakra. These figures have been turned out of the temples. They are not regarded as the consorts of Vishnu and Siva, and the people call them village goddesses, and give them the names of Aukamma in one village, and Poleramma in another, and so on. I have met with two in Bapalat (one in the chief street, the other near the kacheri), another at Dachipalli near the kacheri, and the fourth at Tenali in the Weavers' street, beside a collection of snake stones and sculptured figures which re-call their Scythic costume. There are four stones near the kacheri at Bapalat, one the female figure, a second represents a full length female figure with a glory round its head; on the third there are a few Telugu letters sculptured of forms now obsolete; on the top of the fourth stone there is represented a circle depicted by a serpent having its tail in its mouth, and within the circle are portrayed two pairs of footprints. The circle is only about a foot in diameter; on the side of the same stone are sculptured four standing figures in striking attitudes. The people say these are Palnad Viralu, or Palnad heroes. The Viralu, I may remark in passing, have a temple dedicated to them at Karempudi in the Palnad. The hundred heroes are here represented each by a smooth stone of the stream well water-worn, and these are ranged round the temple. There are also some iron trophies in the temple. There is an annual festival held in November, which is very numerously attended. It is observed exclusively by the lower order of the people. Whether there is any connection really between these Viralu and the sculptures at Bapalat, I cannot say; but in the enclosure of a Sivalayam, dedicated to the title of Agastas'varasvāmī, on the bank of the red tank at Guntur, there is a stone which has a striking resemblance to the one at Bapalat. On the top are portrayed two pairs of footprints, and on one side there are standing figures. The stone has been broken. Near it there are several snake stones and other stones with figures which appear to belong to a pre-Brahmanic age.

Connected with the worship of the s'aktas, as the female personifications of creative power, fecundity, and fertility, we have the worship of Bhu Devi, the earth goddess, in nearly every village we find some special female divinity of the kind: a Poleramma, or Aukamma, or Gangānamma. And if Brahmanas and Vaisy'as frequent Vaishnava and Saiva shrines, the great bulk of the lowest classes confine their religious exercises to the propitiation of evil in the offerings made at the temple of some local female divinity.

It may not be out of place to mention here an experience of my own. It will show how associations gather, and also how the popular mind delights to associate the human element with its rude conceptions of a Supreme Power. In the village of Nandigama in the Krishna District, one early morning I was visiting the temples as I often do, and looking for antiquities, when I came upon a new shed in a line with two others. On inquiry I was informed that this was a temple dedicated to a new village goddess named, I think, Poleramma. I was further informed that she was, in fact, a rayat's wife who lately lived in the village, and was murdered by her husband. He was tried for the offence, but was acquitted. The popular rustic mind at once conceived the idea of adopting this unhappy woman as the personification of unsatiated vengeance. An image was made to represent her, and in her hands was placed a sword, and she was installed henceforth as the village goddess. Strange to say, an image of her husband, who is living to the present day in the village, was added and placed by her side.

Perhaps the worship paid to the spirits of murdered persons, or those who have left behind them an evil memory, is analogous to the belief in Europe of ghosts haunting particular spots. It appears a common notion among all nations in all ages. Mr. Walhouse, Judge of Mangalor, South Kanara, informs me that Bhuta worship is the really prevalent cult in that district, and half the Bhutas are the spirits of murdered or notoriously evil-lived persons. It assumes the character of propitiatory worship. New village deities are thus continually springing up. Mr. Walhouse mentions a curious instance which came under his own observation in Trichinapali. A much dreaded dacoit was killed, and after his death became a fashionable Bhut, and half the children born were named after him. So, too, Dr. Caldwell, in his Comparative Grammar of the Drowidian languages, relates a very curious illustration of the same sentiment. In some lonely wild spot of the Tinnevelly District there is the grave of a European Officer. In life, he appears to have made himself obnoxious to the natives, and to have been greatly dreaded. To this date it is a custom to offer spirits and cigars upon his grave.

But to return to the idea of serpent worship, and its connection with the several phases of religion in India.—To this day the serpent may be still found
all over the country worshipped purely and simply as a fetish among the lowest classes, as well as under the more refined personification of Nāgेस- varasvān. For instance, there is a well at Dachepalli, it contains the best water in the place, but a cobra, it was discovered, frequented the spot; a temple was built over the well, and it was totally abandoned to the serpent divinity. In Saivism, I have suggested that the serpent found a place as a fitting symbol and adornment of the power of evil. But when the Aryans brought with them conceptions of the Supreme Being as invested with what we may call the powers of nature, the serpent assumed a new character. Conquered and subdued, it became the protective guardian of Vishnu. Over his head is represented the seven-headed snake. And so again, in the Aryan scheme of cosmogony there is a remarkable scene represented—the Devatas and Rākshasas (the powers of good and evil) churning the ocean of milk with the great serpent Vasuki employed as a churn-string. This is a scene continually represented in the most ancient sculptures of the district. For instance, it is one of the scenes depicted on one of the stones dug up at Nizamapam, and used to form what is a mere recent mantapam. It is found on Buddhist remains at Amravati, and it is still sculptured on idol ears of quite recent construction. The mode of treatment is always the same; the Devatas and Rakshasas are always pulling different ways, the contending powers of good and evil, and a serpent is a subject power—a mere instrument to give effect to the purposes of the divine mind through the very opposing forces. He employs "rain and sunshine, heat and cold, fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind fulfilling his word." It is thus I apprehend that Buddhism borrowed the Aryan symbolization of the serpent as a protective power. The conquered enemy is made a captive slave, and employed to watch and guard; the serpent, as the emblem of evil to man, is subdued by Almighty power, and instead of receiving divine honours, serves simply to represent the fear and dread naturally associated in the human mind, with any idea of a divine being. It is possible also that the over-shadowing serpent above the representations of Vishnu and Buddha may be employed in another sense to convey the idea of wisdom—this being a characteristic attribute of the serpent.

Now with regard to the Nāgas: we find them to have been in existence in various parts of India, immediately prior to the Buddhists. The dagup at Amravati was erected by a Nāga population. Everywhere we find the Nāgas represented as worshipping and doing homage to Buddhism, and Buddha is represented as supported by the Nāga's folds or shaded by his protecting hood, while the two systems seem to have coalesced so far that alternate reverence is paid to the relic casket, the wheel, the sacred fig-tree, and the five-headed snake.

With regard to Buddhist remains, I would mention that I have come across another colossal image of Buddha at Tenali. It is in the enclosure of a Sivalayam, dedicated to the name of Rāmalingesvarasvān. This image is placed in the open air under some trees entirely neglected. The figure is in the usual sitting position, naked, protuberant lips, woolly hair, and long pendant ears. This makes the third similar image I have met with in this district, the others being at Bejwāda and Gudvāda. The latter image has the Nāga overshadowing the head.

I may mention here that a very interesting sculpture of a female figure has just been disinterred at Bejwāda in digging a channel. It is the only instance I have met with in this district of a female figure with woolly hair, thick lips, and long pendant ears. It is loosely dressed from the loins downwards, and was found at a considerable depth below the surface. In the Amravati sculptures there are many representations of the Nāga type, as well as other ethnological varieties. A careful study of these might throw some light on the communications between India and other countries in early times.

I have already addressed Government with reference to the desirability of issuing instructions for the protection of the interesting Buddhist remains in the Krishna district, as the Department Public Works have been making excavations at Bhattipralu and Gudvāda I am informed, and using the old bricks for road materials and other purposes. In the one at Bhattipralu I am told that Captain Vibart found a stone casket, inside of which was a crystal vial with some seed-pearls, &c. The natives say that another bottle was broken in digging, which contained the secret of alchemy, the substance capable of turning all other metals to gold. They also firmly believe these structures cover some hidden treasure, and from the fact of a five-headed Nāga being discovered, this has been taken to fix the actual amount at five crores. It is very desirable that whatever excavations are to be made, they should be conducted under competent supervision. These remarkable structures have been entirely covered up and buried with a mass of earth, which has preserved them through long centuries, during which their history and purposes have almost perished, and have certainly become forgotten in the neighbourhood where they were originally raised. With all the interest that attaches to the Buddhist era of Indian History, it becomes us to deal reverently with these relics that time has spared. They are the evidences of a past age of civilization. When we have carefully disinterred them and brought once more to light the symmetry and proportions of their architectural designs, we shall probably find that they are worthy of a better fate than to make district roads.

There is only one other point to which I wish to allude. In writing in my former report of the Frangula Dibbala near the coast at China Ganjam,
I suggested that these might be the remains of an early Portuguese Settlement. It has been suggested in an article in the Madras Mail, that they are more probably the remains of the early Venetian or Genoese traders, who penetrated to India by the land route long before the Portuguese visited the country. I have heard of the discovery of old Italian coins in the district, which might throw some light on this matter. I have not, however, been able to trace any. Sir Walter Elliot, who was a most successful collector of coins, may, perhaps, have been more fortunate, and may be in a position to afford some information that may assist in clearing this doubt.

THREE MAISUR COPPER GRANTS.

Memo. on Certain Copper Grants found during the Settlement of the Indims in the Malnad or Hill-tracts of the Nagar Division.

During my investigation into the ináms located in the Malnád taluks of the Nagar division, I had occasion to inspect the copper grants held by the Agrahárdārs of the villages of—1. Kuppagadde, Soraba Taluka; 2. Gauja, Anantapura Taluka; 3. Bhimanna Katté Matha of the Kávaledurga Taluka.

It will be observed in the translations of the grants for the Gauja and Kuppagadde Agraháras, which have been rendered by my Personal Assistant, that these grants are said to have been made during the great "Sarpa Yága," or sacrifice of serpents, though the allusion to the solar eclipse is only made in the grant for the Gauja Agrahāra. A copy of this grant was sent some years ago by Sir Mark Cubbon to Colonel Ellis, who was then Political Agent at Bundelkhand. Colonel Ellis asserted that the solar eclipse alluded to in the grant was that of 1521 A.D., and drew the conclusion that the Janaméjaya alluded to must have been one of the Vijayanagar kings. Colebrooke denounced this grant as a forgery, and declared that the writing was modern, and that the errors in the composition betrayed gross ignorance.

The grant of the Bhimankatte Matha is dated in the 89th year of the era of Yudhishthira, who was the eldest of the five brothers, the son of Pándu by his wife Kunti or Puthá. This Matha is situated on the banks of the Tunga and takes its name from a Katte, or anicut, partly natural and partly composed of huge blocks of stone, which Bhima, another of the five sons of Pându, is alleged to have hurled across the bed of the river so as to form the dam. I have begun the translation of the legendary account of the origin of this Matha, but as pointed out by Mr. Narasimmiyogar, the doctrine of Mádhaváchárya was only promulgated between 5 and 600 years ago. Whatever may be the origin of the Matha, the dam bears undoubted traces of the wondrous magnitude of the works of those days.

Rob. Cole,
Supt. of Inám Settlements, Mysore.

5th August, 1872.

I. TRANSLATION OF THE COPPER GRANT PRODUCED BY THE AGRAHARDARS OF KUPPAGADE, SORABA TALUKA.

ŚLOKA I.—Jayaśvāmisvarānām:
Vārahān kshobhitārnavam:
Wishrāntabhuvanam vapuhu.

The body of Vishnu, incarnate in the form of a boar, on the edge of whose lofty right tusk the earth rested, and which agitated and troubled the ocean, exists in transcendent glory.

Emperor Janaméjaya; the refuge of the whole universe; the master of the earth; the Mahārája of Rājas; the arbiter of Rājas; the great Mahārája; the master of Hastinápura, the Queen of cities; the bestower of widowhood on the wives of the hostile princes of Aroha and Bhagadatta; the sun of the lotus of the Pândava race; the skilful in warfare; whose sun-like bow resembled the Kalinga serpent; the single-handed hero; the undaunted in battle; the slayer of 'Asvapatiráya' and 'Disāpata Gajapatiyá'; the smiter at the head of Narapatiráya; the terror of Sámanta Mriga Chámara, Konkana and the four quarters of the globe; the famous in Bharata Sástra, consisting of pure Sálanga, Brahma, Vins, &c., sprung from the mouth of Brahma; professor of many Sástras, the celebrated professor of the three mantraś (charms) of Korantaka Vyāla Nga, &c., whose lotus-like feet are universally saluted; the fire of the abodes of inimical dynasties; the ever-bright; the son of others' wives; the bearer of the flag of the golden boar; the most refulgent in the circle of Rājas; who is duly adorned; the descendant of the blessed lunar race; and the son of the emperor Parikshit was reigning at Hastinápura in the midst of happy and virtuous amusements. During an expedition of conquest, at the confluence of the Tungabhādra and Harīdra, at the shrine of Harīharādeva, in the dark half of the month of Chaitra of the year 111, on Monday combined with Bharanī Nakshatra, Sakrānti and Vyatipāta Nimitta, on the occasion of Sarpa Yāga.
The boundaries thereof are:—On the north-east, a nala at which the limits of Pushpagaddé and Häya meet. To the south of the above, a watercourse near which the boundaries of Pushpagaddé and Häya meet. South of the above, a watercourse near which the boundaries of Pushpagaddé and Häya meet. To the west of the above, Mathiya kola or pond, so called, near the boundaries of Kadaligé and Pushpagaddé. To the west of the above, Balâya kola or pond, so called, where the boundaries of Pushpagaddé, Kadaligé and Tavanidhi meet. To the west of the above, the boundaries of Tavanidhi and Pushpagaddé meet, at a place called Lavadakattu. To the south-west, the limits of Pushpagaddé, Tavanidhi and Tekkâru meet at a rising called Moliya Maradi. To the north of the above, a turn of a nala at which the boundaries of Pushpagaddé and Tekkâru terminate. To the north of the above, the village of Pushpagaddé in the grant. The present occupants of the grant are Brahmans, the Emperor granted in due form, an offering of blessing to Brahmans, of whom the principal were Madhava Pattavardhana of Atrégayógra of Kārnátaka race; Sousara ghaliarau of Visissagótra of the same race; Yogis vana Pattavardhanaru of Srívatsagótra, and Vislinu Dikshita, of Visvimitrágótra of the said race; the village of Pushpagaddé, situated in the midst of Kampanaya Nádu, Yerpattu and Banavási Sahasra, together with the nine subordinate villages of Banmahali, Nittakki, Néché, Korakódi, Amangaddé, Kodalikere, Gendana kulavalli, and Kamdycyáhalli, inclusive of the items of revenue comprehended by the terms Chakravarti mechi, Panchánga Pasia, Chatra Sukhásana, Balidagaddigé, Ankandada khandana, and Ashtabhága téjasaṃ. 

The characters of the sasanam are said to be ‘Nandi Nâgara,’ and resemble those of the modernBUILD Dự, and are written in a single person, but Brahman’s property is a virulent poison, and poison is not called poison, (because) poison kills a single person, but Brahman’s property slays the whole race, inclusive of the sons and grandsons. 

The grant is engrossed on three sheets of copper, protected by two more, one underneath and the other on the top, the whole clasped together by a massive ring of the same metal impressed with the seal of a boar at the point of soldering. The last sheet of the writing is broken towards the right-hand side, whereby rendering some of the ‘slokas’ at the end unreadable. 

The characters of the sasanam are complete. 

Note by the Translator. 

The grant is engrossed on three sheets of copper, protected by two more sheets, under which the other is written. The last sheet of the writing is broken towards the right-hand side, whereby rendering some of the ‘slokas’ at the end unreadable. 

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ctrian; the terror of the 14 states of Konkana, Rekha trian; the terror of the 14 states of Konkana, Rekha shatra, and Kimstugna karana, "f(astrological terms denoting particular constellations, &c.,) in Vutta.

The boundary thereof are:—On the north-east, a stream at which the joint boundaries of Gautamagráma, Banniyúru, and Sáliyúru converge. To the south of the above, Ambigolla is the boundary of the villages of Gautamagráma and Sáliyúru. On the west of the above, the boundaries of Sáliyúru and Gautamagráma extend as far as a stream. To the south of the above, proceeding from the boundary of Sáliyúru and Gautamagráma, up to a tank near a hill called "Yengudá." Towards the south, up to a stream on the limits of Gautamagráma, and Sáliyúru. On the south-east, the meeting of the boundaries of Gautamagráma, Kanvapura, and Sáliyúru, also a ravine called "Vyagranagundi," or tiger's ravine, between two hills. On the west of the above, a stream flowing on the boundaries of Gautamagráma and Kanvapura. On the west, a bush of "Kyádigé trees," at which the limits of Gautamagráma, Malian-lurú and Kanvapura terminate. On the west, a hillock called "Raggal Marádi," where the boundaries of Malian-lurú, Gautamagráma and Anshásura converge, near which there is a saline stream, (Lavana prota.) On the south-west, as far as the salt river (Lavana nadi) flowing at the junction of the limits of Gautamagráma, Hosagunda, and Anlesáura. Towards the north, up to a stream which flows on the confines of Gautamagráma and Hosagunda and a hill near Biduragunji; and also 'Kalirakóla,' or milky pond. On the north a watercourse at which the boundaries of Trigarta (Tagarti) Biduragunji and Gautamagráma meet. From north to north-west the boundary line between Trigarta, and Gautamagráma is marked by a stream called "Ootyvalók." On the east of the above, a 'kétaki' bush, and a white Matti (tree) between the boundaries of Gautamagráma and Trigarta. On the east, a mound of red-earth marks the boundaries between Gautamagráma, Trigarta and Biliúru; as also a hill. On the east Súrakóla to the north of a hill at which the boundaries of Biliúru, Gautamagráma and Maraba meet; also a bamboo bush. On the east, a hillock marking the limits of Gautamagráma and Banniúr.
The boundaries from the east to the north-east have thus been completed.

II.—Sămányoyam dharma setúnrūpánám.
Kāle kāle pālanīyō bhavadbhīhi.
Sarvānētān bhāvīnāha pārthīvēdhrān.
Bhūyō bhūyō yāchātē Rāmachendraха.

Rāmachandra again and again entreats all future great kings — This (grant) which is a bridge of charity common to rulers should from time to time be protected by you.

III.—Dānapālanayor madhyē.
Dānachhvēyonu pālanan.m.
Dānāt svārga mavāpnīf.
Pālanādachchyutum padam.

Between giving and saving (of charities,) it is more meritorious to save than to give. By giving (the donor) attains svarga, or Indra's paradise, but by saving, everlasting position (bhīsa) is attained.

IV.—Madvansajāhaparamahipativamsajāvā.
Yē bhūmipāssatatamujvaladharmachittāhā.
Maddharma méva paripālanā mácharanti
Tatpādapadma yūgalam sirasānāmāmī.

I salute with my head the lotus-like feet of those rulers, whether descendants of my own race or of other dynasties, who always with conspicuous love of virtue, uphold and confirm my charity.

Note by the Translator.
The first sloka is an invocation used by most grantors of ināms, because in the third incarnation, Vishnu is supposed to have restored the earth from the grasp of Hiranyaksha, a demon who had usurped, and carried it away.

The year is denoted by the letters ka, ta, ka, which are the first letters of two different sets of letters in the alphabet. It is usual to read the figures thus expressed from right to left. In this case, the era is not mentioned.

The characters in which the grant is embodied are called by the Ināmdar the “Nandi Nāgaru.” But they resemble the modern “Bālaband” more than any other. The language is a mixture of Sanskrit and Kanarese, the former disfigured by a great many inaccuracies, whose existence cannot be accounted for except under the supposition, not improbable, that the engraver was ignorant of Sanskrit, and the original composer of the grant did not revise his work.

The grant is engrossed on three sheets of copper, the edges of two of which are broken, clasped by a solid ring of the same metal which is stamped with a seal bearing the inscription of a boar.

In translating the slokas which are written at the commencement and termination of the grant, the grammatical mistakes found in the original have been rectified.
IV.—Svadattáddvīgnaṁ punyam,
Paradattánu pālanam.
Paradattápahāreṇa,
Svadatm nishphalam bhavet.

The act of saving another's gift is productive of
twice as much merit as giving one's self. By taking
away another's gift, one's own grants become un
fruitful of merit.

V.—Maddattá putrikā dhātri,
Pitṛa dattā sahādari.
Anyā dattātu janani.
Dattām bhūmim parityeṣāt.

The land granted by me is my daughter; and that
granted by my father is my sister. Therefore
land granted (away) should not be relinquished.

VI.—Annaistu chariditaṁ bhungté,
Sahisva chariditaṁ natu.
Tataha kaśhtāṁ tāṁ nichaha.
Svayam dattāpahārakaha.

The mean person, who revokes his own gifts will,
in the time of retribution, eat what was thrown up
by others, but not his own.

VII.—Svadattām paradattām vā,
Brahma writtim harettatha.
Shas̄ṭivarṣa sahasrāṇi.
Yishthāyāṁ jāyate krīmiḥ.

Whoever usurps, or takes away Brahman's land,
whether given by himself or by others, will be con
demned to the life of a worm in human offal for
sixty thousand years.

Note.
The original copper grant is not in the office, and
I have not seen it. The copy is full of inaccuracies,
both orthographical and grammatical. They cannot
be rectified, lest the nature of the grant be altered.
The translation is as near the original meaning as
can be rendered under the circumstances. The slokas are given here as accurately as possible, but
they have been sadly mutilated in the process of transcription. There is a sentence in the copy as
follows:—

Raiygrani pāḍayāgraṇaḥ.

This being unmeaning, it is omitted in the transla
tion.
The Ganja and Kuppagaude grants of Janame
daya are estimated to be dated in 111 of the era of
Yudhishthira. This grant, if genuine, is 22 years
older, but it is a question whether the Mahā to
which the grant is alleged to have been made, is
so ancient, seeing that the teachings of Mādhava-
āchārya are only between 5 and 600 years old. The
words made use of in the grant, viz., Tirtha Śrīpā
dangalū, seem to be still peculiar to the Sanyasi of
the Mādhava persuasion.

2nd July 1872.

DR. BÜHLER’S REPORT ON SANSKRIT MSS. IN GUJARAT.

Of Dr. Bühler's Report to the Director of Public
Instruction, Bombay, dated 30th August 1872, we
give the following abridgement:—

During the last year two fascicles of the cata
logue of Sanskrit manuscripts from Gujarāt, com
prising a little more than three thousand manuscripts
of Vedic books, purāṇas, and poetical works, have
been published. The third fascicle, which contains
works on grammar, glossaries, works on rhetoric,
metre, and law, is ready for issue, and the fourth
number, which gives the remaining Sāstras, is in
the press. With the publication of the fourth fascicle, all the materials collected in 1869, as far
as they refer to Brahmanical literature, will be
exhausted. But, as since 1870 I have received a
large number of new lists, a supplementary fascicle will have to be prepared, which should also contain
an alphabetical index to the preceding parts. Be
desides, the lists of Jain books remain unpublished;
I have, however, made preparations for the publica
tion of a fascicle containing Jain works, and hope
to bring it out early in 1873. A number of fresh lists comprising uncatalogued
Brahmanical libraries in Lunawara, Olpār, Baṇḍod,
&c., have been prepared. Considerable progress has been made in cataloguing the Jain libraries at
Bāndir, Sūrat, Limādi and Khambay. Several large
simply, in order to obtain specimens of the ancient Gujarati. The oldest pieces in that language are some verses preserved in Ratnasukhara’s Prabandhakosha written A.D. 1347, one of which is ascribed to a Charam, belonging to Raja Viradivalluva’s camp, A.D. 1235. As I hope to give in my catalogue of Jain manuscripts an account of the most interesting works bought, I omit here the enumeration of important acquisitions.

My operations since July have had even more important results than those of last year. I have already acquired several manuscripts, which are fully 600 years old, and have full confidence, that I shall obtain others which exceed that age by 200 years. The more I become acquainted with Gujarati, the more the offers of old and valuable books I get, and I trust that Government will see fit to allow the grant for Sanskrit manuscripts also for next year.

CORRESPONDENCE.

'HULLE MUKKALU.'

It came officially before me that the goldsmiths of a certain village laid claim to the property of some men of the "Hulle Mukkalu" (old sons) caste, who had died intestate. That one caste should claim the property of another caste on the grounds that they had performed the burial service, &c. seemed so strange that I made enquiries. It appears that the "Hulle Mukkalu" is a caste grafted on to the goldsmiths. The term "Hulle Maga," an old son, is now a term of reproach among the Canarese. The following story of the rise of this caste I have had confirmed by different members of the goldsmith caste:

"About 500 years ago in the kingdom of Golconda lived a soorcar of the Komti merchant caste who held some high Government appointment but had embezzled large sums of money entrusted to him. This having come to light the king ordered the soorcar to be impaled unless he made good the money. None of his caste people would assist him. In the same village lived the widow of a goldsmith. She had gone to the well to get some water, and on her way back she met the soorcar being led out to execution. She asked and was told all the circumstances of the case. The amount embezzled was about two lakhs of rupees which she offered to pay provided the soorcar would bind himself and his descendants to become the sons of her caste. On being formally resigned by his own caste, the soorcar received a copper grant which created him the "old son" of the goldsmith caste. This caste is now said to be of 1,000 families: they live by begging and from the realization of the following fees which the Panchalas pay them:

(1) The pagoda for every goldsmith’s workshop.
(2) One fanam = 4 an. 8 pie for every blacksmith’s shop.
(3) One fanam for every marriage ceremony.

Admissions to the caste which is performed by granting the neophyte a copy of the grant together with a peculiarly shaped knife are still made. The convert’s children become "Hulle Mukkalu."

It appears that a similar caste is to be found both among the Komtis and the Chuklars. I have not however yet had an opportunity of learning anything about them. I have never read or heard of anything of this sort among the caste. An outcaste might create a new caste, but I never thought they could be grafted on to another.

Palconda, Vizagapatam, March, 17th 1872.

J. B. J.

HA’SYA/RNAVA.

SIR,—In the Indian Antiquary p. 340, I find an article on Kālidāsa by Pandit Sashageri Sastri, B.A., who cites Hāsyārnava, among the works of Kālidāsa. It is a comparatively modern work of a Bengali Pandit, Jagadissara Tarkalankara. Prof. Wilson gives a short account of this work, in his Theatre of the Hindus, Vol. II., where he says, “It is the work of a Pandit named Jagadisa, and was represented at the vernal festival.” Hāsyārnava is a prahasana or farce in two acts. There is a modern commentary on it by Mahendra Nāth, son of Taraka Nāth Tarakavagisha.

Ram Das Sen.

Berhampur, Bengal, 11th Nov. 1872.
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(Friend of India, 5th August 1869.)

If even Mr. Ferguson confesses that he knows little of Jain architecture and the Jains except what he has seen at Mount Abu and the Kutb Minar, it is high time that scholars and artists in India began to study the records and publish descriptions of the temples. We welcome the forty-five large photographs of the temples at Shatrunjaya, taken by Messrs. Sykes and Dwyer, with an admirably condensed historical introduction by James Burgess, of Bombay, as a first step towards the removal of our ignorance. . . .

Mr. Burgess's description of the temples which they reproduce leads us to believe that the work will be as acceptable to scholars as to artists . . .

In his Ras Mala, Forbes declares that this city of temples might "represent one of the fancied halls of eastern romance, the inhabitants of which have been instantaneously changed into marble, but which fairy hands are ever employed upon, burning perfumes, and keeping all clean and brilliant, while fairy voices haunt the air in the voluptuous praises of the Devas."

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(Times of India, August 31, 1871.)

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AUTHOR OF "THE ROCK-TEMPLES OF ELEPHANTA," "THE TEMPLES OF ŚATRUPJAYA," "VIEWS OF
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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

CHAITANYA AND THE VAISHNAVA POETS OF BENGAL.
STUDIES IN BENGALI POETRY OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE Padakalpataru, or ‘wish-granting tree of song,’ may be considered as the scriptures of the Vaishnava sect in Bengal. In form it is a collection of songs written by various poets in various ages, so arranged as to exhibit a complete series of poems on the topics and tenets which constitute the religious views of the sect. The book has been put together in recent times, and takes the reader through the preliminary consecration, invocations and introductory ceremonies, the rise and progress of the mutual love of Rādhā and Krishna, and winds up with the usual closing and valedictory hymns.

Before beginning an analysis of this collection so remarkable from many points of view, it will probably be of some assistance even to those who have studied the history of Vaishnavism, if I state briefly the leading points in the life of Chaitanya, and the principal features of the religion which he developed, rather than actually founded.

Bisambhar (Vishvambhara) Miśr was the youngest son of Jagannāth Miśr, a Brahman, native of the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, who had emigrated before the birth of his son to Nadiya (Nabadwipa), the capital of Bengal. His mother was Sachi Debi, daughter of Nilambar Chakravarti. She bore to Jagannāth eight daughters who all died young; her first-born child, however, was a son named Biswarāp, who afterwards under the name of Nityānand became the chief disciple of his more famous brother. Bisambhar was born at Nadiya in the evening of the Purina or day of the full moon of Phālgun 1407 Sakāda, corresponding to the latter part of February or beginning of March A.D. 1486.

It is noted that there was an eclipse of the moon on that day. By the aid of these indications those who care to do so can find out the exact day.† The passages in the original are—

ŚriKrishna Chaitanya Nabadwipe abatari;
Ashtachallis bataar prakaṭ bihārī;
Chauddasat sāt āke jamner pramān,
Chauddasat panchāule hoilā antaśdhan.

Chaitanyacharitāmrita, BK. I. ch. xii. l. 13.
Śrī Krishna the Visible became incarnate in Nabadwip,
For forty-eight years visibly he sported;
The exact (date) of his birth (is) in Šaka 1407,
In 1455 he returned to heaven.

And again—

Phālgun purpinā sandhyāy prabbur janmoday,
Seha Kāle daibajoge chandrer grahaṇ bay.

On the full moon of Phālgun at eve was the lord’s birth,

† The facts which here follow are taken from the “Chaitanyacharitāmrita,” a metrical life of Chaitanya, the greater part of which was probably written by a contemporary of the teacher himself. The style has unfortunately been much modernized, but even so, the book is one of the oldest extant works in Bengali. My esteemed friend Babu Jagadishnath Ray has kindly gone through the book, a task for which I had not leisure, and marked some of the salient points for me.

‡ There was an eclipse of the moon before midnight Feb. 18, O.S. 1486.—Ed.
At that time by divine provision there was an eclipse of the moon.—Ch. I. xiii. 38.

In accordance with the usual Bengali superstition that if a man's real name be known he may be bewitched or subject to the influence of the evil eye, the real name given at birth is not made known at the time, but another name is given by which the individual is usually called. No one but the father and mother and priest know the real name. Bisambhar's usual name in childhood was Nimãi, and by this he was generally known to his neighbours.

In person, if the description of him in the Chaitanyacharitāmrita (Bk. I.iii.) is to be considered as historical, he was handsome, tall (six feet), with long arms, in colour a light brown, with expressive eyes, a sonorous voice, and very sweet and winning manners. He is frequently called "Gaurang" or "Gaurchandra," i. e., the pale, or the pale moon, in contrast to the Krishna of the Bhagvat who is represented as very black.

The name Chaitanya literally means 'soul, intellect,' but in the special and technical sense in which the teacher himself adopted it, it appears to mean perceptible, or appreciable by the senses. He took the name Śrī Kṛṣṇa Chaitanya to intimate that he was himself an incarnation of the god, in other words, Kṛṣṇa made visible to the senses of mankind.

The Charitāmritā being composed by one of his disciples, is written throughout on this supposition. Chaitanya is always spoken of as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, and his brother Nityānanda as a re-appearance of Balarām. In order to keep up the resemblance to Kṛṣṇa, the Charitāmritā treats us to a long series of stories about Chaitanya's childish sports among the young Hindu women of the village. They are not worth relating, and are probably purely fictitious; the Bengalis of today must be very different from what their ancestors were, if such pranks as are related in the Charitāmritā were quietly permitted to go on. Chaitanya, however, seems to have been eccentric even as a youth; wonderful stories are told of his powers of intellect and memory, how, for instance, he defeated in argument the most learned Pandits. A great deal is said about his hallucinations and trances throughout his life, and we may perhaps conclude that he was more or less insane at all times, or rather he was one of those strange enthusiasts who wield such deep and irresistible influence over the masses by virtue of that very condition of mind which borders on madness.

When he was about eighteen his father died, and he soon afterwards married Lachhmi Debi, daughter of Balabhadrā Achārīya, and entered on the career of a grihastha or householder, taking in pupils whom he instructed in ordinary secular learning. He does not appear, however, to have kept to this quiet life for long; he went off on a wandering tour all over Eastern Bengal, begging and singing, and is said to have collected a great deal of money and made a considerable name for himself. On his return he found his first wife had died in his absence, and he married again one Bishnupriyā, concerning whom nothing further is said. Soon after he went to Gayā to offer the usual pījā to the manes of his ancestors.

It was on his return from Gayā, when he was about 23 years of age, that he began seriously to start his new creed. "It was now," writes Babu Jagadishnath, "that he openly condemned the Hindu ritualistic system of ceremonies as being a body without a soul, disowned the institution of caste as being abhorrent to a loving god all whose creatures were one in his eyes, preached the efficacy of adoration and love and extolled the excellence and sanctity of the name, and the uttering and singing of the name of god as infinitely superior to barren system without faith." Chaitanya, however, as the Babu points out, was not the originator of this theory, but appears to have borrowed it from his neighbour Adwaita Achārīya, whose custom it was, after performing his daily ritual, to go to the banks of the Ganges and call aloud for the coming of the god who should substitute love and faith for mere rites and ceremonies. This custom is still adhered to by Vaishnavas. The Charitāmritā veils the priority of Adwaita adroitly by stating that it was he who by his austerities hastened the coming of Kṛṣṇa in the avatar of Chaitanya.

Vandetam śrimadadvaitāchāryam adbhuta-chesaḥtītam,
Yasya prasādāh ajno'pi tatswarūpam nirūpayet.
I praise that revered teacher Adwaita of wonderful actions,
By whose favour even the ignorant may perceive the (divinity) personified.—Ch. I. vi.

Thus in Sanskrit verses at the head of that chapter which sings the virtues of Adwaita: in the Bengali portion of the same chapter it is asserted that Adwaita was himself an incarnation of a part of the divinity, e. g.——
Adwaita Achārīya śāhwarer āngā barjya.

The teacher Adwaita is a special portion of god.

And the author goes on to say that Adwaita was first the teacher then the pupil of Chaitanya. The probability is that Adwaita, like the majority of his countrymen, was more addicted to meditation than to action. The idea which in his mind gave rise to nothing more than indefinite longings when transfused into the earnest fiery nature of Chaitanya, expanded into a faith which moved and led captive the souls of thousands.

His brother Nityānand was now assumed to be an incarnation of Balarām, and took his place as second-in-command in consequence. The practice of meeting for worship and to celebrate "Sankirtans" was now instituted; the meetings took place in the house of a disciple Sribās, and were quite private. The new religionists met with some opposition, and a good deal of mockery. One night on leaving their rendezvous, they found on the doorstep red flowers and goats' blood, emblems of the worship of Durgā, and abominations in the eyes of a Vaishnava. These were put thereby a Brahman named Gopal. Chaitanya cursed him for his practical joke, and we are told that he became a leper in consequence. The opposition was to a great extent, however, provoked by the Vaishnavas, who seem to have been very eccentric and extravagant in their conduct. Every thing that Krishnahad done Chaitanyamust do too, thus we read of his dancing on the shoulders of Murari Gupta, one of his adherents; and his followers, like himself, had fits, foamed at the mouth, and went off into convulsions, much after the fashion of some revivalists of modern times. The young students at the Sanskrit schools in Nadiya naturally found all this very amusing, and cracked jokes to their hearts' content on the crazy enthusiasts.

In January 1510, Chaitanya suddenly took it into his head to become a Sanyasi or ascetic, and received initiation at the hands of Keshab Bhārat of Katwa. Some say he didthisto gain respect and credit as a religious preacher, others say it was done in consequence of a curse laid on him by a Brahman whom he had offended. Be this as it may, his craziness seems now to have reached its height. He wandered off from his home, in the first instance, to Puri to see the shrine of Jagannāth. Thence for six years he roamed all over India preaching Vaishnāvism, and returned at last to Puri, where he passed the remaining eighteen years of his life and where at length he died in the 48th year of his age in 1534 A.D. His Bengali followers visited him for four months in every year and some of them always kept watch over him, for he was now quite mad. He had starved and preached and sung and raved himself quite out of his senses. On one occasion he imagined that a post in his veranda was Rādhā, and embraced it so hard as nearly to smash his nose, and to cover himself with blood from scraping all the skin off his forehead; on another he walked into the sea in a fit of abstraction, and was fished up half dead in a net by a fisherman. His friends took it in turns to watch by his side all night lest he should do himself some injury.

The leading principle that underlies the whole of Chaitanya's system is Bhakti or devotion; and the principle is exemplified and illustrated by the mutual loves of Rādhā and Krishnā. In adopting this illustration of his principle, Chaitanya followed the example of the Bhagavad Gītā and the Bhāgavat Purāṇa, and he was probably also influenced in the sensual tone he gave to the whole by the poems of Jayadeva. The Bhakta or devotee passes through five successive stages. Śānta or resigned contemplation of the deity is the first, and from it he passes into Dāsya or the practice of worship and service, thence to Sākhya or friendship, which warms into Bātsalya, filial affection, and lastly rises to Mādhurya or earnest, all-engrossing love.

Vaishnāvism is singularly like Sufism, the resemblance has often been noticed, and need here only be briefly traced. With the latter the first degree is násūt or humanity in which man is subject to the law shara, the second tarīkat, 'the way' of spiritualism, the third 'arīf or 'knowledge,' and the fourth hakikat or 'the truth.' Some writers give a longer series of grades, thus—talab, 'seeking after god;' 'ishk, 'love;' m'arifat, 'insight;' istīghnāh, 'satisfaction;' tawhīd, 'unity;' hairat, 'ecstasy;' and lastly fanā, 'absorption.' Dealing as it does with God and Man as two factors of a problem, Vaishnāvism necessarily ignores the distinctions of caste, and Chaitanya was perfectly consistent in

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this respect, admitting men of all castes, including Muhammadans, to his sect. Since his time, however, that strange love of caste-distinctions, which seems so ineradicable from the soil of India, has begun again to creep into Vaishnavism, and will probably end by establishing its power as firmly in this sect as in any other.

Although the institution of love towards the divine nature, and the doctrine that this love was reciprocated, were certainly a great improvement on the morbid gloom of Śiva-worship, the colourless negativeness of Buddhism, and the childish intricacy of ceremonies which formed the religion of the mass of ordinary Hindus, still we cannot find much to admire in it. There seems to be something almost contradictory in representing the highest and purest emotions of the mind by images drawn from the lowest and most animal passions.

"Ut matrona meretrici dispersa et atque discolor." So must also Vaishnavism differ from true religion, the flesh from the spirit, the impure from the pure.

The singing of hymns about Rādhā and Krishna is much older than Chaitanya's age. Not to mention Jayadeva and his beautiful, though sensual, Gitagovinda. Vidyaapati, the earliest of Bengali poets, and Chandī Dās both preceded Chaitanya, and he himself is stated to have been fond of singing their verses. There was therefore a considerable mass of hymns ready to his hand, and his contemporaries and followers added largely to the number; the poems of the Padakalpataru in consequence are of all ages from the fifteenth century downwards; moreover, as Vaishnavism aspires to be a religion for the masses, the aim of its supporters has always been to write in the vulgar tongue, a fortunate circumstance which renders this vast body of literature extremely valuable to the philologist, since it can be relied on as representing the spoken language of its day more accurately than those pretentious works whose authors despised everything but Sanskrit.

The Padakalpataru, to keep up the metaphor of its name throughout, is divided into 4 sakhas or 'branches,' and each of these into 8 or 10 pallabas or smaller branches, 'boughs.' It should be explained that the kirtans are celebrated with considerable ceremony. There is first a consecration both of the performers and instruments with flowers, incense, and sweet-meats. This is called the adhibās. The principal performer then sings one song after another, the others playing the drum and cymbals in time, and joining in the chorus; as the performance goes on many of them get excited and wildly frantic, and roll about on the ground. When the performance is over the drum is respectfully sprinkled with chandana or sandalwood paste, and hung up. Several performances go on for days till a whole Śakha has been sung through, and I believe it is always customary to go through at least one Pallab at a sitting, however long it may be. The Bengali Kirtan in fact resembles very much the Bhajans and Kathās common in the Marātha country, and each poem in length, and often in subject, is similar to the Abhangas of Tukarām and others in that province.

The first Pallab contains 27 hymns, of these 8 are by Gobind Dās, 8 by Baishnab Dās, 3 by Brindāban Dās, the rest by minor masters. Brindāban Dās and Parameshwar Dās were contemporaries of Chaitanya, the others—including Gobind Dās, who is perhaps the most voluminous writer of all—are subsequent to him. Of the hymns themselves the first five are invocations of Chaitanya and Nityānand, and one is in praise of the ceremony of Kirtan. There is nothing very remarkable in any of them. Number 5 may be taken as a specimen, as it is perhaps the best of the batch.

```
Nanda nandana gopijanaballabha,
Nādhānāyaka nāgarāśāma : 
So Śachinandana Nadiyāpurandara,
Suramunigana manamohana dhāma :
Jaya nijakäntä käntikalebara,
jaya jaya preyasibhābabinoda : 
Jaya Brajasahacharilochanamangala,
jaya Nadiyābadhū nayana śāmoda : 
Jaya jaya śridāma sudāmasubalārjuna,
prema prabandhananabaghanarāpa : 
Jaya Ramādi sundara priyashachara,
jaya jaya mohana gora anūpā : 
Jaya atibala balarāmapriyānija,
jaya jaya Nityānanda ānanda : 
Jaya jaya sajjangana bhaya bhanjana,
Gobinda Dāsa āśā anubandha.
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* It is many years now since I read Gitagovinda as a text-book at college, but the impression I still retain is that it was in many parts far too warm for European taste.

"Nand's son, lover of the Gopīs, lord of Rādhā, the playful Śyām: Is he, Sachī's son, the Indra of Nadiya, the heart-charming dwelling of gods and saints; victory to him who is love embodied to his own
beloved, hail! hail to him who is the joy of the existence of his well-beloved! hail to the delight of the eyes of his comrades in Braj! hail to the charm of the sight of the women of Nadiya! hail to Rām and the rest, beautiful and dear companions! hail to the charmer, the incomparable Gora (Chaitanya)! hail to the mighty younger brother of Balarām! hail to Nityānand (who is) joy (personified)! Hail to him who destroys the fear of good men, the object of the hope of Gobind Dās!"

I would call attention here, once for all, to what is one of the principal charms of Vaishnava hymns, the exquisitely musical rhythm and cadence. They seem made to be sung, and tripped off the tongue with a lilt and grace which are irresistible.

This hymn is interesting as shewing how completely Chaitanya is by his followers invested with the attributes of, and identified with, Krishṇa; it has no other special merits; nor anything specially interesting from a philological point of view as it is nearly all Sanskrit.

The next six are in praise of the sect itself, of Adwaita, and the principal disciples. That on Adwaita by his contemporary Brindaban Dās gives a lively picture of the old Brahman, then follow seven in praise of the Kirtanias or the old master-singers—Bidyapati, Jayadeva, Chandī Dās; then four on Krishṇa and Rādhā, containing only a succession of epithets linked together by jay! jay!

The twenty-third begins the adhibās or consecration, and is curious less for its language than for the description it gives of the ceremonies practised. It is by the old masters Parameswar and Brindaban, with the concluding portion by a younger master Bansi. The poem is in four parts and takes the form of a story how Chaitanya held his feast. It runs thus:—

23. Atha sankirtanasya adhibāsa.
Eka dinapahun häsi, Adwaita mandirebasi,
Bolilen sachān kumāra;
Nityānandā kari sange, Adwaita basiyā range,
Mahotsaber karila bichāra:
Śunīya anande häsi, Sītā thākūrānī āsi,
Kahilen madhura vachana:
Tā sunī ānanda mana, mahotsaber bidhānē.
Bole kichhu Sachān nandana:

Śuna thākūrānī Sītā, Baishnaba āniye ethā,
Āmantraṇa koryā jatane:
Jebā gāe jebajāe, āmantraṇa kari tāe,
Prithak prithak jane jane:
Eta boli Gorāryā, āgyā dīla sabbākāya,
Baishnaba karahā āmantraṇe:
Khola karatāla laiyā, aguru chandana diyā,
Purṇa ghata karaha sthāpane:
Aropana karō kalā, tāhe bāndhi phulamālā,
Kirttana maṇḍali kutuhale:
Mālā chandana guyā, ghrita madhu dādhi diyā,
Kholō mangala sandhyākāle:
Śunīya prabhur kathā, prite bidhī kaila jathā,
Nānā upahāra gandhabāse:
Sabe Hari Hari bole khola mangala kare,
Parameśwara Dasa rase bhāse:

“One day coming and smiling, sitting in Adwaita’s house, spake the son of Sachi, having Nityānand with him and Adwaita, sitting in enjoyment, he planned a great festivity. Hearing this, smiling with joy, Sītā Thākurāni coming spake a sweet word: hearing that with joyful mind the son of Sachi spoke somewhat in regard to arranging the festival. ‘Listen, Thākurāni Sītā, bring the Baishnabs here, making pressing invitation to them: whoso can sing, whoso can play, invite them separately, man by man.’ Thus Gora Rai speaking gave orders for an assembly: ‘Invite the Baishnabs! Bring out the cymbal and drum, set out full pots painted with aloes and sandal-paste: plant plantains, hang on them garlands of flowers, for the Kirtan place joyfully. With garlands, sandal, and betelnut, ghee, honey, and curds consecrate the drum at evening-tide.’ Hearing the lord’s word, in loving manner she made accordingly various offerings with fragrant perfumes: all cried ‘Hari, Hari!’ thus they consecrate the drum; Parameśwar Dās floats in enjoyment.’

Of the remainder of the adhibās I give merely a paraphrase omitting the numerous repetitions.

2. Having prepared the entertainment she invites them, ‘kindly visit us, to you and Vaishnavas, this is my petition, come and see and complete the feast;’ thus entreating she brought the honoured guests, they consecrate the feast. Joyfully the Vaishnavas came to the feast: ‘to-morrow will be the joy of the great festivity, there will be the enjoyment of the singing Śri Krishṇa’s sports, all will be filled with delight.’ The merits of the assembly of the devo-
ees of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Chaitanya singeth Brinda- bān Dās.

3. First set up the plantains, array the full pots, adorned with twigs of the mango; the Brahman chants the Vedas, the women shout jay! jay! and all cry Hari! Hari! Making the consecration with curds and ghī, all display their joy; bringing in the Vaishnavas, giving them garlands and sandal-paste, for the celebration of the Kirtan; joy is in the hearts of all, hither come the Vaishnavas, to-morrow will be Chaitanya's kirtan; the virtue of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Chaitanya's name, and the indwelling of Śrī Nityānanda singeth Dās Brindaban.*

4. Jay! jay! in Nawadwip; by Gorang's order Adwaita goesto prepare the consecration of the drum. Bringing all the Vaishnavas with sound of "Hari bol," he initiates the great feast. He himself giving garlands and sandal-paste, converses with his beloved Vaishnavas, Gobind taking the drum plays ta-ta-tum tum, Adwaita lightly clashes the cymbals. Hari Dās begins the song, Śrībās keeps time, Gorang dances at the kirtan celebration. On all sides the Vaishnavas crowding echo "Hari bol," to-morrow will be the great feast. To-day consecrate the drum and hang it up, joyfully saith Bansisound victory! victory!!

The metre of this last is rather pretty, and I therefore give the original of the first two lines. Jaya jaya Nawadwipa mājha, Goranga ādeśa pāñā, Adwaita thākura jānā. Kare khola mangala sāj:

Having thus concluded the initiatory ceremonies in the 1st Pallab, the 2nd Pallab begins the real "Kirtan." It contains 26 hymns by masters who are mostly of comparatively recent date. Of the old masters Gobind Dās and Chaṇḍī Dās alone appear in this Pallab. We now commence the long and minutely described series of emotions and flirtations (if so lowly a word may be used) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and this Pallab and in fact the whole of the first Sākhā is on that phase called "pūrbarāga" or first symptoms of love. In No. 2, Chaṇḍī Dās represents two of Rādhā's Sahās, or girl-friends, whispering together as they watch her from a distance (the punctuation refers to the casura, not to the sense):

Ghaer bahire, dānī śatabāra, tile tile āise jāy:

* The poet's name is inverted to make a rhyme for Kirtan in the preceding line.
† The ſ in this word is ſ the palatal nasal occasionally used for filtro in old Bengali, and sometimes for anuswāra simply.
‡ She has formed some extravagant desire.
Two more hymns on the same subject follow, and in No. 5 Rādhā herself breaks silence.

Kadamba bane, thāke konā jane, kemāna śabāda āśi:
Eki āchambite, śrabaner pathe, marmer-hala pāśi:
Sandhānā marame, ghuchhānā dhārame, karile pāgali pārā:
Chiṭa sthīra nahe, sāsthā nā rahe, nayāne bahaye dhārā:
Ki jāne kemāna, sei konā jāna, emāna śabāda kare:
Na dekhi tāhāre, hṛidayā bidare, rakite nā pār ghare:
Parāna nā dhare, dhaka dhaka kare, rahe darāsana āśe:
Jabarhuf dekhībe, parāna pāihe, kahaye Urddhaba Dāse:

"In the kadamba grove what man is (that) standing? What sort of word coming is this: the plough of whose meaning has penetrated startlingly the path of hearing? With a hint of union, with its manner of penetrating making one well-nigh mad: My mind is agitated, it cannot be still, streams flow from my eyes: I know not what manner of man it is who utters such words: I see him not, my heart is perturbed, I cannot stay in the house: My soul rests not, it flutters to and fro in hope of seeing him: When she sees him, she will find her soul, quoth Urddhab Dās."

I have left myself no space to finish this Pallab, or to make remarks on the peculiarities of the language, which in the older masters would more properly be called old Maithili than Bengali. It is nearly identical with the language still spoken in Tirhut, the ancient Mithili, and in Munger and Bhāgalpur, the ancient Magadha, than modern Bengali. As the Aryan race grew and multiplied it naturally poured out its surplus population in Bengal, and it is not only philologically obvious that Bengali is nothing more than a further, and very modern development of the extreme eastern dialect of Hindi. All these considerations, however, I hope still further to develope at some future time.

ON THE RUDE STONE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE HASSAN DISTRICT, MAISUR.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

Here, there, everywhere are to be found scattered throughout the district the remains of ancient races. Before describing these, however, I would wish to point out what to me appears a grave defect in all reports of such remains. Everybody who has read the interesting papers from time to time printed in the journals of different societies must have observed that the words cairn, kistvaen, cromlech, stone circle, dolmen, are employed by different writers in different senses. The difficulty this gives rise to, in trying to generalize the results of the many examinations made, can only be appretiated by those who have made the attempt. In the October number of the Journal of the Ethnological Society of London 1869, we have a paper by Major Pearse on the raised "Stone Circle" or "Barrow." Here then we have stone circle or barrow as convertible terms. Sir W. Denison in his paper on "Permanence of Type," published in the same journal, calls similar remains tumuli; other writers when describing them use the word cairn. In his Prehistoric Times, Sir John Lubbock has "cromlecha" or stone "circles," while Dr. Lukis applies the word cromlech to all elaborate megalithic structures of one or more chambers. It is needless to multiply examples. The time has arrived when the annals of prehistoric research should be purged of this evil.

With a view of making some sort of a beginning the following suggestions are made:

BARROW.—(A. S. beorg, beorh, hill mound, sepulchral mound, from beorgan, to shelter.—Webster): All mounds raised above the level of the ground without any circle of stones to mark the edge.

TUMULI.—Similar mounds having a circle of stones either on the top or round the bottom.

CIRCLES.—Circles of stones where the enclosed area is on a level with the surrounding ground. The size of the stones which mark the circumference being immaterial.

CROMLECH.—Stone structures above or partially above ground and which are surrounded by a circle of stones.

DOLMEN.—Similar structures but without the circle of stones.

CAIRNS.—Heaps of small stones whether surrounded by a circle or not.
**Kistvaen.**—Any stone structure found under the present surface of the soil in barrows, tumuli, or circles.

**Menhirs.**—Standing monoliths whether plain or ornamented.

All the above different kinds of remains are to be found in the Hassan district.

**Barrows.**—I have as yet only come across four: two close together, about 4 miles from Polliam on the Bangalor-Mangalor road; two near Arsikerri in the Harnhalli taluka. I have not had time to examine them thoroughly, but sufficiently so to justify my saying they are bonâ fide mounds of made earth, the work of men's hands. A peculiarity with regard to those now under notice is that we have two barrows close together, not three yards apart, and where one is round the other long. The proximity of the one to the other, and there being no others in the immediate neighbourhood, would justify our thinking them both the work of the same race.

The barrows near Polliam were, it is said, made in order that a Polygar, who belonged to the left hand caste, might from the top make his daily salām to the Rāja who lived close by. Near those at Arsikerri is a menhir where, according to the natives of the place, the Polygar's elephant was tied while he and the principal person of his Court from the top of the barrows watched the public games held in the fields around.

**Dolmens.**—Throughout the district, no matter how mean its appearance or few its inhabitants, every village has its temple or temples sacred to the "village" god or, more correctly, goddess. None of these temples are large, and many are rude attempts at copies of the temples dedicated to Śiva, showing clearly that Brahmanical influence has been at work in that particular village. Still, however strong this influence may be, close to the more modern village temple is always found its prototype, the dolmen, under the protecting slab of which the rude stone representing the goddess Mariamma finds shelter. These dolmens are formed of three side slabs with one or two slabs for a top. One side is always open, and there appears to be no particular direction for this opening since in different dolmens it faces all the points of the compass. Very few of these true village temples exceed three feet in height; some are only one foot. The best specimens, as is to be expected, are to be found in out-of-the-way villages. The pujārī or priest is of the low Holyar caste, and on the annual day of worship he has the right of presenting his offering of fruit and flowers before every one in the village—taking precedence even of the Brahmins. The right to the "pujārīship" is jealously asserted and often gives rise to disputes among relatives. I have seldom seen a village temple without the tree known in Canarese as "Kanigalu" growing close by. This tree has a large white flower with yellowish centre, the leaves do not come forth until after the tree has flowered. The flowers which have a strong scent are sacred to the village deities alone, and are never to be seen adorning the altars of the more orthodox Brahmanical gods. The very small size of these dolmens which are used as temples is a peculiarity it is difficult to account for.

**Tumuli.**—There is a fine specimen of this class close to the ford over the Kāveri near Gumi on the Chenraipatam-Nursipur road. From its size, the trouble expended on its construction, and its position it is evidently the last resting-place of some chief who fell in defending or forcing the passage over the ford. He was not the only one over whose remains a mound was erected: close by are smaller mounds sacred to the memory of minor chiefs whose names and deeds are buried in the long forgotten past. The large tumulus is surrounded by three circles of upright stones. One round the bottom; the other two, about four feet apart, are half-way up the slope. The whole of the surface of the sides is covered with large pieces of white quartz. Time, and "flowers of the stone," as the natives call lichen, have dimmed the lustre with which the quartz once sparkled. But at night in its pristine state, when each facet of quartz helped to reflect the moon's pale but silvery light, the effect must have been striking, and this monument appeared worthy of him to whom it had been consecrated. The principal tumulus rises 15 feet above the crest of the ridge on which it is built. It is almost circular, and the diameter at the top about 75 feet. It is made entirely of black clay, with here and there a thin layer of sand. We dug a pit down through the centre until we came to the original surface of the ground, but found nothing, not even a kistvaen. The villagers afterwards told us that years and years ago, so their fathers had told them, this tumulus had been examined and a horn and bangle found.

**Cromlechs.**—I have come across none in this district, but since the neighbouring district of
Kurg is peculiarly rich in such remains, I have no doubt that careful search among the jangals would bring to light some specimens of these remains.*

Circles.—Large numbers of these are to be found all over the district. Several stones varying in size, but seldom larger than 1½ feet, mark the circumference of these circles; the enclosed area is on a level with the surrounding ground or nearly so, and the diameter from 12 to 18 feet. Sometimes, but rarely, two circles, one within the other, are found. These circles are always to be found in groups, the number in each group varies from several hundred to but five or six. Near Fraserpett on the banks of the Kāveri, the best collection is to be seen; here we have several [hundred all clustered together occupying as is usual the highest ground in the neighbourhood. On digging below the surface soil we come on the covering slab of a kistvaen. These kistvaens are formed of slabs of granite and have always an opening at one end, large enough to admit of an ordinary-sized man of the present day passing through. They are always full of earth in which are embedded pots of every sort and kind, some of decidedly Etruscan look both in form and appearance, others in no way to be distinguished from the common chatti of the present day; some have three short legs, others have none. Pieces of iron instruments, bones, and a black substance, supposed to be charcoal, are also found. The kistvaen, however, is not always found complete. In some there is nothing but the bottom slab, on which always in one corner are to be found the pots and other finds. In one—and one only—I found a stone arrow or small spear-head. Similar remains, containing similar finds, are to be met with not only throughout the whole of Maisur, but the neighbouring districts of Koimbatur and the Nilgiri hills are reported to be particularly rich in this class of remains. They are generally supposed to be burying-grounds of an extinct race.

Cairns.—A number of these are to be found,—they are the graves of persons who have been either killed by tigers or died of leprosy. The common belief is that if the body of a leper is buried, no rain will fall on the lands of the village where this is done. They are therefore always buried under a pile of stones.

Menhirs.—From the simple unadorned monolith to the highly-carved monumental stone whose inscription tells why it was erected, we find great numbers differing in size, in form, and in appearance. The most common—so numerous indeed as to form a regular class of themselves—are those known to the natives as kodu kallu. Kallu is the Canarese for stone. These are said to have been erected by the Rājas of Kurg to mark the boundaries of their kingdom. They are however found in places where, from other evidence, it can be proved that these Rājas (for in its best days Kurg was but a petty state) never held sway. The explanation given by the natives then cannot be held to be correct. The original meaning of the word kodu has been forgotten, or the word so corrupted that it is impossible from its present form to determine the original word.† The similarity in sound between kodu and K o d a g u (which is the Kanarese for Kurg) has, I think, given rise to the usual explanation. Such mistakes do arise sometimes. For instance in the Malnad portion of the district, Orchids are called “Situhuvu” (or flowers of the mist). The similarity in sound between S i t u (mist) and S i t á (Rāma’s wife or sister) is too much for individuals of a highly imaginative mind who give a long story of how and why they are called Sitä’s flowers. However to return to the k o d u k a l l u. They are about 3 feet above the ground and always divided into three compartments. The upper generally represents a priest with long and flowing locks officiating at an altar carrying a l i n g a, and on the side is seated the person in whose honour evidently the stone has been erected. The centre compartment has two women, said to represent frail ones of the Hindu paradise, fanning with chauras the central figure. The lower division delineates a battle scene, where the combatants are represented now on foot now on horseback. In one case there is shown an elephant. The most interesting specimen I have met with is one near Arsikere. It is as usual divided into three compartments but has an inscription in “Halla Kanaḍa” or old Kanarese. The letters are clear and have been read. The date is given as “Chālukya Vikrama” 42.‡ I have come across other kodu kalu bearing inscriptions, but the character is unknown to the natives.

There are two or three different accounts given by the natives about the origin of the circles. One, and the most common, that they are the dwelling-places of the followers of the five Pāṇḍu princes who, having lost their all by gambling, were obliged to wander among the forests.

* I am inclined to think they will be found only on or among hills.—Ed.
† *Kodu kala means ‘slaughter stones,’ see Vol.I, p.372.—Ed.
‡ This is probably the era of the Chālukyas referred to in the Tīdgnu copper-plate (see Ind. Antiq. Vol.I, p. 85), commencing 1076 A.D.—Ed.
of Southern India. Another that they were built in order to protect the followers of Sālivahana from a rain of fire which had been foretold by one of the prophets of the land. All the many accounts agree in ascribing these circles to the handiwork of a pigmy race. The following extracts with regard to the "rain of fire" from Vol. VII. (pp. 278, 279, 289) of the Madras Journal of Science and Literature are interesting:

"Through his (Sālivahana’s) wickedness there was no rain—a great famine—much distress, and one house distant ten miles from any other house; the country little better than a waste benighted wilderness. The ascetics retiring to the wilderness in secret made murmuring complaints to Siva and Vishnu. Siva, to avenge the desolation, solicited from the Adi Parabarama (Supreme Being) a fire-rain. Athi-seshan beforehand apprised Sālivahana of its approach in a dream. Sālivahana announced to all the followers of Sarvesvarer the coming fire-rain, and recommended them to build stone-houses, or to remain (on the day fixed) in rivers; by both of which means they would be preserved uninjured by the fire-rain. They followed his advice, some quarrying stones and building houses, others watching on the banks of the largest rivers; and they were all on the alert. Siva, opening his front-let eye, sent a rain of fire. Sālivahana’s people took refuge in their stone-houses and he himself with his army on the banks of the Kāveri (here used to designate a river in general) avoided it by plunging in the water. Siva, seeing this, had recourse to the Supreme Being, and by meditating on the five lettered mantra, sent down a shower of mud. Those in stone houses were thereby blocked up and suffocated; those in rivers came out and escaped."

"One instance may be given of the fire-rain of which mention occurs at the commencement of the MS. The Jains have a doctrine that a rain of fire always goes before the periodically recurring universal deluge. But though the aforesaid notion of the Jains may have suggested the idea of fire-rain, yet it seems in the document under notice to be a symbol made use of to denote divine judgments: whether the idea, in this sense, may be borrowed from a well-known historical fact or otherwise, let others determine."

"The fire-rain rather seems to be a symbol of the anger of Siva; in plainer terms, an insurrection against Sālivahana; and if so the shower of mud may have a symbolical meaning also and may help to the meaning of a tradition which states that Uryanur, the capital of the Chola kingdom, was destroyed by a shower of sand or mud."

We have here a reason why the houses or kistvaens were made of stone, i.e., to protect their inhabitants from the fire-rain, and how they were filled up by a shower of mud.

NOTES ON JUNNAR TĀLUKA, PUNĀ ZILLĀ.

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

There is perhaps no other tract in the presidency of the same extent which offers so many points of interest as the Junnar Tāluka, called formerly Sivaneri, after the famous fort of that name; and certainly I know of none which contains within so small a space so much variety of climate and production.

Junnar is the northernmost tāluka of the Punā Collectorate, marching with Nagar, and lies upon a series of mountain rivers which empty themselves into the Ghör, something in the shape of a three-pronged fork.

The prongs are the valleys of three streams which, gradually converging, form in their delta the narrower socket. The southernmost of these, the Minā, rising in the deep glen of Amboli, flows eastward; at first through a narrow but fertile valley, called after it the Mināner. It is as troublesome and capricious in its small way as the Ganges, and plays havoc every year with boundaries, and sometimes with crops, for the first ten miles of its course, changing from one bed to another in the deep lacustrine beds of clay and gravel, which offer no foundation for any work that might restrain it within due bounds. The ryots are well aware of its character, and accordingly most of the villages are set pretty well back from the stream. In one, however, Nirgudé, there is unfortunately a fine temple of Māruti, built upon a knowe, that was probably considered secure, about a hundred years back. But the river, constantly encroaching, had at the time of my visit cut away the ground from under the village to such an extent that it was disappearing at the rate of eight or ten houses a year. Government offered a new site, but the villagers declined to leave Māruti. As it was impossible to found any protecting work in the treacherous substrata, I suppose Māruti is by this time himself in a fair way to join his worshippers in the bed of the Minā. This temple is (or perhaps was) remarkable for its fine cloisters, built, I believe, in the last century by a member of the Kulkarnis family, who had grown rich in the service of Mādhai Śinde on the plunder of Hindustān.
Here is the ford by which, as well as I could learn, Rājā Śivāji crossed to surprise Junnar in May 1657, after a mountain march through the jungles of the present Ambegām Petā. The pass by which he entered the Mināner goes by the name of the Kiwāl Khind, or Crow's Gap, as being more fit for a crow than for any featherless biped. It is however now passed, with much labour, by bullocks. Two miles below Nirgudé the trap-rock crops out to the surface, and here is a fine Mughul dam, nearly perfect, but the canal is gone which formerly conducted its water to Bāglohór, the garrison garden of the fortress of Śivaneri. From this down, the Minā flows, like a respectable river, in one very rocky bed to Nārāyanagām, a fine village on the Puṇā and Nāšik road. Here is another dam of unknown age, which, lying broken when we came into the country, has been repaired by the Government, and is now the most successful piece of irrigation that I know of; taking up no ground, costing little for repairs, and watering, as well as I recollect, about 8,000 acres from its double canal. We might well attend a little in these matters to the wisdom of “the men of old time, and our fathersthat begotus.”

The Musalmān rulers of Western India and the earlier British conquerors built few great tanks; but they covered every perennial stream with Bundāras (weirs) which irrigated each their own village or two, while they encroached not at all on the cultivable land, and any damage a chance flood might do was easily and cheaply repaired. The Minā passes under a good modern bridge past Nārāyanagām, and joins the Ghōr near Pimpalkherā, leaving to its left the fort of Nārāyanagarh.

The second stream, the Kūkā, springs from a veritable “cow’s mouth” carved roughly in the living rock, into a charming little kunda, or natural basin, near the Koli village of Pūr. Thence it flows northward for a couple of miles, and turns again to the south-east, when it reaches the long narrow valley which terminates at the Nānā Ghāṭ. This famous pass is no more nor less than a huge staircase, built in a crack of the precipice that here overlooks the Konkan, a wall of rock 1,500 feet sheer up and down. Curiously enough, this spot, where any one would think the natural limit of Konkan and Dakhan to be pretty well defined, is said to have been in old days the scene of a hot boundary dispute between the inhabitants of Ghāṭgarh, above the Ghāṭ, and of the nearest Konkan village below. The belligerents assembled on a high point of rock overlooking the contested frontier, and debated for a long time without prospect of coming to any better solution than the fool’s argument. At last a Mahār, the hereditary guardian of the boundaries of Ghāṭgarh, arose and adjured all present by a great curse to fix the boundary where he should stand still. This was agreed to, and he forthwith jumped over the cliff. On the spot where he was dashed to pieces a red stone still commemorates the event, and marks the boundary of the two villages, whose inhabitants perform certain devotions there once a year.

The legend is curious as illustrating both the extraordinary love of the Indian villager for a boundary squabble, be the locality ever so well marked out by nature, and the devotion of hereditary officers to the duties of their wāttan. The sacrifice of the poor Mahār, a sort of Little Pedlington Quintus Curtius, affords a precedent which might be turned to advantage in Europe. It is possible that rectification of frontiers might not be so much talked about, were it customary to settle them by the happy despatch of foreign secretaries and ambassadors.

The Ghāṭ itself, as I have said, is a mere winding cleft in the rock, which was converted into a regular staircase by the energy of a certain Nānā Rao. I think that he wrought about the beginning of this century, and is not to be confounded with Nānā Fādnavis (Bālāji Janārādan). However, I speak only from local tradition, and am open to correction. There are several caves about the head of the Ghāṭ, one of which is used as a dharmaśālā, another generally contains good water, and a third is said in former days to have been a toll-chest, into which the passers-by threw the toll-money, to be collected once a day by a kārkūn. In what golden age of Hindu purity this happened I know not. In the present day no toll is collected, but if it were still thrown into the cave, and respected by men, it would probably be made away with by a numerous breed of small and sacred monkeys, said to be peculiar to the place (which I doubt). Above the Ghāṭ, on some comparatively open ground, are a great number of mounds, testifying, I think, to the former existence on this spot of a considerable town. The modern village of Ghāṭgarh is nearly two miles off, nestled on the flank of the fort of Jiwdhan. This is a huge crag accessible only
by one path, which was nearly destroyed by the English in 1818, but a single man can still climb up. There is a curious vaulted magazine at the top. I believe that Dr. Bhau Daji discovered, either here or at the Ghāṭ, some inscriptions relating how a great king had sacrificed in this place whole armies of sheep and goats, hecatombs of horses and camels, and nine elephants. However, I have not seen either the inscriptions or the learned Doctor’s papers on the subject. This fort of Jiwdhan forms part of a curious Pleiades constellation of fortresses called the seven forts of Junnar. They lie something in the shape of the constellation to which I have compared them, and resemble it further in that “Quae septem dicex tamen esse solent,” for the locality of the seventh is very little known, and it was not till after diligent search that I discovered it on a hill over the head waters of the Dudari river, between its valley and that of the Kūkri, now in question. It is, as well as I recollect, called Nimgori, and fronts westward over the Konkan with Harichandragarh and Jiwdhan. This latter, being at a corner, forms also part of the southern line of defence, with Chāwand, Śiwneri, and Nārāyanagarh, all rising, like it, out of the watershed of the Minā and Kūkri. Communications between these six are guarded by a fort called Harsha, commanding a pass from the Kūkri valley to that of the Dudari, the next northwards. The whole together form a complete protection to the two great military and commercial routes of those days, viz the Nānā and Malsej Ghāṭs, neither of which can be approached by any route not commanded by at least three of the seven. The fort of Chāwand, which is the next east of Jiwdhan, is more like a huge broken pillar than a hill, and is, like Jiwdhan and the rest, provided with a vaulted magazine at the top, and, like it, extremely difficult of access, and for the same reason, viz., the destruction of the only gate by our Engineers in 1818. To the east of it lies the village of Keli, whose inhabitants were, according to the local legend, driven out during the Mogalaiāmmal (imperial rule) by a strange and terrible plague. Men fell down dead at the plough, at their meals, on the road, without any visible cause. After a short time the survivors, who were of the caste called Gurāvs, the hereditary priests of Śiva, concluded that the aborigines of the hills, the Kolis and Thākārs, had enchanted the place, and fled southward 18 kos into the Bhimanēr, where their descendants are patels to this day. They have never—such is the pertinacity with which the Dakhani clings to hereditary rights—relinquished their claim to exercise the patel’s office in Keli. In 1871, while the district was in my charge, they renewed their claim, offering to return to live there. I left the taluka on sudden orders, and do not know what was the end of the matter.

NOTES CONNECTED WITH SAHET MAHET.

BY W. C. BENNETT, B.C.S., GONDA.

The agreement of information derived from wholly independent sources lends their value, if they have any, to the following comparisons of local tradition with known or conjectured historical facts.

1. It is related at Ayudhya that the great king Vikramāditya was visited at the close of his reign of eighty years by a Jogi named Samūdra Pāl. The magician induced the king to allow his soul to be transferred to a corpse, and himself occupied the vacant royal body, thus acquiring the throne of Ayudhya and Srāvasti, which was occupied by his dynasty for seventeen generations.

A king Vikramāditya of Srāvasti is mentioned in the Rājā Tarangini as the conqueror of Matrigna Gupta of Kashmir, and the best authorities put him in about the middle of the second century. Samūdra Gupta of Behar is still better known. Surely this legend affords a very strong confirmation to the conjecture that the local monarchs of Srāvasti were conquered by the rising Gupta dynasty; and it goes far to explain the utter desolation, contrasting so violently with the power which it must have had when it could subdue distant Kashmir, which the Chinese pilgrims found a few centuries later at Srāvasti.

2. The second tradition is as follows. The king of Sahet Mahet (Srāvasti) was a great hunter. He returned one evening from the chase just as the sun was setting, and his queen, fearing that he would lose his dinner, sent up to the roof of the palace the beautiful wife of his younger brother. The sun-god stayed to watch her till she descended, which was not till the feast was ended. As the king rose from table
twelve Śiva Lingas in India,* and the history of the destruction of which by Mahmud of Ghaznavi is familiar to every reader of Indian history. Dwārka or Dwāraka, in the extreme west of the peninsula, is the most celebrated of the shrines of Kṛṣṇa, and where he is said to have slain Takṣak and to have saved the sacred books. And not to mention Tulsī Śyām and places of less note, the sacred hill of Satruñjaya, near Pālītānā, has probably been a sacred place from the earliest times of the Jaina worship,—a great tīrtha,—the first places of pilgrimage.

The last of these more immediately concerns us for the present; but before referring to its history or buildings, it may be as well to give some notices of the sect whose members have erected its hundreds of temples.

The Jaina or Śrāvakas are to be found in most of the large towns of the lower Ganges and in Rajputāna, but they are most numerous in Gujārāt, Dhrāwad, and Māisur. As their name implies, they are followers of the Jinas or 'vanquishers' of sins—men whom they believe to have obtained Nirvāṇa or emancipation from the continual changes of transmigration. With them life,—which they do not distinguish from 'soul,'—and its vehicle matter are both uncreated and imperishable, obeying eternal physical laws, with which asceticism and religious ceremonial alone can interfere. Their ceremonial has therefore no real reference to a Supreme Personal God, and their doctrine excludes His Providence. This at once points to their connection with the Buddhists; indeed there can be little doubt that they are an early heretical sect of the Hinayana school of that persuasion, and probably owed part of their popularity, on the decline of the purer Buddhist doctrine, to their ready admission of the worship of some of the favourite Hindu deities into their system, and their doctrine excludes His Providence. The Jains indicate South Bihār as the scene of the life and labours of nearly all their Tirthākaras, as it was of Śākya Sīrśa. B u d d h a is often called Mahāvīra—the name of the last Tirthākara, whose father the Jains call Sīd d h a r a, the 'establisher of faith'—the proper name of Buddha,—and both are of the race of Ikṣvākū; and Mahāvīra's wife was Y a s ō d ā, as Buddhā's was Y a s ō d h a r ā. Moreover Mahāvīra's is said to have died at Pāwā, in Bihār, about 527 B.C., and Gautama Buddha, between Pāwā and K u s i n ā r ā, in 543 B.C.† These coincidences, together with many analogies of doctrine and practice, seem to indicate that the Jains are of Buddhist origin.

Of the history of the origin of the Jains we know little or nothing. Professor Wilson has the following remarks:—

The B u d d h a s "are said in one account to have come from Banaras in the third century of the Christian era, and to have settled about K a n c h i, where they flourished for some centuries; at last, in the eighth century, A k a l a n k a, a Jain teacher from S r a v a n a B e l l i g o l a, and who had been partly educated in the Buddhist college at P o n a t a g a disputed with them in the presence of the last Buddhist prince, H e m a s i t a l a, and having confuted them, the prince became a J a i n and the B u d d h a s were banished to K a n d y . . . We know that the Buddhist religion continued in Gujarat till a late period or the end of the twelfth century, when K u m ā r a Pālā of Gujarat was converted by the celebrated H e m a c h a n d r a to the Jain faith, but by the fourteenth century it seems to have disappeared from the more southern portion of the peninsula.

* The others were M a l l i k ā r j u n a, at S r i s a l a m in Telīn-gaṇa; M a hāk o l a at U j i j a i n ; O n k a r a on the Narmada; A n a r e i s a r a near U j i j a i n ; V a i s h n o v a t h , at D o n g r a h in Bengal, which still exists; R a m e n e r a at Sebulanda in the island of R a m e s ' w a r a m in Madura; B h i m a s ' a n k o r a at the source of the Bhima N. W. of P u n ā; T r y u m b a k a near Nāik; G u h o n a s , unknown; K e d a r e s s a on the Himalayas; and P i v e s ' s o r a at Banaras.

† Conf. Hodgson's Illustrations of Buddhism, pp. 43, 213.

# Conf. Hodgson's Illustrations of Buddhism, pp. 43, 213.

The Singhalese Buddhists specify twenty-four Buddhās, before Gautama, the same number as that of the Tirthākaras or Jinas.—Conf. Mahānāmo in his Tūkā, in Turnour's Mahāsāṅkha, Intro. [8vo. pp. liii.—lxiv.] 4to. pp. xxxii.—xxxi.; Hard's Buddhism, p. 91. Compare also the first six chapters of the Kalpa Sutra with Bigandet's Legend of Gaudama.
A.D. 788. The Bauddhas at temples at Devagond and Vijal are destroyed by the Jaina princes in the eleventh century, particularly under the Velala Raja of Muisur, who, although not of the Jaina persuasion, seem to have shown liberal countenance to its professors. 

But whilst it owed its spread in part to the persecution of Buddhism in the eighth and ninth centuries, it may have originated much earlier. One indication of its early origin is perhaps supplied by Hiwen Thsang when he states that— "At forty or fifty li south-east of the city (Seng-ho-pu-lo,—Sinhapura) we reach a stupa, built of stone by the King Wu-yeu (Asoka). Near it is a convent which for a long time has not had any devotees."

Near it, and at a short distance from the stupa, they shew the place where the founder of the heretical sect who wear the white garments (svetavasa?) comprehended the sublime principles that he sought after and began to expound the law. Now they shew an inscription there.

"Beside this place they have built a temple of the gods. The sectaries that frequent it submit themselves to strict austerity; day and night they manifest the most ardent zeal, without taking an instant's rest. The law that has been set forth by the founder of this sect has been largely appropriated from the Buddhist books, on which it is guided in establishing its precepts and rules. The more aged of these sectaries bear the name of Bhikshus (mendicants); the younger they call Chami (Sramanerâs—novices). In their observances and religious exercises they follow almost entirely the rule of the Sramanas. Only they retain a little hair on their heads, and moreover they go naked. If, by chance, they wear garments, they are distinguished by their white colour. These differences, and other very trifling ones, distinguish them from others. The statue of their divemaster resembles, by a sort of usurpation, that of Ju-lai (the Tathâgata); it only differs in costume; its marks of beauty (mahâpurusha lakshañâni) are exactly the same." 

Elsewhere Hiwen Thsang frequently met with religionists of the Ching-liang-pu or Sam-bodhisattva sect, whose equivalent for 'white garments' Gen Cunningham tries to identify Khetàs with this place. Srettâmbara would have suited the translator equally well, if not better. See Cunningham, Anc. Geog., pp. 124, 5.

§ The Buddhist devotees wear garments of a yellowish brown. If the Chinese has Siang-hao, an expression which, applied to Buddha, includes the 32 signs of beauty (mark characteristic of a great man) which they attribute to him. See Burnouf, Lotus de la Bonne loi, p. 552 f.

* "According to some traditions, the date of Kana Pandyan is called 550 of Sâlivâhana, or A.D. 1028: but there are several reasons for supposing this to be erroneous. The Madura Purana, and its original the Halâya Mahâtingsa, come down to the end of this prince's reign; and they are attributed to the reign of Hari Vira Pandyan, in 973. . . Either their date, therefore, is erroneous, or that of Kana Pandyan is incorrect; but there is every reason to suppose they are not much misplaced." — H. H. Wilson, Jour. R. As. Soc., vol. III, p. 216.


‡ On the grounds of M. Stan. Julien's conjectural Sanskrit
The matiyas school, by which doubtless he designates the Jainas, since they still call their doctrine Sammati.

The leading and distinguishing doctrines of the Jainas are: the denial of the divine origin and authority of the Vedas; reverence for the Jinas, who by their austerities acquired a position superior to that of even those Hindu gods whom they reverence; and the most extreme tenderness of animal life. Life is defined to be without beginning or end, endowed with attributes of its own, agent and enjoyer, conscious, subtle, proportionate to the body it animates—diminishing with the gnat and expanding with the elephant; through sin it passes into animals or goes to hell; through virtue and vice combined it passes into men; and through the annihilation of both vice and virtue it obtains emancipation.

The duties of a Yati or ascetic are ten—patience, gentleness, integrity, disinterestedness, abstraction, mortification, truth, purity, poverty, and continence; and the Sāvakas add to their moral and religious code the practical worship of the Tirthaṅkaras, and profound reverence for their more pious brethren.

The moral obligations of the Jainas are summed up in their five mahāvratas, which are almost identical with the pancha-śila of the Bauddhas:—care not to injure life, truth, honesty, chastity, and the suppression of worldly desires. They enumerate four merits or dharma—liberality, gentleness, piety, and penance; and three forms of restraint—government of the mind, the tongue, and the person. Their minor instructions are in many cases trivial and ludicrous, such as not to deal in soap, astron, indigo, and iron; not to eat in the open air after it begins to rain, nor in the dark, lest a fly should be swallowed; not to leave a liquid uncovered lest an insect should be drowned; water to be thrice strained before it is drunk; and vayukarma—keeping out of the way of the wind, lest it should blow insects into the mouth.

The proper objects of worship are the Jinas or Tirthaṅkaras, but they allow the existence of the Hindu gods, and have admitted to a share in their worship such of them as they have connected with the tales of their saints. As among the Buddhhas, Indra or Śakra is of frequent occurrence, the Jainas distinguishing two principal Indras—Śukra, regent of the north heaven, and Iśāna, regent of the south, besides many inferior ones; and images of Sarasvatī and of Devī or Bhavānī are to be found in many of their temples. Nor are those of Hanumān, Bhaīra, or Gāṅgīs excluded from their sacred places.

Besides, they have a pantheon of their own, in which they reckon four classes of superhuman beings—Bhuvanapati, Vyantar, Jyotiṣhka, and Vaimānikas, comprising—1, the brood of the Auras, Nagas, Garuḍas, the Dikpālas, &c., supposed to reside in the hells below the earth; 2, the Rākṣasas, Pīśāchas, Bhūtas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, &c., inhabiting mountains, forests, and lower air; 3, five orders of celestial luminaries; and 4, the gods of present and past Kalpas, of the former of which are those born in the heavens—Saundhara, Iśāna, Saṅkumāra, Mahendra, Brahmā, Lán-taka, Śukra, Sahasrāra, Anata, Praṇata, Arana, and Ačyuta, &c. Each Jīna, they say, has also a sort of 'familiar' goddess of his own, called a Śaśanadevī, who executes his behests. These are perhaps analogous to the Śaktis, or Matri of the Brahmins; indeed among them we find Ambikā, a name of Kaumārī, the Śakti of Kartikya, and Chaṇḍā and Mahākālī, names of Bhavānī.

THE DESĪŚABDASAMGRAHA OF HEMACHANDRA.

By G. BüHLER, Ph. D., EDUCATIONAL INSPECTOR, GUJARAT.

Though we have been for a long time in possession of a number of Hindu grammars, which treat of the older Prakrits, and though several European scholars have given us excel-

* See Rules for Yatis in the Kalpa Sutra, Stevenson's Gram., pp. 108—114; and especially Nava Tatoe, ib., p. 124.


‡ For many similar prohibitions see Delamaine On the Brahmanas or Jains; Trans. R. Asiat. Soc., vol. I., pp. 420, 421.

§ Amarakosha, I. i. § 1, 59; and conf. Hodgson, Illustrations, p. 218.
lent descriptions of the grammatical structure of these dialects, it is to be regretted that only a very small portion of their stock of words has become known. Our ignorance of the Prakrit vocabulary is partly owing to the circumstance that, besides the Prakrit passages of the Sanskrit dramas—if we except the Buddhistic Pāli writings—a portion only of one larger Prakrit work has been edited. Sanskritists are deterred from the task by the paucity and bad condition of the Prakrit MSS. But another equally important obstacle to a fuller exploration of the Prakrits is the entire want of native vocabularies, which could do the same service to the student of the Prakrits as the Amarakosha and kindred works did and still do to the Sanskritist. The method of teaching in the Brahmanical schools, as well as the testimony of various writers, make it certain that such vocabularies existed and were accessible very recently. But no work of the kind has, to my knowledge, as yet been made known.

I am happy to be able, to a certain extent, to fill this gap in our knowledge of the literature of the Prakrits, as I have recently obtained a copy of a Dešīśabdasamgraha, written by the famous Jaina Polyhistor of the twelfth century, Hemachandra or Hemāchārya, which contains about 4,000 Prakrit words, together with explanations in Sanskrit. The MS., of which I have obtained a loan only for transcription, comprises according to the colophon 3,325 slokas (agglomerations of 32 syllables each) on 74 folios. Its date is Samvat 1587. It is correct and in good preservation, except that the upper edges of some leaves have been gnawed by rats, whereby in one instance two half lines and on several pages a few letters have been lost. It is written in Devanāgarī characters, but presents the archaic forms of letters usual in Jaina MSS. Hence it is frequently very difficult to distinguish between u and o, between ṭh and ḍh, and between jh and bhh.

Besides the text of the Dešīśabdasamgraha, which is written in Prakrit Aryāś and gives the Deśī words with Prakrit equivalents, the MS. contains a Sanskrit commentary. The latter explains each Deśī word in Sanskrit, and contains also frequently discussions on doubtful forms. At the end of the explanation of each verse, one or two Prakrit sentences have been added, in order to illustrate the use of the Deśīs explained. Thus each word is repeated three times. The book is divided into eight Vargas, viz.—I. Sarvararga; II. Words beginning with gutturals; III. Words beginning with palatals; IV. Words beginning with linguals; V. Words beginning with dentals; VI. Words beginning with labials; VII. Words beginning with the liquids ra, la, ra; VIII. Words beginning with sa and ha. The words under each letter are arranged according to their length, and according to their meaning. First come those that have only one meaning, in the order of bisyllabics, trisyllabics, tetrasyllabics, and so forth; and the words having more than one meaning make the conclusion.

The first four verses of the text give the definition of the term Deśī, and define the scope of the work. They run as follows:

 Glory to the language of the Jinendras, which is difficult on account of the employment of parallel passages not explained by the commentators (gama), categories and of proofs, the secrets of which got to the hearts of the wise, and which comprises all other languages.

§ Virajjīval—MS. suhasā may also be read suha.
| The metre is ādi or Udgāthā. |
| Tātparyabhedinah sadris'apāthāh'—E. g., of Bhānutikshita, who quotes a Desikosh in his commentary on the Amarakosha, Aufrecht, Ges. Cat., p. 182a. |
| * I mean Hālā's Gāthākoshā, a part of which was published, together with a German translation by Prof. A. Weber, in the Abhandlungen der D. M. Ges. 1870. |
| † E. g., cf Bhānumatikshita, who quotes a Desikosh in his commentary on the Amarakosha, Aufrecht, Ges. Cat., p. 182a. |
| ** Both text and commentary are Hemachandra's work as may be seen from the introductory verse:—Deśī duḥkhaṃbha pratyaharibhiṣṭa purbaḥ kurthavah |

A chart of Hemachandra's tattvas mundarūpiḥ vīdhi jñāti vayuḥ, and from the colophon of the book,—śrī Hema-|
| chandraśrī bāvāgīśabhaśyasamgrahā vṛcchavahā [śrī Hema- |
2. ‘This collection of Deši words, which is easy because they are arranged in alphabetical order, is composed in order (to remedy) the confusion caused (in the minds of students) by the astonishment arising from the fragrance of the Prakrit works. 

3. ‘Those words are included here which are not explained in (my) grammar, nor known from the Sanskrit dictionaries, nor owe their origin to the power called gauni lakshaná (i.e. are not common words used in a metaphorical sense).’

4. ‘Endless are the forms that are used in the various provincial dialects. Therefore the term Deši is (used here) to denote those words only which have been used since immemorial times in Prakrit.’

Hemachandra’s collection includes, therefore, only those words which have been ‘used since immemorial times in Prakrit literature or speech,’ and which cannot be derived from their Sanskrit prototypes according to the rules of Prakrit grammars, as well as those Sanskrit words which have changed their meaning in Prakrit, provided that the change is not due to a metaphorical use. He excludes all Taalbhavas, as well as the greater number of the Tatsamas and the substitutes for Sanskrit roots. These principles have not, however, been strictly adhered to in the body of the work. More than once the example of his predecessors, amongst whom he names Gopāla and Drona most frequently, has moved the author to admit verbal derivatives which ought not to have been included. He discusses every one of these cases in the commentary, and tries to excuse his departure from his general rule. In this respect, as well as by the careful examination of the evidence regarding doubtful words, he shows his scholarly taste and raises himself far above the common book-makers, who are so numerous among the writers on the Hindu Śāstras.

As it may interest many Sanskritists to see what the Deši words are like, I subjoin a portion of the words beginning with ṣ (a), together with their Sanskrit equivalents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣaktivam</td>
<td>ṣākṣākavam</td>
<td>third person singular active use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaktikā</td>
<td>ṣākṣākā</td>
<td>third person singular active use</td>
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<td>ṣaktikā</td>
<td>ṣākṣākā</td>
<td>third person singular active use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Des‘i sabdena des‘i VIstr‘a śāpyuṣchyaṇe |

Nih’se’s ‘bades’i VIstr‘a parimalanena palavitaṁ prādurbhūtam kvačid arthāsamparkateva kvačitvarṇanupūrvin’chayabhaveva kvačitgadānugivatekāpibuddhas abhārthatayā yatuttiharatam tenkalatvam |

A’nathāsamanapabharatasa’sabdanamakamagajana samudharsaṇya iti paropachikabharadhasaṇena hetunā des‘i tropanam sabdākam sangrōha vīrachyatevamūḥīrītis’cohā |

† Lakṣāne s’abdas’i VIstr‘a śabdhahemachanḍaranāṇī ye na śiddhā prakṛtiprāyaśāvīdvibhāgena na nispamāstrētah nibaddhah |

†† Vaijārapajaramapālapineṣuanasanghaḥvācchayāpasaśabdhahaṇya ity kathākālaśeṣevadāvaneva sādhitkōṣṭhayeśeśa pratigṛhitā apyābhāmihira nibaddhah |

Yeḥ śatyamānaḥ prakṛtiprāyaśāvīdvibhāgena śiddhau samkritābhīdānakosheṣha na prasiddhah yathā śāmrūtaśrūtaḥ śāmrūtaḥ kalabuddhesaḥ kuleṣaḥ sādhutābrahmacīrānaḥ shravānabādhyādayaḥ |

§ Has another form airippo.

|| By metathesis for achirābhā.

* Corresponds to a Sanskrit ankus’ayitam.

** Hālahas kankellī.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

20 J[ANUARY, 1873.

arṣuñā Raú
arṣš afā'īsāt
arṣ arṣ
aſſisität#HäFRH :
aſſtätzTAH ;
aſſaggiYûT :
&Tāftāsāargran
3stET3TAsſſ
*IIHF ºrtºirá
afſätHITaTH
&T-33arguſºqū'
armsäätTTTRt
aſTET 3rasſ$
sIFTäf&iſqārāt ºft ||
aſſaſāraſqnſii ;
arattaſ :
arīgū barārāsā'īlū
arº Itis: ,Trifănău, Rºxa
*firuſ ;

aristãſgraſßarà:
Tſūzār ;
arrafi'iſãiſlaw
3rºſświft
3rºfitſharr : 3T3:T3Trºſśqaqš:T:
3TH iſaſſääßHF :
3rs:IHT3TTH :
stafarāſIg :
arāfāq >
3RRRö 3T35g .
waſ Tā spºt Hitſ; arofia .
*T*T .
*Firſtgºt &Tºiqa .Häsän
*ISH3Tür WRITITT .
3ſºftUs :
aſsàfººtºrgſſuit*f; + \sqrt{st} 
31:
arºg ,
#m
gään Isāsīa .
*R .
qātiſã diº, ºr fatalarra.

arºRT HIRTETR
wiidºlsizārwiſh .Túatiºn
aſ: 3TTº fitºf 33 (autTătăluiqūsſurg
atfºr asitairall
šļżārqāzā .
*Ifyagut
Stammering .
33 stuſ
ârgăTºf
qſa Tſuſ'ſ
aſſºſančiTºrtAFFirſt
*R ºf wear ºf
aſſºr asū āūTaſ
arºsłądRuſſiéfùùaßRaat
aſsiſorqīaſſº ;
3rgºſ R&T .
arrºrstsºrt
argūſhūāftāfīfāR
aſsidaiut :
aſgöſſaſſi :
arrºquoiſaſſāārū .
3rgquſſ aſūſīt
arriſHūwar : 3rgqſ 3RTÉſt

* Might be read angutthalam.
† From agra and akandhah.
MEMORANDUM ON THE SHOE QUESTION AS IT AFFECTS THE PĀRSĪS.

BY REV. JOHN WILSON, D.D., BOMBAY.

A great aversion exists in the Pārsī community to the taking off of shoes as they enter public or private houses; and on this aversion they almost uniformly act, even though they decline to render the other token of respect,—the uncovering of the head, customary among tribes and peoples who retain their shoes. They are also indisposed to uncover either their head or feet when taking oaths, standing in the witness-box, or engaging in religious services. Their disinclination to uncover their feet rests, I am persuaded after much inquiry, on the peculiarities of the religious system which they observe, and not on mere self-assertion or unpunctuality. All who are intimately acquainted with the Pārsīs will admit that, in matters of mere courtesy, they are a considerate and pliant people. It is in part owing to this feature of their character that all along they have been on such good terms with our countrymen.

A marked feature of the Zoroastrian writings, which the Pārsīs consider the rule of their belief and practice, is Physiolatry, or the worship of Nature, and particularly of the distinctive elements recognized by the ancients. The earth and ocean (as well as light and fire, the heavenly bodies, and the treasures of the atmosphere) are with them considered sacred, and preserved, according to recognized rules, from natural and ceremonial defilement.

The Pārsīs, in consistency with the principle now referred to, consider themselves as guilty of a defilement of the earth when they touch it with their bare feet, except when they are offered bodily to the earth, with effusions of water made upon them in articulo mortis. The Pārsīs, when praying to fire in their own houses, or when repeating general prayers, keep on their shoes.

The Pārsī Mobeds, when they enter the Atishgāh, or sanctuary of the Fire-Altar, leave their walking shoes without, exchanging them for slippers kept in readiness at the entrance of the Atishgāh. Besides slippers, they may have on stockings when they approach the altar. The slippers they leave at the margin of the holy place when they resume their shoes.
The customs of the Parsis in reference to these matters, I am persuaded, are of great antiquity. I have numerous Sassanian coins and a few medals in my collection. On their reverse they have all a fire-altar with one or two worshippers represented having both their head and feet covered.

A plate given by Anquetil du Perron represents a Parsi repeating the prayer of the Kusti, or sacred cincture, with his head covered and shoes on his feet. In describing the Civil and Religious Usages of the Parsis, Anquetil thus writes:—"Les Mobeds sont sans souliers dans l'Atesch-gâh : ils n'ont que des chaussons ; ou s'ils se servent de pantoufles, il faut qu'en sortant ils les laissent dans l'Atesch-gâh. Les mêmes précautions doivent avoir lieu à l'égard de l'Izesch-khanèh. Il n'est guères possible d'aller dans les rues sans que les souliers deviennent impurs, ce qui oblige de les quitter en entrant dans l'Atesch-gâh ; et faire trois gâms les pieds nus c'est commettre, à chaque gân, le péché Farman." In corroboration of this statement, he refers to the Parsi Ravâits, or Collections of Traditions and Correspondence (between the Parsis of India and the Zoroastrians of Persia). I have read his testimony to the chief Dastur of the Kadami Parsis of Bombay (now holding the office of the late learned Mullah Firoz); and he certified to me its accuracy.

In the collection of fragmentary writings forming the Zendavesta of the Parsis, I do not remember to have met with any passage making express mention of the covering or uncovering of the feet, except when a person is enjoined to lay aside his shoes, as well as to strip himself of his clothes, when he enters water to drag from it a dead body (Vendidad, fargard VI. 56). In the Patits, or Penitential Services of the Parsis, written in old Persian or Gujarati, such expressions as the following occur:—"If I have gone without the Kusti (the sacred cincture), I repent of it. If I have defiled my feet, I repent of it." (Patit Kod, 19). "If I have walked on the earth with only one shoe on, if I have buried corpses in the earth, . . . if I have gone on the earth without shoes . . . , I repent of it." (Patit Irani, 7). Other passages of a similar import are to be found in these Penitential Prayers.

Though oaths are allowed to the Parsis, no injunctions about the form of them are given in their sacred books.

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**THE PRITHIRÁJA RASAU,**

**OF KAVI CHAND BARDAL.**

**EXTRACT FROM THE KANHPATTI PRASTAV—FIFTH BOOK.**

When Prithirāja was a minor, Bholā Bhima ruled in Gujarat. Sārang Deva was his uncle, whose sons were Pratāp Sīhā and his six brothers—Arisiṅha, Gokaldās, Govind, Harisiṅha, Syām, and Bhagwān. They were brave warriors, they owned the sway of no master. They slew Rāna, the most powerful of the Jhalās. When Sărang Deva died, Pratāp Sīhā succeeded him, and his brothers served under him. They had five hundred horse. They lived in the Mewās, plundering the Yādava's country. A complaint was made to Bhima, who went against them. He encamped on the bank of a river, and his elephant, bathing in it, was slain by Pratāp and Ari Sīhā. They killed also the mahaut. When he heard of it, Bhima declared that, though previously he had intended only to seize them, he would now think it no fault to slay them. When the brothers heard this they contemplated leaving Gujarat, meantime Prithirāja sent for them: he gave them grants (pata) of villages and other presents, and treated them with great respect. The seven Chālukya brothers, crafty and bold, remained faithfully in his service, coming one by one they placed his feet on their heads.

Once on a time the son of Som was seated in his court among his Sāmants, having made a brilliant assembly. Kann the Chauhān was also seated there, his long moustaches looking terrible, with Chāmand Ray, Narsiṅha, Kaimās, and other warriors. Prithirāja shone in the midst as the new moon on the second day of the light half. Around him shone a cluster of stars. Pratāp, with his seven brothers, paid obeisance to Prithirāja. He came and sat down opposite to Kann. The Mahābhārata was the subject of talk. Pratāp put his hand to his moustache. Kann Chauhān saw it. He drew his sword, the devourer of many. He cut him where the junction was worn. "Hu! Hu!" sounded through the hall. Pratāp fell. Arisiṅha was enraged: he struck Kann on the left arm with his sword. Kann raged like a lion awakened, or a fire having ghee thrown into it. Kunvar Prithirāja rose and retired into his palace. Behind him he closed the door. The fight raged in the hall. Arisiṅha struck Narsiṅha on the head with his sword, and pierced Rambha the Bargujar. Seeing this Chāmand was enraged. The strife was like a forest conflagration. Kann slew Arisiṅha. Govind with a jandad in his hand furiously attacked the Chauhān. Kann seized and slew him. Narsiṅha threw his arms round Arisiṅha, and others rained blows upon him, but he threw Narsiṅha down and got above him. Chāmand plunged his sword into his back. Harisiṅha followed Ari and pierced the mansion of the sun. Well done Chāluk! well done his father and mother! who not even in thought attempted to flee.

* About 70 lines descriptive of the army and its march omitted.—J. B.
Narsingh throwing the corpse from off him rose. Bhagwan attacked him. Narsingh cast his arm round him and plunged his dagger into his belly: the valiant Bhagwan also fell to the earth; 'alas!' 'alas!' sounded in the world of mortals; 'victory!' 'victory!' in the abode of the Suras. Gokul rushed on like a furious elephant, or like lightning bursting from the sky. He threw himself upon Kaimas brandishing his guj. Kaimas cut him down with his sword as one cuts a plantain tree. Vishnu sent Garuda to receive him. Madhava Khawas burst open the door and threw himself between the combatants. Dagger in hand he struck down the Pramāna. The rage of Kanh was appeased. Hai! hail sounded in the darbār. The companions and servants of the Chāluk, hearing what had happened, pressed into the hall: they beheld the corpses lying in their blood. They fell upon Kanh like shooting stars or like moths rushing to a lamp. They dashed open the doors. Narad began to clap his hands and dance; the sixty-four Devis (saktis) of the terrible countenance were filling their drinking-cups with blood; Bhairavas and Bhuts sported, Khetrapālas also, it seemed as if the Kalpa had come to an end. The servants of the Chālukyas and the Chauhān fought: their swords flashed like lightning, Siva was stringing his necklace; the field of battle was red with blood; the earth shook; human limbs were scattered over it. Bhuts sounded their drums, Vir shouted, some piercing the sun's disc attained moksha, some passed to swarga: debts contracted in a former life were paid off. For two gharis (48 minutes) the sword played: a hundred and fifty men were slain by Kanh: the rest fled: the brother of Somesa, raging like Kāla, slew the seven brothers of Bhima and was victorious. Then he was restrained by his friends. Prithirāja hearing of them was angry with Kanh. Kanh heard it: he remained at home and sought not the darbār. For three days in Ajmir the shops were shut—a river of blood flowed in the bazar.

Finding that Kanh came not to the darbār, Prithirāja went to his house and said—"Why have you done thus? All will say the Chauhān called the Chāluk to his house and slew him." Kanh replied, "Why laid he his hand on his moustache?" "O Kanh, if you will attend to what I say our fault will be forgotten. Bind your eyes with a bandage." Prithirāja ordered also that any acting like him should suffer the same punishment. He bound Kanh's eyes with a gold-worked cloth, and ordered him to remove it only when at home with his women or in battle. He made Kanh a present.

The story was wafted as perfume by the wind. Chāluk Bhima heard that the Chauhān had slain the sons of Sārang. He was inflamed with grief and anger, and wrote to the Chauhān demanding "bair," which the Chauhān declared himself ready to grant at any time. Bhima proposed to his officers to advance on Ajmir. Vir Pradhān [or "chiefs and ministers"] represented that in the rainy season it was fitting to remain at home, and recommended that the Chauhān should be attacked at Kārtik. The Rāja agreed: as the time passed the Chāluk's rage abated. The Chauhān, lord of Sambar, remaining at Ajmir behaved like an avatar of Krishna.

In S. 1138 (A.D. 1081) Prithirāja mounted the throne at Dehli, from which Anangapāla with his queen had retired to Bhadrikāshrama. Garlands of flowers were bound at the doors, and in the ten directions buffalo calves were sacrificed to the local gods. Shalah-ud-din again attacked him, but was defeated by him and captured by Châmand Ray. The Sultan was fined and released after a month. On a subsequent occasion, Prithirāja, having discovered property buried in the Khatwan (कतवं), a jangal at Nāgor, determined, by the advice of Kaimas, to call Sāmarsińha Rāwal of Chitrā, the husband of his sister Prithã, to assist him, for he feared three enemies—the Ghori Sultan, Jayachand of Kanauj, and Bhima. The Ghori, however, made an attack, but was defeated by Prithirāja and Sāmarsińha, and after a month's confinement he was released—paying a fine. The treasure was then removed from its concealment and shared among the Sāmants.

THE CANARESE COUNTRY COMPARED WITH THE COUNTRIES ADJACENT TO IT.

TRANSLATED BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

The following lines were written by Sarvagīña, the son of Basava Arasa, a Brahmin. His father's home was Māsūru in the Dharward district; but Sarvagīña was born in a certain village called Ambalūru. He became a clever fellow, and made verses on various subjects, always using the Tripadi metre. He may have lived two centuries ago.

DESCRIPTION OF COUNTRIES.

(Prose version.)

On each road are thorns of the shabby Ocymum; all that are born speak indistinctly. The road to the east is not to be taken (verse 1). Roasted corn is cheap; for an obeisance you get some buttermilk; there are small Solanum fruits to suck (instead of mangos). Can one declare the east to be rich? (v. 2.)

Whithersoever you look you see thorns of the miserable Ocymum; all the people; even when grown up, speak indistinctly. The north is not beautiful (v. 3). The villages are far from each other; water is met with every ten miles; there
is no shade to stand under. The road to the north is not to be taken (v. 4).

With your dish of great millet you have many varieties of split pulse and the milk of well-fed buffaloes. Look at the riches of the middle country!† (v. 5.) With your dish of Panicum you have suitable split pulse and a lump of butter as big as a sling-stone. Look at the means of the middle country! (v. 6.) You have your cakes of wheaten flour and the milk of the lusty buffaloes, and enjoy the love of a modest female. I have not seen the like (v. 7). May cake-dust (that does not satiate) fall into the mouth of him who says that the country, wherein Bengal gram and wheat are sown and grown, should be burnt! (v. 8.)

The forest (of the west) is full of immature fruits; the country is full of huge trees; promises are not kept. I have had quite enough of the Hill country (malanādu, v. 9). The climate is damp; bellies are swollen; ah, why should one go to a country where sinners stir and eat (their food), with wood (laden) v. 10? There are green ginger and turmeric; there are jaggary and betel; there are good jack-fruits to eat. Can one declare the Hill country to be a good one? (v. 11.) There is rice water, there is mud, there are hot dwellings, there are wives that are gratifying. Oh, look at the relieving features of the Hill country! (v. 12.)

NOTES CONCERNING THE NUMERALS OF THE ANCIENT DRAVIDIANS.

By Rev. F. Kittel, Merkara.

Or the mental faculties of the ancient Dravidians their Numerals bear some witness. From them we learn that when apparently still free from all Aryan influence, they contrived to count up to a hundred. The earliest state of their herds and flocks, and of their bartering, did not make it necessary to go higher. In the same way, not before the tribes that at present form the Aryas of the West had left their brethren, the later Zoroastrians and Brahmanas, &c., did these feel the necessity of the number "sahasra." This sahasra was, in course of time, borrowed from them by the Dravidians, and was also incorporated by them into their own lan-

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* Literally, country of growth (belavalu).
† Tupilu means "a person of abuse."
‡ The Maguli tree of the text is probably the Tamil Magil, Magulla, Magila = Mimusops Elengi.
§ Our manuscript has sānkhā, which is a corruption (either of sānke, doubt, or of sānkhya, reasoning, or of sānkhyā, the system of philosophy.)
|| Sankara is either Śiva or the Vedantist Sankara (Sankarāchārya).

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guage, wherein it bears the forms sāsira, sāsira, sāvira, āyira.

As we have seen, the early Dravidians were not behind the body of the Aryas in counting. To show their way of thinking in producing the numerals, we give the numerals up to ten, together with the nearest words indicative of their meaning. The longer forms stand by themselves, the shorter are used only as the first members of compounds (compare Gondi Numerals in the Indian Antiquary, p. 129).

1. on du, on ru (pronounce: ondu), o nj, or, dr, om, on on du, o ttu, to be undivided, be one. A unit without a branch.**

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* The Hindus say there are four classes of women—Padminis, Hastinis, Chitranis, and Sankhinis, of which the first is the most perfect.—Forbes' Rāma Māla, vol. I., p. 60. —Ed.

** When the affix du is joined to a short monosyllabic root with final r, the root in this case being or, this liquid is sometimes changed into the Bindu. Observe dr has become ji (in Tulu), for which peculiarity compare No. 6.
2. īrāṇḍu,  ērāṇḍu,  ērāṇḍu,  ṛāṇḍu,  īru,  īrā,  īn,  īp,  īr,  īr, to split. The splitting off of a branch.

3. mūṇu (pronounce: mūṇdu),  mūru,  múja,  múyyu,  mūn,  mú,  mu,  mun,  mūr,  to advance, grow. A further advance.

4. nālku,  nāngu,  nāk,  nāl,  nār,  nān, nā. In the formation of this word the idea of evenness seems already to have guided the Dravidians, as the nearest root is nāl, to be beautiful, nice, sufficient (nāngu, beauty). An evenness.

5. ayanu,  ayndu,  anju,  aynu,  ayn,  aym,  ayan,  aym,  ay,  ayu, to go; to obtain (conf. isu, to make go, throw). The counting of the fingers of one hand forms a going or one turn: a turn.

6. āru,  ājī  āru,  ār, āru as a verb is stated to express the meaning of samarthatha, i.e. to be strong, or to strengthen; the number.

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**REVIEW.**


**Colebrooke's Essays** contributed in the first place to the *Asiatic Researches* and the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, are memoirs of the highest value, and, from their excellence and accuracy, have from their first appearance been justly regarded as standards of reference on the matters to which they relate. MM. Abel Rémusat, E. Burnouf, and V. Cousin early brought them to the notice of continental savans, and in 1833 M. Pauthier prepared a careful version in French of the five essays relating to the Philosophy of the Hindus that had appeared in the *Transactions* of the R. Asiatic Society, adding the Sanskrit texts and numerous valuable notes and appendices. In his preface M. Pauthier remarked: "If ever memoirs deserved to be published with the knowledge, so far complete, of the language of these sciences, and of the sciences themselves, might have been almost indefinitely retarded in Europe. For, only to speak of the Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus, Mr. Colebrooke has read all the numerous Sanskrit works on that philosophy he had succeeded in procuring, and it is from the methodical extracts and resumes from these works that he has composed his...
to the Akhada of Nirnai fakirs some lakhs of rupees. Its management rests with the Mahant and Panches of that large body. They lend the money on good security to Rajas and Maharaajas. The expenses of food, &c., of the whole body, which contains several thousand members, dispersed all over Hindustan, are defrayed from the proceeds at the Allahabad and Hardwar fairs.

Mr. White says—"Khatris themselves allow that they have comparatively lately come from westward, and this is conclusively proved by the distribution of their sub-divisions" (the Panjabis, Lahor, Dehlīwāls, Purbā, and, I may add, by one more—the Agrāwāls). Panjáb, meaning towns beyond Lahor, and Purbā, meaning towns in the east of Allahabad, Mirzapuru, Banaras, Patna, &c., which are mostly inhabited by Purb Khatris, are all situated in Hindustan Proper. There is no ground for Mr. White’s conjecture that they have, like the Jats, come from some country beyond the Indus. Had such been the case, Khatris, like Jats, would have been denominated by the Brahmins Sudras or Mečhūs. No pious Brahman eats food cooked by a Jat, but most will if prepared by a Khatri. I once asked an elderly member of our family why we, though living at Agra, are called Dehlīwāls. He explained that his great-great-grandfather, having fled from Dehli with his family on the general massacre of its inhabitants by Nadir Shah, settled at Agra, consequently by the way of distinction people called them ‘Dehlīwāls.’ It may be fairly conjectured that Khatris, among whom—in order to preserve purity of blood—family relations are still most scrupulously enquired into before forming marriage connections, might split into divisions, when, from the want of facility of communication, intercourse with one another had partially stopped for hundreds of years. Khatris of Lahor, Dehli, Agra, and Purbā married, dined, attended social ceremonies with those of their own or adjacent towns only, and in the lapse of time have grown into distinct divisions. They all have the same stories and traditions of their origin, the same
religions and social ceremonies, even the same songs among their females and the language peculiar to them.

It is natural that by long intercourse with Hindus and Muhammadians, many customs should be exchanged, and pure Hindi has with them already given place to mixed Urdu. As Khatri mostly inhabit the Muhammadian capitals—Lahor, Dehli, Agra, Lakhnau, &c.—many Moslem customs, as wearing the Sarhi on marriage, the use of shoes by females, &c., have crept not only into our society, but also among Kayaths, Agrawal Banias, Oswals, &c. Khatri and Kayath use a greater number of Persian words in familiar language than other Hindus.

I append the following notes, which may interest some readers:

1. In the time of Nânâk the site on which the now commercial town of Amritsar stands, was a forest with a pond, a solitary place well fitted for retired fakirs. Nânâk, once in company with many others, went to bathe in it; he dipped in and was lost sight of. His associates gave him up for lost, and remained there without food and drink, bewailing the untimely death of their favourite. They searched for his body in the water but could not find it. On the third day, to their great joy and astonishment, he suddenly appeared on the surface of the water with steaming hot Monbhog (a sweetmeat), since held sacred to him, in his right hand and repeating the words "Wäh Guriji! Dhanyah Guriji. Satth Guri¬

ji!" meaning 'Glory to the Teacher. He is blessed. He alone is true.' The terms signifying God are mostly used on solemn occasions and in saluting one another. His companions, thus convinced of his divine origin, became his proselytes. To commemorate the miracle the institution of Kadhâyâ Prasâda (#3 PIſRāſī) was established among the Khatri.

2. The Khatri are descendents of a warlike race. The name Khatri occurs in the Indian History since the time of Baber when he visited Guru Nânâk. They were constantly employed by the Mughul emperors as soldiers. Toder Mall, the celebrated financier of Akbar, belonged to this caste. Au-

rangzeb sent all the Khatri forces on the great expedition into the Dekhan against the kings of Golkonda and Bijapur and the Marathas. Great was the slaughter in the imperial armies; the Khatri and Hindu forces were almost annihilated. On the return of the camp to Dehli, the widows, sisters, mothers, and orphans, loudly bewailing the loss of those dear to them, surrounded the palace asking for support. There was no such thing as a pension under the Muhammadian rule. Promising them to devise suitable means for their maintenance, Aurangzeb bade them go home; and summoned Lallu and Jagdhar, two Khatri chiefs, to take their advice in the matter. The prudent Muhammadian ruler thought of the desirability of re-marrying their widows, but they said, in reply, that it was beyond their power to introduce the system, though very advisable, until they should consult with their caste-fellows on the matter. A grand meeting of the Khatri of Dehli was called for the purpose. Some agreed and signed a bond, but when Lallu and Jagdhar's turn came, they refused until they should get the permission of their old mother. They went home and explained the whole to her. She tauntingly answered—"If you are fully determined to introduce the Muhammadian Nikah system among us, which shall for ever stamp your name with the black stain of heterodoxy, select a good old fellow of eighty for my husband." The youths, thus put to shame, went no more to the Pancheyat.

The meeting waited Lallu and Jagdhar's return from morning till evening; one of the number in despair taking a stone threw it into a well, repeating the words 'aise ki lari main jaya Lallu aur Jagdhar,' meaning 'let Lallu and Jagdhar go, I won't wait any longer.' The sentence has since passed into a proverb. The meeting dispersed without deciding the question. On the following day the report was made of this disregard to the royal mandate; the Emperor, in his usual indignation, dismissed all Khatri from the imperial service and proclaimed that they should never be taken into state employ. Thus thousands were thrown out of business and began to starve. One day they suddenly surrounded the imperial palace, humbly supplicating the Emperor to provide for their livelihood. Aurangzeb thought it prudent to appease the enraged mob. He promised them support, but he was not willing to restore them to their former positions. The next day a royal firmaan was granted them, conferring on their caste the sole privilege and monopoly of Dalâl, or profession of broker, in the bazaars of Dehli and Agra. Since that time the profession, though now humble, has been confined to Khatri. Even under British rule, in which freedom of choice is the privilege of every subject, celebrator's friends, relations, and neighbours, invited for the occasion. When the sermon is over, the presiding fakir stands up, and with him all the party. He repeats aloud the tenets and prayers—Adâs'sãher composed by Nânâk in glorification of the one Eternal Being without form, Creator and Protector of the Universe. At the end of each hymn the party joins with the fakir in the acclamation Wâh Guriji! After this every one presents to the fakir something in money (Nâth) according to his means. The ceremony ends with the distribution of the contents of the pan as a treat (prásâda) to all present.

† See my letter on Rajah Toder Mall.—Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal for August 1872.
very few dare intrude upon their rights. A greater number now, finding letters more lucrative, attend English schools and colleges. Not a few of them enjoy coveted posts of trust under the Government.

KAs'T Nath.

Sir, Allahabad, 12th Oct. 1872.

The same.

Sir,—Your correspondent Mr. White (Ind. Ant., vol. I., p. 289) wishes for information about the caste of Khatris in Hindustan. He says,—"One account is that they are sons of a Rajput (Kshatriya) woman by a Sudra father. I am not inclined to place any reliance on statements like this, for the simple reason that every caste which cannot explain its origin invariably invents the Kshatriya theory of paternity." A reference to the Institutes of Manu, chap. V. v. 12, 13, 16, and 28, will show that a tribe called Kshatri existed then and held the same theory of paternity.

EARLY INDIAN BUILDINGS.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—On the 4th of January 1871 Babu Rajendra-dalá Mitra read a paper to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the object of which was to expose certain fallacies into which, he believed, I had fallen in treating of the history of Architecture in India. As my answer was easy and obvious, I thought of replying at once, but on second thoughts it appeared more fair to allow the Babu to substantiate his accusations by stating his reasons at full length before doing so, and I thought also that in the interval he might see reason to modify the crude statements he then put forward.

Though nearly two years have elapsed since his paper was read, he has made no signs of resuming the subject, and I am now informed that we must wait till the Greek kalends for the publication of his essay. Under these circumstances, as the matter is of importance to the history of art, I hope you will allow me a brief space to state my reasons for dissenting from the Babu's conclusions.

The passages in which they are principally stated are the following:

"An opinion is gaining ground that the ancient Aryans were not proficient in the art of building substantial edifices with stone and bricks, but that the primitive Hindus were dwellers in thatched huts and mud houses. Mr. Ferguson, who has adopted this opinion, adds that the Hindus learnt the art of building from the Grecians, who came to India with Alexander, and that the oldest specimens of architecture in the country appear to be in the first stage of transition from wood to stone."

"It is debied" (by the Babu) "that the Buddhist religion—a mere reformation of the old Hindu faith—could have any influence in originating architecture, and the invasion of Alexander is compared with the British expedition to Abyssinia, in which very little impression was produced on the domestic arts of the Abyssinians. It is difficult to believe that Alexander brought with him any large number of quarriers, masons, and architects, to leave some behind him for the education of the people of this country in architecture; and it would be absurd to suppose that a king like Asoka, who is presumed to have lived originally in thatched huts, would of his own accord send for architects and quarrers from Greece to build him a palace," &c.*

My first answer to these accusations is, that there is no passage or paragraph in any works ever written or published by me which, if fairly read with the context, will bear the interpretation here put on it, and I defy the Babu to produce one.†

If, however, he will allow me to extend his own simile, I will try and explain to him what I did say.

After the fall of Magdala and the death of King Theodore, the English retired on Egypt, which they had taken possession of on their way to Abyssinia; and during the next seventy or eighty years keep up a continual and close intimacy, both commercial and political, with their former foes, till the accession of the Great Theodore IV., Emperor of all Central Africa. He formed alliances with the "Chaptaro" kings of France, England, Germany, and Russia, and established missions in their capitals at Paris, London, Berlin, and St. Petersburg; and, from the reports of his agents and constant intercourse with foreigners, this enlightened monarch was led to introduce into his own country some European arts hitherto unknown in Central Africa, but at the same time adapting them carefully to the state and wants of his own people.

Substitute Bactria for Egypt, and Asoka for Theodore IV., and you get pretty nearly what I believe, and always have believed, in this matter, but a very different thing from what the Babu represents me as saying or believing.

As for the "mud" and "thatch" of the previous part of the quotation, they are entirely the Babu's own creation; no such words occur in any work I ever wrote, nor any expression in any degree analogous to them. My belief on the contrary is, and always was, that the palaces of the Mauryan kings of Palibothra were at least as extensive—certainly more gorgeous—and probably cost as much money as those of the Mughul emperors of Agra and Delhi; yet they certainly were in wood.

I will not ask the Babu to undertake such a journey now, but if he will take the trouble to examine a set of photographs of the palaces of the Burmese kings at Ava, Amipura, or Mandalay, or of the 101 monasteries that line the shores of the Irawadi, or of the buildings at Bankok, he will

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* Proceedings Asiatic Society, January 1871.
† The only passage I can find in any work I ever wrote in which Alexander the Great's name is mentioned in connection with Indian art, is when I say that tradition ascribes to Alexander the erection of certain towers in the Kabul Valley, which I believed to be Buddhist monuments of the third or fourth century A.D.—History of Architecture, vol. II., p. 460.
discover the existence of an architecture wholly in wood—above the foundation—infinitely more gorgeous and more artistic than the pukka palaces of Calcutta, to which his knowledge of the art seems to be confined. The truth of the matter is, that except for its one great defect—want of durability—wood is a better building material, especially in hot climates, than stone. It admits of far greater spaces being roofed, with far fewer points of support. It admits of framing, and consequently of immense economy of material; and it allows of carving, gilding, and painting to an extent with difficulty attainable in stone. If the Mauryan kings thought only of their own splendour and comfort, without any hankering after brick and mortar immortality, they were right to use wood instead of stone, as the kings of Burmah and Siam now do. The Mughul emperors thought of posterity, and we are grateful to them for so doing, but I would like to see a wooden palace that had been built by Akbar. Fatehpur Sikri would have been a dwarf and mean in comparison.

The question, however, is not one for argument but of fact. I have before me some hundreds of photographs of caves in Western India and Bihar—of Buddhists' rails and gateways—such for instance as those of Sanchi, and of other buildings erected between 250 B.C. and the Christian era. All these, without a single exception, are literal copies in stone of the forms of wooden carpentry, and such as no people could have used who had ever seen or been familiar with stone architecture. Besides this, all the bas-reliefs at Sanchi, in the first century of the Christian era, tell the same tale. The basement of the houses, as of our modern wooden bungalow, the solid parts of the town walls—all in fact that can be called engineering are in stone or brick; all the superstructure is even then in wood, like the ribs in the roof of the caves. These are such patent facts that I do not believe that any one, who will take the trouble to examine the evidence, can arrive at any other conclusion than I have done.

In his haste to find fault, it does not seem to have occurred to the Babu that he was accusing me of saying that "Alexander brought quarryers, masons, and architects to teach the Hindus"—Greek architecture, I presume—which I never did say; and then that I stated that the Hindus, during the two centuries and a half that elapsed before the Christian era, were employed in elaborating a perfectly original style of their own, without any trace of foreign influence, except perhaps ornament here and there which may be Assyrian or Persian. I am at a loss to guess how the Babu can reconcile these contradictory statements, unless it be thus. From the first time I wrote on Indian architecture to the present day, I have always asserted that Indian stone architecture commenced with Asoka, 250 B.C., I do not know, and never pretended to know, of any build-

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**CORRESPONDENCE, &c.**

**January, 1873.**

I have been lately so fortunate as to discover a MS. of a Pārkrita Grammar, by Subha Chandra, entitled Śabdā Chintāmani. The concluding lines are: 

\[
\text{svopajnas'abda-chintãmanivrittaudvitiyasyaadhyā}
\text{yasya chaturthahpādah ; samāpto yam vrittih.}
\]

From this it would seem that the MS. is complete. It consists of two adyāyas each containing four pādas. Subha Chandra follows Hemachandra's arrangement of the Pārkrita sūtras, not that of Vara-ruci, Bhānaha, and others. But he gives Hemachandra's sūtras here and there in a slightly different order, and adds a few sūtras of his own; thus in the beginning of the work, which commences with a series of samjñā sūtras (on technical terms); a feature which, I believe, is unique in this work on Pārkrita Grammar. It is clearly later than Hemachandra's Grammar, and appears also to take notice of later Pārkrit formations.

I shall feel much obliged to any one who can give me further information on this work; especially who Subhachandra was, and when he lived; and whether there are any other MSS. of his work known to exist, and where.

**BENARES, Nov. 18, 1872.**

**A. P. RUDOLF HORNLE.**

**HULLE MAKKALU.**

*(See Ind. Antiquary, vol. I., p. 380.)*

The head-quarters of this sub-division of a caste is a village in one of the talukas of the Bangalore district. Single families are to be found scattered throughout the province, the members of which once a year go round their beat collecting their dues.
The Komti (merchant) caste have also "Hulle Mukkalu," who are called "Kanchhâla viraru." The "Kanchhâla viraru" wear red-coloured clothes, and a breastplate engraved with a likeness of "Virabhadrâ." They are entitled to receive from each Komti a yearly fee of one fanam, and the usual dues on the celebration of marriage, &c. This sub-division of the caste, it is said, owes its existence to the following circumstance:—

On the 2nd of the moon's increase in the month Palguna of the year Prabhava, 2028 after the Kaliyuga, Vishnu Werdhana, king of Rajamahendrapura, happened in the course of his conquests to arrive at Pennagonde. Invited by Kusuma Shetti, a member of the Komti or Vaishya caste, the king paid him a visit. Struck with the beauty of Vasavamba, the merchant's daughter, the king demanded her in marriage. The merchant was placed in a fix. It was impossible to decline the proposed honour, while compliance with the demand would entail loss of caste. The merchant apparently accepted the offer, but secretly he and the heads of the caste determined to commit suicide by burning themselves. Mulla, an old and faithful servant of the merchant, learned his master's secret intention, determined not to be left behind, and begged to be allowed to join his master in his self-sacrifice. To this the Komtis agreed, and Mulla committed suicide with them. In consideration of his devotion to the caste, Mulla's family were created "Hulla Mukkalu," and their descendants have ever since received alms only from members of its own parent caste, and are entitled to take tours for the purpose of begging, and also to reside in a house like the rest of the people, whether he leads an idle existence or employs himself in trade. The mark, however, that distinguishes all who bear this name is, that they are devoted to a religious life. Some besmear their bodies with ashes, wear their hair dishevelled and uncombed, and, in some instances, coiled round the head like a snake or rope. These formerly went naked, but being prohibited by the British Government to appear in this fashion in public, bid defiance to decency nevertheless by the scantiness of their apparel. They roam about the country in every direction, visiting especially spots of reputed sanctity, and as a class are the pests of society and incorrigible rogues. They mutter sacred texts or mantras, and are notably fond of uttering the names of certain favourite deities. Some of them can read, and a few may be learned; but for the most part they are stolidly ignorant. Others, of a much higher grade, reside in maths or monasteries, where they lead a life of contemplation and asceticism. Yet they quit their homes occasionally, and, like the first-named, undertake tons or for the purpose of begging, and also proceed on pilgrimage to remote places. Most of them wear a yellowish cloth, by which they make themselves conspicuous. Fakirs or devotees of both of these classes usually wear several garlands of beads suspended from their necks and hanging low down in front; and carry a short one in the hand, which, by the action of a thumb and finger, they revolve perpetually but slowly, keeping time with the low utterances proceeding from their lips. They also bear upon their foreheads, and frequently on other parts of their bodies, particularly the arms and chest, sacred marks or symbols, in honour of their gods.

In addition, there is a considerable number of Gosains, not however separated from the rest by any caste distinctions, who, although by profession belonging to this religious class, apply themselves nevertheless to commerce and trade. As merchants, bankers, tradesmen, they hold a very respectable position. Some carry on their transactions on a large scale. One of the principal bankers in the city of Mirzapur is a Mahant or high-priest of Gosains—a certificate of great wealth and influence.

One of the chief peculiarities of this caste is, that besides its natural increase from within, it is constantly adding to its numbers from without—Brahmans, Kahatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras; the two former specially may, if they choose, become Gosains; but if they do so, and unite with the members of this fraternity in eating and drinking, holding full and free intercourse with them, they are cut off for ever from their own tribes. It is this
The Dandis do not touch fire, or metal, or vessels made of any sort of metals. It is impossible, therefore, for them to cook their own food like other Hindus; it is equally impossible also for them to handle money. They wear one long unsewn reddish cloth, thrown about the person. Although they are on principle penniless, yet they do not beg. Their dependence on the kindness and care of others is thus of the most absolute character, yet they are not reduced to want, or even to distress: they are fed by the Brahmans, and the Gosains, another class of devotees, but of lax principles, and not restricted to any one caste. The Dandis do not marry, and have no houses of their own. They have literally nothing they can call their own, except a diminutive mat to lie upon, a small pillow, the cloth they wear, a stick, and a kamandal or hermit's pot for holding water. The stick they use at the age of fifty, previously to which they are only disciples, and are not called Dandis.

Not a few of this religious order are learned men, and devote a large portion of their time to study and meditation. They are great readers of the S'astras, such as the Minansa, Nyāya, Manjuka, and others, and also of the Purānas. Many Brahmans, even Pandits, or learned Brahmans, come to them for instruction, which they impart freely without the smallest recompense. All classes of the community pay them the greatest honour, even to worshipping them. They are addressed as Swāmi ji, that is, master, lord, spiritual teacher. Although they are said to worship idols, yet they make no obeisance to them. They are singularly independent in all their actions, and make no salām or sign of respect to any object, human or divine.

The Dandis are neither a caste nor a tribe of Hindus, but are an order of devotees. As they keep themselves very distinct from the rest of the community, they demand a separate notice. Their habits are peculiar. One of them has supplied an appellation for the entire class, derived from their habit of always carrying a staff in the hand. Hence the name Dandi, from dands, a stick. They are Brahmans and receive disciples only from the Brahmans.

The Dandis do not touch fire, or metal, or vessels made of any sort of metals. It is impossible, therefore, for them to cook their own food like other Hindus; it is equally impossible also for them to handle money. They wear one long unsewn reddish cloth, thrown about the person. Although they are on principle penniless, yet they do not beg. Their dependence on the kindness and care of others is thus of the most absolute character, yet they are not reduced to want, or even to distress: they are fed by the Brahmans, and the Gosains, another class of devotees, but of lax principles, and not restricted to any one caste. The Dandis do not marry, and have no houses of their own. They have literally nothing they can call their own, except a diminutive mat to lie upon, a small pillow, the cloth they wear, a stick, and a kamandal or hermit's pot for holding water. The stick they use at the age of fifty, previously to which they are only disciples, and are not called Dandis.

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This name is given to a sect of Brahmans ascetics. They wear red cloth and the rudraksh, let their hair and beard grow, and besmear their bodies with...
THE HILL TRIBES OF THE NEILGHERRIES.

(Madras Standard, Oct. 18.)

Next to the Badagas, in importance and numbers, are the Kotahs. They live in seven Kotagherries or villages, situated far apart on the hills, so that each Kotah village has its own set of Badagas, for whom they make tools, ropes, baskets, jewels, and whose funeral they attend with their musical instruments. The Kotahs are of very low caste, and will eat from any one, and do not object to devouring carrion of all sorts; they are not particular about an animal dies, and during a murrain the Kotahs feast and fatten. They cultivate the soil with a little more care than the Badagas, but grow the same grains, &c., and in the same style. They keep cattle, which they sometimes kill for food, but strongly say to they do not milk them. Their Shukars (funeral ceremonies) and marriage ceremonies are much the same as those of the Badagas, though they do not spend as much money on those occasions. They are far more independent than the Badagas, and do not care to work for Europeans. Their iron-work is of the coarsest description. They however, make hatchets, adzes, and bill-hooks pretty well, and their neighbours like them better than English tools. They are very keen after game. A few can shoot, and if any one they know to be a good shot gives notice at a village, the inhabitants will all turn out, yelling and shrieking after sambur. They make a strong durable rope out of buffalo hide, much sought after by Badagas for fastening their cattle, &c. Their women work up a sort of black clay, found in swamps, out of which they make pots and into which they plant their corn. They make ghee, and sell it at the foot of the hills, amongst the richest forest teeming with jungle fever; they are of the sect known in Wynnad as "Jaan" or "honey" Kurumbas. They get this name from their chief employment, which is seeking honey. They used to live almost entirely on roots, but of late years they have found it remunerative to cultivate their soil, and their clearings are much larger than they used to be. They never take more than three or four crops off the same piece. They burn their dead with very little tamasha. Besides supplying the Badagas with the elephant pole required at their Shukars, the Kurumbas have to sow the first handful of grain for the Badagas every season, for which service they receive a small quantity of the crop. Unlike their neighbours, the Kurumbas are a very small, emaciated lot; nevertheless they are very active and will out-walk any other hill tribe. They have an eye-sight, gained from constantly watching the bee to its hive. When they find one not quite ready to take, they place a couple of sticks in a certain position; this sign will prevent any other Kurumba from taking the honey ("a rule of their own"), and no Badaga or other hill man would meddle with it on any account, for fear of being killed by sorcery, for they dread the Kurumbas more than any wild beast; indeed their fear of them is so great that a simple threat of vengeance has in some cases proved fatal. This, I believe, has originated from Kurumbas having at different times poisoned Badagas in a secret underhand way, so as to make their deaths appear as if caused by supernatural agency. In times gone by, when the Kurumbas of a village became very notorious, Todahs, Badagas, and Kotahs would combine, surround the village at night, and murder all the inhabitants. For following elephants and bison they are invaluable assistants, as they will never lose or mistake a track. They, however, dread the charge of an elephant, and though they will put you near the game very well, they will scamper up trees the instant any elephant appears; indeed I have known them vanish almost mysteriously when a rogue elephant was in question before a shot was fired. They have a jargon of their own, apparently a mixture of Canarese, Malayalam, and Tamil.

RIFLE.
THE CHANDEL THÀKÚRS.

By F. N. Wright, B.A., Oxon., B.C.S.

Among the many tribes that by migration, whether its cause were conquest, or the mere desire to obtain relief from an over-crowded home, have established themselves in the Antarbed, the Chandel Thàkùrs present perhaps as interesting a history as any. The following particulars are derived from two family histories (Banswala)—the one belonging to the now extinct branch of Sheorâjpûr, and the other to that which, first establishing itself in Sachendi, has covered with its numerous ramifications the whole of the south of parganah Jûjmau, zilla Kûnhpûr. The former history is in Persian, the latter in Hindi; and the characteristics of each are so strongly marked, and have so important a bearing on the accuracy of the facts which they relate, that it is necessary briefly to call attention to them.

The account contained in the Persian MS. was compiled by order of the last râjâ, Sâtì Prasâd, in A. D. 1841. The main object of the compilation being an elaborate statement of the rights due to, and the wrongs suffered by, the Sheorâjpûr râj, little space is devoted to the pre-historic period; but the details of the more recent events are concise and particular. Though, however, the phraseology is elegant, and graceful couplets on the attributes of various râjâs break the monotony of somewhat dry detail, the reader is not encouraged to linger till he arrives at the commencement of English rule, when the fortunes of the powerful clan began to totter—their final ruin being accomplished by the disloyalty of their chief in 1857, and his imprisonment and subsequent death in a stranger’s house. The Hindi MS., also of comparatively recent date, is the compilation of one or more bards; and containing probably the material for many an epic, chanted to admiring and wondering audiences round the village chaupâl, it is full of mythical and exaggerated details, which, whatever lustre they may lend to the proud family to which they refer, decidedly lessen our faith in the accuracy of all that is not supported by collateral evidence. While, therefore, the Hindi MS. is of value in so far as it corroborates the more precise record of the Persian document, compiled from papers actually in possession of the writer at the time of writing, though lost subsequently in the mutiny, it is to the latter we must look for a trustworthy description of the manner in which the Chandels came to establish themselves so far from their original home.

The Chandels trace their origin through Chandra, the moon, up to Brahma, the great creative principle, including in their pedigree historic names, such as Jijât and Pûr. From Brahma to Sâtì Prasâd, the last acknowledged rûjâ, 118 generations are numbered; but the various pedigrees collated contain several discrepancies in the earlier names, some of which are noted below. The mythical origin of the Chandels is thus described by the Hindi MS.:

“Hemvati was daughter of Indarjit, Gahlwâr Thàkür, Râjâ of Banâras; with her at midnight the Moon had dalliance: she awoke when she recovered her senses, and saw the Moon returning to his own place. She was about to curse him, and said—‘I am not a Gautam woman’ (this allusion is obscure), when he replied—‘The curse of Sîr Krîshn has been fulfilled; your son will become very great, and his kingdom will extend from sunset to sunrise.’ Hemvati said—‘Tell me that spell by which my sin may be absolved.’ Chandra said—‘You will have a son, and he will be your absolution;’ and he gave her this spell—‘Go to Asû, near Kâlingar, and there dwell. When within a short time of being delivered, cross the river Kin(?), and go to Khajrain, where Chintâman Sûnya dwells, and live there with him. Your son shall perform a great sacrifice. In this iron age sacrifices are not perfect. I will appear as a Brâhman and complete the sacrifice: then your absolution will be perfect.’

The fruit of this intrigue was Chandra Varma (called in the Persian MS. Chandra Purâs, or Chandra Deo); and the date of his birth is given as Kâtîk Badi 4, Sambat 204. From him to the well-known Parmâl Deo, whose fort, Kâlingar, was taken by Kûth-ûd-din, A. D. 1202 (Sambat 1258), there are, according to the Persian MS., 49 generations; but the Hindi MS. reckons only 23. The chronology of the

* I have in vain attempted to fix the exact date of compilation: it is probably not the work of one time only.
† This pedigree I have collated most carefully with others in possession of cadet branches. As it is a mere list of names, I do not give it here.
‡ Of Hemraj, Brâhman in Indarjit’s service.—H. Elliot.
§ The descendants of this Chintâman for many years retained the office of Diwân to the Chandel râjâs.

Elliot’s Ind. Hist., II. 231.
latter, however, is glaringly incorrect: the duration of the reigns of successive rājās never agrees with the period given in the dates of each succession; while Parmāl Deo's reign is dated 1044 Sambat, or a discrepancy of over 200 years from the date mentioned above. The date given by the Persian MS. of the succession of Sabhājit, son of Parmāl Deo, 1223 Sambat, agrees more closely with that of the Hindi MS. The Persian MS. probably errs in excess of names; as, for instance, when brother succeeds brother on the gaddi, and the reign of the second is reckoned as that of a separate generation. It is clear, however, that no correct date can be assigned to any tribe in the long pedigree till the invasion of the Muhammadans.  

Chandra Varma, then, the reputed son of Chandra, established his dynasty after a series of battles waged, according to the Hindi MS., by countless hosts of horsemen, who were paid from extravagantly exaggerated treasures in Chande Chandāwal in the Dakhan. To him and his successors the same MS. gives almost universal empire in India: he is represented as annually making expeditions with enormous armies and immense treasures, conquering rājā after rājā, and exacting tribute from the kings of Rām and Ceylon. He, it is said, founded the fort of Kālingar; and branches of his family settled themselves in the Kārnātik, in Kallu Kanhūr, in Mīrat, the Sambal country (Rehilkhand), and Kumaon. The latter rāj was founded by Mānikchand, fifth in descent from Parmāl Deo, and son of Bihr Deo, who reigned at Kanauj, according to the Persian MS.; while the Hindi MS. gives Kāndar Varma, grandson of Chandra Varma, as the founder.†  

It would seem fruitless to endeavour to define the exact limits of the territory actually subject to any one rājā (as is attempted in Elliot's Supp. Glossary), for the claims of each to universal empire are mere romance, dexterously coloured by the bard with glowing accounts of huge armies, countless treasures, and innumerable marriages.  

I divide the history of the Chandels into the following dynasties:—  

The Chande Chandāwal.  

The Chanderi—  

founded by Damkhoh (Persian MS.)  

Bir Varma (Hindi MS.)  

The Mahoba—  

founded by Madan Varma (Persian MS.)  

Mān Varma (Hindi MS.)  

The Kanauj, founded by Sabhājit.  

The Sheorājāpur, founded by Sheorāj Singh.  

Of these five dynasties, those preceding the Mahoba line are pre-historic. Instead of the 18 rājās of Mahoba given in Elliot's Glossary, the Persian MS. gives but 8, and the Hindi MS. but 14. I give them here.  

Mān Varma.  

Gyān Varma.  

Jān Varma (? Nandā, Gandā—Ell. Gloss.)  

Gaj Varma.  

Kil Varma (? Kirat Varma—Ell. Gloss.)  

Sakat Varma.  

Bhagat Varma.  

Jagat Varma.  

Rahlia Varma.  

Sūraj Varma.  

Rūp Varma.  

Madan Varma.  

Kīrt Varma.  

Parmāl Deo, after whom the suffix "Deo" was invariably used.  

Of the causes of the several migrations, no satisfactory explanation is given in either MS. If we accept the Mahoba as the only genuine Chandel dynasty, the two preceding dynasties can represent only the settlement of junior branches of original stock in convenient situations. It is, however, quite as reasonable to consider the whole lineage as one, and the migration to Mahoba (which is certainly not the original birth-place of a Chandel tribe, if name is any guide) as induced by the same causes as those that led to the subsequent migrations.  

With respect to the migration to Mahoba, the Persian MS. says:— "At this time the rājā of Kanauj, a Gahlwār, who till this time was rich and prosperous, first from the blows received at the hands of Rai-Pithaura, and afterwards from the pressure of Shahāb-ād-din Afghan Ghori, left his home and established himself in Banāras. Then Sabhājit, by advice of his wazirs and khedives, established himself in Kanauj." The Hindi MS., in a long involved passage attributing the destruction of Kanauj to Prithirāj, says— "Then Sabhājit left Mahoba for Kanauj." This leaves the impression that the Chandels, finding the reputedly fertile and wealthy Kanauj open...
to them, crossed the Jamuna for the fertile plains of the Doāb.

Both MSS. are agreed that for eight generations the head-quarters of the clan were at Kanauj, though the year of the migration thither is given by the Persian MS. at Sambat 1223, and by the Hindu one as 1180—a comparatively trifling discrepancy.

The eight rājās of Kanauj were—

Sabhājit.
Gyās Deo.
Ghansyām Deo.
Bihr Deo.
Lahr Deo.
Sūp Deo.
Bās Deo.
Khakh Deo.

Sheorāj Deo founded Sheorājpūr.
Pat Deo founded Patpur.
Laq Deo founded Laqpur.


From this branch descended the Rāwat of Onha. Rānā of Sakrej. Rāwat of Rāwatpūr.

A sort of intermediate migration was made from Kanauj to Rādhan, where the remains of a large fort overlooking a wide expanse of country bear silent witness to departed greatness. The Persian MS. gives the following account:—

"Sheorāj Deo founded Sheorājpūr and called it after his own name, so that from Kumāon to Karra (Mānikpār*) the whole country of Kanauj was in his possession. Since the rule of the Muhammadans had been established now for some time, all the rājās and great men of the country attended the emperor's court, and amongst them Sheorāj Deo, regarding whom it was ordered that leaving Kanauj" (where he was probably too strong) "he was to reside in Tappa Rādhan and Bilhat, in the pargannah of Bithūr, where is 'Sita Rasoi.' Sheorāj accordingly, obeying the emperor's order, left the fort of Kanauj, and first building a fort in Rādhan lived there; and afterwards founding Sheorājpūr, he established his rule there. While he lived in Kanauj he had soldiers, horse and foot, numerous as the waves of the sea, so that to enumerate them is impossible. They say that when the rājā went for a short time to Karra, horsemen carried to him the betel leaf prepared for him daily in his home, before the hour of midday meal." The Hindi MS. simply says:—"In 1383 Sambat, Sheorāj Deo came to Sheorājpūr, and, destroying the fort at Rādhan, founded Sheorājpūr." The fort at Rādhan certainly appears too massive to have served as head-quarters for so brief a time as would appear from the Persian MS. It probably dates from before the Chandel incursion.

The object, therefore, of this last migration is not clearly brought out. From the analogy of the settlements of Gaur Thākūrs in Nāch, pargannah Rasūlabad, the Mughuls of Bārah and the Chauhāns of Mohānā, pargannah Akbārpūr, zilla Kānhpur, it would seem that the Meos (Mewās, Mewatis, whose rule is invariably put at 500 years back, as having preceded the existing clans) becoming turbulent and lawless, the aid of the stronger Hindu rājās was accepted by the emperor, and grants of land bestowed upon them for their services. In Elliot's Glossary it is said:—"The Chandel of Sheorājpūr in Kānhpūr are represented to have received from the Gautams 62 villages in that pargannah, having been induced to leave Mahoba after the defeat of their chief, Birmaditya,† by Prithi-rāj." This account of the origin of the Chandel influence in zilla Kānhpūr is not confirmed by either of the MSS.; nor is it perhaps probable that it would be, even if true. It takes, moreover, no account of the Kanauj dynasty. The 62 villages, however, are well known to the present day, and formed the rājā's talūka under our settlements.

I have shown above the principal branches of the original Chandel stock; of these, the Pachor branch is extinct, and the Sakrej branch practically so. The rānā still grasps at some remnant of clan-authority, and his attendance at weddings is sought after to give the ceremony éclat. On the death of the rānā, those of the brotherhood who still warm to their old nobility meet and, contributing small presents of grain, clothes, and money, go through the ceremony of imprinting the tilak. The other branches still flourish, the representative of Onha being the picture of a Rājpūt squire. The last titled occupant of the Sheorājpūr gaddi, accused of disloyalty, was stripped of all his landed property—mutilated as its value was by the conferment of sub-proprietary rights on the Mukaddams at the last settlement—and thrown into jail; and after the expiration of

* Zilla Fatehpūr.
† No such name in the pedigrees.
tion of his sentence he died dependent on the charity of a Brahman landowner, to whom all the sanads were left. Of the original given by Akbār to Rājā Rāmchandra, I append a translation.

The original branches, therefore, possessed themselves of the old parganahs, Sheorājpūr, Sīcōli, and Bithūr, and also stretched over the river Pāndū into parganah Akbārpūr. One branch, however, the renegade branch of Sachendi, remains to be noticed. The Persian MS., which gives a clearer account than the Hindi one—belonging to the Sachendi family—says, regarding their rise:—"They say that Harsingh Deo, son of Karkaj Deo, a brother of Karchand, who lived at Bihāri (? Pyāri), on the banks of the Ganges, had a son, Hindu Singh, very strong and great, but infamous for his oppression of the rayats. At that time Rājā Indarjit, hearing of this, was grievously offended. One day that very man, passing through Lachhmānpūr Misrān, got up a quarrel with the inhabitants, and began to oppress them greatly. The Brāhmans complained to the rājā, and set forth all the oppression they had undergone. The rājā, becoming very angry, wrote to him, ordering him to leave his home and seek another country, and warned him that to eat and drink in this country was forbidden him: it were better he went elsewhere. He then, with all his belongings, went and settled in Tappa Sapihi (v.s.), and became the servant of the Rāo of Sapihi. At that time fortunes so favoured Hindu Singh that he rose to great power, and built forts in Behnor and Sachendi, and established his rule over a large tract of country, and engaged thousands of soldiers, horse and foot, and obtained victories in many battles waged against him. His fame was noise abroad, and he assumed the title of Rājā of Sachendi." From the Hindi MS., however, the family history of the Sachendi line, we obtain the following account of the rise of that family, which overran the whole south of Jājmau, and eventually got the territory under the old family temporarily in its grasp. "The 35th was Gargaj Deo, who had two sons—Karchan Deo, by a concubine, and Harsingh Deo, the sister's son of the Tilakchand Bais. When Gargaj Deo died, Karchan Deo and Harsingh Deo disputed about the succession, hearing which Tilakchand came to the rāni and desired she would give the rāj to Harsingh Deo. She refused, and set Karchan Deo upon the gaddī. Harsingh Deo left Sheorājpūr, came to Behnor, and founded Bir-(? Har-)singhpūr and a second gaddī." The truth appears to be more with the latter account, Hindu Singh being a descendant some generations distant of Harsingh Deo, and living in the reigns of Indarjit and Hindūpat, contemporaries of Firoz Shah, to which rājās, says the MS., "Hindu Singh, in spite of his power, never failed in respect, nor committed so grave an offence as that of his son, Sambhar Singh." Hindu Singh's power indeed became so great, and his contumacy so determined, that the reigning emperor got the Badauria rājā to attack him and expel him the country, the great forts of Behnor, Sachendi, &c., being given over to the Badaurias. Sambhar Singh, however, returned 18 years after, and recovered the whole of the lost territory. This same Sambhar Singh rose to such power, that he ousted the young Risāl Singh (who had to fly the country), and obtained title-deeds to the greater part of the country, and established a "Thāna in Sheorājpūr." With the aid, however, of Nawāb Najaf Khān, Nāzim of Nawāb Wazir-ul-Mamālik Asf-ūd-Daulah, he (Risāl Singh) re-established his authority over the whole parganah of Sheorājpūr.

Thenceforth the history is but of local interest, the Persian MS. being an account of the rājā's relations with the English, and the Hindi MS. a barren list of names, useless except for the purpose of tracing the founding of any particular village.

The above pretends to no scientific accuracy, but is merely a resumé of the more interesting portions of two genuine family histories translated by the writer. In reality the Hindi MS. is devoted to the wonderful doings of Parmāl Deo and his heroes, Ala and Udal, whose feats absorb quite half the volume. For grace of style (notably in the account of how Hindūpat was persuaded to marry again, though blind, after the death of a favourite son) the Persian MS. is greatly to be preferred, but for a thorough sample of a family history the Hindi MS. is specially valuable.

Sanad of Jalal-ūd-din Akbār to Rājā Rāmchandra.

Since it has been brought to our notice that from time of old, according to immemorial custom, Rs. 15,000 for support, and one "tinka" per cultivated bigha by right of seigniory from the villages of parganah Bīthūr, Sīkār Kanaūj, by title of zamīndārī, have been received by my good friend Rāmchandra Chandel, and that he is in possession of full enjoyment of that grant and fees: he has petitioned our majesty that an
order be passed that the abovementioned grant and fees, by title of zamindāri from the villages above mentioned, according to former custom, be continued in his possession and enjoyment from Rabi; that from year to year, and from harvest to harvest, he may enjoy and possess them; and being a true and loyal servant, may for ever pray for our greatness and prosperity. Be it ordered, therefore, that all officers and servants, Jāgirdārān and Crorian, now and for ever, obeying this order, and accepting those rights as free, complete, and fixed, leave them in his possession, nor change nor alter in any respect, nor interfere in any way, nor demand a fresh title.

95 Villages.

Rādhan ... 44 villages. Bharbedi... 6 villages.
Bilhat ...... 12 " Haveli ...... 18 "
Phalphandi 7 " Barua ...... 8 "

Note.—Of the above, only Rādhan and Barua are names of villages: the remainder are local definitions of areas now extinct.

THE EARLY VAISHNAVA POETS OF BENGAL.

I. BIDYĀPATI.


Having, in the introductory essay, given a general view of the subject of Vaishnava literature in its philosophical and general aspect, I propose now, in this and succeeding papers, to analyze more in detail the writings of some of the principal early masters, with special reference to their language. The Vaishnavas are the earliest writers in Bengali, and in them we trace the origin of that form of speech. In Bīdypāti indeed the language is hardly yet definitely Bengali: it is rather an extremely eastern member of the wide-spread group of dialects which we call, somewhat loosely, Hindi—a group whose peculiarities are, in the western portion of its area, allied to Panjābi and Sindhi, while in the east they have developed characteristics which find their extreme, and almost exaggerated, expansion in modern Bengali.

Very little is known about Bīdypāti. Native tradition represents him as the son of one Bhabānanda Rai, a Brähman of Barnator in Jessore. His real name was Basanta Rai, and he is mentioned by this name in one of the poems of the Pada-kalpataru (No. 1317). The date of his birth is said to be A.D. 1433, and of his death 1481. These dates are probably correct, as his language exhibits a stage of development corresponding to the beginning and middle of the fifteenth century. He mentions as his patrons Rai Sib Singh, Rūmāryana, and Lachhimā Debi, wife of Sib Singh; and in one passage he prays for the “five lords of Gaur” (chiranjivi rahu pañcha Gauṛśwarā kabi Bīdypāti bhaṇe). From these indications I should place the poet at Nādiya (Nabadwipa), afterwards the birthplace of Chaitanya, Rai Sib Singh and the other "lords of Gaur" being wealthy landowners of that district; and we may accept his language as a type of the vernacular of Upper Bengal (Gauṛ) at that period.

A considerable number of this master's songs, under his nām de plume of Bīdypāti (lord of learning), are contained in the Pada-kalpataru; and his popularity is probably due to his being only just dead and still in great repute when Chaitanya was born. The reformer is said to have been fond of reciting his poems, as well as those of the Birbhūm poets, Jayadeva and Chandī Dās, the former of whom wrote in Sanskrit and the latter in Bengali. The printed edition of the Pada-kalpataru is unfortunately very uncritically edited; and the compiler, Vaishnava Dās (or, as modern Bengalis would pronounce his name, Boishtob Dās), is a man of very modern date, so that there is reason to suspect that a general modernization of the text has taken place, individual instances of which will be pointed out hereafter. Bengali scholars themselves admit this, and do not deny that the process has been ignorantly conducted, many a good racy word of gānvedri, or village Hindi, having been mangled to make it bear some resemblance to the modern Bengali, with which alone the editor was acquainted. A reconstruction of the text is not possible until the subject has been more thoroughly handled. Working alone in this virgin field, I am especially anxious to avoid all hasty and unsupported conjectures, and shall therefore treat the existing text as tenderly as possible, only suggesting such amended readings as are obviously demanded by the context, and bearing in mind that the great divergence of modern Bengali pronunciation from the ancient standard may have had some influence on the
spelling, inasmuch as the poems were handed down orally for a long time before they were reduced to writing.

In making selections from this master, we are to a great extent confined to the amatory portions of the collection. The contemporaries of Chaitanya were the first to introduce the chastier poems, which treat of Krishna’s early life in Braj (goshta) and Jasoda’s maternal cares (batsalya). The pre-Chaitanya writers seldom speak of anything but love of the grossest and most sensual kind.

In transliterating there is much uncertainty and irregularity in respect of the short final a sound. Strictly speaking, though omitted in prose, it should always be pronounced in verse; but if this rule were observed in these poems, the metre would be destroyed. As a general rule, Hindi words end with the consonant, and words still in their old Sanskrit form sound the vowel; thus we should read jab, hám, but bachana, not bachan. This rule again, however, is constantly neglected; and I have therefore been guided by the practice of the Kirtanias, or professional singers, whose method of pronunciation depends upon the tune, and has been handed down by immemorial tradition. The Sanskrit v and b are both pronounced b in Bengali, and I have so written them throughout. The text and translation will be accompanied by a few notes explaining the difficult words or constructions; and I shall conclude with an attempt at sketching an outline of the grammar used in the poems.

I.
(Rádhá’s confidante instructs her how to behave at her first interview with Krishna)

Šun, šun, e dhani, bachana biśesh !
'Aju hám deyaba tohe upades :
Pahila hi baśtabi sayanaka sim, 
Heraite piyā morabi gīn,
Parāśite duhua kare bārāhi pānī,
Mauna karabi pahua kārate bānī,
Jab hám sozapā kare kara āpi
Sāth se dharabi ulati mohe kāpī.
Bidyāpati kaha iha rasa sāthāt,
Kāngura hāi sikhāyaba pāt.—I. ii. 22. (49.)*

Translation.
Hear, hear, O lady, a special word !

II.
(Speech of Krishna’s messenger to Rádhá.)

Jibana chāhi jaubana barā raṅga,
Tabe jaubana jab supur ukha saṅga;
Supurukha prec kalun jāni chhāri,
Dine dine chānd kalā saha bāra.
Tuhua jaichhe nāgari kānu rasabant,
Bara panye rasabati mile rasabant.
Tuhua jati kahasi, kariye ansang,
Chanri piriti haye lākhi guṇa sang,
Supurukha aichhan nāhi jag majh,
'Ar tāhe anurata baraja samajh :
Bidyāpati kahe ithe nāhi lāja
Rūp guṇabatikā iha barā kājā.—I. iii. 4. (63.)

Translation.
Youth is the greatest delight in life.
Youth is then, when with (one’s) lover.
Having (once) known the good man’s love, when wilt thou leave it?
Day by day, like the digits of the moon, it grows.
Sportive as thou art, just so amorous is Kānā : By great virtue the amorosa meets the amoroso: If thou sayest, influenced by desire, Stolen love has a myriad merits, (Yet bethink thee) such a lover there is not in the world:
All the denizens of Braj are enamoured of him. Bidyāpati saith—In this there is no shame: This is the great business of a beautiful and virtuous woman.†

III.
(Rádhá’s confidante describes her mistress’s condition to Kṛishṇa.)

Khelata nā khelata bokā dekhi lāj,
† cf. Horace Epod. 2 Manum puella suavis oppone, tuo extremo et in sponda cubet.
† To wit, the gratification of sensual desires! One cannot help wondering what results such teaching as this can be expected to produce; fortunately these parts of the Vaishnava creed are not often sung before women.
Heratanã heratasahacharimájh.
Šuna, suna, Mādhab, toháridohäi
Bara aparšipajupekhaluRāī;
Mukharuchi manohar, adhara surang,
Phutalabándhulikamalakasang.
Lochana janu thirabhringaakār
Madhu mätala kiye urai má pár.
Bhāńaka bhaigima thorijanu.
KājaresājalaMadan dhanu
BhaiyayeBidyapatidautikbachane
Bikasala anga ná jáyat dharane.—I.iv.5.(80.)

Translation.
Sporting,(or)notsporting,on seeingfolk(she
feels)shame;
Seeing,(or)not seeing,(she remains)among
her companions.
Hear,hear,Madhab, thecryforhelptothee!
In illguisehaveI seenRäito-day;
The charmingbrillianceofher face,her tinted
lip
(Were as though) the bindhuli flowered beside
the lotus.
(Her) eye like a fixed bee in shape,
(Which) drunk with honey flies not away.
The slight curve of her eyebrows (is) as though
Love had adorned his bow with lamp-black.
Quoth Bidyāpati—A messenger'sword indeed
The budding limbsare not being embraced.

The next example is historically interesting
as containing the names of the master's patrons.
Legend says that Lachhima Debi was to Bidyā
pati what Beatrice was to Dante, and Laura to
Petrarch; and it is hinted that she was some
thing more; but this latter insinuation seems to
be contradicted by his attachment to the hus
band, Sib Singh, so I prefer not to believe it.

IV.
Sundara badane sindúra bindu sāāala chikura
bhār;
Janu rabisāsi sangahi nyala pichhe kari andhiyār
Rāmā he adhir khandrma bhāl
Kata nā jatane kata adabhūta bhī bahi tore del.
Uraj aankura chire jhāpayaši thor thor darsāy ;
Kata nā jatane kata nā gopāsi hime giri nā lukāy.
Chanchala lochane bańka neharini aijana sobha
na tāy,
Janu in dibara pabanā peīla ali bhare utāy.
Bhańa Bidyāpati śunahā jübati e sab e rūpa jān,
Rāy Sib Singh, Rūpanarāyaṇa, Lachhimā Debi
paramān.—III. xxiv. 7. (1362.)
Translation.
On (her) fair face the vermilion spot, black (her)
weight of hair,
As though the sun and moon rose together driv
ing away the darkness.
Chao. Ah lady! the moonlight has increased:
With what labour how many charms fate has
given to thee!
Thy budding breast thou coverest with thy
robe, showing it a very little;
With how much soever labour thou hidest it, the
snowy mountain cannot be hid.
Looking sidelong with glancing eye, adorned
with collyrium,
Like a lotus shaken by the wind, tilted by the
weight of the bees.
Quoth Bidyāpati—Listen, maiden, know that
such as is all this,
Rai Sib Singh and Rūpanarāyaṇ, (such is)
Lachhimā Debi in truth.

V.
(Description of Spring.)
ÅolaritupatirājaBasant,
Dhāola alikulamādhabi panth ;
Dinakara kiraṇa bhel pauganāj;
Kesara kusuma dharala hema dapij;
Nṛjā āśana naba piṭhula piṭ;
Kāńchana kusuma chhatra dharu māṭh;
Mauli rāsāla mukaṭa bhel tāy;
Śammukhi kokila pańchhama gāy.
Sikhikula nāchet alikula jantr,
Ān dwijakula pańhu āśish mantr.
Chandrātāp urē kusuma pańāg,
Malaya paban salha bhel anurāg;
Kunda billi taru dharala niśān,
Pāṭala tula aśoka dalābān,
Kināśuka labangalatā eka sang,
Herī sīśira rītū āge dīla bhāng;
Sainya sūjala madhu makhyik kul,
Śisīraka sabhaha karala nīrūnāl.
Udhārāla sarā-sīja pālo pān,
Nīja nabadałe kara āśana dān.
Naba Brindābanā rājye bīhār;
Bidyāpati kaha samaya ka sār.—III. xxvi. 7.
(1450.)
Translation.
The lord of the seasons has come, King
Spring; the bees hasten towards the Madhavi:
the rays of the sun have reached their youthfu
prime: the kesara flower has set up its golden
sceptre, a king's throne is the fresh cough of
its leaves; the kāńchana flower holds the um
brella over his head, its fragrant garland is a
crown to him; in front (of him) the koil sings
its sweetest note. The tribe of peacocks dances
(like) a swarm of bees, (like) another crowd of
Brahmans reciting invocations and spells. The pollen of flowers floats like a canopy, toying with the southern breeze. Jasmine and bel have planted their standard, with pātala, tula, and aiśoka as generals, kinśuka and clove-vine tendrils along with them: seeing (them) the winter-season flies from before (them). The tribe of honey-bees have arrayed their ranks, they have routed entirely the whole of the winter; the water-lily has raised itself up and found life, with its own new leaves it makes itself a seat. A fresh spring shines in Brindaban; Bidyapati describes the essence of seasons.

VI.

E dhani kamalini śuna hita bāṇī! Prem karabi ab supurukha jānī.
Sujanaka prema hema sama tul,
Dahite kanaka dwigu hāye mūt,
Tūitate nāli tuțe prema adabhut.
Yaichhane barhatamrinālaka sut.
Sakal kanthe nāhi kokilabāṇī;
Sakal samay nahe ītīt basant;
Sakal purukh nāri nahe guṇavānt;
Bhānaye Bidyāpāti śuna bara nāri,
Premaka rīt ab būjhaha bichārī.—I. v. 8. (109.)

Translation.

O lotus-like lady, hear a friendly word! Thou shalt practise love now, having known a good man. A good man’s love is equal to gold, (like) gold in burning it has double value. In breaking, it breaks not (this) wonderful love: it shows indications of its old participial origin: it is here shaken=Sanskrit grīvā. Jatane=Skr. jatane; the construction of the last two lines is peculiar: the first line is addressed to Jatane—yuvati, i.e., Lachhima (Lakshmi) Debi herself; but in the second, Rai Sib Singh would seem to be addressed. The translation above aims at reconciling the difficulty by treating the latter as though he were incidentally introduced out of compliment, as usual.

No. V. I leave the names of the flowers in their native dress. Most of them are to be found in any native garden, and they seem more natural and poetical in their own names than if we called them by the sweet dog-latin of the botanists. tastes differ, but I prefer kesari to Wrightia antidysenterica and Rottleria tinctoria. The notes are sit, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. The koil’s note is always compared to pa, or the fifth of these sounds. As I know nothing whatever of music, I can only hope those who do will understand what is meant.

I may now attempt to give a sketch, though necessarily little more than a sketch, of the grammar of Bidyapati, regarded as the vernacular of Upper Bengal at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It will be observed that the distinctive forms of modern Bengali have only just faintly begun to show themselves, and where they do occur they are not so much definite forms as incipient dialectic variations.

The noun has lost all trace of inflection. The nominative is the crude form or base of Sanskrit. Occasionally an e is added, for the sake of the metre, sometimes for emphasis, thus—

Taichhane tohari sohāge (sohāge=saubhāgya)—
"Of this kind is thy beauty."

Āpana karama doshe—
"(Your) own deed is (this) fault."

The objective case (under which we must include both accusative and dative) is most frequently left without any sign. The context supplies the sense.

Chintā nā kara koi—
"Let no one take thought."
Ropiṇyā premer bija—
"Having planted the seed of love."

Translation.

Chintā nā kara koi—
"Let no one take thought."
Ropiṇyā premer bija—
"Having planted the seed of love."

Panchama is the fifth note in the native scale of music. The notes are ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. The koil’s note is always compared to pa, or the fifth of these sounds. As I know nothing whatever of music, I can only hope those who do will understand what is meant.

In line 3 the dancing of the peacocks is compared to the intricate movements of a swarm of bees, and their shrill, most disrespectfully, to Brahmans reading. Madhu makhyik=Skr. madhumakshikā; ksha is in Bengali khya.

Baiṣhabi, the Hindi form of the root with old Bengali pabane pelil, but it must sometimes be rendered ‘again,’ and sometimes, as in this instance, it is almost pleonastic. This curious word is generally =‘near, Skr. pārs’; but it must sometimes be rendered ‘again,’ and sometimes, as in this instance, it is almost pleonastic.

In No. III. Strictly speaking, we should read khelat, but the metre demands a final short a. The eighth line is literally ‘having looked at life, youth is the great pleasure,’ from which the rendering in the text flows naturally.

Pahun; this curious word is generally =‘hear, Skr. pārs’; but it must sometimes be rendered ‘again,’ and sometimes, as in this instance, it is almost pleonastic.

In No. II., the first line is literally ‘having looked at life, youth is the great pleasure,’ from which the rendering in the text flows naturally.

In No. IV. Sāhala=Skr. sāhāla. The third line means ‘the moonlight has grown brighter from thy presence.’ In line 4, kauta nā literally =‘how much not?’ that is, ‘what efforts has he not made’? jatane=Skr. jatane; lit., ‘having brought, having collected.’ Lūkiy=present 3 sing from luķā; lit., ‘one does not hide; this usage is equivalent to a passive. In pabane pelil the pret. still
In rare cases, however, the modern Bengali ke occurs:

Kānuke bujhāī—
"Having explained to Kânāh."

The genitive is most usually left unmarked, the word which governs it being placed after it, in the manner of a Sanskrit Tatpurusha compound. This practice is universal with the early Hindi poets, as taila bindu—"a drop of oil;" rosa gīna—"song of delight," and the like. Bidyāpati's favourite method of forming the genitive is, however, by the addition of the syllable ka; thus—

Sujanakapiritipāshānasama rehā—
"The love of a good man is firm as stone."

Maramaka dukha kahitehay lája—
"To tell the grief of (my) heart is shame (to me)."

Premaka guna kahaba sab koi—
"Every one will say (it is) the effect of love."

This form, in which the final a is not always pronounced, is a shortening of the fuller form kara or kar, which is found—(1) in Bidyāpati's pronouns, as tākara bachana lobhai, "having longed for his voice;" (2) in the pronouns of the modern Bhojpūridialect, as ikārā, okārā; (3) in a few Bengali words, as dīkārū kālīkār, "belonging to, or of, to-day, to-morrow," &c.; (4) in the plural genitive of Oriya, both in nouns and pronouns, as rājānkar, "of kings," ambhānkar, "of us," where the rejection of the final r is also common, so that they say and write rājānka, ambhānka; (5) in Marāthisurnames, as Chiplun-kar—of or from Chiplun. There are several passages in Chand in which the genitive seems to be thus expressed by the addition of k only; the context is, however, so obscure, that I fear to quote them in support of the form itself.

In the passage quoted above, ropiyāpremer bija, we havethe modern Bengali genitive in er; but this is, I think, an intentional modernization of the copyist. The line would run just as well if we read premā, and this would be more in keeping with Bidyāpati's usual style. It is very unusual in his poems to find the genitive in er.

The instrumental and locative cases are both indicated by e.

Jo preme kulabati kulatā hoī—
"That a virtuous woman should become unchaste through love."

Mane kichhunāgamalu o rasebhola—
"In (my) mind I nothing considered, being foolish through that love."

Supurukha* parihare dukha bichāri—
"On account of the absence of the lover, having experienced grief."

Ambare badana chhāpāi—
"Hiding (her) face in (her) garment."

Dījāka lobhe salabhā jana dhāyāla—
"From desire of the lamp as a moth has run" (i.e., flown).

Occasionally the Hindi se, 'with,' occurs, but rarely, as it is liable to be mistaken for the Bengali se, 'he.'

E sakhi kāhe kahasi anuyoge, Kānu se abhi karabi premabhoge—
"Ah, dearest! why dost thou question (me)?
Even now thou shalt enjoy love with Kânāh."

Here again the e is added to the objective; kahasi anuyoge, "thou shalt make a question;" karabi premabhoge, "thou shalt make an enjoying of love."

Kole leyaba tuhunka priyā—
"Thy love shall take (thee) in his arms."

Other postpositions are used with the genitive in ka, as mājhi, 'in,' sang, 'with,' thus:

Haṭha saṁe pāitihyae śrābānaka mājhi—
"Suddenly it penetrates into the ear."

Puṭāla bāndhuli kālalka sang—
"The bāndhuli has flowered with the lotus."

Sometimes we have the old Hindi form in hi, which is there used for all cases of the oblique, though properly a dative, as in the line quoted in a former article (I. A., Vol I. p. 324).

Jāmini bańchasi ānahi sãta—
"Thou passest thenight with another."

There is no distinctive form for the plural.

When it is necessary to express the idea of plurality very distinctly, words like sab, 'all,' anek, 'many,' and the like, are used. Occasionally also we find gana, 'crowd,' as a first faint indication of what was subsequently to become the regular sign of the plural in Bengali.

We may now draw out our noun thus—

N. Preme, love. (emphatic) preme.
A. id.
D. id.

Instr. preme, by love.
Gen. premāka, of love.
Abl. premāka mājhi, sang,&c., with, by love.
Loc. preme, in love.

Crude form. premahī.

In the case of nouns ending in short ō or ū, no special inflections have yet been observed. The

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* i.e., supurusha, 'good man,' used for Kṛishṇa, the lover of Rādā; th for sh as usual in Hindi, though not in Bengali.
Hindi rejects these short vowels, and Bidyāpati seems to follow this rule, changing ṛīti into rīt, and vāgyu into bīy or bīo. Nouns ending in long i and ū frequently follow the Bengali mode, and shorten those vowels: so we see dhani for dhāri, badhu and bahu for vailhā.

The pronoun, especially in the 1st and 2nd persons, is singularly Hindi in its general type, leaning towards the Bhōjpūri dialect.

The 1st person has lost its real singular, which would probably have been either hauṁ or mu, and instead thereof the plural hāṁ is always found. This is the case in Bhōjpūri, and is introductory to the universal employment in Bengali of āṁi for ‘I,’ though this is really a plural, the genuine singular mu being now considered vulgar and banished from polite speech. Thus we have

Nāri janame hāṁ nā kiūrīn bhāgī—
“Born a woman, I have not been fortunate.”
Jāti goyālinihām matihin—
“I am by caste a cowherdess, without wisdom.”
Aju bujhabā hāṁ tayā chaturāi—
“To-day I shall understand thy craftiness.”

Of the oblique case in its most usual crude form, there are several variations:

Kī kahasi mohe midān—
“What dost thou say to me after all?”
Mo bine swapane nā herabi ān—
“Even in sleep thou shalt see no other but me.”
Ingite bedan nā janāyabi moay—
“(Even) by a sign thou shalt not show to me thy pain.”

We even get a form closely approaching modern Bengali in

Bihi more dāruna bhel—
“Fate has been harsh to me.”

Here the text has probably been modernized; the poet perhaps wrote mohe. The genitive exhibits the Bengali form.

Ki lági badanas jhāpasi sundari,
Harāla chetana mor—
“Wherefore dost cover thy face, O fair one? It has snatched away my senses.”
Kata rūpe minati karala pahun mor—
“In how many ways did he intreat me!”
(Literally “make supplication of me!” minati = vinati).

Sugandhi chandana ange lepala mor—
“He rubbed fragrant sandal on my body.”

In order to avoid lengthening this paper too much, I will for the rest merely give the words which I have found, omitting quotations:

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Leaving the subsidiary pronominal forms, which exhibit no striking peculiarities, I proceed to the verb, all the tenses of which have not yet been found, though the principal parts can either be pointed to in various passages, or inferred by analogy. The latter are inclosed in brackets.

**Root Dharāna—holding.**

**Present Tense.**

1. [dharu], I hold.
2. [dharasi], thou holdest.
3. dharai, dhares, dharaye, dharas, he holds.

All four forms of the 3rd person are found, and sometimes even a sort of double form in eye, as máyeye.

**Past Tense.**

1. dharinu, dharalu, I held.
2. dharali, thou heldest.
3. dharala, he held.

**Future Tense.**

1. dharab, I shall hold.
2. dharabi, thou shalt hold.
3. dharab, he shall hold.

**Imperative.**

2. dhar, dharahā, hold thou.
3. dharuk, let him hold.
Present Participle.

1. Dharu, holding.
2. Dharat (or dharata), holding.

Infinitive.

Dharite, to hold.

This is really the locative case of the present participle dharat, and though it is now used as a regular infinitive in modern Bengali, yet in our text it must in most places be translated as a locative. Thus in song No. I. given above, heraita is “in (his) looking,” i.e. “when he looks;” parasite, “in (his) touching,” i.e., “when he touches.” This sense is retained in the compound present of modern Bengali; thus dekhite+achhti “I am seeing;” is dekhite+achhti “I am in (the act of) seeing.”

Conjunctive Participle.

1. Dhari, having held.
2. Dhariya, having held.
3. Dhariyek, having held.

The first of these is the old Hindi form so common in all the poets, the second is the modern Bengali form, the third is an intermediate form from the older dhariyai of some Hindi poets.

No distinction is made between singular and plural; this is very much the case in modern Bengali, and especially so in the rural dialects, thus—

Sab sakhi meli sutala pāsa—

“All her friends meeting slept beside her.”

Where sutala agrees with the plural noun. Of the 3rd person imperative, a good example is Māna ralun bura jānk parāna—

“Let honour remain, but let life go.”

I do not, of course, pretend to have exhausted Bidyāpati’s grammar in these few remarks; but the more salient points have been indicated, partly with a view to fix the master’s place in philology, and partly to exhibit the rise of the distinctive formations of modern Bengali.

NOTES ON JUNNAR TĀLUKA.

By W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S.

(Continued from page 12.)

Four miles below the Manik Dho stands the city of Junnar, commonly called Junner—a typical specimen of an old Mughul garrison town. It lies upon the slope between the river on the north and the fort of Siwnner on the south, and fills up altogether a space of about one mile and a half long and one mile broad, besides the usual contingent of garden-houses, mosques, and cemeteries. In the days of Aurangzeb it was for a long time one of the chief posts of the imperial army, frequently of the Viceroy in person, lying, as it did, in the centre of its group of fortresses, blocking the great routes of the Nanā and Malej ghāts, and offering every convenience for observing and incommoding the restless Śivāji in his Swarāj.* The population of Junnar, exclusive of fighting-men, must in those days have been from 35,000 to 40,000 souls. It now contains about 8,500, and reminds one, within its ample enceinte, of the old panta- loon in “his youthful hose well saved, a world too wide for his shrunken shank.” The name Junnar is said to be a corruption of Jānā Nagar—“the ancient city;” and indeed it is probable that there has always, since traffic and population got any hold on the country, been a considerable town either on the site or in the neighbourhood of the modern Junnar. In the little village of Amarapura, about two miles east of the present city, there are great numbers of sculptured stones built into wells and tombs, apparently themselves the remains of Hindu temples. In the same place Mr. Dickinson, an English gentleman settled on the spot, found a stone which, I think, has been either a lintel or part of a frieze sculptured with a row of sitting figures, apparently Buddhist. There was within a few years ago an old Musalman Jemīdar hanging about the fort of Chākan, 18 miles north of Pūnā, in whose family, he said, was a tradition that Malik’ul Tijār, when he built the fort, brought a great number of large stones from the temples which he destroyed in Amara- pura of Junnar. The Chākan fort itself is very much overgrown with prickly-pear and rubbish, and has been many times besieged, and at least twice mined, since the days of Malik’ul Tijār, which perhaps in part accounts for the fact that I, at any rate, could find no stones there at all corresponding to those of Amarapura. Of an earlier date, probably, than even these ancient remains are some at least of the Bud-

* The Marāṭhī name of the original kingdom of the Bhonslas, lying between the Bhima and the Nirā.
The best-known is the group called the Ganeśa Lena, situated south of the Kūkri, and about three miles from the city, in the steep face of a hill which the Hindus call Ganeśa Paḥār, and the Musalmāns Takht-i-Sulaimān. The Sulaimānin question was not the son of David, but a fakir who lived on the top in former days. This hill is the northeasteast point of the Hattakeśwar range, to be hereafter described. The caves are cut in a ledge of hard rock on its north face, and are in two groups, altogether about a dozen in number. The chief group contains one large vihāra about the size of a three-table billiard-room, one end of which is now occupied by an image of Gaṇapati, or, as a pert young Brāhmaṇ once put it in my hearing—"Yes; we have set up our Apollo there"). This Apollo—not of Belvedere, nor yet of Delos—gives to the hill and the caves the name of Ganeśa Paḥār and Ganeśa Lena respectively, and to the neighbouring camping-ground that of Ganeśa Mal. He is rather a fashionable deity in Junnar, and in my time used to be an object of pilgrimage from considerable distances. East of the large vihāra is a beautiful little chaitya, having pillars carved in the Kārlē style, but with more spirit and execution. The figures are elephants and tigers. The roof has horse-shoe ribs of stone, out in the living rock; and this, with the superiority of the carving, indicates, I should think, a later date than that of Kārlē. The other caves are not in any way specially remarkable, unless that one of them contains a spring of very good water, which the pujaṇis of Gaṇapati try to prevent chance visitors from drinking. There is a good flight of steps part of the way up to this group, and a rough path the rest of it. The other half of the Ganeśa Lena lies about half a mile further east, in a gorge, and is remarkable for the carving of one doorway (in a chaitya), and for the utter inaccessible of some of the caves. Whether they were originally approached by means of ropes and ladders, or whether the steps have been destroyed by time, I cannot say. At any rate they are a great comfort to birds and bees. There are some inscriptions in these and the other caves, but they have all, I believe, been recorded by Dr. Bhāu Dāji, and most of them by other people too. The next group of caves is called the Tulsi Lena, and is situated about three miles south-west of the town. They are, as far as I understand the matter, rather inferior to the Ganeśa Lena, but in much the same style, and worth seeing in any case. The third group however, in the south-western face of the fort of Śiwner, presents something new. For whereas the pillars of the Ganeśa and Tulsi caves were of stone, and hewn, as far as possible, out of the rock, generally with a lotus-head, those of this group appear to have been either of wood or of stone deliberately built up; for they are quite gone, and nothing remains but the capitals in each case carved downwards from the lintel of living rock, and having a hole about one inch in diameter in the centre of the inferior face, as if to receive a point or rivet. The shape, too, of the capitals differs, for these are carved in (so to speak) concentric squares. The remains of a similar pattern in red, yellow, black, and white fresco still remained in 1871 on the ceiling of the largest cave—a vihāra, not quite so big as that in the Ganeśa Paḥār. The native legend, as usual, is that the five Pândus hewed out the caves in a night in pursuance of some bargain, that they parcelled out the work among them, and that he to whom this part of it fell was overtaken by morning, and left the pillars unmade. Who the lazy hero was, they cannot tell, but it was not Bhima, for we shall meet with his handiwork further on. In the northeasteast face of the fort are two more groups of caves, none of which are of any size. They are mostly small vihāras, with their fronts supported by lotus-headed stone pillars; and the pendant capital which I have described is not found, as far as I recollect, in any of them. In one, however, the same frescoed ceiling-pattern was in existence in my time.

The last of the cave-hills is the Mān Mōri, a long ridge lying east of the fort, and separated from it by a gap called the Bārao Khind. There are three small groups of caves in it, the chief being that attributed to the hero Bhima, and called after him Bhima Śankar. These are not to be confused with the famous temple of Bhima Śankar built by Nānā Fadnavis at the source of the river of that name. The top of this Mān Mōri hill is the site of a fakir's shrine, with a cistern, said never to run dry; and the same is the case with a similar shrine and cistern on an
isolated hill opposite. They certainly did not dry up in 1871, but that was after a wet year. These springs on the tops of hills are not uncommon here: there is a very fine one, for instance, on the fort of Nārāyanagār, which lies about three miles east of the Punā and Nāśik road, and forms part of the ridge between the Kūkri and the Minā, with which we have been dealing. The Nārāyanagār spring has an illegible inscription, apparently in Persian.

But the great lion of Junnar is the fort of Śiwner, a huge mass of black rock cresting a green hill—that guards a double pass through the range south of the town. The rock, as has been already mentioned, is honeycombed with many caves, the refuge of hawks and vultures, pigeons and bees innumerable. On the south side it is approached by nine gates, one within the other; and on the north was formerly a secret passage through the rock leading from the Pāga, or cavalry cantonment, that lay at the base of the hill. The Pāga, however, is now marked only by bare mud walls, and a crack in the cliff shows where the English powder-bags destroyed the postern stair. The most conspicuous buildings on the top are a large-domed tomb, and an 'Idgāh, erected in honour of some old Pirzādā. Lower down is a beautiful mosque overhanging a tank. The two minarets are united by a single arch, and form a figure of the greatest simplicity and beauty, standing, as they do, sharp against the sky. I have seen no other building of this design, and do not know whether it is not unique. The idea is said to have occurred to the architect of the church of SS. Michel et Gudule in Brussels, but he was unable to carry it out. This mosque is said to have been designed by, and afterwards finished in memory of, Sultana Chand Bibi, the last and heroic queen of Ahmadnagar; and the tradition of the place is that it was here that she fell a victim to mutineers stimulated by the gold and intrigues of the Mughul. If this be true, it is a most striking instance of historic justice that he who brought down the grey hairs of Aurangzeb with sorrow to the grave, the Marāṭha champion Rājā Śivāji, was born on the other side of this same fort in, it is to be supposed, the heap of now ruined buildings beside the upper gate, still pointed out as having been the Killadār's house. There are no remains of any other building likely to have been used as the dwelling of so considerable a lady as the wife of the powerful Shahji Bhoتصل, the principal Muhammadan inhabitant of Junnar, told me that he remembered a Persian inscription purporting to have been engraved by order of Chand Sultana in the mosque still known by her name. He had too, he said, made a copy of it many years ago for a European sahib, but the inscription had disappeared in my time. The whole top of the fort is covered with rock-hewn cisterns, which contain rain water all through the year, and keep it pretty sweet. The late Dr. Gibson used the fort as a sanitarium, and as a place of confinement for his Chinese convict labourers, one of whom was dashed to pieces in trying to escape over the cliff.

The town below contains many remains of Musalmān grandeur. It was supplied with water by no less than eight different sets of waterworks, besides a fine ghāṭ to the Kūkri. It is said, and the existing remains in part bear out the assertion, that the garrison could, when they pleased, fill the moat from some of these sources; and one of them supplied a curious underground bath still existing in the city fort or garhi (to be distinguished from the hill fort of Śiwner). This garhi was itself a place of considerable strength, with large bastions and a flanker to the main gate, which opens north-east. It is now the head-quarters of a Mamlatdār and subordinate judge, and the flanker is given up for municipal purposes.

In the town itself are some good cisterns of various ages, a fine Jammā Musjid, and a rather curious, though not ornamental, building known as the Bāwan Chauri, which, as an inscription on its face records, was built by Akhlis Khān, governor of the fort and city, at a date expressed by the line—"This is the glory of Akhlis Khān"; but what the date was I have forgotten. The building was very ruinous, and has probably been pulled down by this time. There were certain disputes about the proprietorship of this chauri, and many as to the derivation of the name. Some derived it from the guard of 52 soldiers stationed there, and some from its having been the head-quarters of 52 sub-divisions of the city. The partiality of natives for the number 52 is curious: throughout the
Dakhan, for instance, men speak of the "Fifty-two Berars," which we call East and West Berar; and Tod quotes a Hindi rhyme—

"Bāwan Bārj, chhapan darwāja,  
Maina mard, Naen kā rājā."

However, it is possible that the name of this chauri, a purely colloquial one, may be only a corruption of "Bhāwan Chauri," from its Martello-tower-like form. In the suburbs, besides the remains already mentioned, are several fine tombs, especially one very large one said to have been erected over a "Habshi" of the Jinjira family. This, however, I doubt, as the tomb contains several inscriptions in honour of Ali (now defaced by some Sūnni bigot), and I do not think any of that family have ever been Shiahs. Near to these is a fine garden-house, said to have been built by the same Habshi when viceroy, or deputy viceroy here. But the tradition is obviously unreliable, and even the property in the garden had been lost and abandoned when Mr. Dickinson, mentioned above, came here some 30 years ago, and took up his abode in the old summer palace, which he still inhabits. This place is called the Aļī Bagh which Europeans, rightly or wrongly, improve to Hafiz Bagh. The garden is now probably the best in its way in the Dakhan, containing besides all the fruits and vegetables common to Western India, many imported from the Antilles by the proprietor, and a little coffee plantation which thrives exceedingly well, as do also oats. Junnar, however, with all its old buildings and beautiful gardens (for the Hafiz Bagh is only the best among many), is sorely decayed and poverty-smitten; and a Musalān subordinate of my own once complained bitterly to me of his exile to such a place, "where he could not get a copper big enough to boil a sheep whole at his son's circumcision-feast." This man was in himself a curiosity in a small way, for he was the lineal descendant of Ibrāhīm Khān Gārdī, the commander of the Peshwa's regular infantry at the last great battle of Pānīpat. Ibrāhīm Khān was beheaded by the conqueror Ahmad Shah Durānī. His son was conselled by the Peshwa with the grant of the village of Aļī, in taluka Māwal, in jaghir, which the family still enjoy. They have the title of Nawāb, and are very proud of their descent; but when this unlucky scion of the line came to Junnar, he found himself among families of ancient Muhammadan race who thought but little of Ibrāhīm Khān, the soldier of fortune of less than two centuries ago, and even hinted that an ancestor who had fought for the infidel against the true believers was not to be boasted of. Hinc (more than from the dearth of copper-pots) illa lacrymās. These Musalān gentlemen of Junnar were my frequent companions in excursions, and pleasant society enough; but they had preserved few traditions of the place, and no written records. Junnar, in fact, never got over the sack of 1657, when nearly every private house in the place was burned or stripped, and doubtless many manuscripts and records shared the common destruction. The chief families are three—(1) the Sayyids, who are Shiahs, and whose head is Mir Jamāl Ali, a great traveller who has done the Hāj, and wandered far in Arabia, Persia, and Türkistan; (2) the Pirzādā; (3) the Begs: these last two are Sūnni families. They used to have fierce battles every Muharram, but the peace has been pretty well kept of late years, though the old feud still smoulders, ready to break out on the first opportunity. One advantage that I derived from the society of the Sayyids, who, like all Shiahs, are very particular about things clean and unclean, was that I heard debated with great vigour the question whether a man may, or may not, without mortal sin, eat green parrot. The prophet, it appears, forbade his followers to eat that which putteth its foot to its mouth, but elsewhere he permits them to eat every bird that has a craw. Now the parrot fulfils both conditions, and was therefore a subject of considerable debate among the Shiahs sportsmen of Junnar. I believe the general opinion was in favour of the legitimacy of parrot on the ground that a parrot in the cold weather is far too good meat to have been forbidden by the prophet. The place has no notable manufactures but that of paper, with which it once supplied the whole Dakhan; but now it is undersold, except for native accounts, by the continental papers brought through the Canal. The Kāgadis, or paper-makers, are all Musalāns and a very rough and turbulent set they are. If ever a Musalān outbreak occurs in Western India, it will be necessary to use the wild tribes of the neighbouring ghāts to hold the Muhammadans of Junnar in check. The higher classes have lost power and position, the lower their employment; and there are the materials for much trouble in the scattered and ruinous houses of the old viceregal city.

* Since this was written I have heard with great regret of my old friend's death.
COORG SUPERSTITIONS.

BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

In a country like Coorg (Ködagu), where, by the side of the Coorgs (Ködaga) and their low-caste (Pöleya) servants, about 52 different Hindu tribes (or castes) have been settled for many years, it is not easy to find out which of their superstitions the Coorgs brought with them at the time of their immigration, and which were imported afterwards. Their superstitions, however, show Maleyāla, Tulu, Kannada (Canarese), and Brähmana elements.

The Brähmans who are domiciled in Coorg have succeeded in introducing Mahādeva and Subrāhmanya (under the name "Iguttappa"), in entirely brahmanizing the worship of the river Kāvēri, in having temples erected and idols set up, in spreading Paurānīka tales, and in usurping to some extent the pājā at the places of Coorg worship. They have been greatly assisted by the Lingaites in these successful endeavours, especially in the introduction of the Linga Tulus still managing to smuggle in their demons; Maleyālas have made themselves indispensable at demon and ancestor worship, and are also increasing the number of demons; and Maisürians, at certain times of the year, bring a Mári Amma and carry it through the country to have the people's vows paid to it.

(A) Coorg Ancestral Worship.

Ghosts, i.e., the spirits of their ancestors, are believed by the Coorgs to hover inside and outside of their dwellings, and to give endless trouble if not properly respected. For their use a Kaymada,* a small building with one apartment, or in some cases with a mere niche, is generally built near the house; or a Köta,† a sort of bank, is made for them under a tree, in the fields where the family's first house has stood. A number of figures roughly beaten in silver plates, bronze images, and sometimes also figures on a slab of pot stone, are put in the Kaymadas to represent the ancestors; and sticks surmounted with silver, silver knives, common knives, &c., are kept there by way of memorial. A male ghost is called Kārana, a female one Sōdalichi or Kāranachi.‡

All ghosts, whether male or female, are thought to be troublesome; females even more so than males. The Sōdalichis have an unpleasant habit of smiting children with sickness, and sometimes also adult male and female members of the house. On various occasions during the year, with a view to appeasing the deceased, rice, arrack, milk, and other delicacies are placed for them in one of the wall-niches of the house, or in places close to it; and once a month a fowl or two are decapitated at the Kaymada.§ But pampering of this sort is said often to fall short of its purpose. In such cases a man of the house may profess to become possessed of one of the ghosts. He then puts off his head-dress, walks to and fro in the house, and appears to be in a trance. While in this condition he is asked what is to be done to satisfy the ghosts; and as the representative of the ancestors, he is presented with meat and drink (especially arrack). These gifts are called Kārana Bărani.|| Neighbours are also allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed one.

Another ceremony called the Kārana Köla,¶ i.e., ghost-masque, conducted with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts, is performed every second or third year, and occasionally also every year. For this affair a Maleyāla performer is invited to the house (either a Paṇika, Baṇṇa, or Maleya); and at night he puts on, one after another, five or more different costumes, according to the number of ancestors especially remembered at the time. Arrayed in these dresses he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by a companion, and behaves as if possessed by the Coorg ghosts. After each Köla, or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl.

* Kaymada means "field-building," and also "building near at hand."
† Köta, in this instance, seems to mean "place of assembling;" the Tulus call it "Kett."
‡ Kārana, in Canarese, means "the black or dark one;" but it may be a Sanskrit term meaning "agent," "chief," in which sense it is used to denote the living heads of families. It is, however, not impossible that the last-mentioned meaning has been attached to the word by brahmanical influence. Sōdalichi means "a female of the burning-ground;" Kāranachi, "a female of the Kāranas." Sōdalichi may be an imported word, as we have the ancient Coorg term Tūtangala, i.e., burial-ground. Burying the dead is customary among the Coorgs.

§ This decapitation is, as it appears, performed only when the ghost of Ajjappa (i.e., father, grandfather), a renowned Coorg hero, is thought to visit the Kaymada. At nuptial and funeral ceremonies it is customary to decapitate a pig in front of the Kaymada. Once a year some of the Coorgs place some food in the burial-ground (Tūtangala). Such offerings are sometimes called "Kailya" or "Kaila," which term may mean "spirituous liquor," as a libation of arrack has always to accompany them (cf. the so-called Sanskrit term Kalya).

|| Bārani is probably identical with Sanskrit Pārāya, "breakfast."

¶ Köla occurs also in Tamil.
a cocoanut, fried rice, and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the court-yard. When in the state of trance, various questions are put to him by the people of the house, and also by neighbours. The food given him during the performance is also Kārāṇa Bārāṇi. The masks having been finished, a pig, fattened expressly for the purpose, is decapitated in front of the Kaymāja, either by the Maleyāla, or by a Coorg of the house pointed out by him; its head is put for some minutes in the Kaymāja, and it is then taken back and given to the Maleyāla. The rest of the pig and the bodies of the fowls (the heads belonging to the Maleyāla performer) are made into curry for the benefit of the house-people. Where there happens to be no Kaymāja, the pig-offering is made at the Kārana Köta.

Females also behave now and then as if possessed by ancestral spirits. While thus affected they roll about on the ground, but they do not give utterance to any oracular responses. Sometimes threats are sufficient to cast out the ghosts; at other times it is found necessary to call in sorcerers, either Coorgs or others, who, with the accompanying recitation of certain formulas, beat the possessed, or rather the ghosts, as the people think; and if this procedure proves ineffectual, the presenting of offerings (bali) is then resorted to.

(B) COORO DEMON WORSHIP.

Male and female demons, called Kūḷi,† are held to be even more injurious than ancestral ghosts. One of the bad tricks of the Kūḷis is their carrying off the souls of dying people. Whenever sore trials arise in a house, and strange voices are thought to be heard in and near it, a Kāṇya, i. e., astrologer (in this case a Maleyāla), is enquired at regarding the cause. If he declares that some relative of the house has not died in the natural way, but has been killed, and the soul carried off by a demon belonging to the house or to the village, or to some other village, a Kūḷi Köla, i. e., demon-masque, has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. As such a masque, however, takes place only at fixed periods (at a place called Kutṭa once a year, at other places once every second or third year), the master of the house ties some money to a rafter of the roof of his house, as a pledge of his willingness to have the masque performed at the proper time, or to go to one; or he ties his brass plate up there and eats his rice from plantain leaves, to express his humble obedience to the demon. If the time for the demon-masque has come, one of the previously mentioned Maleyāla performers, or in his stead a Tuḷu Pāleya, is sent for; and when he arrives he goes through the ceremony in the court-yard. Demon-masques are held either in the name of five Kūḷis (Chāmundi, Kalluruti, Panjurulī, Gulgī, and Gorga, called the Pancha Bāhātas), or in the name of three (Kalluguṇṭi, Panjuruli, and Kalluruti), or in the name of one (e.g. Chāmundi). Several of the demon-masques are performed in the same manner as the ghost-masque, already described, the food which the performer takes in his trances being called Kūḷi Bārāṇi. The liberation of the soul is effected thus: the performer, when representing the demon that has committed the theft, is begged to let the spirit loose; he generally refuses at first to listen to the request; but in the end he throws a handful of rice on such members of the household as stand near him, and with this action he gives the spirit over to them. The spirit alights on the back of one of these members of the family, who then falls into a swoon, and is carried by the others into the house. When, after a little while, consciousness is restored, the ancestor's spirit is considered to have joined the assembly of the other spirits.

If the liberation is to be obtained at the demon-masque of the village, or at that of another village, a man of the house goes to the performance, and presents a cloth to the former, for which he receives in return a handful of rice, a piece of a cocoanut, or some such trifle, which is thrown into his lap, the spirit at the same moment coming and mounting the man's back. He has then to run off with his burden without looking backwards; but after a while the spirit relinquishes his seat, and follows him quietly into the house and joins its fellow-spirits.

The final act at a demon-masque is the decapitation of pigs either by the performers, or by Coorgs under their superintendence. One pig only is sacrificed if it is merely a house affair; but several must suffer if the ceremony is performed for a village, or for the whole country, at the place called Kutṭa. Pigs must be killed in front of the so-called Kūḷi Köta (fowls are killed upon it); and the general demon-masque of (Kūḷi), and so-called deities.

† Kūḷi means "a wicked one;" it occurs also in Tamil.
MENHIRS of HASSAN.

Masto-kalla

Ista-lisa-kalla

Vyasana-leka-kalla
The demons have their Kotas everywhere, near to and far from the houses and villages. A stone on an earth-bank under a tree sometimes represents a body of them, sometimes only one of their number; at other places one demon is represented by several stones. Here and there stone-enclosures are found around the Kotas, and the Kotas themselves vary very much in size. Demons are not fed except at masques, and on the performance of particular vows: in the latter case no Maleyālas or Tulus are required. Demons’ food is arrack, fowls, and pigs—all three articles being much liked by the Coorgs themselves.

From all the information I have been able to glean, the Menhirs of the Hassan district may be divided into the following classes:

1. Maste Kallu.—These are rare. From three to four feet high, adorned with the simple figure of a woman, they mark the spot where some devoted wife has sacrificed herself on her husband’s pyre. Transient as the flames in which she perished has been the woman’s fame; her history and her name are lost. No inscriptions are ever found on such monumental stones: there is the figure of a woman, and nothing more.

2. Kodu Kallu (slaughter-stones).—These, as I have before observed, are common all over the district. Several are to be found in almost every village, but their history has been forgotten. They are usually divided into three compartments, but not always; for on the Mulnad we find only an armed man and his wife. The divisions between, and by the side of, the panels, in which are sculptured the three stages of the important event in the hero’s history which the stone is intended to commemorate, often bear inscriptions in the old Canaraee character. Now that the oldest form of this character has been deciphered, the reading of these inscriptions ought no longer to be the riddle it has been. The linga is always delineated in the upper compartment. This proves that the men who were slain were Śivabactaru (followers of Śiva). The Bellala kings (A.D. 1000) were not followers of Śiva; and since their time no kings of that faith have ruled the country. Either, then, the court religion differed from that of the masses, or these stones were erected before the time of the Bellala kings. Judging by the character of the inscriptions, I should say they date from 800 to 1000 A.D.

3. Toda Kena Kallu.—These are rare. They are found near the village-gate, and have a charm engraved upon them. This charm, it is supposed, averts or removes the cattle disease from the village once a year; the villagers assemble to worship it, when 101 of each of the following articles are presented—viz., pots of water, limes, plantains, betelnut, betel leaves, and copper coins.

4. Kari Kallu.—This is a plain, unhewn stone found inside and close to the village-gate. Neither figure nor inscription is ever found upon it. It was set up when the village was first formed. Once a year the headman of the village, or his henchman—the Kulwadi—presents an offering to this stone.

5. Vyasana-tōlu Kallu (Vyasana’s arm-stone).—These are rare, and are generally close to the Mutt (monastery?) of some Śaiva priest. The following story from the Śūndya Purāṇa is said to account for the origin of these stones:—Vyasas was once asked by his disciples—"Who is the first and greatest—Vishnu or Śiva?" Vyasas replied—"Vishnu." Those of his disciples who preferred Śiva expressed an unwillingness to be satisfied unless Vyasa would make this statement on oath, in presence of the god, in the temple of Iśvarā. Vyasa agreed to do so, and, raising his right hand, began to take the oath before the god. This was too much for Busiśvara, who could not stand his master being reduced to the second place. He therefore drew his sword and cut off Vyasa’s arm. The holy man appealed to Vishnu to restore the arm he had lost in attempting to assert his superiority. The god appeared and told his disciple that he was helpless in the matter, since Iśvara was undoubtedly his superior. Vyasa now returned to Iśvara and begged that the arm which had offended might, as a punishment, be tied hereafter to the leg of Būsra (the bull, Śiva’s vehicle). To this Iśvara agreed, and supplied Vyasa with a new arm.
It is still the custom, when the god Isvara is being taken out in procession, to tie an arm made of cloth to the foot of the bull, carried on a high pole in front of the god. The Vaishnava Brahmans object to this badge of superiority being flaunted in their face; and whenever sufficiently powerful, they prevent the observance of the custom. This strong objection on their part, and the power they have acquired in the country, may account for the small number of stones of this class now to be found. What the man and woman, generally shown under the upraised arm (see Illustration), are intended to represent, I know not; and no one can enlighten me on this point.

6. Hanumanatta Kallu.—This stone has nothing to do with the god whose name it bears, but is connected with a marriage privilege of the goldsmith caste. The goldsmiths, being of the left-hand caste, are entitled to only 11 posts to the awning erected during marriage in front of the house. But in those villages where this stone is to be found, the goldsmiths have the right, provided the awning is erected close to the stone, to use the full number of posts, viz., 12.

MARASA VAKKALIGARU OF MAISUR.

BY W. N. NARASIMMIYENGAR, BANGALORE.

The Marasa Vakkaligaru form a large and important sub-division of the rayat class in the province of Maisur. They are to be found chiefly in the taluks of Nelamanga, Doddaballapura, Devandahalli, Chickaballapura, Gumminiyakanapalya, Mallur, Hosakot, Kolar, and Bangalore. They are a hardy and industrious people, their principal occupation being agriculture. Small colonies of these rayats are also to be found in other localities, whither enterprise and the hope of gain have allured them.

There is a very peculiar religious rite performed among these people. Their women offer as sacrifice to Bhairava Linga, or Bhannji Devaru (the Saiva Phallus so called), the first joints of their right-hand ring and little fingers, which are cut off by the village carpenter. It is proposed to trace the origin and rationale of this practice. It must be stated in limine that Colonel M. Wilkes has noticed this rite in his History of Maisur (Madras Ed. of 1869, vol. I. pp. 272 and 273). Without the Puranic element, the popular version is as follows:

Once upon a time in the remote past, there was a great Rakshasa, named Bhasmaragya, who wished to become invincible. In the orthodox manner he performed "tapas" in honor of Siva for countless ages. That god, pleased with the devotion and asceticism of his worshipper, appeared to him in proprius form, and asked him what he wanted. The Rakshasa begged Siva to place in the palm of his right hand the fiery eye (Phila nātra) which the god wears on his forehead. Sooner asked than granted; but the sceptical giant maliciously attempted to experiment with the boon on the very granitor thereof. Awakened to the peril of his situation, Siva thereupon ingloriously fled, the vindictive Rakshasa pursuing him everywhere. The fugitive god, after vainly hiding himself successively in castor-oil and javari plantations, took refuge in a "Linga Tonle" shrub, and at last became invisible to his pursuer. It happened that at this time a Marasa Vakkaliga cultivator was at work in a neighbouring field, and Bhasmaragya enquired of him the whereabouts of Siva, who had all along appeared in the disguise of a Jaugama. The wily rayat, true to the instinct of self-preservation, did not give any reply, but simply pointed his forefinger to the shrub in which Siva was concealed. The god was on the point of being annihilated by the giant placing his hand on his head, when Vishnu came to the rescue, and manifested himself to the Rakshasa in the form of a lovely maiden, meretriciously dressed. The Asura, who was notorious for lust, and for the most unbridled indulgence of his evil passions, forgot all about Siva and his destruction, and attempted to ravish the enchanting hourī before him. She, however, recoiled from the pollution of his touch, and told him to wash and purify himself first. In following the command of his enchantress, the Rakshasa found all the seas, rivers, wells, &c., dry as if by magic. There was however a small pool of water on a rock close by, and the maiden relented so far as to advise him to pour three handfuls of water on his head. In his mad passion, the giant forgot himself so far as to place his hand on his own head, in the act of pouring the water over his person, and was instantaneously consumed to ashes. The pusillanimous Siva now emerged from his hiding-place, and in thanking Vishnu for
his deliverance from so imminent a danger, was in his turn bewitched by the unearthly beauty of the creature standing before him. He accordingly embraced her, and the result was the immediate production of three Lingas, respectively called Jinné Linga, Kallé Linga, and Bhairava Linga, which were the very embodiment of Śiva's essence. He thereupon assigned the first to the Jains, the second to the Kurubars, and the third to the Marasa Vakkaligaru for worship. It only remained for Śiva to punish the traitor whose treachery had very nearly put an end to his own existence. He accordingly condemned the rayat to cut off his forefinger, which was the offending member, as atonement for his sin. The poor rayat did so without hesitation. In the meantime his wife appeared on the scene, and petitioned the god to accept her own ring and little fingers in lieu of her lord's forefinger, as the loss would be too great to men, who are required to labour with the hand for their bread. Śiva was greatly pleased with the self-sacrifice of the rayat's wife, and granted her petition. It is the progeny of this virtuous woman who observe the vow to the present day. The place where the wicked giant was burnt to death may still be recognized by a hill in the Kölärtāluka, called Siti Beṭṭa, where there is a mine of Vibhūti, or sacred ashes.

Such is the history of the origin of this singular rite, given by a class of itinerant beggars called Pichiguntadavaru, who form a living encyclopædia of such traditions, and whose tales are implicitly believed by the Marasa Vakkaligaru, who are themselves unable to account for the strange custom.

The episode in the Bhāgavata, which relates to the rise and fall of Bhasmāsura, or more appropriately Wrikāsura, is totally different from the above story; but, as stated at the outset, the popular impressions on the subject which prevail among the ignorant Marasa Vakkaligaru are alone described here.

The ceremony is performed by women after they become mothers. The modus operandi is as nearly as possible the following:—About the time of the new moon in Chaitra, a certain propitious day is fixed by the aid of the village Jöyisa, or astrologer, and the woman who is to offer the sacrifice performs certain ceremonies, or pūjë, in honor of Śiva, taking her meals only once a day, in the evening. For three days before the final operation, she has to support herself with milk, sugar, fruits, &c.—all substantial food being eschewed. On the day appointed, a common cart is brought out, and is painted in alternate stripes with white and red ochre, and is further adorned with streamers, gay flags, flowers, &c., in imitation of a car. Sheep or pigs are slaughtered before it, their number being generally governed by the number of children borne by the sacrificing female. The cart is then dragged by bullocks, preceded by the usual music, the woman and her husband following, with new pots (karaga), filled with water and small pieces of silver coin, borne on their heads, and accompanied by a retinue of friends and relatives. The village washerman has to spread clean clothes along the path of the procession, which stops near the boundary of the village, where a leafy bower or shed is prepared, with three pieces of stone installed in it, symbolizing the god Śiva. Flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, incense, &c., are then offered, varied occasionally by an additional sheep or pig. A wooden seat (Māṇe) is then placed before the image, and the sacrificing woman places upon it her right hand, with the fingers spread out. A man holds her hand firmly, and the village carpenter, placing his chisel on the first joints of her ring and little fingers, chops them off with a single stroke of his right hand. The pieces lopped off are thrown into an ant-hill (Hutta), and, as soon after as possible, the tips of the mutilated fingers, round which rags are bound, are dipped into a vessel containing boiling giugili til (oil). This operation, it is believed, prevents bleeding and swelling, and accelerates the cure. The fee of the carpenter is one kanthirāyifanām (four annas eight pies) for each maimed finger, besides presents in kind. The women undergo the barbarous and painful ceremony without a murmur, and it is an article of the popular belief that were it neglected, or if nails grow on the stumps, dire ruin and misfortune will overtake the recusant family. Staid matrons who have had their fingers maimed for life in the above manner, exhibit their stumps with a pride worthy of a better cause. At
the termination of the sacrifice, the woman is presented with cloths, flowers, &c., by her friends and relatives, to whom a feast is given. Her children are also placed on an adorned seat (Hašē), and after receiving presents of flowers, fruits, &c., their ears are pierced in the usual manner. It is said that to do so before would be sacrilege.

Class II. consists of a section of the Marasa Vakkaligaru who, after performing the foregoing preliminaries, substitute for the fingers a piece of gold wire, of the same value as the carpenter's fee above stated, twisted round the fingers in the shape of rings. Instead of cutting the fingers off, the carpenter removes and appropriates the rings.

Class III.—Some families of the Marasa Vakkaligaru have altogether repudiated the worship of the Bhandi Děvaru, and owe their allegiance to Vishṇu in his several manifestations of Tirupati Venkaṭaramarasvāmi, Chennarāyasvāmi, Kadari Narsinhasvāmi, &c. They do not therefore undergo the revolting sacrifice.

Enveloped as this tradition and practice are in the haze of antiquity, it is difficult, if not almost impossible, to account for them. The Bhāgavata is silent regarding the part which the Marasa Vakkaliga is said to have played in the foregoing legend in the destruction of Vrikāsura. Under these circumstances, a suggestion may be made that the origin of the practice may not improbably have been in some attempted feminine rebellion against the authority of the "lords of the creation," and in the consequent measures to suppress it.

PYAL SCHOOLS IN MADRAS.

BUILT against the front wall of every Hindu house in Southern India, and I believe it is so in other parts of India also, is a bench about three feet high and as many broad. It extends along the whole frontage, except where the house door stands. It is usually sheltered from sun and rain by a veranda, or by a pandal or temporary erection of bamboo and leaves. The posts of the veranda or pandal are fixed in the ground a few feet in front of the bench, enclosing a sort of platform: for the basement of the house is generally two or three feet above the street level. The raised bench is called the Pyal, and is the lounging-place by day. It also serves in the hot months as a couch for the night. The raised pavement is termed the Koradu. Koradu and Pyal are very important portions of every house. There the visitor is received; there the bargaining is done; there the beggar plies his trade, and the yogi sounds his conch; there also the members of the household clean their teeth, amusing themselves the while with belches and other frightful noises. It is, however, of a nobler use of the Koradu and Pyal that this paper shall speak, as may be gathered from its title.

Every village has its school; a large village will have several. It need hardly be said that there are no special school-buildings, no infant galleries, no great black-board, no dominie's desk. No : the most convenient and airy Pyal is chosen. It must have a good Koradu. Usually it is the headman who lends his for the purpose, for the headman's house ought to be the best in the village. In the northern Telugu districts each village has a "Kōtham" or meeting-place in a central spot, like the "mandu" of a Kurgi village. In that case the school meets there, under the pagoda mantapam, or even in a thatched shed. But in the Tamil country the school is in the Pyal. When the lads come of a morning, they sit in line upon the Pyal, leaving the Koradu for the teacher and for their own passage.

In the great towns a great conflict rages between the new-fangled English Anglo-Vernacular schools and the Pyal schools. There is no denying that the latter are going to the wall. Even in the larger villages the Anglo-Vernacular school is pushing forward and elbows the more humble institution out of the place. In time a Pyal school will be as rare as the megatherium. Before it loses its pristine vigour or remodels itself after the English fashion, let us see what it is like, what it teaches, what it leaves undone. I have a weakness for these out-of-the-way aspects of native life, and have found such pleasure in studying this particular feature, that I feel as if I too had sat at the feet of the irritable Pandit, had studied his strange arithmetic, and been soundly rapped on the knuckles for having dropped a syllable in trying to repeat the Kural by rote.

They instruct in the three " R's," the first two very fairly, but of arithmetic only the very elements are taught. On the other hand, much time is often given to construing beautiful but obscure poems written in the high dialect, and, except as moral teachers, of little use in the concerns of daily life. The average number of children in each school is less than twenty-one, and it is, therefore, quite impossible for adequate teaching power to be employed. There is no apparatus beyond the sandy ground, certain small black-boards, and some kajáns. A sort of discipline is maintained by a constant and often severe use of the cane. Unruly or truant boys are coerced by punishments that partake of the nature of torture. They are compelled to sit or
stand in cruel postures. Their legs are fettered. Hand and foot and neck are bent together and held fast by iron ties. A log fastened to a chain hangs from the waist, or is slowly dragged behind.

The Pyal school is, however, so important an item not only in education, but in the social and religious life of the people, that a somewhat detailed description of its actual work must be of great interest, and may prevent rash interference with a time-honoured institution. It will be well to consider first the payments made by the scholars. To show this clearly, I propose to exhibit them under two aspects: those paid in a school for the well-to-do, and those in a school for the poor. We will suppose the son of a respectable good-caste writer to be sent for the first time to the nearest Pyal school, the teacher of which will almost certainly be a Brähman.

A lucky day must first be chosen, and then the teacher comes to the new pupil's house together with all his scholars. Before the boy is handed over to the master, pājā to Ganapati or Ganesa is performed by the family purohit, and then to Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, in the presence of the lad's father and male relations. Then presents are distributed to Brähmans, and fruits, sugar, &c., to everybody present. The school-master is placed sitting in a conspicuous part of the room, and then is presented with flowers, sandal (chandan), fruits, and a pair of cloths; one of which is twelve cubits long, and the other six cubits, the cost of both being about 1½ rupees. The teacher then puts the cloths on, seats himself by the side of the proposed scholar, causes him to repeat a prayer to Ganesa, asking for wisdom, and that his course of study may be fortunate and successful, and makes him repeat the whole of the alphabet three times. Next a flat vessel containing dry rice is brought in, and the teacher guides the fingers of the pupil, so that he may write in the loose rice the names of the deity they serve, whether Vishnu or Siva. Then presents are distributed to the better friends and relations of the pupils. The ceremonial at the Dasera feast deserves particular attention. A month or two before the feast begins, a number of songs are committed to memory by the pupils, under the guidance of the teacher. By the arrival of the feast the series is learnt by all the boys, who have also been taught how to sing each song to a particular tune. In some schools the lads are taught to dance what is called the Kolattam. This derives its name from the fact that the dancers move to the beating of sticks, of which each lad has two. They are about eighteen inches long, and are fancifully painted.

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present, and bestow sweetmeats upon the boys.
This sort of thing goes on till the list of expected donors is gone through. Thus ends the long list of presents which, in a respectable school, enable the master to hold a suitable position in the community.

Things are different in a Pyal school for the children of the poor. Here no entrance fee is offered, nor any monthly payment until the alphabet is fully mastered. Nor is the customary present made on commencement of a new book or chapter. A small payment is made each month of, say, one or two annas, and a tiny present every fourteenth day. The same ritual is performed at Dasera as in the more respectable school, but the gains of the master are smaller in proportion, and similarly for each festival throughout the year. The daily bratti is given and the weekly oil.

Combining all sources of income, the teacher of a respectable Pyal school with about twenty-five pupils will receive from 15 to 25 rupees per mensem, while his fellow labourer in a poor locality will not receive more than from 5 to 10 rupees.

In Musalman schools no monthly fee is charged, and the teacher is entirely dependent on presents. Thus, whenever a new chapter of the Koran is commenced, the pupils should give from four annas to as many rupees, according to the wealth of the family. At the commencement of every festival, as the Muharram, Shab-i-barat, Ramazan, Bakri'Id, &c., the teacher also receives presents—not more than four annas or less than one fanam. Once a week, on the day before the sabbath, every pupil must also reward his teacher with two pies, just previous to the weekly half-holiday on that day. When the Koran is finished, the teacher receives a handsome gift, according to the means of the parent, including generally a pair of new cloths, shawls, or a silk khaba or cloak, as worn by the priests. The gift of a shawl or khaba is supposed to express deeper honour or greater thanks than a mere money present, as it especially denotes that the donor is a person of high respectability or learning. Beyond all this, the father of each child must send with him as large an entrance donation as his circumstances permit, together with a present of sweetmeats to be distributed among the school-boys.

It is not easy to estimate the Musalman teacher's receipts from the school alone, seeing that it is the teacher's duty also to perform all religious ceremonies in the houses of those who entrust their children to his care, and for each of these he receives a certain present of money, clothes, or food. It is evident, therefore, that the teacher must be a highly respectable person, and I am informed that none but really learned men of good descent are permitted to set up as teachers. Their gains correspond with their position, and are considerable for so poor a community, varying usually between rupees 15 and 30 per mensem.

Only four subjects are taught in a Pyal school, whatever its character. These are reading, writing, arithmetic, and memoriter work in the high dialect and Sanskrit. Taking the first-named subject, it must be noted that all the text-books are in the high dialect, and that ordinary modern Tamil, &c., is not taught at all. The books used in almost every Tamil school are—the Kural of Tiruvalluva; Aminis in of Auviyar; Krishnan-thudu; Panchatantra; Ramayana of Kamban; and Kada Chintamani. The grammatical portion of study is drawn from the Nannul, and the Nigantu.

In Telugu schools the list is different, and includes—Sathaparva; Saptamankanda; Sumati Shataka; Nulu Pakyanano.

There is no grammatical instruction in Telugu schools corresponding to that from the Nannul in Tamil schools, but the Telugu Amaram takes the place of the Tamil Nigantu. Some of the books in both lists have been printed, and, if the price is small, printed editions are used, otherwise the teacher alone has the book itself, and from that he daily copies on kajän the portion required for the next day's work. When the pupil becomes pretty dexterous in writing with his finger on sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with an iron style on kajän leaves, or with a reed on paper, and sometimes on the leaves of the Aristolochia Indica, or with a kind of pencil on the balaka, hullahi, or kadalas, which answer the purpose of slates. The latter is most common in Telugu districts. The palaka, or hullahi, as it is called in Canarese, is an oblong board, about a foot in width and three feet in length. This board, when planed smooth, has only to be smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal, and it is then fit for use. The kadalas is made of cloth, first stiffened with rice water, doubled into folds resembling a book, and it is then covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. The writing on either of these may be effaced by a wet cloth.

Each school day, after 2 o'clock, the pupil copies the morrow's lesson from the teacher's kajän on to the palaka or portable black-board, which the parent must provide for his son, and which has to be blacked by the pupil as often as is required, usually three or four times a day. The pencil used is made of soft gypsium or balapama, as it is called in the vernacular. Having copied his lesson, the pupil carries it first to his master, who hears him read it two or three times, making the necessary corrections both in writing and verbal delivery. The palaka is then carried home, its contents learnt by heart, and next morning the lesson must be repeated from memory to the teacher. This exercise is a very profitable one, as it teaches how to write, how to read, improves the memory, and stores it with the best literature of past ages. To deliver the lesson, the boys go one at a time to the teacher, hold the palaka before them with its front to the teacher and its back to themselves, thus by one act refreshing the teacher's memory, proving their own, and preventing fraud.

In this way every pupil obtains a thorough...
knowledge of four or five of the great classics of the language, and becomes perfectly able to read his vernacular. It is not very certain that any other system will produce much better results, except in the points about to be considered. In one respect the system is better than that adopted in European schools for the poor. The classic books thus mastered are also the moral law of the nation, and exhibit a system of ethics of the highest character. Always excepting the Bible, I know no western book in common use which can compare with the Kural, Awelayar, and most of the other books so employed. In fact, all observers are agreed that the Kural forms the real moral code of the country. It does not fall within the scope of this paper to show whether or how far the adult population follow the rules thus learnt in youth, but there can be no doubt as to the benefit that must follow such moral training.

The main evils of the system described above are two: the books read are all in the high dialect, and hence, both in the collocation and the form of the words themselves, are altogether different from the language the lad must speak and hear in their after-life. Hence their study corresponds pretty fairly with that of Latin in an English school. It needs no argument to prove that, if the books studied were written in modern Tamil, the time spent in learning would be much more profitably employed, seeing that now the lad leaves school untrained in the language which he must meet with in ordinary life, in the vernacular journals, and in all the living forms of modern thought. All western books that are translated at all are rendered into the modern dialect, and there ought to be no barrier to prevent any person at once appreciating them. Really effective education must march with modern language and modern ideas.

Great deal of time is also lost, seeing that it is impossible for a child to make such progress in a dead language as he could in a living one. In studying the Kural, for example, more time is given to the commentary than to the text, because, without the former, the latter is obscure. The result is much the same as if, in English schools, the reading lessons were always in Ornulum or the Saxon Chronicle.

A third evil lies in the fact that the system almost precludes simultaneous or class teaching, and this is a necessary element of rapid progress. It should not be forgotten, however, that the individual teaching now given effectually prevents that residuum of confirmed idlers, and therefore ignorant lads, which is the one drawback of the system of class teaching in ordinary hands. The Pyal mode turns out every pupil a fair scholar, though at a great waste of labour. The class system ensures a much higher average, but permits confirmed dullards.

I have referred at this length to reading, because this subject is the key of the whole system, and the other lessons will not require much attention. Writing is taught in the very best possible mode—in conjunction with the reading lesson. The pupil begins his writing lessons when he commences to learn his alphabet. He is spared the drudgery of the wretched system that custom makes necessary in every English school,—the weeks of dreary labour on unmeaning strokes, pot-hooks, and hangers. His first lesson is a complete letter, and thus he can feel that every day he makes real and useful progress.

The alphabet is almost everywhere written with the finger on the sanded ground. All future writing is done either in the mode described above—writing the morrow’s lesson on the palaks—or subsequently with the style on kajan, and in the more respectable schools with an English pen on paper.

In connexion with this subject, another point of great excellence in the system of education practised in a Pyal school must be mentioned. It cannot be better introduced than in the words of Mr. Seton-Karr, the well-known civilian judge in Bengal. Referring to the Bengal Pyal schools, he says:—“These (indigenous) schools do supply a sort of information which ryots and villagers, who think at all about learning to read and write, cannot and will not do without. They learn there the system of baniya’s accounts, or that of agriculturists. They learn forms of notes-of-hand, quitances, leases, agreements, and all such forms as are in constant use with a population not naturally dull and somewhat prone to litigation, and whose social relations are decidedly complex. All these forms are taught by the guru from memory, as well as complimentary forms of address; and I have heard a little boy, not ten years old, run off from memory a form of this kind with the utmost glibness. This boy, like many others, had never read from a book in his life. On these acquirements the agricultural population set a very considerable value. It is the absence of such instructions as this which, I think, has led to the assertion, with regard to some districts, that the inhabitants consider their own indigenous schools to be better than those of Government. I would have all forms of address and of business, all modes of account, agricultural and commercial, collected, and the best of their kind printed in a cheap and popular form, to serve as models. I would even have the common summons of our criminal or revenue courts printed off.”

Much the same mode is followed in Madras. In addition to the regular teaching thus referred to, it is common here for the teacher to borrow from his friends all the up-country letters he can hear of. These are carried to the school, read, copied, studied, and explained. Reading them is no easy matter. The vernacular current hand is as different from the printed character as German hand-writing from the Roman type of books. English influence has been steadily exercised against this current hand, and in many districts it is passing away superseded by the printing character. It is doubtful whether this is an advantage, as we may consider
A Grammar of the Urdu or Hindustani Language,
by John Dowson, M.R.A.S., Professor of Hindustani,

This little book appears, from advertisements that have appeared since it was issued, to be the first of a series which Professor Dowson proposes to publish for the benefit of students of the Urdu language—the principal medium of communication between men of all races and classes in India. In looking through the neatly-printed pages, it is easy to avoid envying the present generation of learners. We in our time had no such books as these. Lucidity of expression, descending at times almost to the colloquial style, an admirable clearness of arrangement, and careful study of all the recorded forms of the written language, are apparent on every page; while the beauty of Stephen Austin’s well-known type enhances the pleasure of reading. Seeing how much the author has made of his materials, one cannot but wish he had had better materials to work on. How long is rubbish allowed to hold the chief place, in the estimation of scholars in Europe, amongst Indian classics? —books written to order for English students by pedantic múshís, who wrote up to a given set of rules which they invented for themselves, and which have never had, and probably never will have, any influence on the native mind, or currency among any but our own countrymen. If some one would only send home twenty books taken at random out of the masses issued by Münshi Nawal Kishore of Lucknow, there would be more true vernacular Urdu of the purest kind found in a fiftieth part of Lucknow, than in all the stilted pages of the Araísh-i-Mahdí and the rest put together. Still we must take things as they are. From this book of Professor Dowson’s the student in England would certainly learn a very accurate and not inelegant style of Urdu, and a few years in India would teach him how to break it down into the ordinary style of the natives. It is a pity that the book is so destitute of philology. Although intended for learners, there is no reason why even they should not have a clue given them now and then. You may either teach a boy on the dogmatic principle “This is so, learn it, and never mind why,” or you may tell him—“The reason of this apparent irregularity is so-and-so.” Of the two methods the latter will certainly make his task easier, and probably also pleasanter. In the book under notice, for instance, the subject of genders might have been treated in a much fuller and more intelligent manner. Although in speaking, gender is to a great extent neglected, yet it is necessary to know the main rules; but Professor Dowson has hardly made any attempt to explain them.

The subject of declension, however, is fully and ably treated; and the author has not fallen into the temptation, so common to grammar-writers, of making one declension into half-a-dozen on account of some trifling peculiarity, which is in most cases inherent in the base of the noun and is not a declensional feature at all. Objection may be taken to the way in which the form of the plural pronoun of the 1st person, hamon, is spoken of; this form being very rarely used by good speakers, and condemned as barbarous by men of taste, as it is certainly indefensible from a philological point of view. The Prakrit ane, from which ham is derived, makes no oblique form amhánam from which hamon could be derived. The same holds good of tumhon, though in a less degree.

No less able and admirably lucid is the treatment of the verb, in which all the numerous combinations which this supremely flexible language possesses are drawn out in a logical and transparently clear sequence. Well and neatly put is the awkward pedantic múnshís, who wrote up to a given set of rules which they invented for themselves, and which have never had, and probably never will have, any influence on the native mind, or currency among any but our own countrymen. If some one would only send home twenty books taken at random out of the masses issued by Münshi Nawal Kishore of Lucknow, there would be more true vernacular Urdu of the purest kind found in a fiftieth part of them than in all the stilted pages of the Araísh-i-Mahdí and the rest put together. Still we must take things as they are. From this book of Professor Dowson’s the student in England would certainly learn a very accurate and not inelegant style of Urdu, and a few years in India would
verbs with ne—a construction which, it should be noted, is rejected in speaking by at least one-half of those who use the language. It is, however, wrong to call the form of the conjunctive participle in e—as kiye, liye, &c.—“an irregular form,” it being in reality the original form of this participle, and derived from the locative of the Sanskrit past participle in ta, as krite, yate, &c., and some centuries older than the modern forms in ke, kar, and karke. In fact, a group of ancient and much-used verbs has retained the older form, which has almost dropped out of use in other verbs.

It is amusing to see the respect with which, on page 113 (note), the inaccuracies of the Băgh-o-Báhar and its fellows are treated. They are elevated to the dignity of a crabbed passage in Thucydides, and the blunders of the ignorant man'shi are treated with the same respect as we should accord to the genuine phrases of the idiomatic Greek historian. The construction with ne is really so modern and artificial an invention, that it is extremely common to find natives misusing it.

Our space will not allow us to go page by page through this interesting book. The syntax is particularly good, bringing out in the clearest and most refreshing intelligent way, in spite of occasional misapprehensions, the many-sided expressiveness of a language which has no parallel for vivacity and graceful turns of phrase, except in the most polished Parisian French. We conclude, then, by congratulating Professor Dowson on having written by far the best Urdu Grammar that has yet appeared, and having thus rendered the acquisition of the most elegant and useful of all the Indian vernaculars both easy and pleasant to the student; and if he pursues, as we hope he may, his task of editing a complete series of educational works, we would recommend him to write to some one in India for a selection of genuine native works, such as are current among the people, and not to content himself with the threadbare and indecent trash which Forbes has raised to the position of Classics. Professor Dowson's Grammar is a distinct advance on Forbes; his texts should also be an advance.—J. B.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

REMARKS ON PARTS X. AND XI.

By Prof. Weber, Berlin.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—I beg to offer you some observations on Nos. X. and XI. of your Indian Antiquary, as they are very full of important and interesting communications. I begin with the paper of G. B. Bhandarkar on the Date of Patanjali. Clever as it is, it is a great pity that its author was not aware that I treated the same subject ten years ago in my critique of Goldstücker's "Pānini" (Indische Studien, V. 150 ff.). Patanjali's mentioning the Pushyamitra Sāballā (thus, Pushyamitra, not Pushpamitra, is the name, according to the northern Buddhists) and the Chandragupta Sāballā is already noticed there. But the question regarding his age does not depend upon this only, but has further light thrown upon it when we deduce and criticise the testimonies of the Vākyapadiya and the Bājatarāgini as quoted by Goldstücker; and the final conclusion at which I arrive is, that Patanjali lived about 25 after Christ. There is, after all, only one point in this argument which requires further elucidation. Kern, in his excellent preface to his edition of Varāhamihira's Brihat Sanhitā (pp. 37, 38), refers the passage "arunad Yavano Mādhyanikān," not to the Buddhist sect of that name, but to a people in middle India, mentioned in the Brahats. 14, 2 (see also Sanskēpas'ankarajaya, 15, 156, in Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the Bodleian Library, p. 2686).

Bühler's paper on the Vrihatkathā of Kshemendra is also of the greatest interest. Last winter Burnell too found a copy of the same work in Telinga character: a comparison of both versions will no doubt yield much critical help for the restoration of the text, and for the correction of Somadeva's later work. There can scarcely be a doubt that the Bhūtabhāshā of Gunādīya's original composition, according to Dandin's testimony on the Paiśāchabhāshā, in which it was written according to Kshemendra and Somadeva, is but a Brahmanical slur on the fact that Gunādiya was a Buddhist and wrote in Pāli (Mr. Gorrey, in a very clever critique on my paper on the Saptas'atakam of Hāla, in the Journal Asiatique, Aout-Sept. 1872, p. 217, arrives at nearly the same conclusion; even Somadeva's work contains some direct allusions to the Buddhist Jātakas (65, 45, 72, 120 ed. Brockhaus); and the Buddhist character of many of its tales is quite manifest (see my Indische Streifen, II, 367). The more we learn of the Jātakas, the more numerous are the stories shown to be which are found in India for the first time, and never afterwards appear in the Brahmanical fable-and-tale collections. Some of them are originally Æsopic, borrowed by the Buddhists from the Greeks, but arranged by them in their own way (see Indische Studien, III. 356-61).

The passage from Kumārila's Tantrāvarttika, which forms the subject of Burnell's very valuable communication, was pointed out previously by Colebrooke (Misc. Essays, I. 315). That the Āndhra and Drāvida Brāhmans were in early times fully engaged in literary pursuits, is manifest from the fact that, according to Sāyana, the last (tenth)
book of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* is extant in two recensions which go by their name.

Sashagiri Sastri’s paper on Vikramāditya and Bhūja is rather superficial; his assertion that the Bhīmat-kāthā is believed to be *the same* as the Khaṭā-sārīt Sāgara, and that the author of the Vassavadatta must therefore have flourished in the twelfth century, as he mentions the Bhīmat-kāthā, is particularly misplaced in this number, which contains, some pages before, Bühler’s excellent remarks on the same subject. His paper on Kālidāsa in No. XI. is better, especially as it contains some very valuable information regarding a hitherto unknown work attributed to a person of Kālidāsa’s celebrated name, and the commentary on it by a Nichula-kaviyogindra. I send you herewith my papers on the Jyotirvīdā-bhārana. In the first of them (page 727) I have pointed out the passage in Mallinātha’s commentary on the Meghadūta, where he speaks of the poet Nichula as a friend, and of Dimāga as an adversary, of its author, and intimates that the fourteenth verse of that poem contains an allusion to both of them; and in the same paper I have also tried to deduce the consequences which would result from such a fact. The present discovery of a Nichula-kavi as writing a commentary on a lexicographic book of the Taittīrya Aṇānyaka is extant in two recensions which go by their name.

Bhandarkar, in his paper on the date of the *Mahābhārata*, makes good use of the *Mahābhāshya*. And I hope shortly to be able to follow him, as soon as I get the edition of this work issued this summer in Benaras. I have always considered the publication of this work as one of the greatest services which could be rendered to Sanskrit philology, and I am very glad that it has come at last. It is true that, according to the statements of Hari’s Vākyapadīya, as given by Goldstücker in his “Pāṇini,” and corrected by Stenzler and myself (*Indische Studien*, V. 166, 187), and according to those of the Rajatarangini, I. 176, IV. 487 (ibid. V. 166, 167), the *Mahābhāshya* in its present form appears to have undergone much remodelling by “Chandrāchārya-dībhī,” but still its testimony will always be of great value, though not perhaps exactly decisive for Pāṇini’s time itself. I am very curious to know if really no direct allusions to the Rūmuyana will be met in it, as this would be very favourable to my conjecture regarding the comparatively late age of this work.

With regard to the *Mahābhārata*, the mentioning of Janamejaya and Dushyanta is not restricted to the *Atīreya Brahmana*, which alone is adduced by Bhandarkar, but they are mentioned also in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which contains moreover (partly relying on the Vājas. Sanhitā and coinciding with the *Taitt. Sanhitā* and the *Kāthaka*) quite a number of allusions to other names and personages who play a prominent part in the story, especially in the great war of the Mahābhārata, viz., Nāgrajī, Satānīka, Ambā, Ambikā, Ambalīkā, Subhadra in Kāmpīla (?) Arjuna and Pādūgama (but as names of Indra), Bhūmasena, Ugrasena, and Śrutasaṇa as three brothers of Janamejaya (compare *Indische Studien*, I. 189-207, and my lectures on Indian Literature [1862], pp. 110, 130-33, 175-7). The Kāthaka has a legend about Dhritarāṣṭra Vaichitravīrya (*Indische Studien*, III. 469). The Śankālayana sūtra (XV. 16) speaks of an expulsion of the Kurus from the Kurukṣetra, “Kuravah Kurukṣetradchyoshyante.” There can be no doubt, therefore, that in the time of this work, as well as in that of Pāṇini, the main story of the *Mahābhārata* had already firm existence, and probably also even then in a poetical form. The Buddhist legends, too (I mean those treating of Buddha’s life-time and his jātakas, former births), contain direct allusions to some of these and to other personages of the same epic circle. But all this does not help to fix the age of the *Mahābhārata* itself, which has grown out from the songs of the minstrels at the courts of the petty rājas of Hindustan, and probably got its first form (it contains itself a tradition [I. 81] that formerly it consisted only of 8,800 verses) under the hands of either a Vaisampayana or a Pārāśārya (see my *Indische Skizzen*, p. 36), at a time when a race of Pandava kings was reigning in India (*Indische Studien*, II. 403), and in friendly connection with the Yavana kings of north-western India; for the Yavanadhipa Bhagadatta, king of Maru and Naraka (very probably Apollodotos, about 160 before Christ), is called by Krishna “an old friend of the father of Tushítsthira (*Mahābhārata*, II. 578; *Indische Studien*, V. 152), and is mentioned repeatedly as supporter of his sake. The age of the grihya sūtra, in which the passage occurs—Suman-tu Jaimini-Vaisampayana-Pālia-sūtra-bhāṣya-bhārata-mahābhārata-dharmāchāryāḥ... tripyant—in itself uncertain: the corresponding passage in the Śankālayana-grihya omits the words “bhārata-mahābhārata-dharmāchāryāḥ” (compare my lectures on Ind. Lit., pp. 56-57), which may be a later addition. That the word “mahābhārata” is mentioned also by Pāṇini, I have pointed out very early (*Indische Studien*, I. 149); but I remarked at...
the same name, but very probably a person, just like the Mahājābāla and the Mahāhāthihāsa mentioned in the same sūtra along with it. According to the scho- 

lection for the former, which might easily occur, Q, P, being often by careless scribes written as q, y, 

pamitram Yajayamah. This is given by Patanjali 

in question is based on the words in a Push 

as an instance of the Vārttika, which teaches 

that the present tense (lat) should be used to 

in Patanjali of the expression "Pushpamitra Sabhā." 

Your paper on Nārāyana Swāmi is also very interesting and instructive. 

With best wishes for the continuance of your highly welcome and valuable undertaking, I am, &c., 

A. Weber. 

Berliner, 28th Nov. 1872. 

NOTE ON THE ABOVE BY PROF. RAMKRISHNA G. BHANDARKAR. 

Through the courtesy of the Editor of the Indian Antiquary, I have been permitted to see Professor Weber’s letter, which contains notices of my paper on the Date of Patanjali, and of my paper on the Age of the Mahābhārata. This is not the first time the Professor has been so kind to me. One of my humble productions he has deemed worthy of a place in his Indische Studien. While, therefore, I am thankful to him for these favours, I feel bound to consider his remarks on my articles, and to reply to them. 

Professor Weber thinks it a pity that I should not have been acquainted with his critique on Dr. Goldstücker’s “Pāṇini.” I hardly share in his regret, because the facts which I have brought forward are now, and my conclusions are not affected by anything he has said in the review. He certainly brought to notice, in that critique (as I now learn), the occurrence in Patanjali of the expression “Pushpamitra Sahā. ” But Professor Weber will see that my argument is not at all based on that passage. I simply quoted it to show that even Patanjali tells us that the Pushpamitra he speaks of in another place was a king, and not an ordinary individual or an imaginary person. My reasoning in the article in question is based on the words ēka Pus- 

pamitrām Yajayamah. This is given by Patanjali as an instance of the Vārttika, which teaches that the present tense (lat) should be used to denote an action which has begun but not ended. Now this passage was noticed neither by Professor Weber nor by Dr. Goldstücker; and hence the trouble I gave to the Editor of the Antiquary. The passage enables us, I think, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the date of Patanjali, since it shows that the author of the Mahābhāṣāya flourished in 

the reign of Pushpamitra. And the conclusion based on this and on one of the two instances pointed out by Dr. Goldstücker, viz., Arunad Yava- 
nah Sāketam, agree so thoroughly with each other, that they can leave but little doubt on the mind of the reader as to the true date of Patanjali. 

But I must consider Professor Weber’s argument for bringing Patanjali down to about 25 after Christ. The two instances brought forward by Dr. Goldstücker contain the name Yavana; and a king of that generic name is spoken of as having besieged Sāketa, commonly understood to be Ayodhyā. This name was applied most unquestionably, though not exclusively, to the Greek kings of Bactria. The Yavanas are spoken of, in a Sanskrit astronomical work noticed by Dr. Kern, as having pushed their conquests up to Sāketa; and Bactrian kings are also mentioned by some classical writers as having done the same. Looked at independently, this passage leads us to the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Goldstücker, that is, it fixes the date of Patanjali at about 150 B. C. But the other instance contains, in addition, the name Mādhya- 

mika. The Buddhist school of that name is said to have been founded by Nāgārjuna, who, according to the Réjatarangini, flourished in the reigns of Kanishka and Abhimanyu, that is, a few years after Christ. This instance then brings the author of the Mahābhāṣāya to some period after Christ. Here then is a case resembling those which are frequently discussed by our Pandits, in which a Sruti and a Smṛti (or a Sruti and an inference) conflict with each other. The Brahmanical rule is that the Sruti must be understood in its natural sense, and the Smṛti so interpreted as to agree with it, that is, any sort of violence may be done to the Smṛti to bring it into conformity with the Sruti, and the inference must be somehow explained away. Now, in the present case, Professor Weber’s Sruti is the instance containing the name of the Mādhymnikas. But the word Yavana, occurring in it and in the other instance, cannot be taken to apply to the Greek kings of Bactria, for the dynasty had become extinct a pretty long time before Christ. Professor Weber therefore thinks that by it is to be understood the Indo-Scythic king Kanishka, who reigned before Abhimanyu. But Kanishka cannot be regarded as having oppressed or persecuted the Mādhymnikas, for he was himself a Buddhist. This objection is obviated by the Professor by the supposition that he must have persecuted them before he became one of them. 

I must confess this argument appears to me to be very weak. It has many inherent improbabilities. In the first place, I do not see why the passage containing the name Mādhymaka and the name itself should be regarded as so much

* By the way, I prefer the form “Pushpamitra” to “Pushyamitra,” as the latter appears to me to be a mis-

lection for the former, which might easily occur, Q, P, being often by careless scribes written as Q, y.
more important than the other passage and the name Yavana. Why may we not rather take our stand on this latter name, and the mention of the conquests of the king so designated up to Sâketa, and interpret the word Mâdhyamikâ by the light thus thrown upon it? And the passage I have brought forward is, I think, so decisive, and agrees so well with this statement, that some other explanation must be sought for of the name Mâdhyamikâ; but of this more hereafter. In the next place, we have to suppose that the most important period of Nâgârjuna's life was passed in the reign of Kanishka, that he lived so long in that reign as to have founded a school, and that in that reign the sect assumed the name of Mâdhyamikâ, and grew into such importance that its fame spread so far and wide, that even Patanjali in the far east knew of it. From the words of the Rujjatarangini, however, it would appear that Nâgârjuna and his disciples or school rose into importance in the reign of Abhimanyu, the successor of Kanishka; for the words are—"About that time (i.e., in the reign of Abhimanyu) the Buddhists, protected by the wise Nâgârjuna, the Bodhisattva, became predominant." And in the same reign, we are told in the history of Kashmir, the Bhâshya of Patanjali was introduced by Chandrâchârya and others into that country. In the Vâkyapadiya also it is stated that in the course of time it came to pass that Patanjali's work was possessed only by the inhabitants of the Dakhan, and that too only in books, i.e. it was not studied. Afterwards Chandrâchârya brought it into vogue. Now even supposing for a time that the Bhâshya was written in the reign of Kanishka, i.e., about 25 B.C., fifteen or twenty years are too small a period for it to have come to be regarded as a work of authority, to have ceased to be studied, to have existed only in books in the South, and to have obtained such a wide reputation as to be introduced into Kashmir, a place far distant from Patanjali's native country and from the Dakhan. Even Professor Weber is staggered by the shortness of the interval; but instead of being thus led to call in question his theory or the soundness of his argument, he is inclined to doubt the authenticity of the texts brought forward by Dr. Goldstücker. Besides, he gives no evidence to show that the name Yavana was applied to the Indo-Scythic kings. I am aware that at different periods of Indian history it was applied to different races; but this vague knowledge ought not to be sufficient to lead us to believe as a matter of fact that it was applied to these kings. And the generic name by which they were known to the author of the Rujjatarangini was Turushka. This name is not unknown to Sanskrit literature, for it occurs in such a recent work as the Vîrângaunâlîs. I cannot, therefore, believe that Patanjali could not have known it, if he really lived so late as in the time of those kings. And that Kanishka persecuted the Buddhists before he himself became a convert, is a mere supposition, not supported by any reliable authority. Kanishka is also not mentioned anywhere as having carried his conquests up to Sâketa, while, as before observed, the Yavanas are mentioned by Hindu writers, and the Bactrian kings by Greek authors, as having so done.

The truth is that the name "Mâdhyamikâ" has been misunderstood both by Dr. Goldstücker and Professor Weber; and hence, in giving Dr. Goldstücker's argument in my article, I omitted the portion based on that name. The expression arnaud Yavano Mâdhyamikâs makes no sense, if we understand by the last word, the Buddhist school of that name. The root rudh means "to besiege" or "blockade," and the besieging or blockading of a sect is something I cannot understand. Places are besieged or blockaded, but not sects. I am aware that Professor Weber translates this verb by a word which in English means "to oppress;" but I am not aware that the root is ever used in that sense. By the word "Mâdhyamikâ" is to be understood the people of a certain place, as Dr. Kern has pointed out in his preface to his edition of the Brihat Sanhitâ, on the authority of the Sanhitâ itself. We are thus saved the necessity of making a string of very improbable suppositions; and in this way Professor Weber's argument, based as it is on the hypothesis that the Mâdhyamikas alluded to by Patanjali were the Buddhist sect of that name, falls to the ground. The first of Dr. Goldstücker's passages (the word "Yavana" occurring in both of them), and the passage I have for the first time pointed out, taken together, determine the date of Patanjali to be about 144 B.C. And this agrees better with the other passages pointed out by Dr. Goldstücker. For if Patanjali lived in the reign of the founder of the Sûnga dynasty, one can understand why the Mauryas and their founder should have been uppermost in his thoughts; but if he lived in 25 A.D., when the Andhra Brâhîtya dynasty was in power, one may well ask why he should have gone back for illustrating his rules to the Mauryas and Chandragupta, and passed over the intermediate dynasties of the Sûngas and the Kánvas.

As to my paper on the Age of the Mahâbhârata, I have to observe that it was written with a certain purpose. Colonel Ellis, going upon the authority of the Gowja Agrahâra grant, translated by Colebrook in 1806, and again by Mr. Narasimmiyengar in Part XII. of the Indian Antiquary, had referred the composition of the Mahâbhârata to a period subsequent to 1521 A.D., and had asked the Asiatic Society of Bombay to make inquiries as to whether the ashes of the Sarpa Sattrai instituted by Jana-mejaya could be found by digging for them at Anagundi, with which the Colonel identified Hartinapura; and whether the remains of the palace, in which Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalâ, was crowned, were observable at the
place. My object, therefore, was to show that the Mahābhārata was far more ancient, and that it existed at and before all the well-ascertained dates in Sanskrit literature. It was not meant to collect all possible evidence, whether certain or doubtful, for the existence of the poem. Had I thought of doing so, it would have taken me much longer time than I could spare; and some of the books to which it would have been necessary to refer were also wanting. I have not even brought together all the passages bearing on the point to be found in Patanjali's work. But I am content for the present to leave the task to the well-known industry and acuteness of Professor Weber.

WEBER ON THE DATE OF PATANJALI.

[In order that our readers may have all the evidence before them, a translation is here appended of that portion of Professor Weber's critique on Goldstücker's "Pānini" which refers to the Date of Patanjali.—Ed.]

At the close of Goldstücker's essay [Preface to the Mānavakalpasūtra] we find an enquiry into the date of Patanjali (pp. 228-38). In the first place, from mention being made in his work of the Maurya, it is pointed out, and indeed thereby established, that he could not have lived before the date of this dynasty. The passage in question is of great interest, and would imply besides, according to the view of Patanjali, that Pānini also lived after that time! It is as follows: Pānini, commenting on the rule V. 3, 99: jyvikārthe chá 'panye, "in the case of a life-sustenance-serving (object, which is an image [pratikritau is still to be understood, from 96], the affix k a is not used), except when the object is saleable,"—gives the following explanation (according to Goldstücker, p. 229): apanya ity uchya, tāttādāma sidhyati, śivā skando vis'ākha iti | kim kārana? mauryair hiranyārthībhībhī archā prakalpitā | bhavet | tānu na śyāt | yāv tv etāh sampratipājārthāh, tānu bhavishyati | "In the case of a saleable, e.g., Śiva, Skanda, Vis'ākha, the rule does not apply (the affix k a being used in such cases). The gold-coveting maurya had caused images of the gods to be prepared. To these the rule does not apply, but only to such as serve for immediate worship (i.e., with which their possessors go about from house to house [in order to exhibit them for immediate worship, and thereby to earn money], Kaivyata.)" From this it appears that Patanjali is undoubtedly of opinion that Pānini himself, in referring to images (pratikriti) that were "saleable," i.e., by their sale afforded sustenance of life (jyvikārtha), had in his eye such as those that had come down from the Maurya! Be this as it may, the notice is in itself an exceedingly curious one. If it were at all allowable, we might understand the word maurya here as an appellative, meaning "sculptors," or something of the kind; as indeed seems to be the opinion of Nāgæ's, whose text, however, is corrupt (maury aḥ vikṛtum pratimāṣipavantaṁ is somewhat ungrammatical). But the word cannot be shown to bear such a meaning in any other passage. And the part, perf. causativi goes rather to prove that the Maurya were not themselves the actual makers of the images, but only caused them to be made; although, to be sure, this cannot be laid down positively, seeing that causativa frequently appear also quite as new verba simplicia, and there are several instances of this precisely in the case of the root k a l p. And if, in support of the view that the word refers to the Maurya-dynasty, it should further be adduced that Patanjali in other places also makes frequent mention of the covetousness of kings (cf. Ballantyne, pp. 334 and 315: GargäŚatam ōdantantāṁ jāthīnas cha rājāno hiranye na bhavantā, na cha pratikam dandayantī), yet on the other hand it is not easy to understand how kings, in order to earn their livelihood (and only on this condition is the example relevant to the sūtra), should have caused images of the gods to be prepared or exhibited for sale! But if, consequently, we cannot as yet quite rid ourselves of some amount of uncertainty, whether we are really to understand by the word maurya in this passage the dynasty of that name, there can at all events be no doubt with regard to the fact itself, that Patanjali did not live until after their time. The proofs which establish this, and which have been overlooked by Goldstücker, are contained in two examples which Patanjali adduces with reference to a vārtika in I. 1, 68 (Ballantyne, p. 758): Pushyamitrāsabhaḥ, Chandraguptasabhaḥ. Even if the latter example (which recurs also in the Calc. Schol. on II. 4, 23) does not absolutely establish that he lived later than the time of the Maurya, yet the former affords quite conclusive proof of this; and we learn at the same time from this passage, that the bearer of the name Pushyamitra who founded the Sūrga dynasty, succeeding that of the Maurya, was not merely a general (senāpati), as he is called in the Purāna and in the Mālavikāgnimitra, but really a king (reigned, according to Lassen, 178-142 B.C.); for Goldstücker cannot well have any doubt as to the identity of the two Pushyamitrās.

The date of Patanjali may, however, be still more definitely fixed. The lower limit is determined by a passage from the Rājatarāṅgini, adduced first by Böhtlingk, according to which Abhimanyu, king of Kashmir (reigned, according to Lassen, 45-66 A.D.), rendered some service to the text of the Mahābhāṣya, of which we shall presently speak more in detail. We cannot, therefore, come any lower down than his time. Goldstücker very justly calls attention to two highly important examples which Patan-
jali gives in commenting on a vārttika on III. 2, 11. The rule refers to the use of the imperfect aṇādyatane, "when something is no longer present;" the vārttika adds that it is used "paro-kaha cha lokavijñāte prayoktā darsanavishayeyār 
also with regard to something which is not (any longer) visible, but is perfectly well known, and 
also with regard to something which is not (any present);" the vārttika adds that it is used paro-
2, 11. The rule refers to the use of the imperfect an a dy at an e, "when something is no longer 
she cha lokavijnāte prayokturdarsanavishaye | 
and as examples of such a case, Patanjali quotes two sentences—arunad 
Yavanāḥ Sāketam, "the Yavana oppressed Sāketa," 
and : arunad Yav ano Mādhyamikān, "the Yavana 
oppressed the Mādhyamika." Both of these cir-
cumstances, therefore, when Patanjali gave these 
examples, must have belonged to the then immediate 
past, and have been still fresh in the memory of the 
people; as appears certain also from the tenor of the contrary examples which he quotes. Now, 
according to Goldstücker's assumption, the Yavana 
who besieged Sāketa, i.e., in his opinion, Ayodhyā, 
must be identical with Memnads (reigned, according 
to Lassen, 144-120 B.C.), of whom Strabo express-
ly records that he extended his conquests as 
far as to the Yamunā, while of no other Greek king 
of this period are so extensive military expeditions 
known. Patanjali must therefore have lived between 
140 and 120 B.C. It is not possible, however, to 
bring into any kind of harmony with this view the 
second fact which Patanjali records of the Yavana, 
viz., his oppressing of the Mādhyamika. For the 
founding of the Buddhist school of this name 
is continually ascribed to Nāgārjuna (see Burnouf, Introduction, p. 559; Lassen II. 1163; 
Köppen II. 14, 20; Wassiljew, p. 314). Now, we 
find, no doubt, conflicting statements with regard 
to the date of this renowned teacher; but, so far as 
the present inquiry is concerned, we need not con-
cern ourselves either with the determining of this 
point, or with the intricate question regarding the 
actual date of Buddha's death; but we have simply 
to abide by the notice, overlooked by Goldstücker, 
in the Rājatarāṅgini (I. 173, 177; see also Lassen 
II. 413), according to which Nāgārjuna is held to 
have lived under the same Abhimanyu, to whom, 
in the same passage (I. 176), is ascribed so peculiar 
care for the Mādhyāmikā. For if we accept the 
latter statement as correct, we cannot well refuse to 
receive the former, also recorded in the same verses 
immediately before and after. Both stand and fall 
together. Relying on this passage, then, we are 
now in fact restricted to very narrow limits. For 
even if, as seems undeniable, it must be assumed 
that, in Abhimanyu's time, Nāgārjuna was already 
advanced in years (which seems to be testified by 
the high reverence and the wide-reaching influence 
which, according to the words of the Rājatarāṅgini, 
he enjoyed under that king); if, therefore, his 
founding of the Mādhyāmika-school may have taken 
place much earlier, yet we must not date back this 
circumstance at the highest more than about 40 years 
before Abhimanyu began to reign; for it would be 
hardly credible that at a still earlier period of life 
Nāgārjuna could have gained so prominent a position as to have been able to become the founder of a school. Between the years 5-45 A.D., according 
to Lassen's reckoning of Abhimanyu's coming to 
the throne, the following events must therefore fall:—1. The besieging of Sāketa by a Yavana; 
2. The oppressing of the Mādhyāmikā by the same 
or another Yavana; 3. The composition of the Mahābhāṣya; and between the years 45-65, lastly, 
4. Abhimanyu's care for this work—-all this indeed 
only on the double assumption that the reading 
"mādhyāmikān" is correct, and that the name of 
the school, according to the Indian tradition, 
did not exist until after its being founded by 
Nāgārjuna. And now, as regards what I have 
marked as No. 1, the oppressing of Sāketa by a 
Yavana, such an occurrence, if we are to under-
stand thereby the besieging of Oude by a Greek 
kings, is certainly not even conceivable as having 
happened at this period, seeing that the last inde-
pendent Greek king of the Indian Mark ceased to 
reign, according to Lassen II. 337, about the year 
85 B.C. The name "Yavana," however, passed 
over from the Greeks to their successors, the Indo-
Scythians; and since in No. 2 we see this name 
used in describing an occurrence which, according 
to what is stated above, cannot have taken place 
till about 100 to 85 years before Christ,—seeing 
further that the occurrence in No. 1 must be essen-
tially synchronous with that recorded in No. 2—
it follows that it can have been only an Indo-Scy-
thic prince who had besieged Sāketa shortly before 
Patanjali gave this example. Assuming now that 
by Sāketa we are really to understand Ayodhyā, 
as is certainly probable, then Kanishka (reigned 
10-40 A.D., according to Lassen) is undoubtedly the 
only one of these princes—as indeed of all foreign 
princes before the Moslims—of whom so extensive a 
military expedition is (not merely conceivable, but 
even) not improbable; compare what Lassen, II. 
854, records regarding the extension of his 
power toward the east. It is true that what 
Patanjali in No. 2 records of the oppressing 
of the Mādhyāmikā by the Yavana, does not 
seem to be applicable to Kanishka, inasmuch 
as he is specially known as one of the prin-
cipal promoters of Buddhism. On the one hand, 
however, we have also the still later informa-
tion (in Hiuen Thsang I. 107, see Lassen II. 
857) that Kanishka, during the earlier years of his 
reign, was hostilely disposed toward Buddhism— 
and it is just from this earlier period of the reign, 
as we shall see below, that Patanjali's statement 
seems to date; on the other hand, is it possible that 
the statement refers only to special oppression of 
the Mādhyāmikā in the interest of the Ujñāyānā?
as indeed the perpetual contest between this latter and other Buddhist schools (cf. Huen Thang I. 172) gave occasion to the great council held under Kaniska, which was intended to effect a reconciliation. And although, according to the Rājatarāṅgini, Nāgārjuna's influence was in full bloom under Abhimanyu, yet it would still have been quite possible that under his predecessor, Kaniska, the predominant feeling might have been hostile to Nāgārjuna, as in point of fact the latter appears never to have had any share in the council held under the presidency of Pārśva and Vasumitra. With respect to No. 3, the composition of the Mahābhāṣya, we will in the first place bring forward here what can be gathered from other sources regarding the author, Patanjali. According to Goldstücker, the names Gonikāputra and Gonardiya, with which in two passages of the Mahābhāṣya the view in question is supported, are to be referred to Patanjali himself, seeing that the commentators (Nāgāsena on "Gonikāputra," Kātyāyana on "Gonardiya") explain them by the word "bhāṣyaksāra."

As a matter of fact, Patanjali never speaks in the first person, but he is always spoken of in the third person, and his opinion is several times introduced by tu (parśyati tv āchāryah, in Ballantyne, pp. 195, 196, 197, 245, 281, 303, 787): it is also quite possible therefore that the words "Gonardiyas tv āha" do really refer to Patanjali. One only, however, of those two identifications can be correct; the other must to all appearance be false. For according to a communication for which I am indebted to Aufrecht's kindness, Gonardiya and Gonikāputra are two different persons, whom Vatsyāyana, in the introduction of his Kāsamāšṭikā, celebrates side by side as his predecessors in the teaching of the āraṇamāṇi: in a very surprising fashion: the one, namely, as author of a manual thereon, showing how one should behave in this matter towards one's own wife; the other as author of a work treating of the proper procedure in reference to strange women: Gonardiyo bhāṣyādhikārikam, Gonikāputrah pārdaṅkam (namely, kāmasūtram samchikshepa): see Aufrecht, Catalogus, p. 215. In the body of the work Gonardiya is especially quoted five times, Gonikāputra six times. It would be delightful to get here so unexpected a glimpse into the private life of Patanjali. It may serve to set our minds at rest with reference to his moral character to remember that it is only the comparatively modern Nāgāsena who identifies him with the Don Juan Gonikāputra, while by Kātyāyana, almost a thousand years earlier, the contemporary of the author of the Trikānda'sha and of Huenachandra, he is compared with the honoured Gonardiya. As regards the name of the latter, Goldstücker, pp. 235-236, calls attention to a passage of the Kāśikā, I. 1. 75, in which the word "Gonadiya" (or "Gonardiyas," as the Calc. Schol. has it) is added as an instance of a place situated in the east (prāchām đesā; and also to the circumstance that Kātyāyana sometimes designates Abhimanyu as "ācārya desaśīya," i.e., as countryman of the āchārya, or rather, contrasts him with the latter, i.e., Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtika; and that as Kātyāyana belonged to the east, Patanjali is also hereby assigned to the east. Mention should also have been made here of the special statement:—vyavahīte 'pi pūrvasadundo vartate, tad yathā, pārvam Mathurāyād Pātaliputram (Ballantyne, p. 650) "Pātaliputra" lies before Mathura, which is intelligible only in the mouth of a man who lived behind Pātaliputra, and consequently decides for the eastern residence of Patanjali. In case, therefore, that "Gonardiya" is really to be understood as his name, the word can in fact be referred only to that "prāchām đesā," not to the Kashmirian kings called Gonarda, as Lassen's opinion is, II. 484, and still less to the people of the same name mentioned by Varāhamihira, XIV. 12, as dwelling in the south, near Dasapura and Kerala. Now, according to what has been remarked with reference to Nos. 1 and 2, the work of Patanjali must have made a name for itself with great rapidity, in order to have been able to be introduced into Kashmir so early as in the reign of Abhimanyu. We come back again to this question further on; meanwhile we turn to what is in fact a highly interesting representation of the history of the Mahābhāṣya, which Goldstücker adduces for the elucidation of that verse of the Rājataraṅgini which refers to the services rendered to the commentary by Abhimanyu, from the second book of the Vākyapadiya of Bhartrihari, containing the so-called Harikārikās.

After this long digression on this passage, which seemed to be demanded by its importance, we turn now again to the proper question which is specially engaging our attention here, and on account of which it was cited by Goldstücker. There can evidently be no doubt that the recovery, described herein by Hari, of the Mahābhāṣya by "Chandra and the others" is the same to which the statement of the Rājataraṅgini I. 175 (some five or six centuries later) refers regarding Abhimanyu's care for the work:—

Chandrāchāryādibhūr labdh(v) ā" des'ām tasmā tadāgamanau |

Pravartitam mahābhāṣyam, svam cha vyākaraṇam kritam ||

Now, when Goldstücker translates:—"After that Chandra and the others had received command from him (Abhimanyu), they established a text of the Mahābhāṣya, such as it could be established by means of his MS. of this work, and composed their own grammars," this translation rests partly upon an application, demanded by nothing in the passage, of the meaning which, without sufficient grounds, he has attached to the word āgama, viz., "MS.;" partly upon the quite gratuitous assumption..."
that such a "MS." received, according to the Vākyapadiya, from Parvata, came "into possession of Abhimanyu" by the hands of Chandra and the others. In my opinion we have to abide simply by Lassen's conjecture: tad-āgame (Loc.), "after they had received from him the command to come to him;" and indeed this appears to me quite indubitable when we take also into consideration the second passage of the Rājatarāṅgini, IV. 487, already quoted by Böhtlingk, in which it is said of Jayāpida (reigned, according to Lassen, 754-85)—

desāntarādāgamaya vyāchakshaṇān kshanā-
patih |
prāvartayata vichhinnaṁ mahābhāshyam svaman-
dale ||

"From another land bade come explainers thereof the earth-prince,
And brought the split Bhāshya in the kingdom new into vogue."

And the combination, occurring here, of prāvartayata with svamandale, definitely decides that in the first passage also (I. 176) prāvartitaṁ to be understood as meaning, not the "constituting of a text," but the "introduction" of the work into Kashmir; and, consequently, the whole of Goldstücker's polemic against the hitherto received conception of this verse is shown to be perfectly idle and groundless.

And, moreover, Bhartrihari's representation by no means leaves the impression that all that is recorded therein could have taken place within the short period of about 30 years; and yet, according to what has been said above on Nos. 1 and 2, regarding the passages "arunad Yavanah Śāketam" and "arunad Yavano Mādhyamikān," it is not easy to account for a longer interval between the composition of these passages and the introduction of the Mahābhāṣya into Kashmir; we obtain this interval, to wit, when, in the absence of every other fixed point, we strike the mean between the dates already found, 5-45 and 45-65 A.D., and consequently fix the composition of the Mahābhāṣya at 25 A.D., and Abhinanyu's care for the same at 55 A.D. The question therefore naturally arises, whether possibly those two examples may not have come into the text only through "Chandra and the others,"—originally therefore do not come from Patanjali at all? That the restoration of a text lost for a time—and this, according to the Vākyapadiya, was really the question at issue—in the fashion which Indian scholars are accustomed to employ, would not take place without interpolations on their part, is, to say the least, extremely likely; and there-

fore we cannot well call in question the possibility that even the two passages referred to above may belong to such interpolations. But in that case the entire ground on which we stand with reference to this question becomes so unstable and uncertain, that we gladly hold by the assurance that these passages may just as likely be genuine. The very peculiar manner in which, in the Mahābhāṣya throughout, Patanjali is spoken of in the third person, is certainly remarkable, and might easily lead to the supposition that the work, as we possess it, is rather a work of his disciples than of Patanjali himself (compare what is said in the Acad. Vorles., p. 216, regarding two other cases of the kind). This is not, however, absolutely necessary: the example of Cæsar shows that such a practice may be employed even when the author is speaking of himself; and therefore it would certainly require very special evidence to prove such a conclusion. If, in reference to this, it could be established that in the Mahābhāṣya—I can speak naturally only of the compara-
tively small portion to which we have access in Ballantyne's edition—cases are found in which a series of proof-passages are cited only with their initial words, while the text of the passages follows afterwards in extenso, together with a detailed explanation, yet on the other hand such self-commentaries are by no means uncommon in Indian literature; and, in consideration of the remarkable amount of detail with which even the Mahābhāṣya otherwise treats its subject, not in the least degree surprising: the brief exhibition of the proof-passages finds, too, its quite corresponding analogue in the peculiar use of the work for closing a discussion by versus memoriales which gather up in brief what has been already said. It would be presumptuous to pronounce at present on the complete authenticity of the existing text of the Mahābhāṣya, when we have access to only so small a portion. And in the preceding discussion I have only sought to show that, in so far as we are at present acquainted with its contents, there exist no directly urgent grounds for doubting its authenticity. In the meantime, the two passages adduced by Goldstücker: "arunad Yavanah Śāketam" and "arunad Yavano Mādhyamikān," may be regarded as furnishing sufficient evidence for determining the date of Patanjali; and on that evidence it would appear—on the assumption that Lassen's chronology is correct—that the date must be fixed not, according to the opinion of Goldstücker, at 140-120 B. C., but probably at about 25 after Christ.
LOOKING at him in his official position, the Kulwadi is the village policeman, the beadle of the village community, the head-man's henchman; but as the representative of that despised and outcaste race—the Holiar, he appears most interesting. Tossed to and fro in the great sea of immigration which passed over the land, he, who once held the foremost place in the village circle, has, with each successive wave, sunk lower and lower in the social scale, until to-day we find him but a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. In the rights and privileges which yet cling to him, we, however, get glimpses of his former high estate, and find proofs that the Holiars, or lowest right-hand caste, were the first to establish villages in this part of the country. The Kurabas, or jungle tribes, may have been the aborigines, but, naturally of a wandering disposition, they confined themselves to the chase. They have no part or parcel in the village community; the Holiars, on the other hand, have, and through their representative, the Kulwadi, occupy a prominent position. As a body, they are the servants of the ryots, and are mainly engaged in tending the plough and watching the herds. One of the members of this despised caste is generally the priest to the village goddess, and, as such, on that annual day when all hasten to pay their offerings at her shrine, takes precedence of the twice-born Brähman.

Every village has its Holigiri—as the quarter inhabited by the Holiars is called—outside the village boundary hedge. This, I thought, was because they are considered an impure race, whose touch carries defilement with it. Such is the reason generally given by the Brähman, who refuses to receive anything directly from the hands of a Holiar. And yet the Brähmans consider great luck will wait upon them if they can manage to pass through the Holigiri without being molested. To this the Holiars have a strong objection, and should a Brähman attempt to enter their quarters, they turn out in a body and slipper him, in former times it is said to death; members of the other castes may come as far as the door, but they must not—for that would bring the Holiar bad luck—enter the house. If, by chance, a person happens to get in, the owner takes care to tear the intruder's cloth, tie up some salt in one corner of it, and turn him out. This is supposed to neutralize all the good luck which might have accrued to the trespasser, and avert any evil which might have befallen the owner of the house.

At Mailkota, the chief seat of the followers of Rāmanuja Achārya, and at Bailur, where there is also a god worshipped by the three marked Brähmans, the Holiars have the right of entering the temple on three days in the year specially set aside for them. At Mailkota they have the privilege of pulling the car. These are the only two temples in Maisur where the Holiars are allowed in. The following is, according to the Brähmans, 'the reason why':—"On Rāmanuja Achārya going to Mailkota to perform his devotions at that celebrated shrine, he was informed that the place had been attacked by the Turk king of Dehli, who had carried away the idol. The Brähman immediately set out for that capital; and, on arrival, he found that the king had made a present of the image to his daughter; for it is said to be very handsome, and she asked for it as a plaything. All day the princess played with the image, and at night the god assumed his own beautiful form and enjoyed her bed; for Krishna is addicted to such kinds of adventures (Buchanan, vol. I. p. 342), Rāmanuja Achārya, by virtue of certain mantras, obtained possession of the image and wished to carry it off. He asked the Brähmans to assist him, but they refused; on which the Holiars volunteered, provided the right of entering the temple were granted to them. Rāmanuja Achārya accepted their proposal, and the Holiarshaving posted themselves between Dehli and Mailkota, the image of the god was carried down in twenty-four hours." When Rāmanuja Achārya first appeared in this part of the country, we know that the religion of the Bellala court was Jaina, while, from the number of temples still extant, it is clear that the religion of the great mass of the people was the Śaiva. Rāmanuja Achārya introduced a new religion—the Vaishnava. It is more than probable this story was invented by the Brähmans to conceal the fact that the Holiars, by receiving a privilege denied to other religions, had been bribed into becoming followers of Vishnu. If this is correct, then we may assume that the Holiars, as a class 400 years
ago, were of some importance. But to return to the Kulwadi, all the thousand-and-one castes, whose members find a home in the village, unhesitatingly admit that the Kulwadi is de jure the rightful owner of the village. He who was, is still, in a limited sense, “lord of the village manor.”

If there is a dispute as to the village boundaries, the Kulwadi is the only one competent to take the oath as to how the boundary ought to run. The old custom for settling such disputes was as follows:—The Kulwadi, carrying on his head a ball made of the village earth, in the centre of which is placed some water, passes along the boundary. If he has kept the proper line, everything goes well; but should he, by accident, even go beyond his own proper boundary, then the ball of earth, of its own accord, goes to pieces, the Kulwadi dies within fifteen days, and his house becomes a ruin. Such is the popular belief.

Again, the skins of all animals dying within the village boundaries are the property of the Kulwadi—and a good income he makes from this source. To this day a village boundary dispute is often decided by this one fact. If the Kulwadi agrees, the other inhabitants of the villages can say no more.

In the Malnad—the hilly portion of this district, where the ryots are more or less given to the chase—there is a peculiar game-law. Should a wounded stag, started in the village, happen to die within the boundary of another, the Patel of the latter village is entitled to his share of the game, although he has taken no part in the chase.

When—in our forefathers’ days, as the natives say—a village was first established, a stone called “Karu Kallu” is set up. To this stone the Patel once a year makes an offering. The Kulwadi, after the ceremony is over, is entitled to carry off the rice, &c., offered. In cases where there is no Patel, the Kulwadi goes through the yearly ceremony. This “Karu Kallu,” a plain Menhir, is not to be found in all villages; but on enquiry it will be found that such are but offshoots from some neighbouring parent village.

But what I think proves strongly that the Holiar was the first to take possession of the soil, is that the Kulwadi receives, and is entitled to receive, from the friends of any person who dies in the village, a certain fee, or, as my informant forcibly put it, “they buy from him the ground for the dead.” This fee is still called in Canarese nela hoga—from nela, the earth, and hoga, a coin worth 1 anna 2 pie.

In Munzerabad, the ancient Bullum, the Kulwadi does not receive this fee from those ryots who are related to the head-man. Here the Kulwadi occupies a higher position; he has, in fact, been adopted into the Patel’s family, for, on a death occurring in such family, the Kulwadi goes into mourning by shaving his head. He always receives from the friends the clothes the deceased wore, and a brass basin.

The Kulwadi, however, owns a superior in the matter of burial fees. He pays yearly a fowl, one hana (=4 annas 8 pie), and a handful of rice to the agent of the Sudgadu Siddha (“lord of the burning-grounds”). These agents, who originally belonged to the Gangadikara Vokkaliga caste—the caste whence the great body of ryots is drawn—have become a separate class, and are called, after their head, “Sudgadu Siddhan.” They are appointed by the “lord of the burning-grounds,” whose head-quarters are somewhere in the Bababolin hills. They intermarry among themselves, and the son succeeds the father in the agency, but has to be confirmed in his appointment by the head of the caste. The agents have each particular tracts of country assigned to them. They receive a monthly salary of from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3, and are allowed to pay, out of the collections, their own expenses proper. The balance once a year is paid into the treasury of the Phala Swami ["he who eats fruit only"], as their master is called. These agents engage in agricultural pursuits, but, when so employed, must put aside the sacred dress in which they are to be seen when on a tour. The distinguishing badge by which these persons can be known is the wooden bell, in addition to the usual metal one, they always carry about; without this no one would acknowledge the agent’s right to collect the fees.

The following account of how and why the Kulwadi has to pay these fees was given to me by a very old man I met one day, when on his beat:—In the days of Harshachandra Mahārāja, Vishvāmitra and Vasishtha, two holy men who had taken up their quarters in a burial-ground, were busy one day discussing the king’s merits. It was generally said that the king never, under any circumstances, broke his word; and Vishvāmitra was determined to try if the king was really as good a man as people made him out. Disguised as a beggar, he called at the palace, and refused to go away until he had seen the king in person.
Harshachandra came out, and, in reply to the beggar, promised to give him whatever he wanted. The beggar said—"Give me as much money as will cover a tall man standing on an elephant." The king emptied his treasury, but to no purpose; the sum was insufficient. He sold everything he had, and yet he found himself short of the measure. For Vishvāmitra had, by means of rats, undermined the ground, so that as fast as the money was piled up, that below went to fill up the rat-holes. He now sold his wife and only son, but this was of no use, for the money thus realized did not cover the measure. In despair, the king had it published abroad that he would hold himself the slave of any person, who, by fulfilling the promise he had made to the beggar, would extricate him from his difficulties. No one came forward. The king was obliged to follow Vishvāmitra all over the country. In the course of their wanderings they came across Vir Baraka, the Kulwadi of the capital, who had amassed a large fortune from the burial-fees. Seeing the king's pitiable state, the Kulwadi offered to pay the money. After some words, the beggar accepted to hold the Kulwadi responsible, and made over the ex-king to him as a slave. Vir Baraka (Baraka was the name by which the Kulwadi was called at the capital Kaliyanpurapattna), asked what were the terms of the promise; being informed, he filled a bamboo of the required height with money, and made this sum over to Vishvāmitra, who had to be satisfied with getting what the strict letter of the promise only entitled him to receive. The Kulwadi now appointed the ex-king his agent for the collection of the fees.

The following were the fees payable in the good days of old:—

1. Nelahaja, the ground-fee.
2. Hari hája, a fee for tearing the winding-sheet.
3. One hān (=Rs. 1-12) placed in the mouth of the corpse.
4. One hana (=1 anna 2 pie) placed on the navel.
5. The winding-sheet.
6. A handful of coarse sugar.
7. 12 cocoa-nuts.
8. 12 betel leaves.
10. A third of an anna of incense.

Vishvāmitra, however, had not yet done with the king; he was determined to test him further. He accordingly transformed himself into a snake, and took up his quarters under a tree which grew in the burial-ground. The leaves of this tree are used by the Brāhmans for plates. The Saukari, who had bought the queen and her son, disgusted at getting little or no work out of the boy, ordered him one day to go and collect leaves for the dinner. The lad went into the burial-ground, and began picking leaves from the tree; while so doing the snake came out, the lad was bitten, and died. The mother, hearing of this, rushed to the burial-ground, and, after the first burst of grief, began busying herself in making preparations for burning the body. Too poor to buy wood, she set about collecting what she could find on the ground. The king, who had from the first recognized his wife and son, would not allow his affections to interfere with his duty to his master, and sternly demanded the proper fees. The unhappy mother, who had not recognized her husband, told him she was a slave, and had no funds. Nothing would appease the strict agent, who cut the wife down with his sword. The gods, pleased with the manner in which Harshachandra had conducted himself, thought it was time to interfere. They appeared on the scene, restored to life both mother and son, and offered to reinstate the king in all his former wealth and power. The king declined, and begged he might, with his wife and child, be allowed to accompany the gods to their paradise. To this they agreed, and were just setting out, when every ghost, goblin, demon, devil, &c., started up, and, since there was no longer a person to look after the fees, threatened to keep the gods company. The gods would not hear of this; they therefore appointed two persons to collect the fees. Calling the Kulwadi into their presence, they ordered him to pay these Siddharua a yearly fee of a fowl, a "hana," and one day's rice.

Vir Baraka, purse-proud and arrogant, laughed when he heard the small amount of the remuneration, and said—"What is that for me? I could give them gold untold, and none the worse would I be." The gods were highly displeased, and cursed him in the following lines:—

"Hale kambale; lake gudige; Utturmara mani umbó gadige; Prápti agale."

Which may be translated:—

"An old kambale for clothing; a stick in your hand; The leavings of betters you'll eat in this land."

That the curse has been fulfilled, few who have seen the Kulwadi will dispute.
The present chief of the caste is said to be a descendant of the persons appointed by the gods.

There is a belief among the people that if a death occurs in a house on a Tuesday or a Friday, another death will quickly follow, unless a fowl is tied to one corner of the bier which carries the deceased to his long home. This fowl is buried with the deceased. Those castes who do not eat fowl replace it with the bolt of the door. This may account for why a fowl forms a portion of the burial-fee.

The only caste, so far as I can learn, in which the custom of placing a coin in the mouth of the deceased is still practised, is the Vokkaliga; the coin must be a gold one. The body is always buried with the feet to the north.

The word Kulwadi ("he who knows the ryots") is derived from kula—the technical term by which a ryot cultivating government land is known. In the word kula we find crystallized a story of other days. One of the Bellala kings, whose devotion to religion had gained him the favour of the gods, had been presented with a phial containing "Sidda rasa,"—a liquid which converted iron into gold. On this the king determined to abolish the payment of the land-tax in coin, and ordered that each ryot should pay into the government treasury the "gula," or plough-share, used during the year. All the iron thus collected the king turned into gold. In the course of time the initial g has become k, and from the custom of paying the "Gula," the ryot came to be called a "Kula."

ON THE SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE BRAHMAN CASTE IN NORTHERN ORISSA.

By John Beames, B.C.S., M.R.A.S.

As a slight contribution to our knowledge of the divisions of caste in India, a subject still involved in much obscurity, the following remarks on the gotras, or families, of the great Brahman caste in this part of Orissa may be found useful.†

Tradition relates that the original Brahmans of Orissa were all extinct at the time of the rise of the Gangā Vaśsa line of kings, but that 10,000 Brahmans were induced to come from Kanauj and settle in Jājpūr, the sacred city on the Baitarani river. The date of this immigration is not stated, but the fact is probably historical, and may have been synchronous with the well-known introduction of Kanaujia Brähmans into the neighbouring province of Bengal by King Adisura in the tenth century.†

When the worship of the idol Jagannāth began to be revived at Puri, the kings of Orissa induced many of the Jājpūr Brähmans to settle round the new temple and conduct the ceremonies. Thus there sprang up a division among the Brähmans; those who settled in Puri being called the Dakhindtya Sreni, or southern class, and those who remained at Jājpūr, the Uttara Sreni, or northern class. This latter spread all over northern Orissa. Many of the southern Brähmans, however, are also found in Balasor; and the divisions of the two classes are fairly represented in most parts of the district, though the southern class is less numerous than the northern. The former are held in greater esteem for learning and purity of race than the latter.

The Srenis are divided, first, according to the Veda, whose ritual they profess to observe, and secondly, into gotras or families.

I.—SOUTHERN LINE.

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<th>Gotra</th>
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* This brief article was put together from notes made at different times; and something similar was supplied by me to Dr. W. W. Hunter and has been printed by him in the appendix to his work on Orissa. The above article, however, exhibits the classification more fully and clearly than Dr. Hunter's note, and contains some additional facts which I have learnt since the appearance of that work.†

† The date is not certain. Babu Rajendralal Mitra fixes it at about A.D. 964.—Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XXXIV, p. 139.‡

‡ This ought to come before the Sāma-Veda, but my native informants stick to it that the Sāma-Vedis rank above the Yajur-Veda. I record the fact without understanding the reason.

§ The great Bhāradwaj gotra is divided into the three septs here given.
Atreya—


b. Krishnatreya .......... 

Haritasa .................. Mahaputra.

" Kauchhsa .......... 

" Ghrisakauchhsa .......... 

Mudgula ................. Satpathi, vulgo Pathi, also vulgo Satpasti.

Batsasa .......... Dasa, Acharya, Misra.

Katyayana ............. Saramgi.

Kapipjala ............... Dasa.

II.—Northern Line.

Not represented.

1. Rig-Veda.

2. Yajur-Veda.

Katyayana .......... PanyJa.

Sanjalya .......... 

Krishnatreya .......... ” and Dasa.

Bhardwaja .......... 

Barshagauna .......... Misra.

Kapala .......... 

Gautama .......... 

3. Atharva-Veda.

Angirasas .......... Upadhya, vulgo Upadiya.

Of lower branches, and considered inferior to the above, are—

Sankhyaayana .......... Mahanty.

Nagaraa .......... Dasa, and Mahanti.

In explanation of the upadhikis, I would state that they are, so to speak, the surnames of each gotra; for instance, a Brahman of the Katyayapa gotra, whose personal name was Radha Krshna, would be known and spoken of, and speak of himself, as Radha Krshna Nand; Patituban, of the Katyayana gotra, is Patituban Sarangi; and so on. The commonest surnames are PanjJa and Mahaputra in Balasor; probably because the families of the gotras to which they belong have multiplied more extensively there. Some of the upadhikis given above are very rare in Balasor, as Tripathi, Ratha, Dube; the others are common enough. Some of them are also borne by other castes. Thus all the Karans, a class corresponding to the Kaysasthas of Bengal, have the surname Mahanti, in the north contracted to Maiti. This fashion of caste surnames has been extended to the lower castes also; thus we have among the artisan castes the titles Patar, Rana, Ojh, Jena (a very low name, chiefly used by Paus, and other impure castes), Raut, Kar, De, and the Bangali names Ghosh and Bose (Basu). These names, where they are the same as those borne in other provinces, are used by lower castes. Thus Ghosh and Basu in Bangali are highly respectable Kaysastha names, in Orissa they are borne by Rajs, Gokhas, and other low castes. The cowherd class, the Gwal of Upper India, are here called Gaur or Gail, and take the surnames Behara, Palai, Sen, &c. Behera seems to have been adopted from the English, as it is this class that furnishes the well-known Oriya ‘bearers’ of Calcutta.

But to return to the Brahman,—the gotra names, it will be seen, are for the most part patronymics from well-known Rishis, and are identical with many of those still in use in the North-Western Provinces. This circumstance seems to add confirmation to the legend of the origin of this caste from Kanauj. A Rishi’s name occurs also among upadhikis in one instance; Sarangi being from Sanskr, Sarngi, patronymic from Srnga Rishi. PanjJa is hardly a gotra upadhi, being applied to all Brahman who officiate as priests.

PATANJALI’S MAHA BHASHYA

BY PROFESSOR RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.

Pushpamitra.

Since I wrote last on the subject, I have discovered a third passage in the Mahabhashya in which Pushpamitra is spoken of. Panini in III, 1, 26, teaches that the termination aya, technically called ni, should be applied to a root when the action of causing something to be done is implied. Upon this, the author of the Vartikas observes that a rule should be made to provide for the use of the causal and primitive forms in the uninveted or the usual order in the case of the roots yaj and others. This Panini explains thus:—"Pushpamitra sacrifices (yajate), and the sacrificing priests cause him to sacrifice (i.e., to be the sacrificer by performing the ceremonies for him). This is the usual or uninverted order of using the forms. But by Panini’s rule the order ought to be ‘Pushpamitra causes (the priests) to sacrifice, and the priests sacrifice.’” This objection is removed by the author of the Vartikas himself, by saying that the root yaj, signifying several actions, the usual or unin-
verted order is provided for, and no new rule is necessary. How it is so, Patanjali tells us as follows:—"Yaj denotes several actions. It does not necessarily signify the throwing of the oblations into the fire, but also giving money, or providing the means of the sacrifice. For instance, they say 'O how well he sacrifices;' in the case of one who provides the means properly. That providing of the means, or giving money, is done by Pushpamitra, and the sacrificing priests cause him so to provide or so to become the sacrificer. In this sense, then, Pushpamitra sacrifices (yajate), and the priests cause him to perform it (yajyanti)." This is the uninvolved or the usual order. In the sense of throwing the oblations into the fire, the other is the correct order.*

In this instance we see Patanjali speaks of the sacrifices of Pushpamitra as if he were familiar with them; and by itself this passage shows that he could not have lived, long after him, certainly not so long as 175 years after, as Prof. Weber makes out. But the other instance pointed out in page 300 vol. I. of the Antiquary, in which his sacrifices are spoken of as if going on, shows that he lived in Pushpamitra’s time. The three passages, then, in which his name occurs, are perfectly consistent with, and confirm, each other.

Patanjali’s native place.

Indian tradition makes the author of the Mahābhāshya a native of a country called Gonarda, which is spoken of by the grammarians as an eastern country. The Mātsya Purāṇa also enumerates it amongst the countries in that direction. The position of Patanjali’s native place, whether it was Gonarda or some other, can, I think, be pretty definitely fixed by means of certain passages in his work. In his comments on III. 3, 136, the two following passages occur:—

Yayam adhātī gata ā Pātaliputratā tasya yadavaram Sāketat— Of the distance or path from Pātaliputra which has been traversed [such a thing was done in] that part of it which lies on this side of Sāketa,† and yayam adhātī ā Pātaliputratā gangeyas tasya yat param Sāketat— Of the distance or path up to Pātaliputra which is to be traversed [something will be done in] that portion which lies on that side of Sāketa.† In these two instances we see that the limit of the distance is Pātaliputra, and that it is divided into two parts, one of which is on this side of Sāketa, and the other on that. Sāketa, then, must be in the middle, i.e., on the way from the place represented by ‘this’ in the expression ‘this side,’ to Pātaliputra. This place must be that where Patanjali speaks or writes; and it must, we see, be in the line connecting Sāketa and Pātaliputra on the side of it remote from Pātaliputra. The bearing of Oudh from Pātana is north-west by west; Patanjali’s native place, therefore, must have been somewhere to the north-west by west of Oudh. Prof. Weber thinks he lived to the east of Pātaliputra; but of this I have spoken elsewhere.

Let us now see whether the information thus gathered can be brought into harmony with the tradition mentioned above. The exact position of Gonarda is not known; but if it really was Patanjali’s country, it must have been situated somewhere to the north or north-west of Oudh. Now, there is a district therabouts which is known by the name of Gonda, and there is also a town of that name about 20 miles to the north-west of Oudh. According to the usual rules of corruption, Sansk. rda (ṛ) is in the Prākrit corrupted to dda (ḍ), but sometimes also it is changed to ḍla (ḍ).† Gonarda, therefore, must in the Prākrit assume the form Gonda. Hasty pronunciation elides the a, and, in the later stages of the development of the Prākrits, one of the two similar consonants is rejected. The form is thus reduced to Gonda, which is the way in which it is now pronounced. General Cunningham derives Gonda from Gauda.§ But, so far as I am aware, there are no instances of the insertion of a nasal in a Prākrit word, when it does not exist in the corresponding Sanskrit one. It appears, therefore, very probable that the district of Gonda in Oudh was the ancient Gonarda, and had the honour of giving birth to the great author of the Mahābhāshya.

The native country of Kātyāyana.

Prof. Weber is of opinion that Kātyāyana was one of the eastern grammarians, and Dr.

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* Pan. III. 1, 26. Kātyā. यादवास्य चारिनयाऽः | Patan.

† I omit the grammatical details of this as not necessary.


Goldstücker agrees with him. But it is a question whether the distinction between northern or eastern grammarians, which Pāṇini mentions, really existed in the time of Kātyāyana. But to whatever school of grammarians he may have belonged, supposing such schools existed in his time, it appears, from a passage in the Mahābhāshya, that the author of the Vārtikas was a Dākshinātya, i.e., a native of the South or Dākkhan. In the introduction to the Mahābhāshya* occurs a passage, the sense of which is this:—

"If a man, who wishes to express his thoughts, does so by using some words or other simply from his acquaintance with the usage of the world, what is the use of grammar? The object of grammar is to restrict the liberty of speech in such a manner that religious good may arise from it; just as is done in the affairs of the world and in matters concerning the Vedas. In the world we find people saying 'a domesticated cock should not be eaten, a domesticated pig should not be eaten.' Things are eaten for the satisfaction of hunger. Hunger, however, can be satisfied even by eating dog's flesh, and such other things.

But then though it is so, a restraint is put on us, and we are told such a thing is eatable and such a thing is uneatable. ** In the same manner, while one is able to express his thoughts equally by correct or incorrect words, what grammar does is to restrict him to the use of correct words, in order that religious good may arise from it."

Now, this is Patanjali's explanation of two vārtikas, the latter of which is yathā laukika-vaidikesvi, i.e., 'as in the world and in the Veda.' On this Patanjali's remark is Priya-taddhita Dākshinātyah yathā loke vi devi cheti prayoktaye yathā laukika-vaidikesvi prayunjate, i.e., the Dākshinātyas, i.e., people of the South or Dākkhan, are fond of using (words with) taddhita affixes, that is, instead of saying yathā loke ved ca, they say yathā laukika-vaidikesvi" (i.e., instead of using the words loka and veda, they use derivatives from them, formed by affixing the termination ika). This clearly means that Kātyāyana, the author of the vārtika in which the words laukika and Vaidika occur, was a Dākshinātya.

**THE DATE OF ŚRĪ HARSHA.**

By KAŚHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B., ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY.

In my article and letter on the date of the Nyāyakusumānjali in the Indian Antiquary (vol. I. pp. 297 and 352), the question of the date of Śrī Harsha, the author of the Naishadha Charita and other works, came incidentally under consideration; and in my letter I made a reference to the conclusion which had been arrived at on that point by Dr. J. G. Bühler, as I knew it from a summary of his paper on the subject. I have since seen the whole of his paper on the age of the Naishadha Charita of Śrī Harsha, and although I cannot say that my view on the subject continues quite unshaken, I still think that the question cannot yet be regarded as finally settled.

In the first place, then, the authority upon which Dr. Bühler relies for the date of Śrī Harsha gives an account of him, which, as the Doctor himself very truly remarks, "is in many details obviously fanciful."† And though I am willing to concede that this circumstance may easily be too much insisted on, it must be acknowledged that this account should be received with considerable caution. Dr. Bühler points out two circumstances tending to show that the "main facts" related by Rājaśekhara, the Jaina writer who gives us this account of Śrī Harsha, are "strictly historical." I will take his second circumstance first. It is that "Rājaśekhara's narration agrees in some important details with the statements which Śrī Harsha makes regarding himself in his own works."‡ Now, I cannot attach much weight to this circumstance; for, surely, even a Hindu biographer, void of the "historical sense," could not afford either to ignore or to contradict such well-known autobiographical statements as those to which Dr. Bühler alludes. Running counter to such statements, a biography may, in the majority of cases at any rate, be safely put down as a work of romance. But it does not therefore follow, I think, that the repetition of them in a work is proof of the remaining statements being trustworthy. Had the case been somewhat different —had the statements coincided with what some elaborate historical investigation had brought out, or with facts which could be reached only by a course of bonâ fide historical research —the

* Ballantyne's Edn. pp. 54, 56.
† Page 5.—My references are to the essay as recently published in a separate pamphlet.
‡ Page 6.
coincidences would, of course, have been of considerable moment. As it is, those coincidences appear to me scarcely to warrant the conclusion which it is sought to base on them.

The second circumstance pointed out by Dr. Bühler is, that "it might be expected that Rājāśekhara, who lived in the middle of the fourteenth century, could obtain trustworthy information regarding a person who lived only about 150 years before him." This I fully admit. But be it noted that Mādhavāchārya also lived in the middle, or rather somewhat before the middle, of the fourteenth century.* And barring all other considerations, which, I think, will lead us to assign the palm of superiority to Mādhava, it cannot be denied that Mādhava must have had access to at least as trustworthy information on this matter as any author of the Jain persuasion; and, as I have pointed out in my paper, Mādhava makes Śrī Harsha—the Khandanakāra—a contemporary of Śāṅkara. Whom, then, shall we believe? Regarding the biography of a Hindu poet, is it more likely that the Jaina Sūri or the Hindu Achārya erred? True, Mādhava may have wished to exaggerate the greatness of Śāṅkara's powers by making him engage in a controversy with Śrī Harsha, and representing him as coming off victorious in the conflict; but it is still difficult to regard this as a sufficient explanation of this very gross anachronism, if anachronism it be. Add to this, further, that such credit as there may have been in a controversial victory over Śrī Harsha, had been already reflected in great measure on Śāṅkara's name by Śrī Harsha's own respectful mention of that great philosopher.†

It must also be remembered, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler himself, that Rājāśekhara's historical knowledge is found to be at fault in two places in this very piece of biography—firstly, with respect to the relationship existing between Jayantachandra and Govindachandra; and secondly, with respect to the king who was ruler of Kāśmir in Śrī Harsha's time.‡ This last erroneous statement, I think, takes a very great deal from Rājāśekhara's credibility in the matter. Furthermore, according to this account, Śrī Harsha wrote his Khandanakhandakhādya some time before he so much as contemplated the Naishadhiya. Now it is, I think, rather hard—although not quite impossible—to reconcile this circumstance with the words used by our author in one part of the Khaṇḍana. He says in that place:—"And in the Naishadhā Charita, in the canto on the praise of the Supreme Being, I have said that the mind," &c., &c. This assertion in the original is put in the past tense.§ And when Dr. Bühler mentions another circumstance which is related by Rājāśekhara in his Prabandhakosha, and after characterising it as "at all events consistent with that of the Śrī Harsha Prabandā," goes on to contend that it corroborates this latter, I can scarcely persuade myself that others will concur in this. The consistency of all parts of a romance with each other cannot by any means be regarded as an argument for its truth.

Adverting to the passage which is said to be quoted in the Sarasvati Kaṇṭhābharaṇa from the Naishadha Charita, Dr. Bühler says that the passage may have been interpolated subsequently to the time of its author; and I learn from him that the passage in question does not occur in the Oxford copy of the Sarasvati Kaṇṭhābharaṇa. If this be so, it will, to some extent, weaken the argument based upon it. Dr. Bühler's authority for the statement about the Oxford MS. is probably, however, the elaborate catalogue of Professor Aufrecht. If so, I would point out one or two circumstances which seem to me to be worthy of consideration here. Dr. Hall says distinctly that the Naishadhiya is cited in the Sarasvati Kaṇṭhābharaṇa. On the other hand, Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogue—which, it may be observed, was published long after Dr. Hall's edition of the Vāsavadatta—is simply silent as to any quotation under the name either of Śrī Harsha or the Naishadhiya. But Dr. Aufrecht does not go so far as to say categorically that the quotation does not exist in the copy inspected and catalogued by him. On the contrary, what he does say seems to me to take from this negative testimony of silence a considerable portion of its value. "Major vero," says he in his article on this Kaṇṭhābharaṇa itself, "distichorum pars unde desumpta sit hucusque me latet."** This being so, it may very well be that even in the Oxford copy of the Sarasvati Kaṇṭhābharaṇa, the quota-

* See Prof. Cowell's Introduction to the Kusumānjali, page 10, and authorities there referred to.
‡ Pages 6 and 3.
§ Page 208 b.
tion from the Naishadhiya may exist; and yet, from the name of the author of the stanza quoted not being there mentioned, Dr. Aufrecht may have been unable to recognise its origin. And to this circumstance I am inclined to attach particular weight, because Dr. Aufrecht, unless I misunderstand him, has in one part of his catalogue cited the words—

apparently without recollecting that they form part of the sixteenth stanza of the first canto of Kālidāsa’s Kumārasambhava. Having said this much, I have only to add that if it should turn out that the quotation does occur in the Oxford MS. of the Sarasvatī Kānṭhābharanā, Dr. Bühler’s conjecture will lose much of its value. And if the question, as it will then be, is reduced to one of the comparative probability of the quotation from Śrī Harsha being interpolated, and of Rājāśekhara’s account being erroneous, many will, I think, be inclined to hold that it is, at all events, safer to trust to the fact of the quotation, than to any opinion about the accuracy of a Jain biographer.

It is only proper that I should add a remark here about Dr. Bühler’s identification of the Jayantachandra mentioned by Rājāśekhara as the king in whose reign Śrī Harsha flourished, with the king Jayachandra who is known to history. When I first read the abstract of Dr. Bühler’s paper given in the Indian Antiquary, I remarked that the learned Doctor’s argument proceeded upon the ‘assumption’ that that identification was correct. Now that I have read in extenso the grounds on which Dr. Bühler arrives at that conclusion, I must say that the reasoning appears to me—I will not say conclusive, but certainly very cogent, and the ‘assumption’ of the identity has surely very good warrant.

I now proceed to another point. In the preface to his edition of the Daśārāpaka, which, as usual, bristles with the most varied items of information, Dr. FitzEdward Hall says:—

"At the foot of page 71 begins a stanza which an intelligent pandit assures me [he] has read in the Prasanna Rāghava. If this be so, we may have some clue to the age of the Gita Govinda."† This observation of Dr. Hall’s, it will be remarked, is not very positive. Professor Weber, however, who repeats it, is somewhat less cautious. Speaking of the Prasanna Rāghava, he says:—“According to Hall (Preface to the Daśārūpa, p. 35), a verse from this drama is quoted in Dhanika, and it must therefore be placed before the middle of the tenth century.”‡

If these remarks had been correct, we should probably have been able to add something valuable to our materials for inquiry in the present matter. For in the introduction to this excellent drama—a printed copy of which I have recently obtained from Calcutta—a certain Harsha is mentioned as the delight of the poetical muse; and this Harsha, as I am inclined to believe on various grounds, is more probably the Harsha of the Naishadhiya than the Harsha whose name is connected with the two dramas of Nāgānanda and Ratnāvali.§ However that may be, I think there must have been some mistake in the information received by Dr. Hall. For first, I think, the stanza itself alludes to an event which cannot possibly be alluded to by any character in a play on any part of Rāma’s history, except by a gross anachronism. The stanza runs as follows:—

The sense is not quite complete here, but it may be thus freely rendered:—

“"He who gradually folded up his own big arms into a circle, on hearing this wonderful story of the lord of Subhadrā (i.e., Arjuna) in the Himalaya Mountain, namely—

Look at this spot in front of you; Here, of old, Mahādeva, who had become a Kirāta in sport, was hit hard on the crest by Kirițin (i.e., Arjuna) with his bow.”

Now this clearly refers to the story of the rencontre between Śiva and Arjuna, an event which was yet in the womb of futurity, while

Rādhākr̥ṣṇa Nātaka, p. 142. It is remarkable that the name of Bhavabhūti, the poet of whom the Prasanna Rāghava most often reminds one, has no place in this list. But I do not think any conclusion can be safely based on this fact.

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* Page 110 b.
† Page 36.
‡ The stanza (p. 9, Calcutta edition, and p. 129 of Pandit newspaper for 1867) is set out in full in Dr. Aufrecht’s Catalogue in the section on the Prasanna Rāghava.
the age of Rāma’s incarnation lasted. And secondly—and this is of greater importance—I have not been able to discover the stanza after looking through the whole of the drama for it, and after having once before read it. At present, therefore, we cannot in this investigation press to our aid the mention of Harsha by Jayadeva.

The date of Śri Harsha is casually alluded to in Professor Cowell’s Preface to Mr. Palmer Boyd’s Translation of the Nāgānanda Nāṭaka. But the Professor, after first remarking that his age is uncertain, simply refers to the conjecture of Bābu Rājendralāla Mitra upon it, and then adds—“But I find, from a notice in the first number of the Indian Antiquary, that Dr. Bühler of Bombay has recently fixed his date in the twelfth century.” Having regard to what has been said above on this point, this remark of Professor Cowell’s cannot, of course, be considered satisfactory. Bābu Rājendralāla identifies this Śri Harsha with the Śri Harsha who went over to the court of Ādīśūra, in company with others, one of whom was Bhatta Nārāyana, the author of the Venisāñhāra Nāṭaka. But the Bābu adds that “this assumption, probable as it may appear, is, it must be admitted, founded entirely upon presumptive evidence, and must await future more satisfactory research for confirmation.”† The period of this migration of Harsha and Nārāyana is fixed by Bābu Rājendralāla in the middle of the tenth century—by a calculation, however, which admittedly can give a result but roughly correct. But it seems clear that, if the Bhatta Nārāyana, who was received at his palace by king Ādīśūra, was the author of the Venisāñhāra, the date fixed by Bābu Rājendralāla for his migration must undergo some modification. For about the middle of the tenth century, if not earlier, lived Dhanika, the author of the commentary on the Śraddhāpāla;§ and this commentary in its earlier pages abounds with quotations from the Venisāñhāra.] Which must, therefore, at that time have been old enough to be regarded as fit for quotation. Hence it would seem to result that the date of the migration of Bhatta Nārāyana must be put back a century or so; but this still, only on the hypothesis that this Bhatta Nārāyana is identical with the author of the Venisāñhāra.¶ If so, and again taking Bābu Rājendralāla’s identification of the poet Śri Harsha to be correct, it will follow that the Bābu’s conclusion as thus adjusted will be supported by the two different lines of argument suggested in my letter.

The net result of this investigation may be thus stated:—The Jaina biographer’s account, albeit it has some points in its favour, cannot be much trusted. On the other hand, the fact of the Naishadhiya being quoted in a work which, at the latest, dates from the beginning of the eleventh century; the fact of the work of a poet, probably contemporary with Śri Harsha, being quoted in a work dating from a still earlier period; the fact of an exceedingly well-known and well-informed writer of the fourteenth century making Śri Harsha the contemporary of a philosopher who flourished some six centuries or more before his time:—these facts indicate a period which is about two centuries earlier than the period to which the Harsha Prabandha assigns the subject of its narrative. And although the considerations here adduced against Rājasekhara’s statement do not fix with any precision the date towards which they seem to point, still they are of value, at least to this extent—that they show pretty clearly that the question of the date at which Śri Harsha flourished is not one which can be regarded as finally settled even by the circumstantial narrative of the Harsha Prabandha.

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* See page 12.
† Journal of the A. S. of Bengal, No. III., 1864, p. 326,—alluded to by Prof. Cowell.
‡ Ibid., p. 327.
§ See Hall’s Das’arāpā, Pref. pp. 2, 3,—with which should be coupled Hall’s Vasaradattā, Pref. p. 50 addendum to n. 2, notes l. 12.
¶ See pp. 16, 18, 19, etc., and see Wilson’s remarks in his Hindu Theatre.
†† See Bābu Rājendralāla’s paper above referred to, p. 326.
In the year 820 (A.D. 1419), the pious defunct well-known king Mirzâ Shâh Rokh sent an embassy to Khâtâ under the leadership and direction of Shâdî Khâjah, who was accompanied by the royal prince Mirzâ Bâysanqar, Sultân Ahmad, and Khâjah Ghayâth-ul-din, the painter, who was a clever artist; he ordered the first-mentioned Khâjah that notes in writing should be taken, from the day of their starting from the capital of Herât till the day of their return, concerning everything they might experience; such as the adventures they should meet, the state of the roads, the laws of the countries, positions of towns, the state of buildings, the manners of kings, and other things of this kind, without adding or omitting anything.

Khâjah Ghayâth-ul-din obeyed the above orders, and, having consigned everything he saw to his itinerary, presented it on his return: the following account of the strange and wonderful events the envoys met with, and all they saw, has been extracted from his diary; but the responsibility rests with the travellers.

They started from the capital Herât on the 16th of Dhulqâdah (Dec. 3rd) on their journey to Khâtâ, and arrived on the 9th Dhulhejjah (Dec. 27th) in Balkh, where they remained, on account of the great falling of snow and the severe cold, till the beginning of Muharram of 823, and arrived on the 22nd of that month (Feb. 7th) in Samarqand. Mirzâ Olugh Beg had already before this despatched his own ambassadors, Sultân Shâh and Muhammad Bakhshi, with a company of Khâtâ people. The envoys from Khorâsan remained in the town of Samarqand till the ambassador of Mirzâ Syuqhatmessh arrived from Erâq, the ambassador of the Amir Shâh Malak came from Ardâvân, and the ambassador from the Shâh of Badakhshân, Tâjul-din, joined them. Then they left the town of Samarqand in company of the Khâtâ envoys on the 10th Sefar (25th Feb.), and having passed through Tâshkant and Byrâm, they entered among the Ayl of the Mughuls, and when they arrived, the news came that A’wys Khân had attacked Shir Muhammad Oghllân, and that on that account disturbances had arisen among the A’lós, but that afterwards peace had been restored. Amir Khodâdâd, who enjoys great authority in that country, met the ambassadors and treated them well; and on the 18th of Jomâdy the second (May 31st), they arrived in a place called Sâluyû subject to the jurisdiction of Muhammad Beg, where they remained for some time, so that some who were servants of the Shah of Badakhshân, and had lagged behind, were enabled to rejoin them. They started from that place on the 22nd (June 4th), and crossing the river Lângar, met the next day the governor of A’lós, Muhammad Beg Sultân Gurkân, who was the son-in-law of Shâh Jehân, and whose daughter had been married by Mirzâ Muhammad Jogy; and on the 28th of the same month (10th June) they entered the Jalghâh of Yaldûz and the Ayl of Shir Behrâm, and in that desert they found solid ice of the thickness of two fingers, although the sun was in the sign of Cancer.

On the 8th of Jomâdy the second (20th June), they heard that the sons of Muhammad Beg Wâhy, who were the ambassadors of A’wys Khân, had been plundered; this circumstance put the other ambassadors on their guard, so that they continued their journey, crossing rivers and climbing over mountains, in spite of the rain, which continually poured from the clouds, and the abundant dew; and they arrived at the end of the month (11th July) in the city of Turfân. They found that in that country most of the inhabitants were polytheists, and had large idol-houses, in the halls whereof they kept a tall idol. On the 2nd of the month Rajab (13th July), they departed from that place, and arrived on the 5th (16th July) in Qarâ-Khâjah; on the 10th of the month (21st July), Khâtây writers came, who wrote down the names of the ambassadors and the number of their men. On the 19th (30th July) they made a halt in the district of Atâ-Sosf, where one of the high princes of Tarmad had constructed [for himself] a corner [of refuge], and had cast the anchor of permanency; they, however, beat the drum of departure from it, and arrived on the 21st (1st August) in the town of Qâyl, where Amir Fakhar-ul-din had built a high, very costly, and ornamented mosque, but near it the polytheists had constructed a large and a small temple with wonderful pictures, and on the gate of the idol-house they had drawn two Dyws in the act of fighting with each other; the governor of Qâyl was an extremely handsome and affable young man, whose name was Haykal Taymûr Bábery.

After leaving Qâyl, they travelled 25 stages, and obtained water every alternate day; and on the 12th (August 22nd) they met in that boundless desert *Son of the celebrated conqueror Tamerlane.
a banquet, which even in great cities could not be prepared, such as species of intoxicating liquors, and gave to every one what he wanted of sheep, flour, and barley. The merchants had been enrolled as menials and porters; and insisted that their number should be increased, so that every one who tells falsehoods will lose his honour. The merchants had been enrolled as menials and performed services; accordingly the list was compiled and the governor of the feast handed the cups round to amirs and envoys, whilst the actors, who wore paste-board masks, representing various animals, that concealed their features so well that not even their ears or necks could be seen, went on with their performances; and cup-bearers served out the beverages according to the distich:

Throw away the lasso intended for Behrām's game; take the cup of Jem;

For, I examined this plain; it contains neither Behrām nor his onager.

Some moon-faced and tulip-cheeked boys attended, who bore pitchers of delicious wine, whilst others held, on the palms of their hands, platters full of sugar-candy, grapes, nuts, peeled chestnuts, lemons, with onions and garlic preserved in vinegar, and likewise sliced cucumbers and water-melons; whenever the amir gave a cup to any one, of them brought dishes for him to select whatever confectionery he liked.

They had also constructed the figure of a stork, in which a boy was enclosed who moved his feet according to musical time, and also leapt about in all directions to the astonishment of everyone present. After spending that day from morn till even in joy and amusement, the travellers again resumed their journey on the 17th Siḥbān (Aug. 27th), and arrived after a few days in Qarāwul.
bázàrs, each of which is 50 statute cubits broad, regularly swept, and sprinkled with water. In most of the houses tame pigs are kept, but in the butchers’ shops sheep and hogs hang side by side. There are many bázàrs and thoroughfares, the latter being covered by extremely handsome pavilions with Khátáy-Mugranus. Along the ramparts of the town there is a covered tower at every twenty steps. The four gates in the four walls of the town face each other, and although the road from one to the other through the town is long, it appeared to be short on account of the extreme straightness of the street; over each gate a story is built with a pavilion.

In this town there were numerous idol-houses, each of them occupying an area of nearly ten jārib. They were all built of burnt bricks, and provided with very fine and clean carpets on the floors. At the doors of the idol-houses beautiful boys were standing proffering invitations of amusement and entrance.

From this place to Khán-Bálygh [Peking] which is the capital of the Emperor of Khátá, there were ninety-nine Yám, each of which was in good condition. Every Yám contained a town and a Qasbah [district]. Between every two Yám there were several Qārāw, and Qarāw means a building sixty cubits high, always guarded by two men and so placed that the next Qarāw is visible from it, so that in cases of emergency, e.g., the appearance of an enemy’s army, they may immediately light a bonfire; and thus information from a distance, which requires a three months’ journey, is conveyed to Khán-Bálygh in 24 hours.

In connection with the arrangement just described, the Kydy-Qā may be mentioned, who carry letters and relieve each other. The Kydy-Qā are horse-couriers established at various distances; their orders are that, whenever they receive any written despatches, they must immediately carry them to the next Kydy-Qā, so as to bring them to the notice of the Emperor without delay. The distance from one Kydy-Qā to the other is ten Qaraḩ, sixteen of which make one statute farsang [a league of about 18,000 feet]. The Qarāw is so garrisoned that ten men take the watch by turns [of two]; whilst the Kydy-Qā are compelled to dwell constantly at their station, where they possess houses and cultivate fields.

The distance from Bykjú to Qamjú, which is another district, and larger than Bykjú, amounted to nine Yán, and there Ankjy, who is the highest Wājy of those regions, was the governor. Each Yám contains four hundred and fifty horses and carts, with boys to take care of the horses; these boys are so numerous that they take the waggon ropes upon their shoulders and pull them. To each cart twelve persons are appointed, and no matter how great the rain or the cold may be, they do not slacken their pace in drawing these vehicles; all these boys are of pleasant conversation and of very fair complexion; the horses kept in readiness for envoys are saddled and bridled; they have also whips. In every Yám, sheep, ducks, fowls, rice, honey, flour, and all kinds of vegetables were kept ready. In the towns banquets were prepared for the ambassadors in the Díasán, by which name they call their reception-halls. In every Díasán in which a banquet was prepared, a dais was placed in front of the royal buffet, and curtains suspended; then a man used to stand by the side of the dais and spread out a very clean and nice felt cloth beneath it, on the upper portion whereof the ambassadors took their station, all the other people standing behind them in lines, as is customary with Musalmâns when they hold prayers. Then the individual posted at the left uttered an invitation thrice in the Khátáy language, when all the people sat down at the table and began to eat. On the day Ankjy made the banquet for the ambassadors it was the 12th of Ramazan (Sept. 20th).

At Qamjú there was an idol-house 500 cubits long and as many broad, containing an idol 50 cubits high; the length of its foot alone was 5, and its circumference 21 cubits; on the head and back of this idol others were placed, and the temple was adorned with pictures and figures that moved, so that the beholder imagined they were alive. Around that idol-house there were buildings like the apartments of a caravansera; all of them, however, contained gold-embroidered curtains, gilded chairs, sofas, chandeliers, and pitchers, to be used in banquets.

In this city was also another building which Moslems call “a sky-wheel.” It is an octagonal kiōsk which consists of 15 stories, each of which contains verandas with a Khátáy-Mugranus, and small as well as large chambers; around the verandas there are all kinds of pictures; among these there is one representing a prince sitting on his throne, surrounded on the left and right by attendants, slaves, and girls. Beneath this kiōsk there were some statues which supported on their back this structure, which is 20 cubits in circumference and 12 high, the whole being made of wood, but so gilded as to appear a mass of solid gold. From a subterranean apartment, an iron axis, standing in a socket of iron, rises and passes through the kiōsk, in the top of which its upper extremity is fixed, in such a manner that at the least touch the whole of that large kiōsk turns around this axis.

In this city all the presents brought by the ambassadors for the emperor were taken away from them, except a lion, which Pehlván Ssulláh, the lion-keeper, was allowed himself to take to the court of the emperor.

The nearer the ambassadors approached Khán-Bálygh the more careful did the governors and Daroghabs of the various Yám become in their attentions and hospitalities; they arrived every day in
The ambassadors travelled daily four farsangs, and arrived on the 8th of Dhu-l-Hijjah (Dec. 14) at the gate of Khán-Bálygh. They obtained sight of a very large and magnificent city entirely built of stone, but as the outer walls were still being built, a hundred thousand scaffoldings concealed them. When the ambassadors were taken from the tower, which was being constructed, to the city, they alighted near the entrance to the Emperor's palace, which was extremely large; up to this entrance they proceeded on foot by a pavement formed of cut-stone, about 700 paces in length. On coming close they saw five elephants standing on each side of the road with their trunks towards it; after passing between the trunks the ambassadors entered the palace, through a gate near which a crowd of about a hundred thousand men had assembled. Within the precincts they found themselves in a spacious, pleasant, airy court-yard, where they saw, in front of a kiösk, a basement about three cubits high, supporting a colonnade with three doors, the central one being the highest and serving for the Emperor to pass through, whilst the people went through the lateral doors; above the kiösk there was a stage for the big drums; two sentries stood on it waiting for the Emperor to step upon the throne. On that occasion about 300,000 men had assembled, and 2,000 musicians were performing a vocal concert in the Khatáy language and singing the praises of the Emperor, whilst 2,000 stood with staves, javelins of steel, lances, swords, war-clubs, and others held Khatáy fans in their hands. All round were elegant houses with high columns, and the pavement was of cut-stone.

When the sun had gone up, the band which was waiting for the Emperor on the top of the kiösk commenced to strike the great and the small drums, and to play on the musical instruments. Then the chief door was opened and the people rushed in quickly. According to the custom of the Khatáys, to see the Emperor means 'to run.' After passing through the first court-yard, they arrived in the second, which was also extremely spacious, but of a more pleasing aspect; it contained also a larger kiösk than the first, and a throne of a triangular shape measuring about four cubits on each side was placed in it, and covered with a gold-embroidered yellow atlas Khatáy carpet, with figures of the Symurgh and other birds on it. On this throne a golden chair was placed, near which the Khatáys were arranged in lines, so that Tomán A mírs (commanders of 10,000 men) stood nearest, then the Hezarah (of thousands), and then the Sadaḥ (of hundreds) in great numbers, every one holding in his hand a board one statute goz in length and one-fourth of it in breadth, and not looking on any other object except on these boards. To the rear of these stood soldiers in countless numbers, dressed in coats, holding lances and bare swords in their hands, in lines so silent that it seemed they were not even breathing.
After an hour the Emperor came out from the Harem, and a silver-ladder with five steps being placed against the throne, he mounted it and sat down on the golden chair. His stature was of the middle size; his beard was neither long nor short; nevertheless about two or three hundred hairs of it were so long that they formed three or four ringlets. On the two sides of the Emperor, to the right and left of the throne, two girls, beautiful like the moon and splendid like the sun, with amber-coloured hair, whose countenances and necks were not veiled, and who had great ear-rings, sat with paper and pen in hand, and watched to write down whatever the Emperor would say, to be presented to him on his return to the Harem, subject to his revision, and afterwards expedited into the chancery to be properly arranged.

In fine, after the Emperor had taken his seat on the throne, the ambassadors were brought forward back to back with the prisoners. First of all the Emperor examined the prisoners and criminals, who were seven in number; some had two branches on their neck [to pinch it], others were tied to a long plank through which their heads protruded, every one had a guard who kept hold of the prisoner’s hair with his hand, waiting for the order of the Emperor. Some of them the Emperor sent to prison, and others he ordered to be killed, as there is no governor or Darogah in the Khâtây dominions who has a right to condemn a culprit to death. The crime a man commits is written, together with the sentence, on a piece of board and tied round his neck, and he is, according to the religion of the inhabitants, to touch the ground thrice with their heads. The Emperor first inquired about the health of the reigning Sultan Shâh Rokh, and asked whether Qarâ Yusuf had sent an ambassador with presents. The reply was:—"Yes, and your Wâjys have seen that his letters, as well as his gifts and offerings, have likewise been brought." He further asked:—"Is the price of corn high in your country or low, and the produce abundant?" The answer was:—"Corn is extremely plentiful, and provisions are cheap beyond all expectation." He continued:—"Indeed, if the heart of the king be with God the Most High, the Creator will confer great benefits upon him." He added:—"I have a mind to send an ambassador to Qarâ Yusuf, and to ask from him some fine race-horses, for I have heard that there are good ones in his country." He also asked whether the road was safe; and the ambassadors replied:—"As long as the government of Sultân Shâh Rokh exists, people will be able freely to travel." He continued:—"I am aware that you have come from a long distance; rise and eat some food." Accordingly they were taken back to the first court-yard, where a table was placed before every man. After they had finished their dinner, they returned, according to command, to the Bâmkhânah, where they found every apartment furnished with a fine bed and cushions of atlas, as well as slippers and an extremely fine morning-gown of silk, a soft, a fire-pan, and beautiful mats spread on the ground; they saw many more apartments of this kind, and every man obtained one for his use, as well as a pot, a cup, a spoon, sherbet, and raisins. Every person received a daily allowance of ten sirins of mutton, one duck, two fowls, two mann of flour according to the statute measure, one great bowl full of rice, two ladles full of sweetmeats, one vessel with honey, and onions and garlic, as well as salt and various kinds of vegetables, and lastly, one platterful of confectionery. They had also several beautiful servants.

The next day, which was the 9th Dhulhejjah (Dec. 15th), an equerry made his appearance in the morning with a number of saddled horses, and said to the ambassadors:—"Get up and mount; this day the Emperor gives a banquet." Accordingly they were led away and made to alight on their arrival at the gate of the first palace, and on that occasion there were about 300,000 persons near it. When the sun had gone up, the three doors were opened, and the ambassadors were taken to the foot of the throne, where they were ordered to make five salutations in the direction of the Emperor. After that, they were told to go out, and
to answer any calls of nature, because afterwards it would be impossible to do so during the banquet. Accordingly the ambassadors dispersed for a while, and on coming together again they were led through the first and the second court-yard which contains the throne of the sovereign, and entered the third. This was a fine enclosure paved with cut stone; it contained a tent in which a large throne could be seen, with three silver-ladders placed against it; one in front, one on the right, and the third on the left; with two chamberlains standing, whose mouths were bandaged up to the lappets of the ears with strong paper; and on the throne there was a small table with many legs, all of which were of gold. The columns, wood-work, and bridges of that building were all painted and varnished in such a manner as to excite the amazement of skilled artists. Tables with food, confectionery, and bouquets of flowers had been placed before the Emperor, on whose right and left respectable Wajys were standing with quivers and girded swords, and their shields suspended from their shoulders. In their rear stood soldiers, some with halberts and others with drawn swords.

On the left side a place had been prepared for the ambassadors, whilst in front of the Emperor, near the tent, the buffet for the big kettle drum had been arranged, and near it a man had taken his position on a high bench, having by his side the musicians standing in lines. In front of the throne stood also seven umbrellas of seven different colours. Beyond the tent-ropes on the right and on the left 200,000 armed men had taken up their position. At the distance of an arrow-shot, a place ten cubits long and ten broad, enclosed by walls of yellow atlas, had been set apart for arranging the food of the Emperor, and the beverages were also there. Whenever food or drink is brought for the Emperor, all the musicians begin to play on their instruments; the above mentioned seven umbrellas are quickly brought, the food is placed in a box, covered, and carried to the Harem, before which a large curtain is suspended, having a silken rope on each side, which being drawn by the two chamberlains standing at the sides, the curtain is folded and the door opened. After everything had been prepared for the assembly, the door opened in the manner just described, the Emperor came out, and the music began, but as soon as he was seated it became silent. At the height of ten cubits above the head of the Emperor there was a large bouquet made of yellow atlas by way of a canopy, as well as four dragons fighting with each other.

When the Emperor had taken his seat, the ambassadors were brought forward, and saluted him five times as they had been instructed; after that they returned and sat down near their own tables. Besides what was already on the tables, every hour new dishes were brought containing meat, lamb, ducks, and chickens, and beverages were also served out.

Meanwhile various performances were going on. First, a company of beardless youths, beautiful as the shining sun, their faces painted red and white like females, with pearls in their ears and dressed in gold-embroidered clothes, holding in their hands bouquets of roses and tulips of various colours, manufactured of paper and silk, performed various dances in a very artistic manner. After that two boys, ten years old, were tied on two planks, and a man, stretching himself on his back on the ground, lifted up both his feet, on the soles of which several large bamboo were placed; then another man took his position on these bamboos, holding in his hands several [short ones], which he arranged above each other, and placed on the topmost one a boy of 10 or 12 years of age, who performed various tricks, throwing away gradually all the bamboos till he arrived at the last, on which he continued his play, until he suddenly left the bamboo, so that everybody thought he was falling, but the man who was stretched on the ground, jumping up, caught him in his arms in the air; and in this manner other games were also carried on. The assembly was protracted from the morning till the first prayers. In this court-yard there were also thousands of birds, such as pigeons, ring-doves, ravens, crows, and others, which picked up the fruits and refuse from the dinner without being afraid of the people, nor did any person injure them in the least.

On the termination of the banquet, the Emperor gave presents to the speakers [actors], and then the people dispersed with his permission.

The ambassadors had sojourned five months in this city, and had daily received the same provisions as on their arrival without any diminution or increase. On several occasions banquets had been arranged for them, in each of which the performers displayed other tricks.

On the day of sacrifices [which falls on the 10th Dhulheijjah] the ambassadors spent that blessed festival with due solemnity in the company of Musalmans at the mosque erected by the Emperor for them.

On the 18th Dhulheijjah (Dec. 23rd) some criminals were, by order of the Emperor, taken to the place of execution. The Khati fool infidels register the crime and the punishment of every culprit in their judicial court, which is very useful; they are moreover so scrupulous according to their laws and customs with reference to delinquents and culprits, that if in one of the courts of justice, of which the Emperor has twelve, the accused individual has not been condemned, and has been found guilty in eleven, he may still escape punishment; but a man is often imprisoned from six to eleven months, and not punished until his accuser arrives and the crime can be brought home to the perpetrator.

On the 27th Muharram (1st Feb. 1421), Yusuf Quilzy sent some one to the ambassadors with messages that, as on the morrow the new year would begin, the Emperor was to enter the new
camp, and that no one was to put on white clothes, which are among them the sign of mourning. During the night of the 28th the Emperor despatched a man to convey the ambassadors to the new camp, which was an empty building. That night the inhabitants had lit in their shops and houses so many candles, lamps, and torches, that one would have said the sun was shining. In that camp nearly one hundred thousand men from the countries of Cuin, Khatá, Mā-Chin, Qalmáq, Tībbet, and others had congregated; the Emperor gave a banquet to his amirs, and the ambassadors were seated without the throne-hall. There were about 200,000 men present who bore arms, and boys performed all sorts of extraordinary games and dances. The distance from the hall of audience to the end of the buildings was 1,295 paces. All these edifices had been constructed of stones and burnt bricks, the latter being made of China-earth; there was carpeting which extended to a distance of nearly 300 cubits. In stone-cutting, carpentry, and painting the artizans of that country have no equals. In fine, the banquet was terminated about mid-day, and the people went to their houses.

On the 9th of the month Ssafar (Feb. 13th), horses were brought in the morning and the ambassadors were mounted on them. Every year there are some days on which the Emperor eats no animal food, and does not come out from his retirement, neither is any man or woman admitted to his presence. He spends his time in an apartment which contains no idol, and says that he is worshipping the God of heaven. On the day when the ambassadors were taken out, the Emperor had come forth from his retirement, and his procession to the Harem was as follows:—The elephants were fully caparisoned and marched in pairs before the golden Sedan-chair in which he sat, the standards of seven colours, and troops to the amount of 50,000, accompanied the cortège as a van and rear-guard. Another Sedan-chair was carried on the backs of men, and such a music was made as cannot be described in words, so that, in spite of the extraordinary crowd, no other sound except those of musical instruments could be heard; and after the Emperor with that pomp and solemnity had made his entrance into the Harem, the people returned to their own homes.

At that season the feast of lanterns takes place, when for seven nights and days in the interior of the Emperor's palace a wooden ball is suspended from which numberless chandeliers branch out, so that it appears to be a mountain of emeralds; thousands of lamps are suspended from cords, and mice are prepared of naphtha, so that when a lamp is kindled the mouse runs along those ropes and lights every lamp it touches, so that in a single moment all the lamps from the top to the bottom of the ball are kindled. At that time the people light many lamps in their shops and houses, and do not condemn any one during those seven days [the courts of justice closed]. The Emperor makes presents and liberates prisoners. That year, however, the Khatá astrologers had ascertained that the house of the Emperor would be in danger of conflagration, and on that account no orders for illumination had been issued, nevertheless the amirs met according to ancient custom, and the Emperor gave them a banquet and made them presents.

On the 13th Ssafar (Feb. 17th) an imperial messenger arrived and took the ambassadors to the gate of the first palace, where more than 100,000 people were assembled. At the door of the first kiösk a gilded throne had been placed, and, the door being opened, the Emperor took his seat on the throne, and the assembled multitude prostrated their heads to the ground. After that another throne was placed opposite to that of the Emperor, and his proclamation was placed thereon; this document was taken up by two men, one of whom read it in a loud voice to the people; but as it was in the Khatá language, the ambassadors could not understand it: the contents were however as follows:—

“This month three years have elapsed since the Emperor's feast of lanterns, and another feast of lanterns has arrived. All culprits receive amnesty, except homicides. No ambassador is to go anywhere.” After this document had been read, something nicely enclosed in a golden capsule was affixed to it by means of a cord of yellow silk; which was also wrapped round it and served to lower it down, whereon an umbrella was held over it, and, whilst the people marched out with it from the kiösk, the musicians played until they arrived at the Yám, whence the proclamations are sent to various provinces.

When the first quarter of the moon commenced to appear in Ráby the first, the Emperor kept falcons in readiness and again sent for the ambassadors. On that occasion he said:—“I shall give falcons to him who has brought fine horses for me.” Then he gave three falcons to Sultán Shah, the ambassador of Mirza Olugh Beg; three to Sultán Ahmad, the ambassador of Mirza Bāysanqar; and three to Shády Khájah, the ambassador of the prosperous sovereign [Sháh Rokh]; all of which he then surrendered again to his own falconers to take care of till the time of departure. The next day he again sent for the ambassadors and said:—“An army is marching to the frontier and you may also accompany it, and thus reach your country.” Turning to Arghádaq, the ambassador of Syrghatmesh, he said:—“I have no more falcons, and even if I had some, I would give none to thee, because thou hast allowed thyself to be robbed of the gifts the king had sent me; and it is likely thou wouldst be robbed this time also.” Arghádaq replied:—“If your Majesty will graciously bestow a falcon upon me, no one shall be able to take it away from your servant.” The Emperor said:—“Then remain here till two other falcons arrive, and I shall give them to thee.”

On the 8th of the month Ráby the first (13th March 1421), Sultán Shah and Bakhshy Malak were called, and each of them received eight ingots of silver,
except that Bakhshy Malak obtained one ingot less; thirty royal robes, two horses, one of which was saddled, one hundred javelins, and five Khatáy girls, except that Bakhshy Malak obtained one ingot less; also the Empresses made presents to the ambassadors. On that day the ambassador of A'wys Khan with 250 men obtained an audience from the Emperor and paid him the customary homage; the courtiers provided them with royal garments, and rations were assigned to them.

On the 13th (March 18th) the Emperor sent for the ambassadors and said to them:—"I shall depart on a hunting expedition, and shall perhaps stay away for some time. Take charge of your falcons, lest you lose them." According to this command the birds were surrendered to them, and the Emperor went to the chase. During his absence a royal prince arrived from the country of Tamnâ; the ambassadors paid him a visit on the 18th (March 23rd), and found him sitting on the eastern side of the Emperor's house, which was, according to custom, adorned with tables laid out; they ate some food and came out again.

In the beginning of Râby' the second (March 25th), the ambassadors received information that the Emperor had returned from the hunt, and that they must go out to meet him. Accordingly they mounted their horses, but when they reached the Yâm-khânah, they found Mullâná Yusuf Qâdzy sitting on his horse in a state of great melancholy and dejection, and, asking for the reason of his sadness, he whispered to them:—"The horse sent by His Majesty Sháh Rokh has thrown the Emperor whilst hunting, which event made him so angry that he ordered the ambassadors to be taken back in fetters to the city of Khatâ [Peking]." At these words the ambassadors became much distressed and confused. In the camp of the Emperor, where they had alighted in the night, they perceived a wall built around it, which was 400 cubits long and as many broad, the wall itself was four paces broad and two cubits high; it had been built up that night. They built the wall of green trees and left two gates in it; in the rear of the wall, which was plastered with mud, a deep fosse could be seen. At the gates armed soldiers were standing, and within the [enclosure of the] wall were two square tents, each 25 cubits long and supported by four poles; around them stood smaller tents and sheds of yellow and gold-embroidered atlas. As the ambassadors went 500 paces distant, Mullâná Yusuf said to them:—"Get down from your horses and remain on this spot till the Emperor comes." Then he went alone forward, and when he arrived near the escort of the Emperor, he alighted and found him sitting with Lyllâjy and Jan Wâjy, and blaming the ambassadors; both of these men, however, as well as Mullâná Yusuf Qâdzy, touched the ground with their heads, and interceded, representing to him that the ambassadors were not guilty, since their king, to whose government no damage would be done in case these men should be killed, was obliged to send a good horse, but that on the contrary His Imperial Majesty,
had received these gifts, they returned to their lodgings, and the ambassadors of Mirzá Olugh Beg had also received presents, as was already mentioned.

At this time one of the ladies of the Emperor who was beloved by him happened to die, but the fact was not published before all the preparations for mourning had been completed, so that her death was not known before the 8th Jamády the first (May 11th); it happened also by the decree of God that, during the night which preceded the morning of her interment, the new palace of the Emperor was struck by lightning, so that the prediction of the astrologers [mentioned above] was fulfilled.

An edifice eighty cubits long and thirty broad, supported by coloured pillars so thick that a man could not embrace one of them with his arms, was completely burnt; the fire spread also to a kiösk which was sixty cubits distant, and consumed likewise the Harem-Seráio of the Emperor. In the neighbourhood 250 houses were burnt to ashes, with a number of men and women. In spite of all the efforts of the people, the conflagration could not be subdued till the [time of] second prayers; the Emperor, however, and the amirs did not concern themselves about it, because, according to their religion, that was considered one of their fortunate days in which they did no business. The Emperor went to the idol-house, where he engaged in supplications and wailings, saying:—"The God of heaven has become angry towards me and has burnt the locality where my throne is, although I have done nothing, and committed no act of tyranny." This grief made him sick, and on that account it has not become known how the lady of the Emperor was buried.

It is related that in Khátá there is a mountain appointed for the burial of grand ladies, and when one of them dies, she is taken to that mountain and put into a dukhmah [sepulchre]; her private horses are also let loose on that mountain, to graze at their own pleasure, and to be molested by nobody. In that dukhmah [cemetery], which is extremely spacious, many female attendants and chamberlains, who draw salaries, spend their lives and die there; but in spite of all these arrangements for the interment of the [imperial] ladies, it has, on account of the catastrophe of this fire, never become known in what manner the above mentioned lady was buried.

Meanwhile the malady of the Emperor increased day by day, and his son took his place in the administration of the government; the ambassadors also obtained leave to depart, and started from Khán-Bálygh in the middle of Jamády the first (18th May 1421); several Wájys accompanied them, and the Khátáys did them the same service on the return-journey, with reference to the provisions and other matters, as on their coming.

In the beginning of Rajab (July 2nd), they arrived in the town of Bangán, where high and low came out to meet them; on account of the imperial mandate, however, they abstained from examining the baggage of the ambassadors, although according to law they ought to have done so to see whether some things were not exported contrary to the rules. The next day they gave a banquet to the ambassadors with many demonstrations of civility. From this place they again started and arrived on the 5th Shábán (5th Aug.) in Qarámání, which they again left, and arrived every day in another desert, and every week in another town, where they obtained a public repast and again departed.

On the 24th Shábán (24th Aug.) they arrived in the town of Qámjú, where everything taken from the ambassadors on their first arrival, by the Khátáys, was again restored to them without addition or diminution. In this town they remained during seventy-five days, and leaving it on the first day of Dhulhejjah (Nov. 27th), they arrived on the 17th (Dec. 3rd) in the town of Bokjú, in which place the ambassador of Mirzá Ebráhim Sultán, who had arrived from Shýráz, and the envoy of Mirzá Rustum, who was coming from Essfahán, met the ambassadors of His Majesty Shah Rokh, and asked them for information concerning the manners and customs of the Khátáys, which was given to them.

On the month Muharram of the year 825 (the 1st Muharram fell on the 26th Dec. 1421), they left Bokjú and went to Qáýl, where the authorities informed them it was the custom of the Khátáys people to register the names of travellers on their return from, just as on their arrival in, the country. After they had been searched and examined, they left Qáýl, and selected the road through Chál on account of the insecurity of the highways, and arrived after much trouble on the 9th of Jamády the first (May 1st) in the town of Khotán, after the day of Dhulhejjah (Nov. 27th), they arrived on the 17th (Dec. 3rd) in the town of Bokjú, in which place they again left, and arrived every day in another desert, and every week in another town, where they obtained a public repast and again departed.

On the 21st of Rajab (Aug. 20th), they arrived in the town of Maskhár, and on the 21st (July 11th) they passed over the heights of Andagán, where one of the ambassadors selected the road through Khórasán and others through Samarqand; in the beginning of Ramazan (Aug. 19th) they arrived in Balkh, and on the 10th of the same month (Aug. 28th) they reached the capital city Herá, where they were admitted to the honour of kissing the carpet of His prosperous Majesty the Khághán Shah Rokh (may God increase his fame); and were made happy thereby.
PROGRESS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH IN 1870–71.

[From the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, June 1872.]

In their Report to the Society read on the 30th of May 1870, the Council expressed some disappointment at the result of the expeditions sent at the expense of the Government of India to procure representations of objects of antiquarian interest in Orissa and at Bombay. They are now, however, happy to report that a second expedition, under the sole control of Mr. H. H. Locke, the Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, was sent to Orissa in the spring of the present year, and has been attended with complete success. Mr. Locke has made and safely brought back to Calcutta casts of all the principal sculptures in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, and photographs from these casts, made in January last, have already reached this country, and exhibit a series of sculptures as full of interest as any that have yet been brought to this country or are known to exist in India.

In general character, some of these sculptures very much resemble those from the gateways of the Sanchi Tope, and may be as old, if not older. The principal subject, lithographed by Prinsep in 1838 from a drawing by Kittoe, is now found to be repeated twice over. The bas-relief of it in the Rāj Rāni Cave is ruder than the Sanchi sculptures, and the first impression consequently is that it may be more ancient. That in Ganeśa Cave—the one drawn by Kittoe—bears much more resemblance to Greek art. A curious question thus arises, whether we are to consider the latter as the direct production of Yavana or Baktrian artists, which afterwards degenerated into the ruder art of the Rāj Rāni sculptures, or whether the ruder were afterwards improved into the more perfect forms under foreign influence. At present the materials do not seem to exist for answering these questions, though they are of extreme interest to the history of ancient Indian art, and as bearing on the influence, more or less direct, which foreigners exerted on its first formation.

It is also understood that Mr. Locke’s party has brought away fresh impressions of the celebrated “Aira” inscription in the so-called Hasti cave, first noticed by Stirling, and afterwards so successfully deciphered by Prinsep.† As it seems to be the oldest of the inscriptions in the Lāt character, if any additional information can be obtained regarding its contents, it will be a most interesting addition to our scanty stores of authentic documents for the elucidation of early Indian History.

In the spring of the year 1871, a set of the casts obtained by the party sent down to Orissa in 1868-9 reached this country, and, owing to the delay of a month in opening the Indian Annexo, they were in time to be exhibited in the International Exhibition of that year. As, however, no description and no lists accompanied them, there existed no means of ascertaining from what temples they were taken, nor what parts of any temples they represented. All that could therefore be done was to build them up into what was called a trophy, mixed up with Mr. Terry’s casts from Bombay, and some from Dr. Hunter at Madras. When any descriptive lists or any further information reaches us with regard to these casts, we may be able to form an estimate of their value; at present the materials do not exist in this country for any such appreciation. In like manner a set of drawings of details of architectural ornaments made by the pupils of the School of Art were sent home and exhibited in 1871; but as only the name of the pupil who made it was inscribed on each drawing, we are still in ignorance of what these drawings are intended to represent.

One set of the photographs made by the party who were sent down in 1868-9 reached this country about six weeks ago, and are in private hands. So far as can be ascertained, they are the only copies which have yet reached this country; but, as only the names of the temples are attached to them, though they are very admirable as photographs, the information they convey is limited to those who were previously acquainted with the objects they represent.

Mr. Terry’s casts from Bombay, as mentioned above, arrived simultaneously with those from Bengal, just in time for exhibition in June 1871. As they were accompanied by plans and sections of the building from which they were taken, as well as the photographs, there was no difficulty in understanding their position or appreciating their value. The result of this expedition does not, however, we are sorry to observe, seem to have encouraged the Government of Bombay to make any further attempts in that direction, and no further expenditure seems to have been made by them for archaeological purposes.

Meanwhile, however, we are happy to be able to report that Mr. James Burgess continues successfully his archaeological labours. In addition to the splendid work on Pālitānā, noticed in our report of 1870, he has since published a similar work on the Temples of Somnāth, Girnār, and Junāgarh, illustrated by 41 photographs by Sykes, and accompanied by descriptive letter-press; and another work, of almost equal interest, on the Cave Temples of Elephanta, with elaborate descriptive texts and photographs of all the principal sculptures. He has also visited and procured photographs of the Caves of Nāsik, Kārā, Bīlājā, and Bed-ō; the last

† J. A. S. B., vol. VI, 1090 et seqq.
being the oldest yet known to exist on the western side of India, dating probably from early in the second century B.C. These and other researches were undertaken with reference to a large and comprehensive work he has undertaken on the Cave Temples of Western India, which will be published, when complete, by the India Office—the Home Government of India having, with their accustomed liberality, undertaken to defray the cost of the work.

In Madras, Dr. Hunter continues his career of usefulness. During the past year he, with his pupils, has made a complete and much more perfect set of photographs of all the Rock-cut Temples and Rock Sculptures of Mahavellipore, or the Seven Pagodas, and, having turned up some fragments broken off from the great rock-cut bas-relief, has proved incontestably that it was dedicated to Serpent-worship, and that only; though probably of a comparatively later date to other examples known. He has, besides, procured numerous photographs and casts of other interesting temples and sculptures throughout Southern India.

From private sources it is understood that General, Cunningham is pursuing assiduously, and with considerable success, the researches he was appointed to undertake; as, however, no report has yet been issued, the Council are unable to communicate to the Society any information regarding the results hitherto attained by him. The operations of the Trigonometrical, Geological and other Surveys of India, are carried on more vigorously than ever, and their results are made public from time to time through reports and maps. To those unable to follow the details of official accounts, Mr. C. R. Markham's Memoir on the Indian Surveys affords a highly interesting and instructive analysis of each and a general survey of the various survey establishments.

While so much is done by the Government towards a scientific exploration of India, it is a matter of regret that the archaeological operations in Ceylon, the promising aspect of which we were able to point out in our last report, have since come to a stop.

Two works recently published by Indian officers of more than ordinary experience have added greatly to our knowledge of the history, manners, and institutions of the people in some parts of India, viz., Dr. W. W. Hunter's "Orissa," being the continuation of the same author's "Annals of Rural Bengal," and Mr. E. Bowring's "Eastern Experiences." Of the latter work, which treats chiefly of Mysore and Coorg, a second edition has already appeared. In Mr. J. Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments" some light is also incidentally thrown on the ancient architectural remains of eastern countries.

Of the Durgā Pūjā, or chief national festival of the Hindus of Bengal, Mr. Pratāpachandra Ghosh has given a full and interesting account; and Mr. J. Garrett has published a Classical Dictionary, which is intended to embody the information we possess regarding the mythology, literature, and manners of ancient India. This manual, though necessarily imperfect as a first attempt, will no doubt prove a useful book of reference to the general reader.

The Council have observed with satisfaction the appearance of Mr. Burgess's Indian Antiquary, a monthly magazine, which may prove a useful medium of communication on matters of Indian research, and is calculated to awaken in English civilians, no less than in intelligent natives, a sense of moral obligation which will urge them to take each his share in the elucidation of the manifold problems of Indian history. It is a matter for congratulation to our Society that the number of native gentlemen desirous of joining us has been steadily increasing for some years past, and the Council rejoice to see them appear among the contributors to Mr. Burgess's periodical, side by side with the names of some of our best scholars in India.

The Pawlit, a monthly periodical issued by the Benares scholars, is continuing its course of usefulness in furnishing hitherto unpublished Sanskrit texts and English translations of Sanskrit works, as well as notices of Benares MSS.

The search for Sanskrit MSS. and examination of libraries in India has been carried on with signal success during the past twelvemonth. Of Rājendra Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS., three fasciculi have hitherto been received, describing for the most part sectarian and Tantrical works. Dr. G. Bühler has just issued, for the Bombay Government, the first part of a Catalogue, or rather classified list, containing 1433 entries of some very important works, chiefly Vaidic. This list, when complete, is to include upwards of 12,000 MSS., and will be very useful to Sanskrit scholars, giving, as it will do, a pretty complete survey of the MSS. contained in the Brahmanical libraries of the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency. This, however, is merely intended to serve as a kind of index to a fuller notice of the various MSS., which is now being prepared on the model of the Calcutta Catalogue. Meanwhile the survey is carried on briskly as ever; and Dr. Bühler already mentions that, since the compilation of the catalogue now printing, he has received further lists containing about 5,000 entries. The Brahmanical MSS. in the larger libraries of his division are estimated by him at upwards of 30,000. This, however, does not include the Jaina books, which are much more numerous, and may probably amount to four or five times that number. As this branch of Hindu literature is as yet very imperfectly known, Dr. Bühler proposes to give, in the first place, a list of the oldest works, the Sūtras, with a brief analysis of each and a general survey of the
CROMLECHS IN MAISUR.

(From a Memorandum by Capt. R. Cole.)

When on duty as Officiating Inam Commissioner of Maisur at Perisandra, which is situated in the Kolâr district, about 49 miles on the road from Bangalor to Haidarabad, I happened to be riding across country, and found a monolith of which a rough outline is given (figure 1) in the accompanying sketches of the various specimens of ancient pottery found by me on the occasion. This monolith stood 11 feet 4 inches above the surface, and was 3 feet broad, with a thickness varying from 8 inches to 1 foot 3 inches. In the centre was marked (a and b) the forms of "Surya" (sun) and "Chandra" (moon), and above, as shown in the sketch, were faint outlines of four lines with a few bars at right angles, which looked as if they had formed some inscription. Knowing that such monoliths were coeval and co-existent with those strange stone-cists, the origin and use of which have been matters of mere conjecture, I looked around for those magic circles of stone which generally surround the cromlechs. I soon found them in the vicinity, and, on making further enquiries, I found 54 cromlechs near the adjoining village of Mâshalli.

I found them all exactly similar to those I had discovered in Kurg. They consisted of stone-cists, formed by single slabs of granite on the sides, and flagged at the bottom by similar slabs, with a large superincumbent block of granite, which was rough and unhewn. On digging away the earth in front of the east face, I found the same circular, or semi-circular orifice, which formed the opening to the cist. These stone chambers were completely filled with earth, well rammed in by the action of time and floods, as of the deluge; and the curious specimens of antique pottery were found, as usual, piled up in the corners to the west, or opposite the entrance. The same small round vessels, vases on tripods, curiously but elegantly shaped vases of an egg-like form, impossible to stand by themselves, and larger round chatties, with smaller basins and plates, were also found in these cromlechs, as delineated in the sketch. Some of these vessels, which were of the usual red or black clay, well burnt and highly polished, were ornamented with circular lines round the neck and top. One (figure 10) had round it an elegant beading, consisting of successive arrow-headed lines between two rings. In one of these cromlechs I found the only specimen of a handle (figure 7) I have yet come across. There was also a curiously shaped article (figure 8) in the shape of an elephant's tusk, which was made of a more whitish clay and not polished. It was partly hollow, and had an orifice at the centre (a). Figure 12 represents the exact size and form of three teeth, which were found close to the vessels; and figures 13 and 14 are evidently remnants of stone implements. Figure 15 represents a strange article, which I have never found before. It is half of a round hollow ball of burnt and polished clay, with a short handle, and a small round opening into the ball at the junction of the handle and ball. The finest vessel, however, I have yet discovered is delineated in figure 2. It is perfect with the exception of a small portion of the rim of the mouth, and has not a crack or flaw in it. It stands 2 feet 9 inches high, and is 5 feet 11 inches in circumference at the centre. It is elegantly shaped, and has a beading of oval rings between two lines, which do not join, but terminate into two knobs 4 inches apart, from which five oval rings are carried in a curve as noted in the sketch. The mouth is 3 feet 6 inches in circumference, and the neck of the vase is 2 feet 10½ inches round. I am not aware that a finer specimen of such antique pottery has been found hitherto. Figure 3 is a fine vessel of the same size, but not of such an elegant form, and was made of unbaked clay. I have never before come across any that were not well baked. I regret to say that it has already fallen to pieces.

The following were the dimensions of the interior of the cromlechs excavated by me:

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The dimensions of some of the superincumbent slabs were noted as follows:

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whole literature according to Jaina writers, and afterwards the contents of the principal libraries.

The Sanskrit collection at Tanjor has now been thoroughly examined by Mr. A. Burnell, who is about to communicate the result of his labours in a Catalogue raisonné, to be printed in England.

The process of cataloguing Oriental MSS. has been carried on not less vigorously in this country. The catalogue of Arabic MSS. at the India Office Library—including the hitherto entirely unknown Bijapur collection—which is in course of compilation by Dr. O. Loth, is all but complete. The catalogue of the magnificent collection of Sanskrit MSS., from both Northern and Southern India, is also progressing rapidly, though, on account of the large number of works to be examined and described, several years must elapse before it will become accessible to students.
CROMLECHS IN MAISUR.

Gort Lohe Press Bombay 1873.
CROMLECHS IN MAISUR

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Gupt Litho Press, Bombay 1873.
CROMLECHS IN MAISUR.

[Diagram of cromlechs with various designs and numbers: 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.]

Note: Litho Press, Bombay 1873.
CROMLECHS IN MAISUR.
The diameter of the orifice, which forms the entrance, is generally about 1 foot 8 inches, and the superincumbent slab projects from 1 to 2 feet over the entrance.

On breaking up my camp at Perisandra, and moving across the low range of rocky hills which separate that portion of the Chikka Ballapura taluk from the adjoining taluk of Gudibanda, I came across two cromlechs standing in bold relief on the top of a rocky eminence, looking as if they had formed the altars on which human sacrifices had been offered up to that "Unknown Being" who has been recognized from the earliest time by the instinctive nature of man as the great Creator and Founder of all things. These were perfectly empty, and of the same size and dimensions as those which I had elsewhere found buried below the surface of the earth. I found a few similar structures located in the same manner on a rocky summit, in the depths of the Kurg forests, and only in one place. I then throw out the suggestion that they may have formed sacrificial altars. Further on, by the side of the new road to Gudibanda, I found a few more cromlechs which I had also excavated, and was rewarded by finding a perfectly new form of vessel (figure 16), which was circular at the top and terminated with a sharp point at the bottom. Vessels of the usual shape were also found in them, as also a round vase, which stood 1 foot 8 inches high, and was 4 feet 6 inches in circumference at the centre. The rim forming the mouth was ornamented with three deeply-cut parallel lines.

While at Gudibanda, I discovered the contents of another cromlech, which had evidently been dismantled by the Waddars, or stone-masons, who had worked in that locality for years past. A few feet off the main road, and on a short cut to the village of Wobasandra, the surface was of hard gravel, and I observed that it was curiously marked with fine black veins. On examining these finely-drawn lines, it struck me that the shape was like those of the top rims of the vases usually found in cromlechs. I had the earth loosened all round, and found that my conjectures were right. The top and side slabs of the cist had apparently been removed, and the roadway worn down to a level with the mouths of the vessels below. I may add that fragments of bones were also found in these cromlechs.

On approaching the town of Kolár, near the third mile-stone from the place, I observed the circles of stones which indicate the presence of cromlechs, and on near approach, I found them to be, as usual, in the centre of the circles, with the top flag just visible above the surface. I caused them to be excavated, but found no vessel intact. On the fragments of the upper portion of the vessels, however, I observed more ornamentation than I had ever met with before. I have attempted to delineate them, and it will be observed that they consist of rectangular or rhomboidal shaped figures caused by lines sunk in the surface of the rims. These rims, I may observe, stand out in relief, and project about \( \frac{1}{2} \) or \( \frac{3}{4} \) of an inch above the surface, whilst the lozenge-shaped figures above or below are sunk in the surface of the vessel. Figure 18 pourtrays an exact fragment, and the lozenge-shaped figures are found above the raised rim, whilst in the others, figures 19 and 20, they are below. Figure 21 had only four lines parallel to each other, with the centre lines closer to each other.

I also found in this locality eight small round pieces of the same material as the vessels, much in the shape of medals. The exact size and thickness of each are given in figure 22. Their use can scarcely be imagined, unless it be assumed that they were used for purposes of counting, and that they had formed the coins of a period when the precious metals were not in use. The only other fragment worth noticing was a short piece of a tube, figure 23, like the neck of a goglet.

En route from Kolár and about two miles from the rising town of Bowringpeté, I came across some more of these circles of stone, which usually denote the presence of these strange stone-cists below the surface. I found here, however, for the first time in Maisur, that the circles were not single, but consisted of two concentric circles. There were no stone-cists to be found within the circles, and in one alone I found the east slab with the circular orifice, which indicates that the stone Waddars had been at work and carried off the slabs.

About two miles further to the east, and near the village of Margal, there were some more cromlechs, in which there were only small fragments of earthen vessels; but a number of bones and pieces of iron were found. One piece of iron (figure 24) measured 11 inches by \( \frac{1}{2} \) inches at the bottom, and evidently formed the end portion of some implement. It was about \( \frac{1}{2} \) of an inch thick in the centre, but had evidently formed a sharp edge at the end. Other fragments of iron were portions of a rod, and looked as if they formed a spear or javelin.

The diameter of the smallest circle of stones observed by me was 13 feet, and the largest 24 feet. In these stone chambers was also found a sort of pestle made of soft "balapam," or soap-stone. Its shape is pourtrayed, half size, in figure 27. The shape would lead us to suppose that it had been used as a pestle; but it is so exceedingly soft and friable, that portions of itself would be ground up too if used as a pestle. The surface is also smooth to a degree, and shows that it had not been so used. Hold at the thin edge, it might be used as a formidable weapon of offence for hurling at a foe. There were several fragments of iron weapons (figures 25, 26, 28, and 29) also found, which are given half size. Figure 28 would look like the handle of a dagger. The natives have an idea that the fragments (figures 25 and 29) formed the iron chappal or sandal, which, some of them assert, the Pandus used to wear, though on what authority I cannot find.
out. Figure 30 is much harder, and looks more like steel than anything I have yet found.

Professor J. Oldham, M.D., when President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, delivered, in September 1869, a most interesting lecture on the results of my excavation on the Muribetta hill in North Kurg, and compared the cromlechs of Kurg with the Pandu kolis in Malabar. From the description given in his suggestive notes on the subject, it would appear that the Pandu kolis of Malabar are chambers purposely excavated in the rock below the surface, generally in the laterite, which abounds in that district, and are merely covered with a mushroom-shaped rock. The cromlechs of Kurg and Maisur, however, are not excavations, but actual structures, consisting of a large flagstone of granite at the bottom, with four similar slabs (all hewn and made to fit) forming a stone-cist, the superincumbent stone being a large unhewn block of granite. This block is generally found in the centre of the circle of stones, with the top just visible above the surface, or about a foot below it. The stones forming the circles are buried from 1 to 3 feet below the surface, and project above from 1 to 2 feet. In a few of the circles I have come across, no stone-cists or chambers have been found, though I have dug down to a depth of 8 feet; but remnants of vessels have been found, apparently buried without the usual stone receptacle for them. The circles on the Muribetta hill were of this description, and the miniature vessels were found buried, as far as I remember, at the foot of a large stone opposite the entrance, and the two upright slabs arched above, alluded to by Dr. Oldham, were apparently the entrance to the enclosure formed by the circles of stones, and not to any chamber. On that occasion I discovered the only metallic object yet found, consisting of a peculiar shaped disc of copper, covered with a thin plate of gold. I may here remark that the same traditions existed amongst the people here as in Kurg. Some declared that these structures had formed the residence of the pigmy race known as Pundaruses; whilst others asserted that they had been the tombs of the Pândavas, whose exile and wars with the Kauravas are so graphically described in their great poem ; and I may mention that the village of Kaivara, or Rhaimāngarh, as it is styled by the Muhammadans, was thrown on the top of the giant, and that his blood oozes out to this day. It is a remarkable fact that a reddish, bituminous matter oozes out from a fissure near the top of the hill, and flows down the side of the rock for a few days in each year.—I believe in February. Local tradition ascribes the name of Hīambara, the man-eating Asura, to the giant buried below the hill; but this episode in the life of Bhīma occurred before the five brothers went to the city of Yēkachakra, which Mr. Wheeler has shown, in his great work on the Mahābhārata, to have been the modern city of Arrah in Bengal. I trust that these remarks may not be considered out of place, but they are offered in the same spirit as led the poet Warton to remark on our own great Druidical remains of Stonehenge—

Studious to trace thy wondrous origin,
We muse on many an ancient tale renowned.

Boweringpete, 18th July 1871.  ROB. COLE.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 180—1872.

The first paper in this part is on the 'Buddhist Remains of Bihār' by A. M. Broadley, and may be regarded as an amplification and continuation of his paper in vol. I. of this journal, with lengthy extracts from Julian's Hiwen Thsang, Beal's Fah-hian, Bigandet's Gaudama, &c.

The second paper is on 'the Tirthas of Vrīndāvana and Gokula' by F. S. Growse, M. A.—and may also be regarded as a companion paper to those by the same author which appeared in the Indian Antiquary last year. Of Vrīndāvana he writes,—

"At the present time there are within the limits of the municipality about a thousand temples, including of course many which, strictly speaking, are merely private chapels, and fifty ghātās constructed
by as many Rājās. The peacocks and monkeys, with which the place abounds, enjoy the benefit of special endowments, bequeathed by deceased princes of Kota and Bharatpur. There are some fifty chhatras, or dole houses, for the distribution of alms, and extraordinary donations are not unfrequently made by royal and distinguished visitors. Thus the Rājā of Datia, a few years ago, made an offering to every single shrine and every single Brāhmaṇ that was found in the city.

"But the foundation of all this material prosperity and religious exclusiveness was laid by the Gosāins, who established themselves there in the reign of Akbar. The leaders of the community were by name Rūpa and Sanātana from Gaur in Bengal. They were accompanied by six others; of whom three, Jīva, Madhu, and Gopāl Bhat, came from the same neighbourhood; Śwāmī Hari Dās from Rājpūr in the Mathurā district, Haribāna from Dova-ban in Sahāranpūr, and Byās Hari Rām from Orchā in Bundelkhand. It is said that, in 1570, the emperor was induced to pay them a visit, and was taken blindfold into the sacred enclosure of the Nidhban, where such marvellous visions were revealed to him, that he was fain to acknowledge the place as indeed holy ground. Hence the cordial support which he gave to the attendant rājās, when they declared their intention of erecting a series of buildings more worthy of the local divinity.

"The four temples, commenced in honour of this event, still remain, though in a ruinous and sadly neglected condition. They bear the titles of Gobind Dīva, Gopināth, Jugal-kishor, and Madan Mohan. The first named is not only the finest of this particular series, but is the most impressive religious edifice that Hindu art has ever produced, at least in Upper India. The body of the building is in the form of a Greek cross, the nave being a hundred feet in length, and the breadth across the transepts the same. The central compartment is surmounted by a dome of singularly graceful proportions; and the four arms of the cross are roofed by a wagon vault of pointed form, not—as is usual in Hindu architecture—composed of overlapping brackets, but constructed of true radiating arches as in our Gothic cathedrals. The walls have an average thickness of ten feet, and are pierced in two stages, the upper stage being a regular triforium, to which access is obtained by an internal staircase. At the east entrance of the nave, a small narthex projects fifteen feet; and at the west end, between two niches and incased in a rich canopy of sculpture, a square-headed doorway leads into the choir, a chamber some twenty feet deep. Beyond this was the sacarium, flanked on either side by a lateral chapel; each of these three cells being of the same dimensions as the choir, and, like it, vaulted by a lofted dome. The general effect of the interior is not unlike that produced by St. Paul's cathedral in London. The latter building has greatly the advantage in size, but in the other, the central dome is more elegant, while the richer decoration of the wall surface, and the natural glow of the red sandstone, supply that relief and warmth of colouring which are so lamentably deficient in its Western rival.

"There must originally have been seven towers—one over the central dome, one at the end of each transept, and the other four covering, respectively, the choir, sacarium, and two chapels. The sacarium has been utterly razed to the ground, and the other six towers levelled with the roof of the nave. Their loss has terribly marred the effect of the exterior, which must have been extremely majestic when the west front with its lofty triplet was supported on either side by the pyramidal mass of the transepts; and backed by the still more towering height that crowned the central dome. The choir tower was of slighter elevation, occupying the same relative position as the spirelet over the sanctus bulb in Western ecclesiology. The ponderous walls, albeit none too massive to resist the enormous thrust once brought to bear upon them, now, however much relieved by exuberant decoration, appear out of all proportion to the comparatively low superstructure. As a further disfigurement, a plain masonry wall has been run along the top of the central dome. It is generally believed that this was built by Aurangzeb for the purpose of desecrating the temple; though it is also said to have been put up by the Hindus themselves to assist in some grand illumination. In either case it is an ugly modern excrescence, and steps should be at once taken for its removal.

"Under one of the niches at the west end of the nave is a tablet with a long Sanskrit inscription. This has unfortunately been much mutilated, but enough remains as record of the fact that the temple was built in Sambat 1647, i. e., A. D. 1590, under the direction of the two Gurus Rūpa and Sanātana. The founder, Rājā Mān Siśā, was a Khachhwāhā Thākur, son of Rājā Bhagawān Dās of Amber, founder of the temple at Gobardhan, and an ancestor of the present Rājā of Jaypūr. He was appointed by Akbar successively governor of the districts along the Indus, of Kābul, and of Bihār. By his exertions, the whole of Orissa and Eastern Bengal were reannexed; and so highly were his merits appreciated at court, that, though a Hindu, he was raised to a higher rank than any other officer in the realm. He married a sister of Lakshmi Nārāyan, Rājīt of Koch Bihār, and at the time of his decease, which was in the ninth year of the reign of Jahāngīr, he had living one son, Bhāo Siśā, who succeeded him upon the throne of Amber, and died in 1621 A. D.† There is a tradition to the effect that Akbar at the last, jealously hemmed in on all sides by streets, but protected from further encroachment by a high masonry wall.

* The derivation of this word is a little questionable. It is the local name of the actual Brindā grove, to which the town owes its origin. The spot so designated is now of very limited area, hemmed in on all sides by streets, but protected from further encroachment by a high masonry wall.

† Vide Professor Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, p. 341.
lous of his powerful vassal, and desirous to rid himself of him, had a confection prepared, part of which contained poison; but caught in his own snare, he presented the innoxious portion to the raja, and ate that drugged with death himself. The unworthy deed is explained by Mân Sîhâ’s design, which apparently had reached the empire’s ears, to alter the succession in favour of Kusâsrau, his nephew, instead of Salim.9

"In anticipation of a visit from Aurangzeb, the image of the god was transferred to Jâypûr, and the Gosain of the temple there has ever since been regarded as the head of the endowment. The name of the present incumbent is Śyâm Sundar, who has two agents resident at Brindâban. There is said to be still in existence at Jâypûr the original plan of the temple, shewing its seven towers; but there is a difficulty in obtaining any definitive information on the subject. However, local tradition is fully agreed as to their number and position; while their architectural character can be determined beyond a doubt by comparison with the smaller temples of the same age and style, the ruins of which still remain. It is therefore not a little strange that of all the architects who have described this famous building, not one has noticed this, its most characteristic feature: the harmonious combination of dome and spire is still quoted as the great crux of modern art, though nearly 300 years ago the difficulty was solved by the Hindus with characteristic grace and ingenuity.

"It is much to be regretted that this most interesting monument has not been declared national property, and taken under the immediate protection of Government. At present no care whatever is shewn for its preservation: large trees are allowed to root themselves in the fissures of the walls, and in the course of a few more years the damage done will be irreparable. As a modern temple under the old dedication has been erected in the precincts, no religious prejudices would be offended by the State’s appropriation of the ancient building. If any scruples were raised, the objectors might have the option of themselves undertaking the necessary repairs. But it is not probable that they would accept the latter alternative; for though the original endowment was very large, it has been considerably reduced by mismanagement, and the ordinary annual income is now estimated at no more than Rs. 17,500,† the whole of which is absorbed in the maintenance of the modern establishment."

From his account of Gokula we make the following extract —

"Great part of the town is occupied by a high hill, partly natural and partly artificial, extending over more than 100 bighas of land, where stood the old fort. Upon its most elevated point is shewn a small cell, called Śyâm Lâla, believed to mark the spot where Jassodâ gave birth to Maya, or Joga-

* The above tradition is quoted from Tod’s Râjâstâhân.
† Of this sum only Rs. 4,500 are derived from land and house property; the balance of Rs. 13,000 is made up by votive offerings."
circles. Mothers come here for their purification on the sixth day after child-birth—chathath-pujia—and it is visited by enormous crowds of people for several days about the anniversary of Krishna's birth in the month of Bhadon. A representation of the infant god's cradle is displayed to view, with his foster-mother's churn and other domestic articles. The place being regarded not exactly as a temple, but as Nanda and Jasoda's actual dwelling-house, Europeans are allowed to walk about in it with perfect freedom. Considering the size, the antiquity, the artistic excellence, the exceptional archaeological interest, the celebrity amongst natives, and the close proximity to Mathura of this building, it is perfectly marvelous that it found no mention whatever in the archaeological abstract prepared in every district by orders of Government a few years ago, nor even in the costly work compiled by Lieutenant Cole, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, which prefixed to the architectural antiquities of Mathura and its neighbourhood.

"Let into the outer wall of the Nani Bhavan is a small figure of Buddha; and it is said that whenever foundations are sunk within the precincts of the fort, many fragments of sculpture—of Buddhist character, it may be presumed—have been brought to light; but hitherto they have always been buried again, or broken up as building materials. Doubtless, Mahābān was the site of some of those Buddhist monasteries which the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian distinctly states existed in his time on both sides of the river. And further, whatever may be the exact Indian word coalesced under the form Kisioboras, or Clisobora, given by Arrian and Pliny as the name of the town between which and Mathura the Jamuna flowed—Annias Johnas in Gangas per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Mathora et Clisobora—Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi, 22—it may be concluded with certainty that Mahābān is the site intended. Its other literary names are Brihad-vana, Brihad-aranya, Gökula, and Nanda-grāma; and no one of these, it is true, in the slightest resembles the word Clisobora, which would seem rather to be a corruption of some compound in which 'Krishna' was the first element; possibly some epithet or descriptive title taken by the foreign traveller for the ordinary proper name. General Cunningham in his 'Ancient Geography' identifies Clisobora (read in one MS. as Cyrisobora) with Brindāban, assuming that Kālikavartta, or 'Kālika's Whirlpool,' was an earlier name of the town, in allusion to Krishna's combat with the serpent Kālika. But in the first place, the Jamuna does not flow between Mathurā and Brindāban, seeing that both are on the same bank; secondly, the ordinary name of the great serpent is not Kālika, but Kāliya; and thirdly, it does not appear upon what authority it is so boldly stated that 'the earlier name of the place was Kālikavartta.' Upon this latter point a reference has been made to the great Brindāban Pandit, Swāmi Rangāchārī, who, if any one, might be expected to speak with positive knowledge; and his reply was that, in the course of all his reading, he had never met with Brindāban under any other name than that which it now bears. In order to establish the identification of Clisobora with Mahābān, it was necessary to notice General Cunningham's counter-theory and to condemn it as unsound; ordinarily the accuracy of his research and the soundness of his judgment are entitled to the highest respect.

"The glories of Mahābān are told in a special (interpolated) section of the Brāhmananda Purāna, called the Brihad-vana Mahātmya. In this, its tirthas, or holy places, are reckoned to be twenty-one in number as follows:

- Eka-vinsati-tirthaṃ yuktam bhāriguṇavatītam.
- Yameṇa-dejuna panyatamam, Nanda-kāpam ta-thairica cha,
- Chintā-harana Brāhmādamlam, kundam Sārasvatem tathā,
- Sarasatī sila tatra, Vishnusvanta-samaṇvatam,
- Kurna-kāpam, Krishna-kundam, Gopa-kāpam tathāvira ca,
- Ramana-vanama-sthānam, Nārada-sthānam eva ca,
- Pāñcami-patana sthānam, Trimāravṛti śhuyapitam,
- Nanda-haryayam, Nanda-geham, Ghatam Ru-
- Mathurdākabharan-kṣetram puṇgam pippundram,
- Janama-sthānam tu Sheshaya, Jananam Yoga-

In connection with this paper it may be mentioned that Mr. Growse has addressed the Government of the North-West Provinces, representing that the destruction of the temple of Govind Deva would be a national and irreparable loss, which immediate steps for its preservation can alone avert. "The Tāj at Agra has been declared national property as the finest specimen of Muhammadan architecture; and it is in every way highly desirable that the same course should be followed with reference to this building as the recognized master-piece of Hindu architecture." He accordingly suggests 'that the Government address the Maharājā of Jaypur, representing the exigency of the case, and enquiring whether he is prepared himself to undertake the repair of the building, or whether he will cede it to the State as national property. The latter plan would be far preferable; and it is probable that if the Maharājā himself undertook the repairs, he would not only repair but also renovate, and further again devote it to religious service, by which means it would become closed to Europeans. As regards the temple of Harideva at Gobardhan the remedy is simpler. One compartment of the roof still remains as a guide for restoring the remainder, nor are funds wanting. The village of Bha-

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Accordingly there is already a deposit of more than Rs. 3,000 in the local treasury, and nothing more is required but a definitive order that this sum, and what shall hereafter accrue, shall be devoted, under Government supervision, to the restoration, until such time as it is thoroughly completed."

The Lieutenant-Governor has promised to act upon this suggestion.

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**REVIEW.**

**Essays on Eastern Questions**, by W.M. Gifford Palgrave, Author of "Central and Eastern Arabia."

(London, Macmillan & Co. 1872)

This handsome volume of Essays is very appropriately dedicated to the Earl of Derby, "whose guidance of England's foreign policy has always marked by a statesmanlike insight into character and race." There are ten Essays here reprinted:—Three on "Mahometanism in the Levant" from Fraser; from the same periodical there are other three, entitled "The Mahometan Revival," "The Monastery of Sumelas," and "The Poet 'Omar;" two from the Cornhill, called—"The Turkomans and other Tribes of the North-East Poet,'Omar;" two from the Cornhill, called—The Turkish Frontier," and "The Abkhasian Insurrection;" one from the Quarterly on "Eastern Christians;" and one from Macmillan on "The Brigand Ta'abbet Shurran."

"To expect," says the author, "that the collection of a few Essays and their republication can have any material effect towards removing erroneous ideas, or substituting exacter ones, about the Mahometan East of our own times, would be presumptuous indeed. Yet even these writings may in a measure contribute to so desirable a result; for correct appreciations are, like incorrect ones, formed not at once, but little by little. . . . These Essays, taken together, form a sketch mostly outline, part filled in, of the living East, as included within the Asiatic limits of the Ottoman Empire. Now, as for centuries past, the central figure of that picture is Islam, based on the energies of Arabia and the institutions of Mahomet, propped up by the memories of Chaliphs and the power of Sultans, and though somewhat disguised by the later in-cribations of Turanian superstition, still retaining the chief lineaments, and not little of the stability and strength, of its former days. Round it cluster the motley phantoms of Eastern Christianity, indigeneous or adventitious; and by its side rises the threatening Russian colossus, with its triple aspect of Byzantine bigotry, western centralization, and eastern despotism. This group, in its whole and in some of its details, I have at different times endeavoured to delineate; and if the pencil be an unskilful one, its tracings, so far as they go, have the recommendation, not perhaps of artistic gracefulness, but at least of realistic truth."

Mr. Palgrave has an uncommon knowledge of the religious and social manifestations of Muhammadanism in India, Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey. Perhaps the most instructive of all these Essays is the one devoted to the Mahometan Revival (Fraser, February 1872), which was written on the perusal of Hunter's *Our Indian Mussalmans*, to which it forms a sort of supplement. "Its object is to show calmly, and without sensational exaggeration, how widespread and deep-rooted is the present revival of Islam, particularly in that part of the world which may be looked upon as its stronghold, the Asian Turkish Empire. Hence it is natural to infer with what caution and steadiness of statesmanship we should deport ourselves towards such manifestations of it as arise within the circle of our own dominion; though I have purposely abstained from specialized conclusions." To quote briefly—"So strong, indeed, is the bond of union supplied by the very name of Islam, even where that name covers the most divergent principles and beliefs, that, in presence of the 'infidel,' the deep crises which divide Soonnee and Sheeaa are for a time and purpose obliterated; and the most heretical sects become awhile amalgamated with the most uncompromisingly orthodox, who in another cause would naturally reject and disavow them. Very curious in this respect is the evidence afforded by Mr. Hunter; nowhere more so than in the light he throws, almost unconsciously, on the true character of the so-called Wahhabee movement, spreading from the rebel camp of Sittana to Lower Bengal, and reconcentrating itself in the centres of Maldah, and at Patna in particular. Here we have the most simple and rigid form that Islam has ever assumed, namely, the puritanical Unitarianism of the Nejdean Wahhabee, combined with all that the Nejdean Wahhabee, as such, would most condemn—I mean, the superstitions belief in a coming 'Mahdee,' the idea of personal and, so to speak, corporeal virtue and holy efficacy in the 'Imam' of the day; and lastly, with the organised practice of private assassination, a practice long held for distinctive of the free-thinking Isma'eeleyeh and their kindred sects among the Rafidee heretics. . . . Islam is even now an enormous power, full of self-sustaining vitality, with a surplus for aggression; and a struggle with its combined energies would be deadly indeed. Yet we, at any rate, have no need for nervous alarm, nor will its quarrel, even partially, be with us and our Empire, so long as we are constantly faithful to the practical wisdom of our predecessors, that best of legacies bequeathed to us by the old East India Company."

Speaking of Indian legal difficulties—"Where plaintiff and defendant, testator and legatee, are alike Muslin, let matters be between them in a court cognizant of Muslim civil law, and re-
gulated as near as may be after Muslim fashion; and let the legal officers of such courts, from the highest to the lowest, be invested with all the sanction that our own Indian Government, the only one on Muslim, no less than on non-Muslim, principles competent to do so within Indian limits, can give. A Kazi-el-Kuzât in each Presidency, with a Sheykh Islam at Calcutta, nominated by the Government, salaried by Government, removable by Government—all conditions, be it observed, of the Sheykh Islam and of every Kuli in the Ottoman Empire itself—endowed with the appropriate patronage for subordinate appointments, but requiring for the validity of each and every nomination our own confirmatory sign and seal; good Muhammadan law colleges and schools, conducted under our supervision, and maintained on our responsibility—these are what would give us a hold over the most important, because the most dangerous, element in our Indian Empire, such as nothing else could give: a hold that the disaffection, did it ever occur, of others from within, or the assaults of rival powers, not least of 'infidel ones,' from north or elsewhere without, would only strengthen.

“Let us be wise and understand this, and not incur the reproach of those, rulers too in their day, who ‘could not discern the signs of the times.’ We can no more check or retard the Muhammadan ‘revival’ in India than we can hinder the tide from swelling in the English Channel when it has risen in the Atlantic. The ‘Revival’ is a world-movement, an epochal phenomenon; it derives from the larger order of causes, before which the lesser laws of race and locality are swept away or absorbed into unity. But we can turn it to our own advantage; we can make the jaws of this young-old lion bring forth for us honey and the honey-comb. And this we can do without in the least compromising our own Christian character as a Government or as a nation. The measures required in our hands in our Indian heritage are simply mercy, justice, and judgment; and these belong to no special race or creed; they are the property of all, Christian and Muslim alike—of West as of East, of England as of Mecca.”

No finer contribution has recently been made on a question of vital importance to the government and destinies of India.—A. H. B.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

ON INDIAN DATES.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—So much of our knowledge of the medieval history of India depends on the correct decipherment of inscriptions on rocks and stones or copper-plates, that it is of the utmost importance, not only that their meaning, but more especially their dates, should be tested by every available means. The inscriptions, it must be confessed, have hitherto proved of very little use in settling our chronology, or affording dates for buildings; and this state of things must continue until orientalists can agree among themselves as to the eras from which they are dated. So long, for instance, as Mr. Thomas is of opinion that the Sah kings date their coins and inscriptions from the era of the Scyuanid (311 B. C.); Mr. Justice Newton from that of Nahapâna, practically Vikramâditya, which is a favourite with others (66 B. C.); and Dr. Bhân Daji from the Saka era (78 A.D.)—we have some 400 years among which to choose for the date of the famous repairs of the Palesini bridge. In like manner, till it is agreed whether the Gupta begins to reign 318 A. D. or were then exterminated—and those who have treated this subject are about equally divided on this point—we have at least a couple of centuries to veer and haul upon for all the dates of this period; and, except Lassen, I know of no distinguished orientalist who has fairly looked on both sides of the Ballabhi difficulty, and assigned to its kings what I believe to be their true date—though, in doing this, he differs to the extent of 300 and 400 years from Wathen, Dowson, and almost every other recent writer on these subjects.

All this is bad enough, and renders inscriptions per se nearly useless for the purpose of fixing the dates of buildings or events; but it would be a fearful aggravation of the case, if, besides the difficulties attaching to the initial date, it should turn out that, either from negligence or design, the dates in the inscriptions were so falsified that they could not be depended upon. I have recently been led to suspect that this is the case in more instances than one; and it seems so important that it should be ascertained whether this is so or not, that I request you will allow me an opportunity of laying the case before your readers. The first case I wish to refer to, is the well-known copper-plate grant of Pulakesi I. of the Chalukya dynasty, dated in 411 Saka, or 499 A.D. This was first brought to the notice of the learned by Sir Walter Elliot, in the 4th volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 7, et seqq.; but even at that early date he saw the difficulty of reconciling this date with the circumstances narrated in the inscription, and therefore proposed (pago 12) to substitute Saka 610 for Saka 411.

When I wrote on the subject in 1869 (J. R. A. S., new series, volume IV. p. 92), this appeared to me too violent a correction, and I suggested substituting

* Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 61.—Es.
If this were the only inscription in which an error had been detected, it would be of little consequence; but on reading Dr. Bhāu Dāji’s very unsatisfactory analysis of the inscriptions published by the Committee of Architectural Antiquities in Western India, a second occurs, in which the falsification is even more evident. At page 315, *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. IX., an inscription of Pulakesi’s II. is quoted, dated Saka 506, or A.D. 584. This inscription, of which a second abstract is quoted (page 199) in the same volume, tells us how he fought with Harsha Vardhana, the Śilāditya of Hiwen Thsang, and speaks of their wars in the past tense. Now we happen to know, not only by inference from Hiwen Thsang, but from the more precise testimony of Ma-twan-lin (J. A. S. B., vol. VI. p. 68), that these events took place between the years 618 and 627; and consequently, as this inscription could not have been written till after the last-named year, its date is certainly 43 years too early, or more probably 50 years at least. Besides this, another inscription was quoted by Mr. Eggeling at the last meeting of the Asiatic Society,† dated in the third year of the second Pulakesi’s reign, Saka 534 or A.D. 612, which I have no doubt is the correct date (J. R. A. S. N. S., vol. IV. p. 94). Here then we have two important inscriptions, one of which requires a correction of about 100 years, the other of about 50, to bring them into accordance with known historical events; and what I want to ask your learned readers is, whether they can offer any solution of this difficulty, or whether, on the contrary, we must be prepared to meet with such falsifications again in other places?

Unfortunately the long dates in this inscription do not help us in this matter. At page 315, Bhāu Dāji states them as follows.—Kaliyuga 3855, and from the war of the Mahābhārata 3730, and consequently shewing an interval of 125 years between these events. Now, applying our usual Kaliyuga equation, 3101 B.C., to these, we have 754 A.D. for the first, which is much too late, and 629 for the second, which certainly is so near the correct date that it might be adopted as final, if we felt sure it is in the inscription. But at page 199, Dr. Bhāu Dāji, with a glaring want of correctness, gives a very different version of matters, and, that there may be no mistake this time, gives his dates in words, not in figures. According to this last version, the beginning of the Kaliyuga is placed 3506 before the date of this inscription, and the Bhārata 3855 years before the same time. In other words, the Mahābhārata was fought out in the Treta Yuga, and the interval between these two events was 349 years instead of 125, as we were told in a previous paragraph. Fortunately we know too well the cause of these modern discrepancies, and can apply the correction. With the more ancient ones, it is not so easy.†

In conclusion, allow me to express an earnest hope that, before long, some competent antiquary will visit Iwalli and Badami. The inscription above discussed shows the building on which it is found to be the oldest structural temple known to exist in Western India, and, if Stirling is to be depended upon, contemporaneous with the great temple at Bluvanow’s war in Katak, which is the oldest known temple in Eastern India. If, too, the inscription No. 12 in the Badami cave should turn out to belong to the sixth century, as Dr. Bhāu Dāji conjectures from the form of the characters, it will throw a new light on the history of cave-temple architecture in the West. From such imperfect data as I have at my command, I would guess these caves to be considerably more modern; but we sadly want plans and architectural details of this most interesting group of monuments; while, except from the sequence of architectural details, I know of no mode by which dates can in India be ascertained with even proximate certainty.

* Asiatic Society.—Jan. 20.—Mr. J. Eggeling, the Secretary, submitted translations of, and notes on, a number of South Indian inscriptions, with a view to show what materials are available in England for improving our knowledge of the history of the Dekhan. These materials were stated to consist partly of original copper-plates in the possession of the Society, the India Office, British Museum, and private individuals, especially Sir W. Elliot. . . . The dynasty which receives most light from these documents is that of the Chalukyas. Of the Eastern or Bhumahendri branch especially, there are in Sir W. Elliot’s volume of impressions several highly important grants, containing complete chronological records of that line from 511 for 411; and if the facts are as stated in the inscription, and Pulakesi’s I. was the grandfather of Pulakesi’s II., which I see no reason for doubting, some such correction as this seems indispensable, but not to a greater extent than 100 years.

† To prevent its misleading, I may as well point out that in inscription 8, p. 316, the date is misprinted as 789 A.D.; it ought to be 889.

JAS. FERGUSSON.

Langham Place, 30th Jan. 1873.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF PATANJALL.

Sir,—In the extract from Prof. Weber’s critique on Dr. Goldstücker, given in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 61, there are several points, besides the main one I took up (at page 59), which require notice. From the passage about the Mauryas quoted by Dr. Goldstücker, Prof. Weber infers that Pāṇini, in making his rule V. 3, 99, had in his eye such images as those that had come down from the Mauryas. How the passage supports such an inference, I am at a loss to see. Pāṇini in that
sūtra tells us that the termination ka applied to
the names of objects, in the sense of images of those
objects, is dropped in cases when the images enable
one to earn his livelihood, but are not saleable.
Upon this Patanjali observes that, because the word
"unsaleable" is used, such forms as Śiva, Skanda,
and Visākha (in which the termination ka is
dropped) are not valid. Why not? Because the
Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold, used, or
applied to their purpose, i.e., sold, objects of wor-
ship. Since, then, these (viz., images of Śiva, &c.)
were sold by them, they were paṇya, or "saleable,"
and hence the termination ka should not be drop-
ped. It may not be dropped in those cases (i.e.,
the proper forms must be Śivaka, &c.), says
Patanjali, but it is dropped in the case of those
images which are now used for worship. This
interpretation of the passage is consistent and
proper. Prof. Weber understands it to mean, that
the only cases in which the rule about the dropping
of the termination does not apply, are those of
images with which the Mauryas were concerned.
But that it is inapplicable to all images that are
saleable, is clear from the passage itself, and the
two commentaries on it. Kātyāyana distinctively
says that the rule does not apply to those that are
sold, and gives Śivakān Viśnunā as an instance. What
Patanjali means to say is that the termination ka
should be applied to the names of the images sold
by the Mauryas, according to Pāṇini's rule; but the
rule is set aside in this case, and the wrong
forms Śiva, Skanda, and Viśkha are used. Nāgoji-
bhatta expressly states—tatra prayatyagavacanam
śakametyapi rudda sūtraprathyayasaṃharam davesyati
(i.e., saying that the use of the termination there
is necessary, he points out an instance of the rule).
Now, in all this there is not only nothing to show
that Pāṇini had the images sold by the Mauryas in
view, but that the names of those images violate
his rule. Dr. Goldstücker's interpretation of this
passage is also not correct.

In the next place Prof. Weber thinks that the
word āchārya in such expressions as paṛiyati
tvāchāryyaḥ, occurring in the Mahābhāṣya, applies
to Patanjali. It appears to me that Prof. Weber
has overlooked the context of these passages. In
all these cases the āchārya meant is clearly Pāṇini,
and not Patanjali. I will here briefly examine two
or three of the passages referred to by the Professor,
for I have no space for more. In the first of these,
the question Patanjali discusses is this:—Which
is it that is used in the term an occurring in the
sūtra ur an raparāh, i.e., does an mean only
a, i, and u, or all the vowels, semi-vowels, and
h? He answers by saying that the n in this case is
hence an signifies only the vowels a, i, and u. And
why is it to be so understood? The sūtra ur an
raparāh means, when an is substituted for ri, it is
always followed by r, that is, if, for instance, you
are told in a sūtra to substitute a for ri, you should
substitute not a alone, but ar. Now, the reason why,
in this sūtra, an signifies the first three vowels
only, is that there is no other significate of the
more comprehensive term an, that is, no other vowel
or any semi-vowel or h which is ever substituted
for ri. "Why not? there is," says the objector.
One instance brought forward by him is explained
away, and another that he adduces is Mātrinam.
In this case, by the sūtra māna, a long vowel, i.e.,
ri, is substituted for the short ri. Ri is a significate
of the more comprehensive an, and not of the less
comprehensive. Hence, then, the objector would
say the an, in the sūtra ur an, &c., is the more com-
prehensive one. But, says the siddhānti, this is not
a case in which the substitute has an r added
on to it. Does it follow from Pāṇini's work itself
that no r is to be added? For aught we know, Pāṇini
may have meant that r should be added in this
case also. Now, the evidence from Pāṇini for this
is in the sūtra rita uddhātōḥ. 'This is the reason,'
says the siddhānti, 'why the word dhātu is put in
the sūtra,—that in such cases as Mātrinam and
Pitrinam, which are not dhātus, ir may not be sub-
stituted for the long ri. If the long vowel sub-
stitute in Mātrinam had an r following it, it would
not be necessary to put the word dhātu in this sūtra,
for Mātrir would not then be an au or base ending in
ri, and such bases only are intended in the sūtra
rita uddhātōḥ. The use of the word dhātu then shows that "the āchārya sees that in
Mātrinam, &c., the long substitute has not an r
following it, and hence he uses the word dhātu in
the sūtra." Now, it is evident from this that the
āchārya is Pāṇini, for the āchārya is spoken of as
having put the word dhātu in the sūtra for a
certain purpose. The author of these sūtras being
Pāṇini, the āchārya meant must be he himself. In
the same manner, in the passage at page 196 (Ballant.
edition), Pāṇini is intended, for the āchārya is there
spoken of as having put t after ri in the sūtra
uvṛtī. Similarly, in page 197, the āchārya is repre-
sented as having used n twice in the pratyāhāra
sūtras. The author of these sūtras, then, is meant
there. And I may say that, so far as I have seen
the Bhāṣya, the word āchārya used in this way
applies either to Pāṇini or Kātyāyana, and Patanjali
ever speaks of himself as āchārya.

Thirdly.—Prof. Weber's interpretation of the vārti-
taka prakṛtibhāṣya lokā, &c., is different from Dr. Gold-
stücker's and mine. But he will see that our inter-
pretation is confirmed by Kātyāyaṇa and Nāgoji-
bhatta. He seems to take prakṛtibhāṣya in the sense of the 'past.'

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* The reading in the Banaras edition is archā, and not
  archāḥ.

† Antyantarī, the reading in Ballantyne's Mahābhāṣya, is
But Patanjali's own explanation is *param akṣānoh parokṣam* (that which is turned away from the eyes, *t.e.*, not seen), and one of his quotations from other writers about the sense of the word is *kṣīva-kātān-taritam parokṣam* (that which is hidden from one even by a fence), both of which show that the only essential sense of the word is 'a thing not seen by the speaker.' *Darsāna-śishya,* the Professor interprets by 'a thing once seen, or that once fell within the range of the speaker's vision;' but if it has been once seen, it can never be called *parokṣa-* in the sense which is always attributed to the word.

Fourthly.—Prof. Weber quotes from Patanjali the passage *māthāraṇīyaḥ Pātaliputram pāream,* and infers that the author of the Mādhūkhyāya lived to the east of Pātaliputra. His interpretation of the passage seems to be 'Pātaliputra is first and Mathurā afterwards.' But the natural sense is—"Pātaliputra is the east of Mathurā,' as it is, or rather was, as a matter of fact. That Patanjali lived, not to the east of Pātaliputra, but to the northwest of Sāketa, I have shown in a separate article. Lastly, Dr. Goldstücker and Prof. Weber understand the word *āchāryadeśiya* used by Kātyāya in some places in the sense of 'countryman of the āchārya.' It is not unnatural that an antiquarian, looking for historical facts in what he reads, should interpret his author thus; but it is not natural that a Hindu commentator, caring only for his subject, and not at all for history, should use such an expression to contrast one of the authors he comments on with another. He will look to the scale of estimation in which he holds them. To the Hindu grammarian the greatest āchārya is Pāṇini, next to him is Kātyāyana, and next to this latter is Patanjali. If it is necessary in one place to contrast one of them with another, he would naturally use some such expression as āchārya and āchārya the younger. And this appears to me to be the sense of the word, and a Hindu would naturally understand it thus. It is derived, according to Pan. V. 3, 67; but the sense ought not to be taken as 'an unaccomplished teacher,' as Dr. Goldstücker does, but a teacher who is lower in the scale, or the younger teacher. And that Patanjali was so is plain. That there is very great reason to believe that Patanjali and Kātyāyana did not belong to the same country, I have shown elsewhere.

Rāmkṛishna G. Bhandarkar.

NOTES.

1. I heartily accept the Editor's correction about the true identity of Supara (see Vol. I. p. 321). I was not aware of the survival of the name near Wāsā and I followed Ibn Haukal's data, which present the itinerary as follows:—

Cambay to Sābārah, 4 marches (4 parasang from the sea.)

Sābārah to Sindān, 5 " (do. do)

Sindān to Sāimbū, 5 "

(See Elliot's Historians, by Dowson, Vol. I. p. 3, and note—also the map at page 32; and at page 30 the same itinerary in *al-Istikbār*; also in *Idrisī* at page 85). The last-mentioned geographer says:—

"They fish for pearls here. It is in the vicinity of Bārā, a small island on which some coccoanut trees and the coconuts grow." Can any explanation be given of this? The passage looks as if it might contain some light on the *Perimula* of Pliny, which was according to his indications—(1) the chief mart of India, (2) the seat of a pearl-fishery, (3) somewhere on the west coast, and (4) certainly anything rather than Manar, as Lassen makes it.

2. The following short extracts from Valentyne's History of the Dutch East Indies may be of interest to many of your readers, as an item in the history of the "Discovery of Sanskrit." That very industrius and intelligent author, after referring to what had been written by the chaplains, Abraham Rogerius and Philip Baldaeus, concerning the Hindu religion, proceeds:—"We do indeed find many things in those two books concerning the religion (of the heathen) ; but yet by no means all that it would be well to know. And the sole cause of this is that neither of those gentlemen understood the Sanskrit language (which Rogerius calls *Samsorlam,* and which others call *Gurandan* or *Kerendam,* in which language the Vedam, or Holy Lawbook of these heathens, is written. And thus they had no power to read or translate the Vedam, and thereby to lay open before the eyes of the world this religion in its real essence and on its true foundation. . . .

Above all, it would be a matter of general utility to the coast that some more chaplains should be maintained there for the sole purpose of studying the Sanskrit tongue,† the head-and-mother-tongue of most Eastern languages, and once for all to make an exact translation of the Vedam, or Lawbook of the Heathen (which is followed not only by the heathen on this coast, but also, in whole or in part, in Ceylon, Malabar, Bengal, Surat, and other neighbouring kingdoms), and thereby to give such preachers further facilities for the more powerful conviction of the heathen here and elsewhere, on their own ground, and for the disclosure of many mysteries and other matters with which we are now unacquainted. . . . . This Lawbook of the Heathen, called the Vedam, had in the very old times 4 parts, though one of these is now lost. . . .

These four parts were named Rogyo Vedam, Sudura or Issoure Vedam, Sama Vedam, and Taracana or Ahkeramna Vedam."—*Keurlyke Beschryewing van Choromanwel,* pp. 72, 73 in Vol. V.


* * *

† "De Sanskritse taal."
Query.

Thirteen miles north of the city of Dacca is a village called Uttarkhān, with an old tomb said to be that of Shāh Kabir. His descendants possess a sanad dated A. H. 1047 (1637), conferring a piece of land rent-free on "Khandesh 'urf Burhanpur Kabir Wāli Agha." In addition, he was allowed a sum of money, which, with the rent of the lakhrāj land, amounted to eight rupees a day.

Can any of your readers give further particulars regarding this Shāh Kabir? The last king of Khandesh was Bahadur Shāh, or, as he is styled by Prinsep, Bahadur Khān Turki, who, after the conquest of his country by Akbar in A. D. 1600, was imprisoned in Gwalior. Was Shāh Kabir his son?

JAMES WISE.

Dacca, 20th Feb. 1873.

Remark on the Note Concerning Ancient Dravidian Numerals.*

The Dravidian tribes along the crests of the Eastern Ghāts, and those who inhabit the interior of the country between the Godavari and the Mahānadi, are notably deficient in the art of counting.

Towards the north, where their speech has been influenced by Uriya immigrants, the higher numbers are adopted from that language; and about the Godavari, where the Telugus have come among them, the aborigines have made use of Telugu for this purpose. I give a few examples—

Kōi–Orrote, Iruvūr, Muvvăr, Nālār, Aivvăr, Aruvūr, Veduvūr, Ennunidī (Tel.†), Tomnīdi (Tel.), Padi (Tel.), &c.

Gadaba—Moi, Umbrā, Iyen, Mun, Mulloi, Tiyr, Sāt (Uriya), At (Ur.), No (Ur.), &c., &c.

Kerang Kāpu—Moi, Umbrā, Ingi, O, Molloi, Tura, Gō, Tannmar, Santing, Gō's, Gommoi, Gombāru, Gōuk, Gommali, Gotturu, Gogu, Gottamar, Gosanting, Salgam, &c.

Pengu Porja—Ruān, Ria, Tin (Ur.), Chār (Ur.), Pānch (Ur.), &c.

Durwa Gonde—Undi, Rand, Mund, Nālu, Hānig, Hārung, Sāt (Ur.), At (Ur.), No (Ur.), &c., &c.

Selliya Porja—Undre, Rundi, Mundri, Nalge, Aydu (Tel.), Aru (Tel.), &c., &c.

Tagara Porja—Vakāt, Irudu, Mundu, Nālu, Chendu, Soitan, Sāt (Ur.), At (Ur.), &c., &c.

These tribes are classed as Dravidian and Kolairian, the Kerang Kāpu and the Gadaba being of the latter strain, and the rest of the former. Of the Dravidians, none can count in their own language beyond 'seven.' The Penga Porja, indeed, has had to borrow a word for 'three.' No attempt has yet been made to study the derivation of these words; but if the Kōi has a word signifying 'to be nice' or 'to be beautiful'—which I am inclined to doubt—akin to his expression for 'four,' I shall, on its discovery, derive it from Nālūr, and not Nālūr from it.

The numeration of the Kerang Kāpu seems to be better developed than that of the Gadabas. The two belong, evidently, to the same family; and it is curious that the Gadaba, when casting about for an expression for 'seven,' should have taken an Uriya word, and not one of the dialect akin to his own. It will be seen that the Kerang Kāpu has a decimal notation. I am inclined to think that this idea must have been borrowed from the Aryan type, as I have a list of Gadaba numerals which betray a leaning towards a quaternary notation. In the table alluded to, 'eight' is called Vumbāru-punja, i.e., 2-4, and 9 Vumbāru-punja-moi, i.e., 2-4-1.

Vizagapatam, 10th Feb. 1873.

H. G. T.

The Saurashtra Society.

A Society has been formed in Kathiawar for the purpose of investigating the geography, natural history, ethnology, antiquities, and folklore of the peninsula. The officers and chiefs of the province, and many of the Pandits and men of learning and influence among the natives, are joining, and hopes are entertained that the Society will facilitate the efforts of antiquaries in Bombay and elsewhere, at least so far as pointing out to them the places that ought to be examined.

Parjanya, the Rain God.

[As represented in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, v. 83, and vii. 100, 101.]

I.

Parjanya land with praises meet;
The fertilizing god extol
And bless, of living things the soul,
Whose advent men, exulting, greet.

II.

In steeds a charioteer has spurred,
His watery scouts before him fly.
Far off, within the darkening sky,
The thundering lion's roar is heard.

III.

Fierce blow the blasts, the lightnings flash,
Men, cattle, flee in wild affright.
Avenging bolts the wicked smite;
The guiltless quake to hearethecrash.

IV.

Malignant demons stricken lie;
The forest's leafy monarchs fall
Convulsed, uprooted, prostrate fall,
Whene'er Parjanya passes by.

V.

Malignant demons stricken lie;
The forest's leafy monarchs tall
Convulced, uprooted, prostrate fall,
Where'er Parjanya passes by.

VI.

Urge on thy car, Parjanya, haste,
And, as thou sweepest o'er the sky,
Thine ample waterskins: untie
To slake with showers the thirsty waste.

† Tel. = Telugu. Ur. = Uriya.
VI.
Now forth let swollen streamlets burst,
And o'er the withered meadows flow:
Let plants their quickening influence know,
And pinning cattle quench their thirst.

VII.
Thy wondrous might, O god, declare;
With verdure bright the earth adorn,
Clothe far and wide the fields with corn,
And food for all the world prepare.

VIII.
But O, we pray, Parjanya kind,
Since now our harvests, drenched with rain,
Invoke the Solar powers in vain,
Thy waterskins no more unbind.

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EARLY PRINTING IN INDIA.

The art of printing was introduced into India by the Goa Jesuits about the middle of the sixteenth century, but they printed only in the Roman character at first. Father Estevaç (i.e., Stephens, an Englishman), about 1600, speaks of the Roman character as exclusively used for writing Konkani, and the system of transcription which he used in his Konkani Grammar (Arte de lingoa Canarin) and Purana is really worthy of admiration. It is based on the Portuguese pronunciation of the alphabet, but is accurate and complete, and has been used by the numerous Konkani Roman Catholics of the west coast of India up to the present time.

In the seventeenth century the Jesuits appear to have had two presses at Goa; in their College of St. Paul at Goa, and in their house at Rachol. Few specimens of their work have been preserved, but there is ample evidence that they printed a considerable number of books, and some of large size. About the end of the seventeenth century, it became the practice at Goa to advance natives to high office in the Church, and from that time ruin and degradation began, and the labours of the early Jesuits disappeared. Literature was entirely neglected, and the productions of the early presses were probably used as waste-paper by the monks, or left to certain destruction by remaining unused and uncared for on their bookshelves. There is, however, in the Cochin territory a place quite as famous as Goa in the history of printing in India. Often mentioned by travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Ambalacáttta (i.e., Ambalakkiçud, or "Church-wood") is not to be found on the maps, and recent inquirers have supposed that the site is forgotten, and that inquiry was useless. The late Major Carr appears to have arrived at this conclusion after visiting Goa in order to get information about it. The place, however, still remains, but as a small village with a scanty population of schismatic Nestorians; it is inland from Cranganore, and a few miles to the north of Angamali. The Jesuits appear to have built here a seminary and church dedicated to St. Thomas soon after 1550, and in consequence of the results of the Synod of Udayompura, presided over by Alexius Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in 1599, it became a place of great importance to the mission. Sanskrit, Tamil, Malayalam, and Syriac were studied by the Portuguese Jesuits residing there with great success; and several important works were printed, of which, however, we have only the names left us as recorded by F. de Souza and others, and still later by Fr. Paulinus. The last tells us that: "Anno 1679 in oppido Ambalacáttta in lignum incisi alii characteres Tamulici per Ignatium Aichamonii indigenam Malabarensem, iisque in lucem prodit opus inscriptum: Vocabulário Tamulico com a significação Portugueza composto pello P. Antem de Proençada Comp. de Jesu, Miss. de Maduré." The first Malabar-Tamil (?) Malayalam) types had been cut by a lay brother of the Jesuits, Joannes Gonsalves, at Cochin, in 1577. Ambalacáttta was destroyed by order of Tipu, when his army invaded Cochin and Travancore; a true barbarian and savage, he spared neither Christians nor Hindus, and to him attaches the infamy of destroying most of the ancient Sanskrit MSS, which time had spared in S. India. Brâhmins have yet stories current, how in those times their ancestors had to flee to the forests with a few of their most precious books and possessions, leaving the remainder to the flames. A. B.—in Trübner's Record, Oct. 31.

DEFINITION OF FO OR BUDDHA.

"What is Fo?" asked an Indian king of a disciple of a saint of Hindustan named Tamo. This disciple, whose name was Poloti, replied—"Fo is nothing else than the perfect knowledge of nature—intelligent nature."—"Where is this nature to be found?" rejoined the king. "In the knowledge of Fo," answered the disciple; "that is, in the understanding which comprehends intelligent nature." The king reiterated the question—"Where does it reside then?" The disciple replied—"In use and knowledge."—"What is this use?" said the king; "for I do not comprehend it." Poloti replied—"In that you speak, you use this nature; but," added he, "you do not perceive it on account of your blindness."—"What," said the king, "does this nature reside in me?" The disciple replied—"If you knew how to make use of it, you would find it throughout you; since you do not use it, you cannot discern it."—"But in how many places

* This verse, which has been mainly suggested by the (in Scotland) disastrous rains of the present season, is justified by a brief reference in a verse of one of the hymns (v. 83, 10).

† The German Jesuit Hanxleden, who died at Palâr (in S. Malabar) in 1782, possessed a comprehensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature.
does it reveal itself to those who use it?” inquired the king. "In eight," replied the disciple, adding as follows:—“Seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, touching, speaking, and walking are our corporeal faculties; but there is yet another faculty in us and throughout us, which includes in itself the three worlds, and comprehends all things in the small space of our bodies. This faculty is called nature by wise men, and soul by fools.” The king then became converted; and having sent for Tanu, by the advice of Poloti, embraced the religion of Fo, whose mysteries were fully explained to him by the saint.—Asiatic Journal, vol. xxi, 1826.

EXTRACTS FROM SHERRING’S ‘CASTES.”

KAYASTHS.

The Writer caste comes somewhere at the head of the Sudras, or between them and the Vaisyas. Nothing is known decisively respecting its origin; and although disputation on the subject seems to have been unbounded, no satisfactory result has been arrived at. The Kayasths themselves affirm that their common ancestor, on the father’s side, was a Brahmā; and therefore lay claim to a high position among Indian castes. But the Brāhmans repudiate the connection, and deny their right to the claim, giving them the rank of Sudras merely. Wilson, in his Glossary, states that they sprang from a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother, but gives no authority for the assertion. According to the Padam Purāna, they derive their origin, like the superior castes, from Brahma, the first deity of the Hindu Triad. The Brāhmans assent to this; but add that it was from the feet of Brahma, the least honourable part, from which they imagine all the Sudras castes have proceeded. The Kayasths as a body trace their descent from one Chitragupt, though none can show who he was, or in what epoch he existed. They regard him as a species of divinity, who after this life will summon them before him, and dispense justice upon them according to their actions, sending the good to heaven and the wicked to hell. The Jātāmāla says that the Kayasths are true Sudras. Mann, however (X. 6), states that they are the offspring of a Brāhmā father and a Sudra mother. With so many different authorities it is impossible to affirm which is correct.

In point of education, intelligence, and enterprise, this caste occupies deservedly a high position. A large number of Government officials in Indian courts of law, and of wqatis, or barristers, belong to it; and in fact it supplies writers and accountants to all classes of the community, official and non-official. Thus it comes to pass that the influence and importance of the Kayasths are felt in every direction, and are hardly equalled in proportion to their numbers by any other caste, not excepting even the Brāhmans. As revenue officers, expounders of law, keepers of registers of property, and so forth, they are extensively employed; indeed they regard such duties as theirs by special birthright, while other persons who may discharge them are, in their estimation, interlopers. These views are rudely dealt with by the liberal Government of India, which shows no respect to persons or castes, and selects for its servants the best qualified individuals. Nevertheless the Kayasths adhere to the notion in spite of the difficulty of defending it.

The proportion of men able to read and write in this caste is, I believe, greater than in any other, excepting the Brāhmans. They are eager in the pursuit of knowledge, and send their sons in large numbers both to the Government and missionary colleges and schools in all parts of the country. I understand that a considerable number of the women of this tribe can read; and that it is esteemed a shame for any man of the caste not to be able to do so. In regard to their position in Bengal, Mr. Campbell, in his "Ethnology of India," makes the following observations:—"In Bengal," he says, "the Kaits seem to rank next, or nearly next, to the Brāhmans, and form an aristocratic class. They have extensive proprietary rights in the land, and also, I believe, cultivate a good deal. Of the ministerial places in the public offices they have the larger share. In the educational institutions and higher professions of Calcutta, they are, I believe, quite equal to the Brāhmans, all qualities taken together; though some detailed information of different classes, as shown by the educational tests, would be very interesting. Among the native pleaders of the High Court, most of the ablest men are either Brāhmans or Kaits; perhaps the ablest of all, at this moment (1866), is a Kait.” Speaking of the Kayasths in Hindustan Proper, in contradistinction to Bengal and other parts of India, his remarks are of value. “Somehow there has sprung up this special Writer class, which among Hindus has not only rivalled the Brāhmans, but in Hindustan may be said to have almost wholly ousted them from secular literate work, and under our Government is rapidly ousting the Mahomedans also. Very sharp and clever these Kaits certainly are.”

* Continued from page 32.
The Kayasths are notorious for their drinking and gambling propensities. On special occasions many of them devote day and night to these vices, by reason of which the caste loses much of that respectability which its talent and education would otherwise secure. These terrible evils well illustrate, however, the bondage of caste. Whatever any caste sanctions, whether it be right or wrong, its members are in honour bound to carry out. This accounts for the prevalence of these two pernicious habits among the Kayasths. The caste upholds and sanctions them, so that I believe he would be regarded as a renegade who should not, on great occasions, indulge in them. Yet a few persons are to be found here and there in the caste, who altogether spurn such habits; and to keep themselves quite pure, as they imagine, from pollution, neither drink spirits, nor gamble, nor eat flesh. They are termed bhagata, or religious persons, and wear the sacred thread, and the kanthi or small necklace of beads. Should they, at any time, fall into temptation, these sacred objects are taken from them.

There is one other evil to which this tribe is addicted, which indeed is not peculiar to the Kayasth caste, but is cherished, more or less, by all castes of every degree. This is the inordinate expense incurred at marriage festivals. Some members of the Kayasth caste, the Sri Bastabs in particular, indulge in such expenses to a most extravagant and ruinous extent. Men with an income of ten rupees a month, will spend three hundred, and even five hundred, at the marriage of their daughters, which they borrow at the enormous interest of twenty-four per cent. per annum, or more, and under the burden of which they lie for many years, and at their death hand down, perhaps, to their children. Great and most laudable efforts have been made of late in Benares, Allahabad, and other cities in the North-Western Provinces, to bring not only the Kayasths, but all the principal castes, to agree to a great diminution of marriage expenses. This, it is hoped, will facilitate marriage; and lessen, if not wipe out, the crime of infanticide so prevalent among certain castes; and give to Hindu girls, not only a better chance to live, but also a more honourable, because less expensive, position in native society.

The Kayasths are called Devi-putra, or sons of Devi, a term used to express a female divinity in general. In other words, they pay more homage to female deities than to male; though why, I am unable to say. They hold Brâhmans in great respect, more so, perhaps, than other castes; although every caste, from the highest to the lowest, reverences the Brâhmans even to worshipping them.

This tribe is divided into twelve sub-castes, which are really independent of one another, as, with the exception of the Mathurs, the first on the list, they do not intermarry, nor eat cooked food together. They may smoke together, however, from the same cocoa-nut hukah—a condition of considerable liberty. They may all likewise drink spirits with one another indiscriminately. For some unexplained reason, it is the privilege of all the sub-castes below the first to intermarry with it, although they are not permitted to intermarry with one another. The sub-castes are descended, tradition affirms, from one father, Chitragupt, and two mothers—one the daughter of Suraj Rishi, the other the daughter of Surma Rishi. From the first marriage four sub-castes have, it is said, proceeded, and the remainder from the second. There is also half a caste called Unai, commonly appended to these twelve, sprung, it is asserted, from a concubine of Chitragupt. But the Kayasths proper do not associate with its members. Yet they are always spoken of as Kayasths. So that, in public Hindu estimation, there are twelve and a half castes of Kayasths. It should be stated, however, that the impure Unai sub-caste of Kayasths is devoted to trade, and does not pursue the special occupation of the Writer caste.

**The Kayasths of Bengal.**

From the manuscript on Hindu Castes by Babu Kishori Lal, a native of the North-Western Provinces, I learn that there are four separate clans of Kayasths in Bengal, the names of which are as follows:—

1. Ghose,
2. Bhose,
3. Mittr,
4. De.
5. Datt.
6. Kor.
7. Palit.
8. Sen.
10. Das.

For the correctness of this list I am unable to vouch. It certainly does not agree with one which I have received from a respectable Bengali Kayasth of Banaras. He states that the Bengali Kayasths are divided into eleven clans, three of which are Kulins, and are of higher rank than the rest.
ON THE DIALECT OF THE PALIS.

By G. H. DAMANT, B.C.S., DINAJPUR.

As might be expected from the peculiar customs and isolated position of the Palis, they use many words and forms of expression which would not be understood by an ordinary Bengali. Their pronunciation in itself is very indistinct and difficult to follow; the letter r they seem quite unable to pronounce, and ignore it altogether when it is an initial; again in many words they insert an initial h—thus ámi, the personal pronoun I, is invariably pronounced húmi, with a strong accent on the first syllable; and the common expressions ei sthāne, se sthāne are corrupted into hiti, huti. The use of the common forms of the personal pronouns is very rare, except in speaking to superiors. Among themselves they always say mui and tui. Some of the forms they use as terminations of tenses and verbs are curious. In place of ámi jáibo, 'I shall go,' a Pali will say mui jām, or, if he is speaking to a superior, hāmi jāmo. For chhilám, 'I was,' they say achhilam. The plural form gula is used instead of the common Bengali forms dig or gan. I have appended a list of Pali words, which appear to have been hitherto unnoticed, in the hope that some one may be willing and able to give satisfactory explanations of them. In some instances I have ventured to hazard derivations, but they are mere conjectures. These words have been selected from a list of several hundreds, from which I have eliminated all that I could derive with certainty from either Sanskrit, Bengali, or Hindi.

कारो yā, the person who arranges a marriage; answers to the ordinary Bengali word ghatak.

लाब रङ, a cloth made of two pieces sewn together.

हारङ, a kind of purdah formed of split bamboo, used in place of a door.

पावला, pātil, names for a large kind of earthen pot.

नॊका, the young shoots of a plantain tree.

नॊकी, the young uncurled leaf of a plantain tree. Nōkā and nōkī may possibly be both derived from lukāna, 'to be hid,' n and 1 being constantly interchanged.
ABHINANDA THE GAUDA.

By G. BüHLER, Ph. D.

Amongst the poets, whose works are quoted by Sārngadharā in his large collection of elegant extracts, is a Gaula called Abhinanda or Abhinandana. Two works of this author, the Rāmacharitramahākāvya and the Kādambart kathāsāra, are marked in my Catalogue of MSS. from Gujarāt, fascicle II. p. 102, no. 187, and p. 128, no. 6. When I lately examined these works, I found that they contain several statements regarding the family of the author, which are not without importance for the history, and especially the literary history, of India. I think, therefore, that it will not be useless to publish a separate notice of this little-known poet. The Rāmacharitra is by far the most extensive of his two productions. The MS. inspected
which appears to be at least four hundred years old, contains portions of thirty-six Sargas, viz. Sargas I.—VI. 82; Sargas XV. 20—XIX. 1; the latter portion of Sarga XXII.; Sargas XXIII.—XXIX.; a large portion of Sarga XXX., and Sargas XXXI.—XXXVI. 19. The leaves are in great confusion, and Sargas XVI. 40—XVIII. have been placed last. The first verses of the poem run thus:

Atha mályavatah prasthekåmukasya viyoginah  
Durnivārāśrusaſhvegojagāma jaladāgamah||1||

Sašāmavrishtirmeghānāmutsange  
tasya bhū  

Virārāma na rāmasya dhārāsinātitarāśunah ||24||

The work, as appears from this specimen, is written in Anushtubh Slokas. It treats, as its title indicates, of the history of Rāma, but only of that portion of the hero's adventures which follow the rape of Sītā, i.e. of his war against and conquest of Lankā. At the beginning and at the end of several cantos, A b h i n a n d a praises his patron, the Yuvarāja or prince-royal Hāra. vr̥ṣaḥ, whom he calls the son of Vikramâšila (Vikramaśīlanandanah, III. 99), and the moon of the lotus-forest-like family of Śrīdharmapāla.† He tells us also that this prince made after Hάla, the author of the Saptaśatior Gáthákosha, a collection of stanzas from various poets. The exact words of the text are—

Namah Srihāravarshāyayena hālādanantaram|  
Svakoshah kavikoshānām avirbhāvāya sam  

Praise to the illustrious Hāravarsha, who, after Hάla, collected his own Kosha in order to make known the treasures of poets.'

In several passages he also praises himself and his work. Thus we read at the end of Sarga XVIII. the following verse, which probably was intended to conclude the whole poem:

Achandrastīryamnidadhejagatsuvyāsasyayad  
vajjanamejayenaI  

Eshobhinandasyamahāprabandhah kshonibhujã  
bhimaparākramena||  

This great romance of A b h i n a n d a has been established in the world, to last as long as sun and moon endure, by the prince of awe inspiring bravery, just as V y ā s a’s (Mahābhārata was established) by J a n a m e j a y ā.’

Abhinanda’s boasting about his work is not quite groundless. His style is easy and flowing, and simpler and more intelligible than that of most of the later Sanskrit poets. Should a complete MS. of the Rāmacharitra turn up,‡ it would be well worth printing.

Abhinanda’s second poem, the Kālambari-kathāśāra, has less literary value, but greater historical importance. The MS. which is mentioned in my Catalogue, and the perusal of which I owe to the courtesy of Mr. Nilkanth Ranchod, is very old and in excellent preservation. It contains an epitome of the Kālambari of Bάṇa and of its continuation by Bάṇa’s unnamed son. With the exception of the last stanzas, the metre is throughout Anushṭubh, and the style is as simple and easy as that of the Rāmacharitra. Its most important part is the introduction, vs. 1—12, in which the poet gives some account of his family. It runs as follows:

Sarasvatyai namah |  
Śriyaṁ dadhatu vah śaurerdvaye tulyaśrīmāṁ kramāh|  
Ye chādau goshpadam paśchāt tailokyaṁ krāmataśca ye |1|  

Sarasāṁ sadalaṁkārāḥ prasādamadhirā girāḥ  
Kāntistātajantasya jayanti jagatiṁ guroh |2|  

Gunoḍyotanadipānāṁ satāṁ na param ujvalam |  

Yāvanmaññam apyeshāṁ karmadriṣṭaṁ prasādhanam |3|  

Guno pī kriśaḥ prathate pṛthumpaṇapacchīyate |  

Prāya śīdhukhalau chordhau paśkhāviva sitāsitum |4|  

Śaktināmbhavadvagado bhāradvājake sthītaḥ |  

Dārvābhīsamāsādyā kṛitādāparigrahaṁ |5|  

Taśya mitrābhidhānabhūdātmajajestajasaṁ nīdhiḥ |  

Janena dosharamaprabuddhārchipadhatānaḥ |6|  

Sa śaktisvāminam putram avāpa śrutīśālinam |  

Rājāṁ karkoḷavaṁśasya muktāpiṇḍasya mantriṇam |7|  

Kalyāṇasvāmināṁya yājñavalkya ivābhavat |  

Tanayāṁ śuddhayogardhīn rhūtābhavakalmaṣhaṁ |8|  

Agādhahṛīdayāttāsmāt prameśvaranāmanantam|  

* II. 1, 106; III. 99; XXII. end XXIII. 90; XXVIII. end.  
† XXVIII. end—after the colophon: śrīdharmapālaka- 
kairavakānunandāḥ……..vyāsāya yuvājadevaḥ ||

‡ Since writing the above I have heard that one of my agents has procured a copy of the poem.
May the steps of Śauri, accomplished with equal labour, both those which first he made when stepping over the (path of the cow), and those which he made when striding through the three worlds, give you prosperity.

2. Glory to the lovely, pleasingly sweet song of my father Jayanta, the teacher of the worlds,—(to that song) which is full of sentiment and possessed of true ornaments.'

3. There is nothing more resplendent than good men, who shine through their virtues (guna) just as lamps shine through their wicks (guna), since their faults even serve to adorn the aspect of their works (just as lamp-soot serves to adorn the eye).

4. Small qualities even increase, and great ones even decrease, according as they reside in good or bad men, just as the moon increases or decreases according as she reaches the white or the black half of the month.

5. There was a Gauda of the family of Bhāradvāja, called Sakti, who went to Dārvābhisāra and married there.

6. To him was born a son, named Mitra, whose appearance was worshipped by those who had obtained the true knowledge after destroying their sinful desires (just as the rising sun [Mitra] is worshipped by men after they have been awakened at the end of the night).

7. He obtained a son, learned in the revealed texts, Saktisvāmin by name, who was the minister of Mukṭāpīḍa, a king of the Karkotā line.

8. His son was Kalyāṇasvāmin, who, like Yājñavalkya, destroyed the stains of (this) existence by the acquisition of pure Yoga.

9. From that deep-hearted man was born a son, called Kānta, an ornament of the creator, just as the moon was produced from the milk-ocean.

10. He begat a son, who gladdened men's hearts, named Jayanta, to whom Sarasvati, the giver of poetry and eloquence, belonged manifestly as his own.

11. To him, who openly bore as a second name the title 'the scholiast,' was born a son, known as Abhinanda.

12. He has extracted from the ocean of the Kādambari the story only, for the sake of those who are too lazy to undergo the trouble of reading that extensive poem.'

In considering the several items of information contained in the extracts given above, it will be most convenient to begin with those furnished by the Kādambarikathāsāra. From this work it appears that Abhinanda—for this, and not Abhinanda, is the form of the poet's name which occurs in my MSS.—belonged to a family of Gauda or Bengal Brahmans, who claimed descent from the sage Bhāradvāja. The sixth ancestor of the poet, Sakti, emigrated to and settled in Dārvābhisāra. Abhisāra, the country of King Abissares, is, according to Lassen,* a province to the south of Kashmir, whilst Dārvā lies to the north-west of the same kingdom. General Cunningham places Abhīsāra also to the north-west of Kashmir, and the fact that Abhinanda as well as Kalhana (e.g. Rāj.IV.711) form a compound of the two names, indicate that both regions lay close together and probably formed a political unit. Without entering further into the question of their exact geographical position, it will suffice for our purpose to state that Dārvābhisāra lay on the frontiers of Kashmir, and formed part of that kingdom down to the reign of Utpalāpīḍa, the last of the Karkotā kings.

Śakti's family must soon have risen to influence in its new country, as his grandson is stated to have been minister to king Mukṭāpīḍa of the Karkotā dynasty. The Nāga or Karkotā family occupied the throne of Kashmir from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the ninth century. The first Karkotā king was Durlabhavardhana, who reigned thirty-six years. His son and successor was Durlabhaka or Pratapāditya, who ruled for

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* Ind. Alt. III. 1047.

† Anc. Geog., Maps V. and VI.
fifty years. Three sons of this king, Chandrápiḍā, Tārāpiḍā, and Lalitāditya, successively occupied the throne. Chandrápiḍā, the eldest of them, is stated to have reigned eight years and eight months. He was murdered by his brother Tārāpiḍā, who enjoyed the fruits of his crime during four years, one month, and six days. The latter was succeeded by Lalitāditya, one of the most powerful kings of Kashmir, whose reign extended over more than thirty-six years. It was under this latter prince that Saktisvāmin held office. For Muktapidā is only another name of Lalitāditya.

Since the truth of this latter fact has not, as far as I know, been recognized, and Lassen, on the contrary, declares Muktapidā and Lalitāditya to be two different persons, I may briefly state the grounds on which my statement is based. Firstly, Kalhana, who in the beginning of the fourth book of the Rājatārangini gives the series of kings as exhibited above, viz. Durlabhakarṇā, Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya, Chandrápiḍā, Tārāpiḍā, Lalitāditya, in his résumé of the history of Kashmir, VIII. 2525b seqq., uses the following words: Bālādityasya jāmatā tato durlabhavardhanah 2525 1

Sānurdurlbhakas tasya chandrāplophbhavat tataḥ Tārāplojonjanamāsya muktaplolosya chānunjā 2526 1

Bhūpāvastāṁ kuvalayāpido dvaimāturosya cha 1 Vajrādityāsya sutaṁ rājiao muktaplojasya tatasutaṁ 2527 1

"The son-in-law of Bālāditya, Durlabhavardhana, followed next. His son was Durlabhaka; then followed Chandrápiḍā, (then) his younger brother Tārāpiḍā, and (next) his (the latter's) junior, Muktapidā. Kings were next Kuvalayāpida and his half-brother Vajrāditya, the sons of King Muktapidā. The sons of him (i.e. Vajrāditya) were," &c. In this passage the name Lalitāditya does not occur at all, but in its stead Muktapidā.

Secondly, a passage of the fourth Taranga, in which the sons of Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya are enumerated, shows likewise, if rightly interpreted, that the two names designate the same person. We read Rāj. IV. 39—43: Kramaṇa cha prajāpuryais Chandrápiḍābhūdhana sutam 1

Prāsodīśa pārthivavadhūr nālājanamiva medi-nil 39 1

Tasyābhijanamālānāṁ svacchhah ahechedi tadgumā 1

Śaṇaśmakakanāṁ kārshyam äkārotham mahā 40 1

Dhūmād gāḍhamalimāsvachchhuchi payāṁ sāte ghanasyodgano

Lohasyātisitisasya jātir aheclā kunthāsamanā-laṁ nyāt 1

Kimchāntajādalājālādyutimato jvalābhavā-

Syodhabho

Jāmāvalaṁyaṁkārīnaṁ na maheṭāṁ satyaṁ svabāvāṁ kvaclitil 41 1

Tārāpiḍōpō tamarāṁ tasyāṁ ajaṭyā 1

Avinuktaplojanāṁ muktaplopi bhūpateh 42 1

Vajrādityayodeśādityā lahitādityasauṣajnikā 1

Pratāpādityājā khyatāśchandrāplojlodvopopi te 43 1

"And, in course of time, the wife of the king! bore, in consequence of the subjects' merit, a son called Chandrápiḍā, just as the earth (brings forth) a treasure.

40. The uncleanness of his descent was destroyed by his pure qualities, just as the blackness attaching to the diamond when it comes out of the mine (is destroyed) by the particles of the polishing-stone.

41. The rainy season produces clear water from deep-black smoke-like mist; very bright metals come as dull ore from the mountain. (?) Besides, the resplendent fire is produced from the exceedingly dull water. Forsooth, the nature of great (persons or things) does not depend on their origin.

42. From that (queen) were born, successively, a (second) son of the king, called Tārāpiḍā, and (a third) Muktapidā 1, whose name (ought to have been) Avinuktrapidā, i.e., he whose diadem is never taken off.

43. These sons of Pratāpāditya are

§ Muktapidā might be interpreted to mean, 'he whose diadem is taken off.' Hence Kalhana, bearing in mind the greatness of this ruler, says: 'his name ought to have been Avinuktrapidā. The proper translation of Muktrapidā is, however, 'he whose diadem contains pearls.'
also known by the appellations 'Vajrāditya, Udayāditya, and Lalitāditya.' Lassen* understands the last two verses, quoted and translated above, to indicate that Pratīpāditya had seven sons, whose names were Chandrāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa, Avimuktāpīḍa, Muktāpīḍa, Vajrāditya, Udayāditya, and Lalitāditya. But that interpretation is inadmissible on philological grounds, and is refuted by the summary of the Kashmirian history in the eighth Tarānga, as well as by an independent Chinese account of some of the Karkotā kings. For a Chinese writer, first brought to light by Klaproth,† states that Chentolopili of Kashmir sent several embassies to the Chinese Court in order to ask for help against the Thibetans, and received the title 'king' from the emperor. The same authority asserts that Chentolopili's successor Mutopii likewise sent an embassy. Lassen has pointed out the identity of the names Chentolopili—Chandrāpīḍa, and Mutopii—Muktāpīḍa. He has also shown that the embassy said to have been sent by Mutopii did fall in the times of Lalitāditya. Though, after what has been said above, it is impossible to agree with him in assuming that Muktāpīḍa might have been the foreign-secretary of Lalitāditya, and for this reason might have been considered by the Chinese the sender of the embassy,|| his arguments that the embassy of Mutopii was sent in Lalitāditya's times, go towards confirming my view, viz. that the two names belong to the same person.

If then, Saktisvāmin lived under Lalitāditya, his tenure of office must have fallen in the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. According to Troyer's, Lassen's, and Cunningham's calculations, the beginning of Lalitāditya's reign is placed in the last decade of the seventh century, in 695 or 693, while H. H. Wilson fixed it in 713.§ None of these dates is, however, tenable,—as the Chinese historian states that Chandrāpīḍa's first embassy arrived at Pekin in 713, and that the same king received the grant of his title in 720. It must be considered a settled principle for Indian historians that dates given by Chinese writers are to be relied on in preference to any calculations based on the statements of Hindu chroniclers. Hence General Cunningham has lately¶ corrected his former adjustment of the chronology of the Karkotās. He now admits that if a title was granted to Chandrāpīḍa in 720, that prince—even if due allowance is made for the time which the transmission of the intelligence of his death from Kashmir to Pekin would require—must have been alive in 719. Consequently Tārāpīḍa's death and Lalitāditya's accession cannot have taken place before 724.

But to return to Abhinanda's family, his father Jayanta also seems to have been a person of some note. He was a poet and a commentator, probably, of the Sūtras of the Āsvālāyanaśīkhā of the Rigveda. For a Jayanta is quoted in an Āsvālāyana gṛihya kārikā, * and some years ago, in a list of MSS. from Nāsik, I came across a Jayantavṛitti on the Āsvālāyanasūtras. Unfortunately I did not secure the book. But it would be worth while to look out for it, as Jayanta is certainly older than any other known commentator of Āsvālāyana.

As regards Abhinanda himself, he cannot be placed later than 830–850 A.D. The duration of a generation in India is little more than 26 years. If, therefore, Abhinanda's fourth ancestor, Saktisvāmin, lived under Muktāpīḍa about 725, we shall have to add, say, 110 years to that date in order to obtain our poet's age. Abhinanda seems to have lived not in Kashmir, but in Gauda, the country of his forefathers. This is indicated by his surname, 'the Gauda,' and by the fact that the name of the ancestor of his patron, Dhrampāla, is not to be found among the Kashmirian kings, but belongs to a powerful monarch of the Pāla dynasty of Gauda. Lassen places this Dhrampāla about 815. I am unable to trace the Yuvarāja Hāravarsa the compiler of a Kośa of poetical extracts, as well as his father, Vikramasīla.

Lastly, I may mention that Abhinanda was apparently a Vaishnava, as he invokes Saurī in the Mangalācharana of the Kādambarikathāśāra.


THE SEVEN PAGODAS.

BY THE REV. MAURICE PHILLIPS, L.M.S.

The celebrated rock-cut temples at Mavalive-ram, commonly known to Europeans as the "seven pagodas," have from time to time attracted many visitors, and called forth many notices in the journals of scientific societies as to their origin and antiquity.

Mavalive-ram is the name of a now small village situated close to the sea between Covelong and Sadrms, in the vicinity of which are great masses of hill-like rocks abounding in excavations of curious temples of various shapes and sizes, with figures in high relief representing Hindu mythology. The most celebrated of these are the Rathas, a cluster of fine monolithic temples of a pyramidal shape, differing in size, and covered with ornamental sculptures.

All the sculptures are representations of Brahmanical mythology, chiefly taken from the Mahābhārata, such as the Viṣṇu and Varāhi incarnations of Viṣṇu; Śiva supporting the mountain of Govardhana in order to shelter his followers from the wrath of Indra; the penance of Arjuna; Dronāchāri and the five Paṇḍavas; Dharmarāja's lion-throne, and the bath of Draupadī; Viṣṇu recumbent on the thousand-headed Śesha; and Durgā's conflict with Mahishāsura. There are also figures of Brahmā, Śiva, and Ganeśa.

If the inscriptions, both in Tamil and Sanskrit, found on some of the rocks, and which have been translated, contained dates or gave any account of the commencement of the sculptures, it would be easy to ascertain their age. But unfortunately those inscriptions only mention the names of the Rājas or Governors in whose reign grants of land were made to the temples; and as those names cannot be identified with any line of Rājas, or with any contemporary event to which a date can be attached, they afford no clue to the probable age of the sculptures. There are a few scattered facts, however, in the Mackenzie MSS. which, when collected and compared, enable us, with some degree of certainty, to ascertain their age.

It is stated that before the time of Kulattungachola and his illegitimate son Adondai, the whole district bounded on the north by the Peṇār, on the south by the Palar, on the east by the sea, and on the west by the Ghāṭe, was occupied by half-civilized Kurumbars, who had embraced the Jaina religion, brought to them from the north. It is further stated that both Kulattungachola and his son, after much fighting, conquered the Kurumbars, and, by way of fixing a stigma on the conquered country, changed its name from Kurumbabhūmi to Tondamandalam, "the land of slaves;" and having cleared the forest founded the celebrated Kanchipuram (Kanjevarem) as the capital of his new kingdom. Kulattungachola was a great warrior who besides conquered the Telingana country. And fortunately there are two local records in Telugu among the Mackenzie MSS. which enable us to fix the date of his reign. One states that he conquered the country in Saṁ. Śaka 1095 (A. D. 1171), and the other records the gift of some charities in S. Ś. 1065 (A.D. 1143).

It is evident then that Kulattungachola lived in the twelfth century of the Christian era, and as he must have conquered the Kurumbabhūmi, in which Mavaliveram is situated, either before or after the Telingana country, we cannot be far wrong in placing his conquest of the former in the second half of the twelfth century A.D. At that time the inhabitants of Mavaliveram were Jaina-s, and as the sculptures show no traces of Jainaism, it may be concluded that they were not then commenced.

Again, it is stated that Adondai (A. D. 1160-80) brought Brahmans from the north to be accountants in his new kingdom, the Tondamandalam, from which it would appear that there were no Brahmans there before. Now the present temples at Mavaliveram are Brahmanical. Allowing then a period of 100 years for the Brahmans to suppress Jainaism and establish their own authority, as a monument of which we may suppose they caused the temples to be cut, the date of their commencement cannot be placed earlier than the 13th century A.D.

In the reign of Sundara Pándya, which appears to synchronize with Marco Polo's visit to India, the Jaina-s were finally expelled from the Pándya country, i. e. about A. D. 1300. Now, considering the proximity of the Tondamandalam to the Pándya kingdom, and the influence which the one necessarily exerted on the other,
it is reasonable to conclude that the reaction against the Jainas in the Pandy kingdom would be either preceded or followed by a reaction against it in the Tondamandalam, and vice versa; and that the expulsion of the Jainas from the one would pretty nearly synchronize with their expulsion from the other.

I find also that Mr. Fergusson, judging from different data altogether, has arrived at the same conclusion; for he says (History of Architecture, Vol. II. p. 502) that the Rathas were "carved by the Hindus, probably about 1300 A.D."

That Mavaliveram in ancient times was a large city, the capital of a kingdom, and the seat of the ruling sovereign, is, I think, very probable. The name in the Sthalapurāṇa is simply Mallapuri; but in the inscription near the Varāsvāmi temple, given by Sir Walter Elliot, it is enlarged into Māmallapuram by prefixing the Sanskrit adjective Mahā. Mallapur means ‘the city of Malli,’ and Māmallapuram ‘the city of the great Malla.’ According to the Mackenzie MSS. Malla is the patronymic title of a northern tribe of mountain chiefs, who sprang from the aboriginal inhabitants, and who were non-Aryan. Probably their descendants are the low-caste Mallas of the present day, who dwell largely in the Kadapa, Belāri, and Karnul Districts. That in ancient time they were a conquering and a ruling race is very evident from the many villages which bear their name, as well as the many Rāajas whose honourable distinction was “Malla Rayer.” Probably then the Mallas were the founders of Māmallapuram, and called it after their own name. That they ruled there before the Kurumbars is evident from the fact that the town was called Māmallapuram about the time of its conquest by Kulatungachola, as appears from an inscription dated S. 1157 at the neighbouring village of Paivarakkārana’s Choultry, where the name occurs, and also from the no less obvious fact that the adjective Mahā prefixed to it indicates the predominant influence of Brāhmaṇṣ. The Mallas were either subdued by the Kurumbars, and amalgamated with their conquerors, or they were one and the same people bearing different names in different periods. That both were aboriginal non-Aryan inhabitants there can be little doubt. Now contrasting the present abject state of the Mallas, Kurumbar, Khonds, and other aboriginal tribes, with their former power and enterprise, we cannot fail to conclude that the time when they ruled and conquered must be very remote.

The appearance of such extraordinary and costly rock-cut temples in a sequestered spot like Māmallapuram is itself strong presumptive evidence of the former existence of a large city. It is prima facie incredible that any man, or body of men, would select an isolated uninhabited spot for the execution of some of the best works of art in India. The present village would scarcely accommodate the workmen and their families who were engaged on the works. The idea of Dr. Babington, that the place was first procured by the Brāhmaṇṣ as an Agrāhara, and that they employed stone-masons at their own cost from time to time to ornament the rocks with the excavations and sculptures which we now find, is an idle conjecture. Who ever heard of Brahmans doing any great public works at their own cost? The most rational supposition is that when the King embraced Hinduism, the Brāhmaṇṣ prevailed upon him to adorn the old capital by excavating these temples.

The application by Brāhmaṇṣ of the legend of Mahābali to Malla the king of Mallapuram, and their endeavour to identify the one with the other, is to my mind no mean proof of the former existence of a large city, the capital of a kingdom. Mahābali was a Rāja, living in the Tretayuga, who, by penance and austerity, had obtained possession of the whole universe, including heaven, earth, and hell, so that he was a universal monarch. He became so elated by his greatness that he omitted to perform the customary religious ceremonies to the gods. Vishnu, in order to check the influence of so bad an example, became incarnate in the person of a wretched Brāhmaṇ dwarf, and in this form appearing before Mahābali asked as a boon as much of his wide possessions as he could compass in three steps. This the king readily granted, upon which the dwarf grew larger, and continued to expand till he filled the whole universe, thus depriving the insolent monarch of all his possessions except hell, which he was allowed to keep. Where this legend originated I do not know. It probably represents the victory of Hindus of the Vaishnava sect over some powerful non-Aryan king. But the ap-
plication of it to the king of Māmallapuram naturally leads us to conclude that there must have been some similarity between him and the Asura Mahābali. Now had Māmallapuram not been a noted city, and its sovereign a powerful rāja, the shrewd Brahmans would not have ventured to pass off a fraud so palpable that it could not fail to be detected.

The shore temple, so close to the sea that the surf in the calmest weather dashes against the doorway, with the usual stone pillar in front of such temples lying in the sea, as well as fragments of images, large quantities of stone, and broken bricks lying about, some partially buried in the sea, plainly show that at one time buildings existed to the eastward which have been destroyed and overwhelmed by the sea. Had the sea held the same relative position to the shore temple at first as it does now, it is impossible to believe that the temple would have been formed so near to it. The situation of this temple, therefore, and the remains of ruins towards the sea, plainly indicate an encroachment of the sea, and the overthrow of a city. Such traces of a large city destroyed by the sea are confirmed by tradition. Besides the Brahmanical tradition mentioned by Mr. Chambers, it is stated in the catalogue of the Mackenzie MSS. that the whole coast from Mallapur or St. Thomē, down to Māmallapuram, was overflowed by the sea, and that many towns were destroyed. This tradition is confirmed by the appearance of a ruined city about two miles north of Māmallapuram, as mentioned by Sir W. Elliot.

There is nothing impossible in the supposition and tradition that the sea has encroached on the land. That there has been a great convulsion of nature is proved by the unfinished state of the temples, and the great rent in one of the largest rathas. Not one of the temples is finished. How is this to be accounted for better than on the supposition that a great earthquake lowered the coast and extended the bed of the sea? What else could have rent the massive ratha, probably very far below the surface of the ground, and lowered all the rest? To imagine that the rock was cracked when the workmen were engaged in cutting it is not admissible. Neither is it reasonable to think that such work would have been commenced upon a rock that was already rent in two, for the "marks of the mason’s tools are perfectly visible in the excavated parts on both sides of the rent in such a manner as to show plainly that they have been divided by it." It is no objection to this theory to say that the rock-cut temples at Elora are also unfinished, though there are no indications that their completion was prevented by an inundation of the sea. It is considered, I believe, that the date of these rock-cut temples synchronizes with those of Māmallapuram. Is it not reasonable therefore to suppose (knowing the superstitious feelings of the Hindus) that those who were engaged on the temples at Elora, having heard of the submersion of Māmallapuram, took fright and left the work for ever?

Mr. Gubbins has pointed out (Jour. As. Soc. Bon., vol. xxii.) that in classical days the extremity of the peninsula was the entrepôt of commerce between the East and the West. Gibbon says, "Every year about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of an hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos-Hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. The coast of Malabar, or the island of Ceylon, was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote parts of Asia expected their arrival." * There is nothing in the Malabar coast to exclude the idea that these fleets carried on merchandise with Māmallapuram, for Malabar is a vague term, applied till lately to the Tamil-speaking inhabitants of the peninsula. The theory that it might have been the Malari-phia of Ptolemy is not improbable.

ON THE RULES WHICH GOVERN KANARESE POETRY.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

Kanarese poetry is divided into two great divisions, "Akṣara Vṛtta" and "Mātra Vṛtta," which in their turn have many subdivisions.

* Gibbon, Decline and Fall, (Dr. W. Smith’s ed.), vol. I, p. 192; and conf. Carr, The Seven Pagodas, pp. 162, 163. — Ed.

+ Manarpha emporium, v. 1.— Ed.
"Akshara (from the word for a letter) Vṛttā" is determined by the number of letters in each line (pada) of the verse, and may consist of any number of letters from 1 to 26.

Each different number of letters in the line is known by its own particular name or "chhandassu." Thus we have in all 26 chhandassus.

Each chhandassu again may be subdivided into any number of vṛittas, increasing in number as the letters do. The number of vṛittas of which any given chhandassu can consist is found by beginning with one and doubling successively for so many times as there happen to be letters in the line. Twice this result gives the number.

For example, if the first line consists of three letters, then we can have in that chhandassu 8 vṛittas, i.e. 1 doubled is 2; twice 2 are 4; twice the result 8. That line which is called Mahāsragdhara has twenty-two letters. By the foregoing rule, this chhandassu can be subdivided into 40,94,304 vṛittas; only two however are in common use. This will give some idea of the enormous number of vṛittas which could be formed. The total number is said to be some millions.

Before examining any chandassu, however the "gaṇa" must be explained.

Every three letters form a gaṇa, so that in a line of 9 letters we have 3 gaṇas; in a line of 10 letters we have 3 gaṇas and one letter; in a line of 12 letters we have four gaṇas, and so on. The surplus letters are always at the end of the line, and if it happens to be long it is technically called "Śiva," if short "Viṣṇu."

Those letters are long which have the long vowels, such as ā, ē, ō, which are followed by āha or ēnē, and letters though short themselves which precede a double letter; for instance the 5 is short in itself, but from its preceding the double t it becomes lengthened. It will thus be seen that the three letters which form the gaṇa may be all three long, all three short, or a combination of long and short.

Each of these combinations—8 in all—has its own particular name and is sacred to its own particular god.

1. (Ma) gaṇa, sacred to the earth, is three long.— — —
2. (Ya) gaṇa—(water) is one short, two long. o — —
3. (Ra) gaṇa—(fire) is — o —
4. Lagana—(wind) is o o —
5. Tagana—(sky) is — o —
6. Jagaṇa—(sun) is o o —
7. Bagana—(moon) is o o o
8. Nagana (heaven) o o o

The order in which these gaṇas find a place in the line determines the vṛitta to which that piece of poetry belongs. In each vṛitta the gaṇas follow one another in their own proper order. Each verse consists of four lines. As is the first line, so must all the remaining three lines be. No difference can be allowed.

Take an example from the Mahāsragdhara Vṛttā:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>II.</th>
<th>III.</th>
<th>IV.</th>
<th>V.</th>
<th>VI.</th>
<th>VII.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we have 22 consonants in all, divided into 7 gaṇas and one letter which being long is "Śiva." The figures above the lines refer to the position in the line of each gaṇa; those below the line to the kinds of gaṇa. In each line it will be seen that I. and V. consist of two short and one long letter. This is the Lagaṇa or (4). The II. and III. are two long and one short letter. This is the Tagaṇa or (5). The IV. is three short letters. This is the Nagaṇa (8). The VI. and VII. are a long, a short, and a long letter. This is the Ragaṇa (3). The last letter being long is Śiva.

In order to belong to any particular vṛtta...
it is not sufficient that the line have the same number of ganas; it is absolutely necessary that the kinds of ganas should follow one another in the order special to that vritta. For instance, in the Mahāśragdara Vṛtta the order must be, 4, 5, 8, 4, 3, 3, Śiva.

In the “Manene Vṛtta” we have the same number of consonants and ganas, but since the kinds of ganas come in the following order:

1. II. III. IV. V. VI. VII.
7. 7. 7. 7. 7. 7.

the vṛtta goes by another name.

And so on through all the thousand and one vṛttas. Each has its own name and special rule.

One point requires special notice. It is common to both the great divisions “Ākṣhara Vṛtta” and “Mātra Vṛtta,” and is the one essential in all Kanarese poetry. Without this, lines, however well written and correct in every other respect, would not be considered poetry by the Kanarese critic. If the four lines of the Kanarese verse given be examined, it will be seen that the second consonant in each is the same. It is in this verse r. This is technically known as “A de Prasu.”

Whatever the second consonant of the first line is, the second consonant of the succeeding lines constituting a verse must be the same. This is a sīva guṇa non in Kanarese poetry.

The difficulty of always finding a suitable word with the second consonant the same has given rise to a poetical licence by which certain consonants are allowed to stand for one another. This is called “Mitra Prasu,” and the following consonants are held to be interchangeable:

ka kha ga gha with one another.
cha chha ja jha with one another.
ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha with one another.
ta tha da dha with one another.
pa pha ba bha with one another.
sa shā sa with one another.
ra la la with one another.

Again in some verses we find the last consonant is the same in every line of the verse. This is in Kanarese poetry called “Antya Prasu.” It is not essential, but those verses which have the Antya Prasu are, ceteris paribus, considered finer and more finished.

The Mātra Vṛtta is the second great division. In it the number of accents, not consonants, in each line are looked to, the different subdivisions being determined by the number of accents in the line.

The same rules which determine the length of the accent in the gana of the Ākṣhara Vṛtta apply to the consonants in the Mātra Vṛtta, viz., consonants with long vowels, as ā, ī; those preceding a double letter; and those followed by sonū or aha, are long. All others are short.

The Mātra Vṛtta is subdivided into three—“Kanda,” “Śatpade,” and “Areya.”

The Kanda consists of verses of four lines. The first and third lines have 12 accents, the second and fourth 20 accents. As long as the total number of accents in a line is correct, it is immaterial what the number of consonants are.

For example, take a verse of the Kanda:

\[ v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \cdot v \]

In the first line we have eight short accents and two long (four short): total 12. In the third line we have six short and three long: total 12. In the second line we have eight short and six long: total 20. In the fourth line six short, seven long: total 20.

A long accent, called “guru,” is equal to two short accents, called “lugu.” The proper number of accents in the lines is always expressed by the number of short accents such line may contain. It will be observed that the second consonant in each line of the above verse is the same, and happens to be n. But the vowels attached to this letter are not the same in all four lines.

In the first line it is na, short; in the fourth nd, long; in the second and third nu. The vowel only determines the length of the consonant, and has nothing to do with the great rule that the second consonant in each line must be the same.

The second subdivision of the Mātra Vṛtta is the Śatpade or verse of six lines. The Śatpade consists of six classes. The number of accents in each class varies.

1. The Śara Śatpade must contain the following number of accents in each line:
   1st—8, 2nd—8, 3rd—14, 4th—8, 5th—8, 6th—14.

The verse then is of the Bamene subdivision of the Satpade. The last subdivision of the Mātra Vṛtta is the Areya. Like the Kanda the Areya is a verse of four lines. The 1st and 3rd lines of the Areya verse must have 12 accents each. The number of accents in the 2nd and 4th lines determines the minor subdivision of the Areya to which the verse belongs.

The subdivisions are—

(i.) Gēta, where the 1st and 3rd lines have 12 accents, 2nd and 4th lines have 14.
(ii.) Uppa Gēta: 1st and 3rd lines—13 accents, 2nd and 4th lines—15.
(iii.) Sun Gēta: 1st and 3rd lines have 12 accents. The 2nd and 4th do not agree in the number of accents.

When the line is long enough to require it there is a rest or cæsura in the middle. This is called Yete. In the more perfect verse where a rest does occur, the initial consonant of the word following such rest is the same as the initial consonant of the line. This is not an essential, but, like the use of the Antya Prasu, the verse in which it is found is considered more finished and perfect.

**THE CALENDAR OF TIPU SULTAN.**

By P. N. Purnaiya, B.A., Yelundur.

It may be a matter of surprise to many that Tipú Sultan of Māisur, generally known as an illiterate person, invented a Calendar, differing from the ordinary Muhammadan one, and which he always used in officially addressing the various functionaries that served under him. It is not known at what time precisely he introduced his calendar, but it is believed by Colonel William Kirkpatrick* that he did so, some time between January and June 1784 A.D.

Tipú allowed the week to have the usual number of seven days, but the month was changed, for though the number of them in the year was twelve, yet it differs from both the European and Hindú month in the number of days that each contains. The principle according to which the number of days in the month is determined is peculiar. A partial explanation, is afforded in the following extract from the preface to Richardson’s Dictionary English, Persian, and Arabic:

> “The Muhammadan year is lunar. The months consist alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days. To the last an intercalary day is added eleven times in a period of thirty years, and these are abounding years. Thirty-two years of the Christian are nearly equal to thirty-three Muhammadan years.”

The difference will be obvious from the following table, which shows the Hindū names corresponding to the months of Tipú’s Calendar, and also the signs of the Zodiac.

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 Colonel Kirkpatrick says — "Though the foregoing names are not absolutely unmeaning, yet they would not appear to have had any appropriate signification attached to them, with the exception of the first, called by one of the names of Muhammad, and of the eighth or Hydry, which might possibly have been so denominated in honour of the Sultan's father, as Túluy might likewise have been in allusion to its being the month in which the Sultan himself was born."

With respect to the last column in the table, Colonel Kirkpatrick says that the first arrangement was after some time superseded by another; the Sultan having, as there is reason to believe, made a second reform of the calendar in A.D. 1787-88. The latter alteration would not appear to have extended further than to the substitution of new names for the months and years in the place of those first assigned to them.

I have said that the principle according to which the number of days is determined is peculiar. If the table be examined, it will be seen that while the last seven months consist of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, according to the Muhammadan system, in the first five months that rule is not observed. It differs also from the Hindú year, because the months of that always consist of thirty days, or rather tilis (रूपेण) as they call them.

The point of interest in the names of the months is that the initial letter of each denotes its place in the calendar, according to the well-known notation called "Ubjud", which assigns a certain numerical power to every letter in the alphabet. There being no single letter to express either eleven or twelve, the first two letters of Izady and Buyase together denote the place of each respectively in the order of months. Thus

\[(\text{Iz}) + (\text{B}) = 1 + 10 = 11, \quad \text{and} \quad (\text{B}) + (\text{Y}) = 2 + 10 = 12.\]

The verse after the first word of which the notation is named, as well as the numerical power assigned severally to the letters composing it, is thus given in Richardson's Dictionary under the word "Ubjud."

Richardson's explanation of the word Ubjud is as follows: — "The name of an arithmetical verse the letters of which have different powers from one to a thousand. This was probably the ancient order of the alphabet."

The verse itself is formed by just writing together the letters, in order of the Arabic alphabet, in groups of three or four or more, as in the first instance pleased the whim of the contriver. Each letter has a numerical signification attached to it, as is the case in the Roman system of notation. This Ubjud notation applies only to the series of names first given by Tipú Sultan to the months. The
new names given in the subsequent revision possessed the same property as the old, namely, that of severally indicating the number of the year and the order of the month by virtue of their numerical power. The notation, however, subsequently used was, as I learn from Colonel Kirkpatrick, different from the Ubjud. It has been called Ubṭus, an unmeaning word formed by a combination of the first four letters of the Persian alphabet. By the Sultan himself, however, it was called (Zur) The notation is this—

The difference between the two schemes consists in this; in the Ubjud the numerical powers of the letters depend on their order in the arbitrary verse referred to; whereas in the Ubṭus or Zur they depend on the order of the letters in the alphabet. The eleventh and twelfth months are indicated here again, as in the former scheme, by the first two letters of their respective names, ṭr being rẹ + alif = 10 + 1 = 11, and rub rẹ + bẹ = 10 + 2 = 12.

There were also intercalary or supplementary months, called by the Sultan (ṣaḥ) zāyad, a d-hika in Sanskrit. As I have not met with any clue to the principle on which this was arranged, I satisfy myself with the bare proof of its existence. A letter to Kāmrūddin Khān is dated 28th Extra-Ahmedy, corresponding with the 14th of April 1785 A. D., and another letter addressed to Būrhanūddin on the 23rd April of the same year is dated 8th Regular Ahmedy. This instance serves as a proof of the existence of the intercalary month, and warrants the inference that this month always preceded the regular month—for what reason does not appear.

I come next to the year. The mode of calculating years is by cycles of 60, as it is with Hindus and with all the peoples of Southern India except the Muhammadans. The number of days is 354. Colonel Kirkpatrick says—

“It is a known rule that to make the solar and lunar years accord, seven returns of the intercalary or supplementary month are required in the course of nineteen years. Now from the 36th to the 53rd of the cycle (both inclusive) is a period of nineteen years, in the course of which seven leap-years occur, viz. five which are clearly ascertained, and two which have been assumed. But, notwithstanding this apparent conformity, the two reckonings do not coincide when, according to this rule, they might be expected to do so. The reason of this discrepancy no doubt is that though the months established by Tīpū were ordinarily called lunar, they were not strictly so; six of the twelve months of the year consisted of thirty and the other of twenty-nine days each. And therefore the common year of 354 was neither lunar nor solar.”

I am sorry I am not able to give the entire list of the years composing the cycle. The following list however contains the names of the seventeen years over which Tīpū’s administration extended; and these are all that I am able to collect from the work referred to.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of the Cycle</th>
<th>Name in the first scheme</th>
<th>Name in the second scheme</th>
<th>Corresponding year of Hindu cycle</th>
<th>Corresponding with A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Jebāl</td>
<td>Rubīz</td>
<td>Śūbhakritī</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Zāky</td>
<td>Sukh</td>
<td>Śūbhakritū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Uzl</td>
<td>Sukhā</td>
<td>Krodhi</td>
<td>1784-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Julo</td>
<td>Durāz</td>
<td>Vīśvāvasu</td>
<td>1785-86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dulo</td>
<td>Busd</td>
<td>Parabhava</td>
<td>1786-87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mā</td>
<td>Shā</td>
<td>Plavanga</td>
<td>1787-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Kubk</td>
<td>Sāri</td>
<td>Kīkā</td>
<td>1788-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Jum</td>
<td>Sūrab</td>
<td>Saumya</td>
<td>1789-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Jām</td>
<td>Sheṣa</td>
<td>Siddhārana</td>
<td>1790-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>A’dam</td>
<td>Zuburgud</td>
<td>Virūdhakritgya</td>
<td>1791-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Wuly</td>
<td>Suhr</td>
<td>Paridhāvi</td>
<td>1792-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Wāly</td>
<td>Sābir</td>
<td>Pramādīcha</td>
<td>1793-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Kankub</td>
<td>Rāsikh</td>
<td>Ananda</td>
<td>1794-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Kuwākīb</td>
<td>Shīd</td>
<td>Rākhasa</td>
<td>1795-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Yum</td>
<td>Hiraseṭ</td>
<td>Nala</td>
<td>1796-97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Duwām</td>
<td>Sāz</td>
<td>Pingḍa</td>
<td>1797-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Humḍ</td>
<td>Shādāb</td>
<td>Kālayūkti</td>
<td>1798-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Hāmid</td>
<td>Bāṛsh</td>
<td>Siddhāṛti</td>
<td>1799</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remarks regarding the meaning of the names of the months apply also to those of the years. They have, as before, the property of indicating the order by their initial letters. For, taking any name at random, say ṭī (Adam) the order of it would be according to the Ubjud

* The Persian letter ṭ being excluded from this scheme as well as from the Ubjud, the Persian letters ḫ ṫ and ḫ are in like manner omitted in both.
notation, 45th. Thus $1 + 3 + 3 = 1 + 4 + 40 = 45$. The corresponding name of the second scheme \(\text{Dzuburjud}\) will number the same, according to the Ubtus or Zur notation thus—$3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 9 = 20 + 2 + 10 + 5 + 8 = 45$.

Now taking the two different notations we have merely to substitute letters of those notations to the number we want to indicate. For example, take numbers 57 and 28, which are not in the table given above, or in Col. Kirkpatrick's work. I suppose their names would be according to the first scheme \(3 (nuz)\) and \(i 5\% (kaza)\) respectively; and according to the second scheme or the Ubtus notation \(zº\) (sukh) and \$3 (zukh) respectively. For 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{scheme 1st} & : n + z = 50 + 7 = 57, \\
\text{scheme 2nd} & : i + x = 50 + 7 = 57
\end{align*}
\]

These are not the only names that may be given them, for there may be as many others as there are component parts to 57 and 28—a pleasant algebraical problem! Therefore any names I give may not be those given to them by the Sultan.

There is a resemblance between this calendar and that in use in Southern India, commonly named “the Malabar” cycle. To the years composing this cycle the Sultan appears to have given new names, as he did to the months of the year. Among several of the Brahmanical sects of Southern India it is still in vogue to have an adhika māsa, or extra month, once in the course of thirty months.

The numerical order of the years was the same as in the era of the Hejira; and the Sultan was satisfied with the mere change of the appellation. He gave to it the name of “ the era of Muhammad,” and he sometimes called the same the “Mauludi era.” The latter does not seem very applicable, for Mauludi means birth, and the difference between the Prophet’s birth and his flight to Medina from Mecca is nearly thirteen years.

**SERVICE TENURES IN CEYLON.**

*(From the Reports of the Commissioner for 1870 and 1871.)*

The Service Tenure Ordinance, No. 4 of 1870, having for its object the abolition of predial serfdom in the Kandyan Provinces, and the payment, in lieu of services, of an annual money-rent, was brought into operation on the 1st of February 1870, by Proclamation dated 21st January 1870.

The Ordinance requires the Commissioners to determine the following points:—

(1) The tenure of every service panguwa, whether it be Pravēni or Māruwena. (2) The names, so far as can be ascertained, of the proprietors and holders of each pravēni panguwa. (3) The nature and the extent of services due for each pravēni panguwa. (4) The annual amount of money-payment for which such services may be fairly commuted.

Here, as generally in oriental countries, the king was the lord paramount of the soil, which was possessed by hereditary holders, on the condition of doing service according to their caste. The liability to perform service was not a personal obligation, but attached to the land, and the maximum service due for a holding large enough to support an entire family was generally the labour of one male for six months in a year.

Besides the land thus held by the ordinary peasant proprietors, there were the estates of the crown, of the church, and of the chiefs. These are known as Gabadāgam, royal villages,—Vihāragam and Dewālagam, villages belonging to Buddhist monasteries and temples (dewāla),—and Nindagam, villages of large proprietors. These last either were the ancestral property of the chiefs (pravēnigum), or were originally royal villages bestowed from time to time on favourites of the court. In these estates, certain portions, known as Mutṭēṭṭa or Banūlār lands, were retained for the use of the palace, monastery, or manor-house, while the rest was given out in parcels to cultivators, followers, and dependents, on condition of cultivating the reserved lands, or performing various services from the most menial to mere homage, or paying certain dues, &c. These followers or dependents had at first no hereditary title to the parcels of land thus allotted to them. These allotments, however, generally, passed from father to son, and in course of time hereditary title was in fact acquired...

There were thus two distinct sources whence the claim to service was derived. The right

*A panguwa is a farm, allotment, or holding; a pravēni panguwa is an hereditary holding; māruwena panguwa is defined by the ordinance to be an allotment "held by one or more tenants-at-will."
of the king as lord paramount of the soil, whence originated a strictly feudal system; and the right of the crown, the church, and the chiefs, as landlords, to services in lieu of rent—in other words, to a service-rent instead of a money-rent—a system closely resembling emphyteusis. The public burdens fell on those who held on the feudal tenure. They guarded the barriers and passed into the hills; they served as soldiers, cut timber for public purposes, and executed public works. To ensure the due performance of these services, a careful register was kept of every separate holding, and the holdings were placed under the several public departments, the heads of which were responsible to the king for the proper distribution of the labour available for carrying on the public service of the country.

The non-feudal tenant, or emphyteutic, if he may be so called, cultivated the land whence the palace, monastery, or manor-house was supplied with corn; he provided domestic officers and servants of every grade, from the seneschal of the palace to the cook-boy of the kitchen at the manor-house, and rendered personal service of every kind, for which he was paid wages in land.

It is with these two classes of tenants—the tenants of the temples, and the tenants of private propitators—that the present Ordinance has to deal; and the claim of the temples and proprietors to receive a fair equivalent for the services, in the shape of a money-rent, has grown up in the course of many generations, according to the pleasure of many landlords, and to the varying necessities and menial description, the lightest being usually paid most highly, while the heaviest are generally rewarded by enough land to afford only a bare subsistence, and precisely the same services which he was paid wages inland.

In fact the services have become attached to the land in the course of many generations, according to the pleasure of many landlords, and to the varying necessities of many tenants. Large farms have been bestowed on younger branches of a family, and also provide for the service of the kitchen; and though there is a complete absence of equality and system in the remuneration given for domestic services, all such services are provided for with the utmost care. A chief with several villages will draw his cook or his bath-boy for two or three months a year from one village from another for four months, from a third for one month, &c., carefully arranging to have one on duty throughout the year. There are the potter to make tiles and supply earthenware; the smith to clean the brass vessels, and repair and make agricultural implements; the chunam-burner to

supply lime; the dobi or washerman; the mat-weaver (Kinnarayā); and the outcast Rodiyā who buries the carcasses of animals that die on the estate, and supplies ropes, &c., made of hide and fibres. Others supply pack-bullocks for the transport of the produce of the fields, and for bringing supplies of salt and cured fish from the towns on the coast.

The relations between the proprietor and tenants are generally of a friendly character, and when the connection has remained unbroken for many generations a strong feeling of attachment exists, and it is to this that may be attributed the readiness with which the proprietors have assented to the adoption of the view propounded by the District Judge of Kandy (Mr. Berwick), that the mere fact of the present holder being a son or heir of the tenant who preceded him, and died in possession, raises a presumption of praveni, i.e., hērēditāry title, which presumption is directly opposed to Kandy'an tradition. Nevertheless the chiefs and priests have been generally willing to waive all dispute as to the hereditary title, on being assured of the continuance of the customary services, or the payment, in lieu, of a fair rent...

The tenants on estates belonging to the Buddhist monasteries keep the buildings in repair, cultivate the reserved fields, prepare the daily offerings of rice, attend the priests on journeys, &c. A remarkable case of religious toleration which has become known in the course of the Service Tenures inquiry is perhaps deserving of mention. The tenants in the village Rambukan-dana, belonging to the ancient monastery of Ridi Wihāre, are all Muhammadans. The service which they render to that establishment is confined to the payment of dues and the transport of produce, &c., and has no connection with the services of the Buddhist Wihāre, and their own lebbe or priest is supported by a farm set apart by the Buddhist landlords for that purpose. There are thus Muhammadan tenants performing without reluctance service to a Buddhist monastery, and that monastery freely supporting a priest for its Muhammadan tenants. The head of this monastery has from its foundation been a member of the Tibbōtuwāwe family. This is the most important of the numerous private livings in Ceylon. When one of these becomes vacant, before one of the family to which it belongs has been ordained, here, as in England, a temporary incumbent is put in, who generally serves as tutor to the young heir.

On the Dewāle lands the service is most complicated and peculiar, the part which each tenant has to take in the annual processions being minutely defined; and it is to this that the popularity of the Dewāle service is owing. These processions afford the ordinary villagers the only opportunities for a general gathering, and for taking part in a pageant and a show, and above all it is on these occasions that the social distinctions, to which the Kandyans attach great importance, are publicly recognized.*...

There is one question connected with the Wihāre and Dewāle estates which must before long force itself on the consideration of Government. There is no means of ensuring the due application of the rents from these estates to their legitimate purposes. The labour which should be employed on the repair of the ecclesiastical buildings is frequently taken for the erection of private buildings of the priests and lay incumbents, and the dues are often not accounted for. The complaints of misappropriation of the temple property are frequent. Even the land is sometimes sold to ignorant purchasers, and when the services are commuted, this misappropriation, if not checked, will increase, to the serious demoralization of the priests and Basnāyakas. If the revenues are not devoted to their original purpose, they should be employed in education or otherwise, for the benefit of the people, and not be appropriated to the personal use of Buddhist priests and Basnāyakas.

In a village near Badulla, nearly the whole of the land is in the hands of one family, which holds the office of Basnāyaka of the Dewāle to which the village is said to belong. But the Dewāle is in ruins, the processions are not conducted, and the Government gives up its tithe only to enrich a private family.†

It is necessary to again call attention to this question, as the evil is daily growing greater, and, with its growth, demoralizing the people, and diminishing the value of the public lands set apart for ecclesiastical purposes. In the course of the past year a very serious case came to the knowledge of the Commissioners. The Dambulu wihāre is, as is well known, a shrine held in great reverence by the people of Siam, for the purpose of restoring the Upasampadā ordination, objected to the observance of this Hindu ceremony in a Buddhist country. To remove their scruples, the king ordered the Padala relic of Buddha to be carried thenceforth in procession with the insignia of the four deities; nevertheless, the Perahera is not regarded as a Buddhist ceremony.

† Report for 1870.
by the Buddhists, and it is a place of great interest, worthy of being maintained as a historical monument, being the only rock-temple of any importance in Ceylon, and possessing a painted roof which is the best example of Buddhist art in the island. To this wihāra belong large and valuable forests, which should be preserved for supplying the necessary timber for the maintenance of the buildings belonging to the wihāra, and also for the benefit of the wihāra tenants—to whom the wild honey, jungle ropes, and pasture for cattle, to be found in these forests, are of considerable value. The incumbent of the wihāra, without regard to the interests of which he was the guardian, sold to a low-country carpenter all the valuable timber in one of the large forests and omitted to pay the money into the wihāra chest. Complaint was made to the Commissioners, but they had no power to act. They however called the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities to the matter, and the incumbent has been called upon to pay in to the credit of the wihāra upwards of £170, probably less than a third of the amount he has received. It is doubtful whether he will pay even this. Certainly he will go unpunished. The people know that their priest has committed the greatest crime a Buddhist can commit, for, in their language, "he has robbed Buddha." They know also that he has committed a great offence against our laws, having appropriated to himself the property of which he was the trustee. The Buddhist authorities will not seek to remove him, because they cannot act without the aid of our Courts. The tenants will not act, because they are afraid to take steps against a man of influence with money at command. Others will not act, because the expenses would come out of their own pockets. This is only one example out of many; and nothing can be more injurious, nothing more demoralizing, than for the people to see frauds of this kind committed by trustees of temple property go unpunished. It is not easy to suggest a remedy for fear of the outcry, "The Government is supporting Buddhism, &c. &c." It would be well if this question could be dealt with merely as a matter of good government, untrammelled by the odium theologicum. It is simply the question of preserving for the public those public lands at present set apart for religious purposes, which, unless closely looked after, will gradually become lost to the public altogether. In the course of the past year there have been two important judgments delivered by the Supreme Court, which it may be useful here to notice. The first is known as the Adam's Peak Case. In 1853 the Crown relinquished the right to appoint to Buddhist offices, but the power of removal was retained. If these judgments were publicly known and understood, and if the powers which they declare to exist were systematically exercised, much might be done to check peculation and embezzlement; but it is doubtful whether any real good can be effected unless some such supervision is exercised over the temple property here as is found necessary in the case of Friendly Societies in England. There can be no security against fraud until the temple lands are placed in charge of a Government officer, at any rate to the extent of no lease or agreement being valid unless it be entered in his office, and until all trustees of temple property are required to send in annually, to a Government officer, accounts showing the revenues, whether in kind or in money, and details of the expenditure.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF MAISUR.

From the Report of the Administration of Mysore for 1871-72.

The Province abounds with inscriptions on stone or copper, recording royal benefactions and other public gifts; the historical data derivable from which are perhaps the most authentic extant, while at the same time they throw much light on the earlier forms of the language, and furnish other collateral information of considerable interest. But in the case of inscriptions of prior date to the year 1000 of the era of Śālavāhana, or 800 years ago, a difficulty presents itself in the strange and obsolete characters of the writing. These are found in many cases to resemble the letters of the Western Cave and old Gujarāt inscriptions, of which the Bogāra stone, in the Government Museum at Bengālur, may serve as a specimen. In others of Jain origin, as in the rock inscriptions of Śrāvāna Belagola, they are more like the Låt and old Pāli forms. Towards the east the Grantha character, with some admixture, is frequently met with, as in the Kolār Amma temple.

A number of these śāstras have been deciphered and translated from photographs. A catalogue is further being prepared of all inscriptions to be found in the country, with the view of selecting for translation such as appear to be of...
most importance, or in greatest danger of defacement by the hand of time. A similar register is stated to have been made in the reign of Chikka Deva Rāja (1672–1704); but the collection was unfortunately either lost or destroyed when the Province came under Muhammadan rule.

At Śrávana Bellagola, famous for its colossal statue of the Jain god Gómatesvara, there are several inscriptions cut in the rock, on the top of the smaller of the two hills. The character is a very ancient form of Kanarese, fac-similes of which have been submitted to Pandits through the Editor of the Indian Antiquary. The following stones, with inscriptions of a similar character, have recently been discovered in the Nandidurg Division,—two stones at Betmangala, which have been converted into village deities; two large slabs on the site of the ancient city of Aralikōtu, near Śrinivāspura, probably intermediate between the śrāvana Bellagola and Begāru inscriptions; and a large slab of a more recent date on the site of old Bidalūru, near Gōribidānrū.

Some burrows of considerable dimensions have also been discovered in the Hassan District, but none have yet been opened.

**Review.**

The Prosody of the Persians according to Saifi, Jāmi, and other writers. By H. Blochmann, M.A.—Calcutta, 1872.

Professor Blochmann has given a new proof of his accurate scholarship, not merely by editing Saifi’s Prosody and Jāmi’s Qāfiyah, but by correctly translating and enriching them with his own notes. “The Prosody of the Persians” is no doubt intended for a school book, to be explained by competent teachers. The Hints and Exercises (pp. 94-101) are most excellent, but it is to be feared insufficient for any, except very bright students, if read without a master. The solutions are merely references to the various metres according to which the examples given are to be scanned, but if each example of these metres had itself been fully explained, the scansion of the exercises from the Gulistán would have been easy to the dullest. A metre, if it is to serve as a model, ought to be treated nearly in this way:—The feet of which it consists are to be written as usual, and also the line or lines to be scanned. Beneath this the feet are to be written with their constituent parts sa-bah, wakat, fācilah, properly marked as moved or quiescent, and the line to be written under them expressly for the purpose of scansion; dislocating the words to suit the feet, omitting the letters elided, and writing those which must be pronounced and scanned. Something of this kind is done only in one instance (on p. 8). This manner will perhaps not be considered too pedantic if it be remembered how intricate scanning appears to beginners, and that writers on scansion are on some points themselves like doctors—who disagree, as Professor Blochmann has himself had occasion to observe and point out; although, after all, Persian poetry, like English, is scanned according to sound rather than orthography; hence the ear is in reality the best guide. Sir W. Jones expressly states (Works, Vol. VI. p. 437, ed. 1799) that the measure of the Leila wa Majnūn of Hafiz, which enabled him to correct a number of lines in it, was embodied in the words Leº 6mni imperáre debét.

It is not merely interesting, but proper and very necessary, that students should know accurately to what metre a piece of poetry belongs and it may be presumed that the minute way of marking out the feet with their constituent parts hinted at above would materially aid correct scansion, without which the whole science of prosody is nothing. It would not give much trouble to present some idea to Orientals of the manner of scansion by means of long and short marks, and to show them that numerous as their feet are, they have all their equivalents in Latin and Greek prosody. Perhaps it would be sufficient to give those only which correspond to the eight original feet of the Arabs, thus:—Bacchius, iambospondeus, iambos-anapaestus, trochaos-spondeus, amphimacrus, spondeo-iambus, anapaest-iambus, and spondeo-trochaus.

As far as Europeans are concerned, Professor Blochmann has supplied a real want, since the few works which have been written on this subject are now mostly out of print, and he has done a very great service to all the lovers of the sweet tongue of Erán.—E. R.
Near Humayun's tomb a short way from Dehli is that of Jehānārā Banū Begum, which, says Mr. F. Cooper, "is deserving of respect on account of the virtues of her whose ashes it covers. She was celebrated throughout the East for her wit and beauty, and her name will ever adorn the page of history as a bright example of filial attachment and heroic self-devotion to the dictates of duty, more especially when viewed in contrast with the behaviour of her sister Roxānāră, who, by aiding the ambitious designs of Aurangzib, enabled him to dethrone Shah Jehân. The amiable and accomplished Jehānārā not only supported her aged father in his adversity, but voluntarily resigned her liberty and resided with him during his ten years' imprisonment in the fort of Agrá. She did not long survive her father, and there are strong suspicions that she died by poison. Her tomb is of white marble, open at the top, and at the head is a tablet of the same, with a Persian inscription in laid in black marble letters."

The following is from the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:

"Princess Jahānārā was the second daughter of Shāhjahān by Mumtāz Mahall (the 'Tāj-bibi'), and was born on Wednesday, 21st Cafar, 1023 [23rd March, 1614]. She is called in Muhammadan histories Mustatāb Begum, or Begum Čahib,† and died at Dihlī on the 3rd Ramazān, 1092 [6th September, 1681, A.D.], in her sixty-eighth year. Like many of the imperial princesses, she was not married. She disliked her younger brother Aurangzib. Her numerous charities gained for her a good name.

Regarding her death, the Maqāīr ʻAlamgīrī says—"On the 7th Ramazān, His Majesty received a report that the angelic queen of the angels of the world of good and pious deeds, Jahānārā Banū Begum, had died at Dihlī on the 3rd. She was buried in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Shaikh Nizāmuddin Auliā, where she had before built a tomb for herself. His Majesty [Aurangzib] was much afflicted by the death of his elder sister, and ordered that the naubat (music at sunrise, &c.) should not be played at Court for three days."

The inscription is—

He is the Living, the Lasting!
Let no one cover my lonely grave
With gold or with silver brocade:
Sufficient for me is the cover of turf
Which God for the poor has made.

The poor, theorable, Jahānārā, the disciple of the Chisht Saints, † daughter of Shahjahān Pādishāh i Ghāzī—May God enlighten his evidence! A.H. 1092.

The verse contains an allusion to the practice of the Muhammadans to cover the tombs of saints with costly cloths, or at least with a white sheet, as may still be seen in many dargāhs.

J. W. B. Martin, Esq., communicated the following:—

At the village of Barantpur, in Zila' Bhāgalpur, there is being built at present a shrine, at which immense numbers of Hindus assemble during the Durgā pujā, to offer up kids, &c., to Chándi, the supposed goddess of the place. At this place, a long time ago, were found a few black stones, a carving of a woman rather larger than life, a figure of a warrior on what appears to be a tiger and is called by the natives Budhai (this figure is rather damaged), and a few stones such as were let in as threshold stones in grand native buildings of ancient date. On one of the latter is an inscription. Mr. John Christian has kindly translated it for me.

The characters are what they here call Debâchār and Mithilāchār. On my inquiring from the villagers if they knew anything of the antecedents of the place, I managed to get a little information, which I add. In the old days, when the former shrine was in its glory, a Muslim encampment was formed to the north of Barantpur, and the troops therein were under the command of a powerful general. This general one day, being excited by drink, determined to humble the pride of the goddess and disgrace the religion of the Hindus, and ordered his darwān to go and ask the hand of the goddess Mahēswari in marriage. She, guessing that their intention was merely to disgrace her by so mean a union, and knowing that her people were unable to cope in war with the Mughuls pretended to consent to the union, but proposed certain conditions, which were that the Mughuls should in one night, before cockcrow, make a fort of certain

* Guide to Dehli, p. 108.
† To which also the renowned Mu'īnuddin i Chishti of Ajmir belongs. He was looked upon as the patron of the Imperial family.
dimensions and a hundred tanks in its vicinity, and
should offer a black kid at her shrine. The fort was
made, ninety-nine tanks were dug, and the hun-
dredth tank was nearly completed; the kid was
being led towards that shrine, in order to be ready
to be offered on the completion of the hundredth
tank, when the goddess, transforming herself into
cock, crew. The conditions not having been
completed, the marriage was not performed. The
Mughuls, however, frightened at her power, fled
from this portion of the country. The fort allud-
ed to I have seen, as also the tanks; the fort is
situated near the village of Uti. The tanks,
although I have not counted ninety-nine, exist in
great numbers, but appear to have been dug mer-
ly to obtain earth for making the earthwork of the
fort, which extends over about one square mile of
ground. About the centre of the oblong-shaped
site is a spot very much higher than any other
portion of the fort. There are no legends which
explain when or why this shrine was neglected as
a place of worship, but it is quite clear that for a
long time such was the case; for comparatively
lately the stones I have described were dug up,
and a Goâla built a shed over them, and from this
time all castes of natives have continued to
worship Maheśvari there, under the name of
Chândi. From the first Goâla family which
looked after this shrine, sixteen hundred families
now exist in the villages adjacent to Barantpur.
These Goâlas are called Debahar, the exact mean-
ing of which is not known, but it is only a man of this
class who can attend to the duties of this shrine.
This class of Goâla did not exist till the stones
were discovered, nor do they exist, as far as I
know, in any other part of India. I should here
tell you that the goddess or figure of the woman
is only half visible, the natives being afraid to
unearth it. To the south-west of the place where
the goddess stands is an immensely deep, per-
fectly round tank, from which, rumour says, all
the water used for the shrine was taken. The whole
of the land round is high, but the natives decline
to allow it to be dug.

Inscription on a granite door-frame found in
Barantpur, March 1872:—

'The conquering Sarba Singha Deba, who is
adorned with all good qualities, the blessed of
Maheśvari, the joy-bestowing moon of the lotus
lineage of Budhesa.'

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ON PROF HOERNLE'S THEORY OF THE
GENITIVE POST-POSITIONS.

Sir,—The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Ben-
gal (Part I. No. 2—1872) contains four essays of
Prof. Hoernle's "in aid of a Comparative Grammar
of the Gaurian languages." The greatest interest
attaches to the second essay (pp. 124-144), in
which Prof. Hoernle endeavours to prove that the
Sanskrit participle krița is, in one form or
other, the original of the genitive post-positions in
the modern Aryan languages of India. Prof.
Hoernle no doubt shows a considerable amount of
acumen, but it is unfortunate that his acumen is
not supported by a more thorough knowledge of
the Pârâkrit language. Thus (at p. 154) he in-
stances several times a Pârâkrit word 'bharamarako,'
and apparently is unaware that some of his inter-
pretations, which he believes to be new, are very
old and have been refuted long ago. Every Pâr-
âkrit scholar will be struck by the assertion (at p.
141) that the Pârâkrit of the plays is founded upon
the Sûtras of Vararuchi. On the contrary, it is a
well known and often discussed fact that the Pâr-
âkrit of the plays is far from being the same as
that taught by Vararuchi, and there is scarcely a
page of any drama which does not clearly prove
this. In my opinion it is not possible to weld
into one all post-positions of the modern languages,
as Prof. Hoernle does. As for the genitive post-
positions in the Bangâli and Oriya languages, it is
easy to prove that Prof. Hoernle is in error. He
derives them from a Pârâkrit word kerakô or kerika,
which he asserts to be only found in the Mrîchchha-
katikâ, and even there only about fourteen
times. This sweeping assertion, twice repeated,
is at variance with fact. I have noticed thirty-
eight passages where this word occurs in the
Mrîchchha katikâ, viz. (ed. Stenzler) p. 4, 5, mama
erakera; p. 21, 21, attakera mukika; 37, 13, palake-
laan; 85, 3, attakeraka; 53, 20, vesshavakerako;
63, 16, ajuhkerako; 64, 19, ajesa kerako; 65, 10, tassa
kerao; 65, 11, attakerakæ; 68, 11, amhakeraka; 74,
8, attakeraketti; 88, 27, attakerakeretti; 90, 14,
mama kerïa; 95, 6, kerika; 96, 21, kaśha kelae; 96,
22, kelako; 97, 3, kelako; 100, 13, kassa keraka;
100, 20, ajjacñudatatåha kelae; 104, 9, apparo
kerikan; 112, 10, kelae; 118, 17, attakerakle;
119, 5, bappakelako; 122, 14, mama kelakado; 122,
15, mama kelikîna; 130, 10, attakerakdetika; 132,
4, mama kelako; 132, 16, mama kelake; 133,2,
mama kelaka: 139, 16, attaukelaka; 146, 16, mama kelaka: 152, 6, tavaśīne kelaka; 153, 9, ajachārūdatassā kerakā, 164, 3, attaukelika: 164, 8, mama kolika; 167, 3, attaukelika; 167, 21, mama kolika; 173, 9, ajāsāsa kolake. Among all these thirty-eight passages I cannot find in Prof. Stenzler's edition the one alluded to by Professor Hoernle where a form pppkelaka is said to occur. Prof. Hoernle doubtless alludes to p. 119, 5, but all the MSS. have there boppokelaka; as given in Stenzler's edition. Professor Stenzler remarks in a note that the Calcutta edition has bppkelaka (sic?), which is translated by 'prākrita.' Now it must be remembered that from this very form ppkelaka, which does not really exist, Professor Hoernle takes the whole meaning of keraka itself, and that all his arguments as to the meaning of keraka are taken from this imaginary word. This alone would be sufficient to invalidate the deductions of Professor Hoernle. But besides this, keraka, it is true, does not occur so often in any other play as in the Mrichchhakātikā; but there are nevertheless several examples of it. It is found twice in the Śīkṣatālam (ed. Chézy) p. 114, 1; bhāttake taiva kelake ṣāmpadānā mama jvīde; and p. 152, 12, mama kerake udāje; also Milavikātā, p. 23, 9 (ed. Tullberg), parakeram tti kariā; Milatimidhava (ed Calc. 1866), p. 104, 12, taśāsa jeyva kerāsaśa attano sartrassa; Mudrārākhāsā, p. 9, 12 (ed. Calc. 1831), attano jeyva kerāsaśa Dhammabhāduaśa gharan hodi; and in Hīla (ed. Weber) A 17,—maha mandabhaśi keranā. There is not the slightest reason for the supposition of Professor Hoernle that the use of this word was "slang:" it is employed even by the Sūtradhāra, Mrichchh. 4, 3, who in all probability was a Brāhman, and on the other hand, the police officers in Śīk: p. 110, 5, who certainly belong to the "slang-people," do not use kloka, but its Sanskrit equivalent kṣya. Nor is there an adjectivenoun kerika keraka... 

Now Prof. Lassen has given the right interpretation in deriving it from the Sanskrit kārya, which accounts for all the facts, and has been adopted by Prof. Weber (Hīla, p. 38) as in accordance with the laws of the Prākrit language.

In the principal Prākrit dialect of the plays the substantive kārya, which originally was a part. fut. pass., generally changes into kajja, and is then used here and there in the same sense as keranā. Thus for instance, Bantuvali (ed. Calc. 1871, p. 20, 12) jai paṭhādā na bhunjādā tā mama edīnā na kajjaṁ i.e. "therefore I had nothing to do with it," "it does not concern me;" Mudrārākātā (ed. Calc. 1831, p. 9, 2) pājama sa jamassa chalane kim kajjaṁ devēhi anēhpān i.e. "what have you to do with other gods?" "what do other gods concern you?" In the Pāli language 'kicchāma' is employed quite in the same way as the Prākrit 'kajjaṁ.' Several examples are given by Mr. Childers in his excellent Pāli Dictionary (s.v. kiccho). The same signification is found in keranā, Milavā. 23, 9, where the learned and accurate Shankar P. Pandit (p. 28, 2) ought to have written with the best MSS.: parakeram tti karia. The word 'parakeram' is here equivocal; the sentence means as well "because it belongs to another" as "because another ought to do so." Like arthama and nimittam, so we see keranā used in Hīla, A 17: maha mandabhaśi keranā, "for the sake of me an unfortunate girl," and also 'kajjaṁ' in Mudrārākātā, 39, 11: anājana kusāi kajjaṁ, i.e. "it (the bee) does it for the sake of others." Thus 'kajjaṁ' and 'keranā' are in every respect identical. Later, 'kera' was changed into a mere simple adjectivenoun meaning "belonging to," and then assumes the Prākrit affix 'ka,' so that parakera and attakeraka or attakeraka answer to the Sanskrit para- kīya and atnākīya. Professor Hoernle believes that in some of his examples kera has become a sort of affix. If this be true it ought not to be inflected as it really is. One instance like Mrichchh. 38, 3: ajajasa attakeraka edām geham, might have warned him. The use of kera nowhere differs, even in the slightest, from that of all other adjectivenouns: all the cases of keraka are found except the dative and vocative, the want of genitive occurs: Mudrārākātā, 9, 12; Milatimā. 104, 12; and the plural is found in Mrichchh. 122, 15; 130, 10; 152, 6; 153, 9. Like all the other adjectivenouns, keraka has masculine, feminine, and neuter; indeed it is often perfectly pleonastic; but there is nothing extraordinary in that, it being quite in accordance with the Prākrit of the plays. People of lower condition likes a fuller and more individual sort of speech and to emphasise their own dear selves.
Thus we see very often "nija" used, where it might as well be omitted; for instance Urv. (ed. Bollensen) 68, 111, 126, and Urv. 31: yasarire, and Mudr. 94, 8: aham yian gehan gamissan the word "nija" is used quite in the place of the pronoun 'mama.' The participle "gada" is frequently employed instead of a case, e.g. Urv. 21, 13: —uvasagolam ukkatham virodhdu bhavam; or Sik. 78, 15: taggulera ahlisera. Not a whit different from the use of keraka is that of sandha, e.g. Urv. 21, 8: —kasanamanisiliavaṭṭasatāho adimuttaladāmañdaco; conf. Sik. 123, 5; Milan. 5, 9; and so of many other adjectival nouns. Prof. Hoernle gives an example of how he thinks the genitive in the Bangāli language has originated. He maintains that the genitive of santina was originally santinakerako. We must stop here. I have shown above that all the cases of keraka occur, and that it is always inflected. It is utterly impossible therefore to adopt a form santinakerako. Prof. Hoernle might as well say santinakerako or kerakau or kerakase, &c. This only depends on the preceding or following substantive and the sense of the whole passage. We have no right whatever to insist upon any special case or a non-inflected form. For the same reason, all the other derivations as santinakera, santinaera, &c. are mere phantoms. The word keraka is far too modern to undergo so vast and rapid a change as to be curtailed to simple "er." The singular participle kulu, in Mrichch. 31, 16, mentioned by Prof. Hoernle, is not a participle but the regular imperative. The termination ra is certainly peculiar to the Prākrit language. Prof. Weber (Illy, p. 68) quotes a good many real Prākrit adjectival nouns in ira, to which we may add "navaṭṭa" (Urv. 75). This might have contributed to such a curtailment as this, but Prof. Hoernle ought not to have overlooked the fact that in the more modern dialects keraka is always changed into kelaka.

As for the other languages I do not intend to go into details here. But to show that Prof. Hoernle's deductions are not more probable, I point out the Gujarāti postpositions. He derives them from a form kunno or kinn, which he supposes to have been a later or moro vulgar form of the participle kriti. Now we know from Varamchi, XII. 15, that kuyvai is a poetical form, and not applicable in prose passages: it occurs often in the poems of the Saptasāthi, but never in the dramas, except in verse: conf. Ratavadā, p. 19, 1; Nagardanda, 29, 5; Mudr. 39, 11; conf. Pratiparudriya (Madras, 1888), p. 120, 11; Piṅgola, v. 3. Nowhere is a participle kunno or kynno found, and if it were it would not be modern and vulgar, but ancient and highly poetical. I cannot therefore indulge with Prof. Hoernle in the hope that he has succeeded in proving beyond doubt that the participle kriti is, in one form or other, the original of the genitive postpositions; on the contrary, I believe that his theory cannot be sustained.

Dr. R. Fischel.

London, February 1873.

BHAVABHUTI'S QUOTATION FROM THE RAMAYANA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—In his essay on the Rāmāyana, Prof. Weber gives the verses quoted by Bhavabhūti in his Uttara Rāma-Charita from the last chapter of the Bālākānda of the Rāmāyana, and points out the corresponding verses in Schlegel's and the Bombay and Scampore editions, which resemble Bhavabhūti's only in substance. In Gorresio he says, there is nothing corresponding to them. * But about the end of the chapter immediately previous to the one to which Prof. Weber refers us, there are these same verses in Gorresio, identical in all respects with those quoted by Bhavabhūti except apparently in two small words which are eva (in the last line of the first verse) and tu (in the last line of the second verse) in Bhavabhūti, and abhi and hi in Gorresio.† But the difference in the case of the first word at least is rather a difference between Gorresio and the Calc. edn. of the Uttara-Rāma-Charita, and not between Gorresio and Bhavabhūti, for in an old MS. of the play existing in the Elphinstone College Library I find abhi instead of eva.

But while Gorresio's edition agrees almost throughout with Bhavabhūti in this point, there is a material difference in another. Bhavabhūti quotes the verses as from the last chapter of the Bāla-Charita, but in Gorresio they occur in the last but two, while in Schlegel and the Bombay edition the corresponding verses, though considerably differing in language, occur in the last. On comparing the several editions, one finds that Bharata's departure to the country of his maternal uncle, which is despatched in five verses in the other editions, in Gorresio is expanded into almost a chapter, of which it forms the first 44 verses. The remaining four verses of this chapter occur in the other editions after the five verses about Bharata. The last chapter, again, in Gorresio, which describes Bharata's doings in the country of his uncle, and his sending a messenger to his father, is wanting in Schlegel and the Bombay edition. And since these additional chapters contain no new incident except the sending of the


messenger (which has very little to do with the story), they are probably interpolations.

Ramarthina G. Bhandarkar.

Serpent-worship.

Sir,—In his Essay on "Vasta-yaga and its bearing upon Serpent and Tree Worship in India," published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (Part I. No. 3—1870), Babu Pratāp Chandra Ghosh, B.A., asserted that no temple has ever been raised by Aryan for the sole worship of the Serpent in India, though the Hindus entertain a kind of respect for the allegorical characters Ananta and Vasuki. Now in Prayāg (Allahabad) an ancient temple still stands dedicated solely to the worship of the Nāga Vasuki. Perhaps it is the only one of its kind in the N. W. Provinces, for I have seen none elsewhere, not even in Benares. It is called by natives Rīja Vasuk or Dussésumādāh. The spot is associated with several legendary traditions, one of which is that Brahma, in ages gone by, performed there the sacrifice of a thousand horses,—hence its sacredness. The temple is beautifully situated amidst a grove of trees, overlooking the Ganges, which flows just under it. The scenery is charming. It is a massive building on an elevated terrace, and looks quite new, for we learn that a hundred years ago it was all repaired, and the pekka stone ghāt under it constructed by the millionaire of Daraganj, a detached village of Allahabad lying on the bank of the river. The image of the Nāga Vasuki is carved out of a black stone set in the front wall of the temple, and is about a foot and a half high. It is neatly sculptured as a hooded snake standing erect when enraged. There are other idols of less note. A large fair is held here on Niigapanchami, to which many of the Hindus from Allahabad and neighbouring villages come, to secure the double merit of bathing in the sacred stream and worshipping the serpent-god on the auspicious occasion. The temple is resorted to by every pilgrim to Prayāg, with whom it is a belief that the merit of bathing in the sacred stream and worshipping the serpent-god on the auspicious occasion. The temple is resorted to by every pilgrim to Prayāg, with whom it is a belief that the merit of bathing in the sacred stream and worshipping the serpent-god on the auspicious occasion. The temple is resorted to by every pilgrim to Prayāg, with whom it is a belief that the merit of bathing in the sacred stream and worshipping the serpent-god on the auspicious occasion.

KAŚINATH.

Sirsa, Allahabad, 2nd December 1872.

Note on Dravidian Numerals.

I have read with much interest the remark on the note concerning ancient Dravidian numerals (Ind. Aut. II. 97). It corroborates the view that the Dravidian numerals, at least up to 10, are original and not taken from the Sanskrit, a view which, regarding 5 and 10, had been called in question by a well-known scholar. How clearly the Dravidians are marked out by their numerals! That the Pengu Porjas, Tagara Porjas, and Durwa Gonds use Uriya words for some of the lower numbers is curious indeed, and the cause of their doing so deserves thorough inquiry. Is there any unanswerable objection to the supposition that the Dravidian numbers known to be used by them are the remnant of a complete set? or that by a more intimate intercourse with the tribes the original series may still be found to exist among them? It may have been necessary for the tribes to adopt some numbers from their neighbours, who by way of intercourse learned to know and use a few of theirs, but did not care to acquire and use all. Concerning the Köis and Selliya Porjas, I should like to know whether their having borrowed some Telugu words is a fully established fact? The so-called Telugu words may be as original with them as with the Telugus, and prove that the two tribes once lived in a more, favourable position in unison with their kinsmen, the Telugus, and also with the other large Dravidian tribes. It is interesting to observe that the expression for "one" in Köi is orrot, in Togara Porja—vakat, in Telugu—okati, the Köi being next to the root. The term (another form of on, the first part of "nine" in Köi and Telugu) does not appear in other dialects before 19.

With reference to Dravidian derivations, I take the liberty to state the Dravidian rule that a noun may be formed by simply lengthening the verbal root; the inverse process would be against the spirit of the language. On this rule rests the derivation of nālu, nelku (Köi nelār, Durwa Gond nālu, Togara Porja—nālu, Telugu—nālgu, nelgu). The root nāl, to be lovely, is very common with the Southern Dravidians; a root akin to it is nār, to be fragrant. Both roots have been adopted by the Aryas, as a study of the words beginning with their letters in a Sanskrit Dictionary will show. (Some of those words are to be referred to the Dravidian root nad, to be erect, to be planted; d = l =

F. KITTEL.

Merkara, 25th March 1873.

The Gujarat Lion.

It is erroneous to suppose that the Kāthiāwād (Gujarāt) Lion is maneless, although in the specimens I have seen the mane has been considerably shorter and of lighter colour than that of the African species. One that I shot, supposed to have been eight years old from its containing that
number of lobes in its liver, had the hair covering the back of the head and neck not more than a few inches long. The dimensions of this animal taken as it lay dead on the ground were as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Length from nose to tip of tail</td>
<td>8' 10&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of head and body alone</td>
<td>5' 11&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of tail</td>
<td>2' 11&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height at shoulder</td>
<td>3' 4&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girth of neck</td>
<td>2' 6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chest</td>
<td>4' 1&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fore-arm</td>
<td>1' 9&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of hair on mane</td>
<td>5'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In appearance its colour is very much like that of a camel or a female nilgâe, and I have on one occasion, when at a distance, actually mistaken a lion for the latter animal. From its colour it derives the name by which it is known in most parts of Gujarât, "Untâ-Bäg" or "Camel-coloured tiger." In the Gir however it is always called "Sâwaj," a name that I do not think is known out of Kâthiâwâd. The male is rather darker than the female and is a little heavier about the head and shoulders, the female being very much the same shape as the common tiger. Their habits are somewhat similar to those of the tiger. They always travel at night, leaving their daily resting-place about sunset. Their first visit is generally to the water, after which they wander about in search of food, often going many miles over hilly and dale in their nightly peregrinations. In passing from one favourite resting-place to another they generally make use of the best roads the country affords, and I have often met their foot-marks going for miles along the road I have been myself traversing; and if one did happen to travel in that country on a fine moonlight night, I can imagine nothing more likely to occur than a chance rencontre with one of these forest-kings. They feed chiefly on nilgâe, sâmbar, and wild hog, a single blow of their paw generally sufficing to break the back of the largest animal. They sometimes commit considerable depredations on the herds of buffaloes that are taken into the Gir for grazing. Owing to the great heat, the cattle are generally allowed to wallow in the mud and lie under trees during the hottest part of the day; and at night they are driven out to graze. As a rule they keep together, in which case they are never disturbed by the lion; but if by chance a sick one should lag behind, or should any wander away to a distance from the rest of the herd, the lion, if there be one near, is sure to bag it, however big and powerful it may be. As long as the herd keeps together, however, there is no fear, as the lion dare not attack. If the kill be made early in the evening and the lion be hungry, he will at once commence eating it, but will always leave it about daylight and go and rest for the day at some secluded spot in the neighbourhood, either down near the water in the shade of karanda and other trees, or, what is perhaps more common, he will go on the top of some neighbouring hill where he may get a cool breeze, and where he lies out in the open under the shade of a big stone or, when procurable, of a large banyan tree. When disturbed he does not slink away like a tiger or panther, but walks or runs upright without any attempt at concealment. Being very nearly the same colour as the ground and of the scorched leafless trees with which these hills are covered in the hot weather, it is very difficult to see him before being seen oneself; and this generally happens, owing to the frequent absence of undergrowth in these jungles before the sportsman gets within range.

I have never heard an authentic instance of an unwounded lion attacking a man, but when wounded I should say that their ferocity would fully equal that of the tiger. It is a curious fact that not a tiger or a bear exists in a wild state in the whole of Kâthiâwâd. Panthers however are very numerous in the Gir as well as in other parts of the country.

As far as I know from my own experience and from inquiries I have made, I am of opinion that there are not more than fifty lions in the whole country. The female generally has two cubs, but probably, as is the case with other animals of the kind, there are three born—it being supposed that the firstborn is always devoured by the mother.—Capt. H. Trotter, R.E., in the Report of the G. T. Survey, 1871-72.

A HUMAN SACRIFICE.

It is the belief of all Orientals that hidden treasures are under the special guardianship of supernatural beings. The Singhalese however divide the charge between demons and cobra capellas. Various charms are resorted by those who wish to gain the treasures. A pudâ is to sufficient with the cobras, but the demons require a sacrifice. Blood of a human being is the most important, but, as far as it is known, the Kappowas have hitherto confined themselves to a sacrifice of a white cock, combining its blood with their own, drawn by a slight puncture in the hand or foot. A Tamil has however improved on this, as our readers will see by the following case, now in the hands of the Justice of the Peace.

Some kulis of Agravatte were led to believe that a vast treasure of gems was secreted somewhere in the neighbourhood, and consulted their Kodangi on the subject; he heartily joined in the
project of searching for the gems, and undertook to invoke the demon in charge, and point out the exact locality where the gems were lying. For this purpose he made an 'Anganam' composed of ingredients supposed to produce a magic varnish, which when rubbed on a betel-leaf would show the locality of the treasure, and allow of the Kodangi having a personal interview with his Satanic Highness. In these invocations it is always customary for the priests to go into fits, which, from being feigned, often become (unintentionally) real. In this case the Kodangi appears to have been unusually favoured by the Devil, who revealed to him all secrets, including the fact that the sacrifice of the firstborn male of a human being was the only means of attaining the coveted treasure. This revelation was so explained by the Kodangi to his three partners, 'one of whom having a firstborn son,' at once objected (blood was here stronger than avarice), and withdrew from the co-partnership. The other three were determined on making their fortunes (!) and again consulted the oracle, when the Kodangi insisted on a human sacrifice as the only mode of obtaining the riches. The same evening the firstborn of the objecting party was missing. He at once informed the Superintendent of the estate, and search was made for the boy. The police were informed, and Inspector Davids and two constables proceeded to the spot and apprehended the Kodangi and another on suspicion. Next day the poor boy was found in a bush with his throat cut, and every appearance of the blood having been taken to ensure 'Old Nick's' grace. One of the partners has disappeared, and he is supposed to have been the cut-throat. The case is adjourned till the apprehension of the absconding party. This shows a depravity amongst the Tamils not hitherto known to the planters.—Ceylon Times.

HASSAN ABDAL.

Hassan Abdal is a small town of less than 5,000 inhabitants, exactly halfway between Rawal Pindi and Atak (23 miles from each). Prettily situated near the base of a range of hills, on the crest of which stands the white shrine of the Kandahari Saint, Hassan Abdula—or "Baba Wali," as he was generally called, it looks down upon a small fertile valley, through which meander several small rivulets shaded by the weeping willow, oleander, mulberry, and shisham trees. Near the source of these streams, which is within a few hundred yards of the town, is the sacred tank, full of "sacred fish," where the founder of the Sikh religion, Baba Nānak, is said to have rested during one of his long pilgrimages 300 years ago, and struck with the palm of his hand a rock whence immediately burst forth a capital stream which has never ceased to flow. Visitors are shown the impress on the north wall of the tank of his five fingers, and this gives rise to the name by which it is commonly known, Puja Sahib.

Sportmen must beware of fishing within a certain distance of this tank, or they will find themselves in difficulties, the fish in and around it being religiously dedicated to the memory of the pious Guru!

They will not however be disappointed by the prohibition, for within half a mile of the town runs a stream where excellent fishing can be obtained. By the side of this and other brooks water-cresses grow in great abundance. A few ferns are also to be found near the numerous flour-mills which are turned by the smaller channel or "kuttas" falling into the larger stream at the bottom of the valley. Following its course for three or four miles till it joins the river Haru, the sportsman will not fail to bring home a capital dish of young Mārsir. The ruins of some old Muhammadan buildings as well as the tomb of one of the Queens of the Emperor Jehāngir, are to be seen at the north side close beneath the hill on which the shrine stands; for this little valley with its neighbouring garden of Wah was always a favourite resting-place of the Mughul Emperors during their annual migrations to Kashmir. So recently as A. D. 1809, the hills to the south formed the boundary of the Kabul dominions in this quarter of Hindustan. Wah derives its name from an exclamation said to have been uttered by the Emperor Akbar on first seeing its beauty, "Wah! Wah!"

From the Trunk Line a good broad road turns off near the town to Haripur and Abbottabad, distant 24 and 41 miles respectively. Travellers from the south would however find it preferable and shorter to turn off for Hazarah at Kala Serai, 8 miles south, near to which is the site of the ancient Taxila occupied by Alexander's army upwards of 2000 years ago.

Coins, pieces of sculpture, heads, and other relics have been occasionally disinterred from many feet beneath the surface, and the Lahor Museum now contains several figures in plaster of decided Greek origin, which were obtained from this site by the Civil authorities.—Indian Public Opinion.
ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE RATNAVALI.

BY G. BÜHLER, Ph.D.

Dr. Fitz Edward Hall, in his introduction to the Vāsavadatta, has brought forward various arguments to show that the king named in the Ratnāvali as its author is not, as Professor H. H. Wilson supposed, King Śrī harsha deva of Kashmir, but Śrī harsha of Kānōj, otherwise called Harsha vardhana, and that, consequently, the play dates not from the 12th, but from the 7th century A. D. The substance of his argumentation is this.

While several commentators on the Kāvyaprakāsa, viz. Vaidyanātha, Nāgeśa, and Jayarāma, state, with reference to Māmatā's words, "Dhāvaka and others received wealth from Śrīharsha and others," that Śrīharsha or King Śrīharsha paid Dhāvaka highly for composing and selling to him the Ratndovalī, another scholiast, Śitikaṇṭha, substitutes Bāna's name for Dhāvaka's. There are strong reasons for supposing that Bāna rather than Dhāvaka is the correct reading in the passage from Māmatā, and the real name of the poet who wrote the Ratndovalī for Śrīharsha. For, firstly, no poet called Dhāvaka is mentioned in any of the 'collections of elegant extracts' accessible (to Dr. Hall), while Bāna is well known. Secondly, a stanza from the Rutndovali is found, word for word, in Bāna's Harsha charita. It is certain that the verse is not an interpolation in either of the two works, and "downright plagiarism of one respectable author from another is unknown." Thirdly, we know for certain that Bāna was patronised by, and even an intimate friend of, a king called Śrīharsha, whose history he wrote in the Harsha charita. This Śrīharsha is the same as Harsha vardhana, the cotemporary of Hiwen Thsang, who lived in the beginning of the 7th century.

Though the force of Dr. Hall's arguments is undeniable, and I, for one, have always been inclined to accept his conclusion, still many 'conservatives' will object to it, because tradition seems at least to be strong on the side of Dhāvaka, and weak on that of Bāna. I say advisedly that it seems to be strong on Dhāvaka's side, as I think it highly probable that the three Pandits adduced by Dr. Hall are not independent witnesses. They belong apparently to one and the same, viz. the Benares-Marāthā school. Besides, Dr. Hall has very justly pointed out how reckless modern Pandits are in repeating, without verification, statements or passages which they have read. It might further be urged that dh (ṛ) for (ṝ) ṛ, and Ṛ (vaka) for Ṛ (ṝ) are not uncommon clerical mistakes.

But I am now enabled to bring forward further direct traditional evidence tending to weaken the story about Dhāvaka. I have lately obtained a copy of a commentary on the Mayāvātaka, which states in plain terms that the Ratndovalī belongs to that Śrīharsha who was the patron and friend of Bāna. This work is the Bhāvabodhinī of Madhusūdana of the Punchanada family, son of Madhavabhaṭṭa and pupil of Bālaṁrūsha, who wrote in Vikrama saṃvat 1711, or 1654 A.D. at Surat.

The opening of his account of the origin of the Surya-vataka runs thus:

Atha vidvadvindinodīya śrīmadvyuddhavālanid vidītāḥ śrīsūryasyastakaprabudhvibharpasangasthitah prachyate sa yathā mahāraja-rājasvarojayinirājadhāni-kasya kavijanamudhar-nyasya ratnavālīkhahanti-kakurkturnmahārājya Śrīharsha-sya sabhyau mahikavī pauras-tyan bānamayūrāv āstām | tayormadhyaśā statuso bhānabhaṭṭaḥ kādambarigranthakarti tasya jāmiti tayoh kavitvā prasanga parasparam sparśhāst bānastu pūr- vam eva kadichid rājasamspe samāgato rājñā mahatyā sambhivānayā svanikale śāhīpādāḥ kuṭumbena sahojaiyinām śhitaḥ | kiyatevapi divasēsavyatīteshu kavitarprasange tatpadyānī śṛutvā mayūrābhaṭṭo rājñā svadesād ākāriteḥ | ityādi.

This has actually been done by Mahēchandra, the Calcutta editor of the Kāvyaprakāśa; see Weber, Ind. Streitl., I. 357.

§ The MS. in my hands is a copy of that mentioned in my catalogue of MSS. from Gujarāt No. II. p. 94, no. 145.
“Now, for the amusement of the learned, the account of the composition of the illustrious ‘Century addressed to the Sun,’ is narrated, as it has been learnt from the mouth of the illustrious ancients. It is as follows. Two eastern poets, called Bāna and Mayūra, lived at the court of Mahārāja Śrī harsha, the chief of poets, the composer of the Nāṭikā called Ratnāvali, who was lord of Mālava and whose capital was Ujjain. Amongst them Mayūrabhaṭṭa was the father-in-law, and Bānabhāṭṭa, the author of the Kādambarī, was his son-in-law. They were rivals in poetry. But Bānabhāṭṭa had before, at some time or other, approached the king, had been honourably settled near him, and dwelt with his family in Ujjain. After the lapse of some time the king heard, on the occasion of a poetical recital, some verses of Mayūrabhaṭṭa and called him from his country,” etc.

The remainder of the story agrees with the extract from an anonymous commentary on the Bhaktūmarastotra, adduced by Dr. Hall, Vāsavatā p. 8, and narrates how, in punishment of a licentious description of his daughter’s charms, Mayūra became a leper and was cured by the Sun after composing a century of stanzas addressed to that deity. No mention, however, is made of the Jaina Sūri Mānatunga, who plays so great a part in the account of the commentary on the Bhaktāmarā.

Madhusūdana’s account, ‘learnt from the mouth of the illustrious ancients,’ and written down a thousand years after Harshavardhana’s and Bāna’s times, of course cannot claim any higher authority than any other of the thousand and one literary anecdotes which delight the Pāndits of our days. It contains undoubtedly some grains of truth, as it associates Śrīharsha with Bāna and Mayūra. It is probably inaccurate in making Ujjain Śrīharsha’s capital. For though, according to the Harshacharita, Rājya-varshana, Śrīharsha’s elder brother, conquered Mālava, neither that work nor Hiwen Thang’s account of his stay with Harsha shows that that monarch actually resided there. The importance of Madhusūdana’s story lies in this, that it possesses an authority equal to that of the statement of Mammata’s three commentators about Dhāvakya, and consequently tends to discredit the latter. The various reading given by Śitikaṇṭha gains in importance, and Dr. Hall’s independent arguments are strengthened.

NOTE ON A BUDDHIST CAVE AT BHAMER, KHANDESH.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, B. C. S., KHANDESH.

The fort of Bhamer, in the Nizāmpur Peta of Khāndesh, lies about 30 miles W. by N. of Dhulia as the crow flies, and consists of two steep rocks lying nearly at right angles to each other, and rising from the centre of a plateau which separates the valleys of the Kān and Burai rivers.

The hollow between them, facing south, is enclosed by two semicircular and concentric ramparts, within the lesser or innermost of which lies the māchā or cantonment, while the outer protects the town or kaśaṇa. Each of these has but one gate, and there is no other approach but by a steep and narrow footpath between the two hills, called the Kāsaṇ Bari. The space thus enclosed is of about 100 acres, and seems to have formerly contained about a thousand houses besides several fine wells and cisterns; but there are now about a dozen resident families, half of them Bhills and Mhārs. There are three large tanks, one of which is sacred to Mahādeva, who has here a temple of considerable size and unknown antiquity. This tank and another are dry; the only one retaining any water is a little lake called the Rāj Talāo, which local tradition holds to be bottomless, and to have an underground communication with a spring called the Gokūr Pānī, about three miles away on the further or northern side of the fort.

There are several caves visible in the eastern and larger hill, and one in the western. This latter is a small plain vihāra, resembling some of those at Junnar; the first two in the eastern or castle hill are apparently mere cellars and reservoirs of the same class as those at Lalling near Dhulia, and probably of no great antiquity; but on entering the third, above the doors of which I noticed some carving, I was surprised and delighted to find myself in a vihāra much resembling, but for its small size, some of those at Ajantā. I had, unfortunately, no means of measurement with me; and the
STATUE OF COMATEŚVARA AT ŚRĀVĀṆA BEḷGOḷA.
caves are too full of water and débris to admit of pacing, but I estimate the length of the veranda at about fifty feet, and it is five deep. This veranda terminates at each end in a cell, and communicates by three doors ornamented with scrollwork, with as many square caves. These have no inner communication. The roofs are supported by pillars about eight feet high, hewn in the living rock, of a pattern very like what I have seen at Ajantä. About one-third of the pillar is square (the corners terminating in a sort of leaf), surmounted by an octagonal band, as this in its turn is by a circular one; and then the same arrangement is repeated: from the base of the last circle a triangle rises into the capital. The ceiling is crossed by broad joists intersecting at right angles at, and between, the pillars. I failed to detect any image or inscription, or any sign of plaster or painting, but I had no light and my inspection was necessarily brief. The westernmost cave opens by a hole 6 inches square into a large pit or cistern, which the villagers say was a dungeon; and this hole was used to feed the prisoners through. The pit is about fifty feet long by thirty wide, deep, and open at the top along the whole of one side, but there are no steps down into it. I should think it was originally made to hold water, which is bad and scarce on the rock; but it may afterwards have been used as related. There is another cave on this southern side of the hill, and three or four on the northern; but they are all of the same class as those first entered. I know of no other Buddhist cave within sixty miles.

**ŚRĀVANA BELLIGOLA.**

**BY CAPT. J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.**

Five miles from Chenraipatam, in the Hassan District, Maisur, is the small town of Śrāvana Belligola, famous for its colossal statue of the Jaina god Gomatesvara. The town lies between two rocky hills, and is but a mean collection of houses whose inhabitants gain a precarious living by working in brass and copper. The larger of the two hills is crowned by the statue, 56½ feet high, and cut out of one solid block of gneiss. It is a striking object and can be seen for miles. The nude figure of the god differs in no way, except in size, from the other statues of the same god which are to be found, now no longer revered, here and there throughout the district. High square shoulders, curly hair, flat nose, thick lips, and small waist, are here faithfully, but on a large scale, represented.

Once in twenty years the great ceremony of washing the god is performed. The last occasion was in the early part of June 1871. To perform the ceremony a platform is erected. Mr. Scandon, who happened to be on the spot, took advantage of this to measure the different parts. Unfortunately before he could complete the work some of the priests interfered. This is, I believe, the first and only time such measurements were taken. Those now given may be relied on as correct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement Description</th>
<th>Measurement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total height to the bottom of the ear</td>
<td>50' 0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the bottom of the ear to the crown of the head (not measured)</td>
<td>about 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of the foot</td>
<td>9 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breadth across the front of the foot</td>
<td>4 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of the great toe</td>
<td>2 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half girth at the instep</td>
<td>6 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; of the thigh</td>
<td>10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the hip to the ear</td>
<td>24 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; coccyx to the ear</td>
<td>20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breadth across the pelvis</td>
<td>13 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; at the waist</td>
<td>10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the waist and elbow to the ear</td>
<td>17 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; armpit to the ear</td>
<td>7 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breadth across the shoulders</td>
<td>26 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the base of the neck to the ear</td>
<td>2 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of the forefinger</td>
<td>3 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; middle finger</td>
<td>5 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3rd finger</td>
<td>4 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4th finger</td>
<td>2 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statue is surrounded with buildings, which prevent the full figure being seen until one is close up to it. This of course destroys the general effect, but the head and shoulders as viewed from the opposite hill impresses one with a strange feeling of awe. Calmly gazing away into space, the statue fully realise the idea of perfect repose which the sculptor aimed at. One of the local legends has it that M a-
ya, the carpenter of the giants, at Râvana’s request, was the sculptor.

In the name Śrāvana Belligola is crystallized a story of bygone days. “Châmundarāya, after having established the worship of this image, became proud and elated at placing this god, by his own authority, at so vast an expense of money and labour. Soon after this, when he performed, in honour of the god, the ceremony of Panchâmrata Śrâna (or washing the image with five liquids—milk, curds, butter, honey, and sugar), vast quantities of these things were expended in many hundred pots, but, through the wonderful power of the god, the liquor descended no lower than the navel, to check the pride and vanity of the worshipper. Chāmundarāya, not knowing the cause, was filled with grief that his intention was frustrated of washing the image completely with this ablution. While he was in this situation, the celestial nymph Padmavati, by order of the god, having transformed herself into the likeness of an aged poor woman, appeared, holding in her hand the five amritis in a Belliyagola (or small silver pot) for washing the statue, and signified her intention to Chāmunda-rāya, who laughed at the absurdity of this proposal for accomplishing what it had not been in his power to effect. Out of curiosity, however, he permitted her to attempt it: when, to the great surprise of the beholders, she washed the image with the liquor brought in the little silver vase. Chāmundarāya, repenting of his sinful arrogance, performed a second time, with profound respect, his ablution, on which they had formerly wasted so much valuable liquids, and washed completely the body of the image.

“From that time this place is named after the silver vase (or Belliyagola) which was held in Padmāvatī’s hand. Śrāvana (śrāmana) is the title of a Jain Sannyāsa, and as this place is the principal residence of these Sannyāsās the people call it Śrāvana Belligola.”

It is difficult to fix the date of the statue. If the inscription exists which is referred to in the following extract from H. H. Wilson’s Works (Vol I. p. 332), then would the date be B.C. 50 at least, for that is the year when the king granted the land:

“The conclusions founded on traditional or historical records are fully supported by the testimony of monuments and inscriptions, the latter of which are exceedingly numerous in the South and West of India. Most of these are very modern—none are earlier than the ninth century. An exception is said to exist in an inscription on a rock at Belligola, recording a grant of land by Chāmuḍa Rāya to the shrine of Gomatiśvara, in the year 600 of the Kali age, meaning the Kali of the Jains, which began three years after the death of Vardhamāna. This inscription, therefore, if it exists, was written about fifty or sixty years before the Christian era. But it is not clear that any such record is in existence, the fact resting on the oral testimony of the head Pontiff at Belligola: even if it be legible on the face of the rock it is of questionable authenticity, as it is perfectly solitary, and no other document of like antiquity has been met with.”

The following account of the history of this place is taken from the local “Sthala Purāṇa”:

“Chāmunda Rāja, king of Dakshina Madura, and the descendant of Jaina Kshettri Pāṇḍu, set out with his family, escorted by an army of infantry, cavalry, elephants, and chariots, with a view of visiting the god Gomatesvara (500 bilu high) at Pādanā-purā, and the 1254 other gods in the smaller temples scattered throughout the surrounding country. En route he came to Śrāvana Belligolā Kshettra, having heard a good deal about the god Gomatesvara (18 bilu high). He repaired the ruined temples, and among other ceremonies had that of sprinkling the god performed. He appointed Siddhāntāchārya as Guru of the math, to conduct the daily, monthly, annual, and other processes. He established in the math a chātram where food, medicine, and education were provided for pilgrims. He appointed men of his caste to receive with due respect the devotees and pilgrims of all three castes who should resort to the place from Dehli, Kanakadri Svatapura Sudhāpura, Pāpāpuri, Champāpuri Sāmidagiri Ujjayantagiri, Jayanagara, &c. For this purpose certain villages, giving an annual revenue of 196,000 pagodas, were made over to the temple. He fixed śilā śāsanas in the four directions in the Chaitra month of the year Vibhava—605 of Kaliyuga, or the 1215th year after the death of Vardhamānasvāmi. This endowment was maintained by his descendants for 109 years.

"Afterwards from the Śaka year 444, Prajotpatī Pāṇḍu Rāya and his descendants appointed Kundāchārya to manage the affairs of the temple, and continued the charitable endowments for 90 years.

"Again from Śaka year 564, one Virāpindya Rāya and his son appointed Siddhāntāchārya to the temple for 80 years. They also gave ināms lands to the temple.

"Then followed Kuna Pāṇḍu Rāya, who appointed Amālakīrti Áchārya to the temple. This king however changed his religion and destroyed the charities established by his predecessors. He and his family were ruined.

"At this time certain princes belonging to the family of Chāmunda Rāya who governed the provinces of Halebidu, Bilikere, Kidannahalli, Aukanahalli, &c., built small temples at Gōmatapura Bilukere, Biliulli, Halebidu, and set up an image Gōmatesvara, the height of two men, on the hill of Gōmatapura, and gave for the maintenance of worship the villages called Śrāvanahalli, Jinnahalli, Gōmatapura, and Pādenahalli. They also, in order that the discontinued worship at Śrāvana Belligola might be renewed and continued, gave eight other villages, and appointed Amālakīrti Āchārya to manage the affairs. This they continued for 67 years.

"From the Śaka year 777, Bhāva, this country fell into the hands of the Hayasāla Belāla kings who governed the provinces of Halebidu, Bilikere, Kidannahalli, Aukanahalli, &c., built small temples at Gōmatapura Bilukere, Biliulli, Halebidu, and set up an image Gōmatesvara, the height of two men, on the hill of Gōmatapura, and gave for the maintenance of worship the villages called Śrāvanahalli, Jinnahalli, Gōmatapura, and Pādenahalli. They also, in order that the discontinued worship at Śrāvana Belligola might be renewed and continued, gave eight other villages, and appointed Amālakīrti Āchārya to manage the affairs. This they continued for 67 years.

"Afterwards, Amālakīrti Belāla made over to the temple lands yielding 5,000 pagodas, and appointed Tridāmavibudhanandāchārya as head of the math. This continued for 49 years.

"Another of the Belāla kings, named Ango Rāja, continued the same for 56 years, and appointed Prabhuḥandrasiddhāntāchārya to manage the affairs. After this Pratāpa Belāla nominated Gunāchandrāchārya to manage the affairs. This continued for 64 years.

"Udyādiya Belāla, Vira Belāla, and Gangārāya Belāla each continued the worship by granting lands yielding 5,000 pagodas. Bettavarālana Belāla gave an inām of land yielding 50,000, and continued the worship for 31 years under the management of Shubhāchandrāchārya.

"In the Śaka year 1039, Durmukhi, Bettavarālana, under the taunts of his favourite concubine and the arguments of Rāmānujāchārya, received ‘Taptamudra’ (mark of the religion) and thus became a convert to the Vaishnava religion. He then changed his name to Viṣṇuvardhana, and, with a bitter hatred against this (Jaina) religion, discontinued or abolished all the ināms, destroyed 790 Basti temples and set up Pancha Nārāyaṇas, viz.—Chenniga Nārāyaṇa at Belūra, Kirti Nārāyaṇa at Talakādu, Vijaya Nārāyaṇa at Vijayapura, Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa at Gaḷugu, and Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa at Haradalahalli, transferring to these all the ‘svāstyās’ or ināms that had been formerly given to the Basti temples. He built the tank at Tondamirā from the stones of the destroyed Basti temples, and called it Tirumala Sīgara. Having abolished different kinds of Jaina ināms, viz.:—‘Agraharas,’ ‘Punarvarga svāstyās,’ ‘Manivas,’ &c., he established below this tank Tirumulasīgara Chatter for the feeding of Rāmānuja kūta (assembly of Rāmānuja sects). He gave the name of Melukōta and Tirunārāyanapurā to the village of Dodda Garuganahalli, constructed several temples and places, and caused steps to be erected to the hill of Melukōta. After he had continued in this course for some time, when unable to bear the ‘devadṛoha,’ or sin against the gods, the earth opened, and all the villages and lands near Aduguru in the Belūra Tāluka were swallowed up. When the news thereof reached the king Viṣṇuvardhana, he called together his wise men and inquired of them why this thing had come to pass. The learned men told him it was because of the number of Jaina temples he had destroyed. He then called together all castes of people and offered Sānti (sacrifice) and worship to the gods, but all in vain. The people of the other sects said that a remedy should be sought for from the Jainas alone. But the king, having changed his religion, would not ask the Jainas for the remedy. He tried again to remove the evil by going to great expense, but it was of no use. He failed again. Thinking that further delay would cause the ruin of their country, all the people went to the king, who, with
his guru, Rāmānujāchāryā, proceeded to Belligola and earnestly requested the Jain priest Shubhāchandrāchārya to try and find a remedy. The priest replied, ‘Why are you come unto me? Are there not men of other religions? Go unto them.’ Then the people of other religions and the king said, ‘We have tried but are unable to effect a remedy.’ They promised if he would do this thing for them, then would they give all their Birudu (insignia) to him, restore the province of 12,000 (pagodas), and continue the Dharma (worship) undisturbedly. They also said they would cause ‘Silā Śāsanas’ to be erected to this effect. Upon this the priest consented and caused certain kinds of worship and penances to be performed. He then sent for 108 white pumpkins, filled them with mantras or sacred words, and threw one every day into the gap, which gradually filled up until only half a pumpkin remained. Then the people of other religions gave over their insignia to the priest and got Śāsanas made, giving the priest the title of ‘Chārukirtipanditāchārya.’ The particulars of these circumstances are to be found in the Adagārū temple. The land still bears the mark. Traditions of the place handed down from father to son corroborate the above. Śāsanas were then erected, one at Belligola and one at Melukota, to the effect that both the Rāmānujya and Jaina sects should henceforward act friendly with each other, that in case of worship, &c. at Belligola being interrupted, the Vaishn̄avas should maintain it by a subscription of one fanam per house, and vice versa. Ināms of 12,000 pagodas in land were given, and Chārūkritipanditāchārya was entrusted with the management of the affairs of the temple.

After some time when the people of Dehli invaded Southern India and took possession of it, Maisur also fell into their hands, and the Dharma or Ināms were discontinued in the year Dhātū, 1259 of the era. This province then became subject to the kingdom of Anegundi. Its king, Bukkurāya, set out to inspect his newly acquired province, and on arriving at Belligola saw the statue and granted an inām of 3,000 pagodas for the worship, &c. His son Sangama Rāya and grandson Harihara Rāya followed his example and appointed Chārūkritipanditāchārya to the management of the affairs. Twelve of the descendants of Harihara Rāya, viz.: Pratāpa Rāmadēva Rāya, his son Pratāpa Deva Rāya, his son Mallikāyima Rāya, and others who ruled the country as tributary to Dehli, also continued, as their ancestor Harihara Rāya, giving an inām of 3,000 pagodas. After these, Krishna Rāya, a natural son of one of the above kings, and his son Śrīranga Rāya and others, eleven descendants, who ruled at Śrīrangapatnam up to the year Saumya, 1531 of the Śaka era, contributed an inām of 1,000 pagodas.

“In the year Śādharana or 1532, Rāja Vadiyar, sovereign of Maisur, took possession of Śrīrangapatnam. He ruled for eight years, during which he contributed an inām of 1,000 pagodas as Śrīranga Rāya. His son and successor was Narasāraja. His son Chāmarāja Vadiyar ascended the throne in the year of the Kaliyug 1540 and ruled for twelve years. In Śūkla, or 1550, Chāmarāja Vadiyar succeeded and ruled the country for eight years. Then Imādirāja Vadiyar came to the throne, and governed the country for only two years. In Pramādi or 1562, Kanthirava Narasāraja Vadiyar succeeded and ruled for twelve years. All these five sovereigns continued for 51 years to allow the temple an inām land of 1,000 pagodas. In the year Sārvari, 1552, Doda Devarāja Vadiyar succeeded to the Maisur throne, and during his administration of fourteen years, having heard of the excellence of Gōmatesvara, he paid a visit to Belligola on the 10th of the moon’s increase in the Pushya month of the year Paridhāvi, 1595, gave away large sums of money, granted the village of Madaneto the math of Chārūkritipanditāchārya, besides continuing the inām land of 1,000 pagodas granted by his predecessors. In the year Ananda 1597, Chikkadevarāja Vadiyar succeeded. He subdued the countries of Kōrala, &c. and ruled with vigour for thirty-one years. He also visited Belligola, had the ceremony ‘Mastakābhishikā’ performed, constructed a pond called Kalyāṇi, with a pyramidal tower and a prakāra or wall round it, and repaired several ‘Chaityalayas’ or Jaina temples, besides continuing the ināms of 1,000 pagodas and the village of Madane to the math of Chārūkritipanditāchārya. Dodakrīshṇa Rāja Vadiyar ascended the throne in
MENHIRS OF MAISUR.

Vijaya or 1636 and reigned for thirteen years. He also visited Belligola, and after causing ‘Mastakabhishtika’ and worship to be performed to the deity, and effecting repairs, granted the village of Kabbal in addition to Madane, and that of 1,000 pagodas, and appointed Chârukritipanditâchârya to the management of the temple affairs. On the accession of Chamarâja of Chikkanahalli in the year Virôdhikrit or 1654, he ruled only for three years. After him Imâdikrishna Râja Vadiyar succeeded in the year Ananda or 1658, and during the 30 years of his reign he continued the charity granted by his predecessors, viz. land of 1,000 pagodas and the two villages Madane and Kabbal; he died in the year Vijaya or 1688. His successor was Bettada Châmarâja Vadiyar, during whose reign Haidar acquired influence, and the charity was continued as before, viz. 1,000 pagodas land and the two villages to the math. In the year Visvavas, 1708, Tipu attached all ‘Devâdâyas’ and ‘Brahmadâyas,’ i.e. inâms granted to temples and Brahmans, which included the lands and villages granted to this temple: then the English under General Wellesley and Kulis captured Srirangapatam on the 30th or new-moon day of Chaitrâ Bahulâ of the year Siddhârti 1721, and restored Maisur to His Highness the Mahârâja Krishnâ Vadiyar* on Sunday the 13th of Jeshâ Bahulâ of the year Siddhârti, and appointed Purnia as Divân, and they remained in Srirangapatam.”

LEGEND OF THE MENHIRS OF MAISUR.

BY V. N. NABASIMMIYENGAR, BANGALUR.

Under this head Captain J. S. F. Mackenzie mentions the Vyâsana Tolu stones (Vyâsa’s arm) at page 49 of the Indian Antiquary Vol. II. I have met with several of these stones standing isolated near the town of Anantapur in the Nagar Division. Indeed the locality bristles with interesting archaeological remains. In the daily round of Vaishnava religious rites, a śloka is repeated commemorating the incident to the truth of which these imperishable stone monuments bear testimony. It runs as follows:—

Satyam Satyam Punas Satyam,
Udhhdhrityabhujamuchyate.
Vêdâ chehåstramparam násti,
Nadaivam kééavătparam.

“IT is declared (by Vyâsa) with arm aloft that there is no other śastra but the Veda, and no god but Keśava (Vishnu). This is the truth over and over again.”

The legend concerning Vyâsa losing his arm for his stedfast belief, and his alleged recantation, seems to have been engraven upon the original story, by the Lingâyats, who are known as uncompromising foes of the Vaishnavas. It is exactly like the legend in which one of the Chóla or Pândya kings, noted for his bigotry, is said to have coerced a Vaishnava sage into signing a declaration admitting Śiva’s supremacy in the world of the gods. The declaration was in this form:—

Śivâtparataramnásti:
There is none above Śiva.

The equally stubborn Vaishnava, notwithstanding the horrible penalty which hung over him like the sword of Damocles, viz. deprivation of sight, ventured to add to the declaration the line—

Drôna mastitatahparam,
The measure Drôna is larger than that called Śiva,

The allusion being a play upon the word Śivam, which means a small measure.

These legends may be accepted for what they are worth as indicating the bitter hostility between the rival sects of Śaivas and Vaishnavas.

* With the chronology here given, compare the list in Prinsep, Useful Tables (Thomas’ed.) pp. 281-2; see also Buchanâ, Mysore, vol. I 408, & passim.—Ed.
PAPERS ON SATRUNJAYA AND THE JAINS.

BY THE EDITOR.

II.—The Tirthankaras or Jinas. Continued from page 17.

The Jaina Tirthankaras or Arhantas —images of one or more of whom figure in every temple—are twenty-four in number, each having his separate chinka or cognizance, usually placed under the image, and many of them distinguished by the colour of their complexion,—sixteen being yellow, two red, two white, two blue, and two black. In the temples, however, the images are generally of white marble, with eyes made of silver and overlaid with pieces of glass. The following is a list of these saints, with the principal particulars related of each:

1. RISHABHANATHA or ÂDINÂTHA, called also NÂbheya, Yugâdiśa, Yugâdijina, Rîshabha Deva, Kanâlaika, Adîsvara, and Vishabha Sena, of the race of Ikshwâku, was the son of Nâbhi by Maru-devi. In the Adi Purâna, a Jaina compilation ascribed to Jinasena Achsârya, who is said to have lived in the reign of Vikramâditya, but who was probably much later, Gautama the disciple of Mahâvira relates to Srenika the king, the birth and actions of Vishabha. According to this authority, "Vrishabha was first born as Mahâbala Chakravarthi; being instructed in the Jaina doctrine, he was next born in the second heaven as Lalitânga Deva. He was next born as Vajrajangha, son of Vajrabahu, king of Utpala Kata, a city on the Sîtodâ, one of the rivers of Mahâmeru. Having in this existence given food to a Jaina mendicant, he was born as a teacher of that faith named Arya. From thence he returned to the second heaven as Swayamprabha deva, and was again born a prince, the son of the Râja of Sasânimahânagaras, by the name of Suvedi. He again became a divinity as Achyutendra, presiding over the 16th Swarga or heaven. He was then born as Vajranâbhi, son of Vajrasena, king of Pandarikiniagaras; having obtained great purity, he was born as Sarvârthasiddhî Deva, in a part of the upper world above the 16th heaven, and only twelve yojanas from the site of Moksha or final liberation. His next birth was as Vishabha the Tirthankara, the son of Nabh by Maru Devi, king and queen of Saketanagar. His incarnation was announced by the fall, morning and evening for six months, of three hundred and fifty millions of precious stones. The goddesses Sri, Kri, Dhriti, Kirtti, Buddhi, and Lakshmi, were sent by Devendra to wait on Maru Devi, during her pregnancy, and feed her with the food of the Kalpa, or all-bestowing tree of heaven, and at his birth, Devendra and all the inhabitants of every division of the universe came to render homage. Devendra bathed the child with the contents of the tree of milk, and gave him the name of Vishabha."

He is represented as of yellow or golden complexion; has the bull (Vrish) for his chinka or cognizance, Chakrevari for his Šāsana devi. According to the commentator of the Kalpa Sûtra, he was born at Kosala or Ayodhyâ, towards the end of the third age. He was the first king (Prathama Râjâ), first anchoret (Prathama Bhikshâkara), and first saint (Prathama Jina and Prathama Tirthankara). His stature, it is pretended, was 500 poles (dhanush); and when he was inaugurated king his age was 2,000,000 great years (purva varsha). He reigned 6,300,000 years; and then resigning the empire to his sons he withdrew to a state of abstract purity: and having spent 100,000 years more in passing through the various stages of austerity and sanctity, he attained nirvâna on a mountain named Ashtapada, according to Hemîchandra the same as Kailâsa, others say on Satruñjaya, 3 years 8½ months before the end of the third age. Besides his children by other wives, Rishabha had twins by each of his wives Sumangalâ and Sundanda,—by the former a son Bharata the first Chakravarthi and a daughter Brâhmî; by the latter a second son Bâhubali, and Sundari a daughter. The saint had altogether a hundred children, for whose instruction he invented all
the arts and sciences. Thus he taught dramatic poetry to Bharata, grammar to Brahmi, and arithmetic to Sundari. It may be noticed that Rishabhha and his father and son occur in the Purānic lists, where Nābhi is the son of Agnīdra king of Jambudvīpa son of Priyavrata, king of Antarveda. The kings of various other nations also derived their descent from him. The Māhātmya says Vimalavahana was the first of the ancestral fathers. His son was Chakravurmāna, father of Abhichandra, whose son Prasena ājita was the father of Marudeva, also called Nābhi; and at the end of the third spoke of the Arasarpinī age, the Lord of the World, through his omnipotence, took birth in the womb of Nābhi’s wife Marudevi, under the name of Rishhabha, or Viṣhabhasena. It is Rishhabha’s image erected by Bāhubali that imparts its peculiar sanctity to Śārūjīyanā.†

2. Ajitānatha was son of Jītaśātṛubhy Viṣaya; of the same race and complexion as the first; he was also a native of Ayodhyā, and has an elephant (gaja) for his cognizance, and Ajitabāla as his Sāsana devī. His stature was 450 poles, and he lived 7,200,000,000,000 great years. His nirvāna took place on Samet Śikhar or Mount Pārśvanātha in Western Bengal, in the fourth age, when fifty lādhaks of krōrs of oceans of years had elapsed out of the tenth krōra of krōrs.

3. Samkhaya was son of Jitatrī by Sēnā: of the same race and complexion as Rishabhha; his cognizance a horse (aśva); his Sāsana—Durītārī; his height 400 poles: he lived 6,000,000 years; he was born at Sāwanta, and attained mokha on Pārśvanātha hill, thirty lādhaks of krōra of sāgaras after Ajita.

4. Abhinandana, the son of Sambara by Siddhārtha, is also of yellow complexion: he has an ape (plavaga) for his characteristic symbol; and Kālikā is the goddess who serves him. His stature was 300 poles, and his age 5,000,000 years; he was born at Ayodhyā, and his nirvāna took place on Samet Śikhar, ten lādhaks of krōra of sāgaras of years after the preceding.

5. Sumati, son of Megha and Māngalā, also of yellow complexion, has a curlew (kranūcha) for his cognizance and Mahākāli for his Devī. He was born at Ayodhyā, lived 4,000,000 years, and his mokha occurred also at Samet Śikhar, nine lādhaks of krōra of sāgaras after the fourth Jina.

6. Padmaprabhā was son of Śrīdhara by Susīma; born at Kausambhi, of the same race as the preceding, but of red complexion. His mark is the lotos (abja), and his Devī Śyāmā. His height was 200 poles, and his age 3,000,000 years. His death took place also on Samet Śikhar 90,000 krōra of sāgaras after the fifth Jina.

7. Suparśṇa was the son of Pratiṣṭhā by Prithvi, born at Benares, of the same line as the preceding and of golden colour; his cognizance is the figure called Swastikā in Sanskrit, and Śātya in Gujarāti. His Devī was Śantā, and he lived 2,000,000 years, his nirvāna on Samet Śikhar being dated 9,000 krōra of sāgaras after the preceding.

8. Chandraprabhā was son of Mahāsenā by Lakṣmaṇā, and was born at Chandrīpur; of the race of Ikshwākū, but of fair or white complexion: his sign is the moon (saś), and his devī, Bhrikutī: his height was 150 poles; and he lived 1,000,000 years, and his entrance
into moksha or beatitude, took place 900 krôrs of  ságaras later than the seventh Tirthaṅkara.

9. Pushpadanta, also named Suvida, was the son of Supriya* by Rāma: he was born at Kakendrapuri, of the same race and complexion with the last; his mark is makara or crocodile, and his Devi is Sutārakā. His stature was 100 poles, and his life lasted 200,000 years. He was deified on Samet Śikhar ninety krôrs of  ságaras after Chandraprabhā.

10. Sirala, the son of Driedhara by Nanda, was born at Bhadalpur; of the same race, and with a golden complexion; his sign is the mark called Śrītākta, and his Śāsanadevi—Āsokā. His stature was ninety poles, and his life 100,000 great years; his deification on Samet Śikhar dates nine krôrs of  ságaras later than the preceding.

11. Śeyanā, or Śrī Anāmātha, was the son of Vishnu by Vīṣhā; of the same race and complexion, born in Sindh, with a rhinoceros (khadgi) for his cognizance. His Devi was Mānavī. He was eighty poles in stature, and lived 8,400,000 common years, dying at Samet Śikhar more than a hundred ságaras of years before the end of the fourth age.

12. Vasůpújya or Vasupāyta, or Vasupūjya Svāmi was son of Vasupújya by Jayā; born at Champapuri, of the same race, with a red complexion, having a buffalo (mahisha) for his mark, and Cauḍā for his Devi. He was seventy poles high, lived 7,200,000 years, and attained nirvāṇa at Champapuri fifty-four ságaras after the eleventh Jina.

13. Vimala was son of Kṛtavarm by Śyāmā, was born at Kumpalapuri; of the same race and of yellow complexion. He has a boar (śākara) for his characteristic, and Vidyā was his Devi; he was sixty poles high, lived 6,000,000 years, and was deified on Samet Śikhar thirty ságaras later than the twelfth Jina.

14. Ananta, or Anantajita, was son of Śīhasena by Suyāsā or Jayasāyāmā, and born at Ayodhya. His sign is a falcon (ṣyena); his Śāsana Devi was Āṅkuśā; his height was fifty poles, the length of his life 3,000,000 years, and his death nine ságaras after the preceding. The following translation from the Chāmunda Rāya Purāṇa respecting him may be given as a specimen of the legendary lives of these hierarchs:—

"Padmaratha the Arusu of Ariaṇṭapura, of Airavata Khetra, in the Muḍana Mandira (or Eastern Meru) in the Dhatu Kishanda Dvipa, receiving religious instructions from Śyayamprabhā Jina, he became disgusted with the world, and transferring the kingdom to his son Ghanaratha, he adopted a penitential life, read through the eleven Angas, and contemplated the sixteen Bhavanas or meditations, he acquired the quality fitting him for becoming a Tirthaṅkara: pursuing his religious penance, he quitted his body, and was born in the Achyuta Kalpa in the Pushottara Vīmdnā as Achyutendra, with a life of twenty-two ságaras, of the stature of thirty cubits, of subdued appetites, perfectly contented with his fate, with a knowledge penetrating as far as to the seventh lower world, he was enjoying the happiness of that world.

Afterwards Jayasyāma Devi, the consort of Śīhasena Mahārāja, of the Kasyapa Gotra, of the lineage of Ikshvāku, the ruler of Ayodhyāpura, in the Bharat Khetra of Jambudvipa, on the 1st day of the month Kārtika, under the star Revati, about break of day, saw the sixteen dreams, and also that of the elephant, entering in at her mouth, which she mentioned to her consort, who was in Avadijnayānī, and getting the interpretations of them from him, she was happy, and Saudherrendra performing the happy ceremony of descending from heaven on earth, Achyutendra became impregnated in the womb of the Queen. At that time on the last palla of ten ságaras of the term of Vimala Kirttakar, when virtue had faded one-third, he was born on the 12th of the dark half of the month Jyeṣṭha, under the star Revati, in the Pushpa Yuga, and saw Dherrendra performing the happy worship of being born in the world, and as the new-born infant was born with Ananta Dnyāna, or illimitable wisdom, he called him Ananta Tirthaṅkara, and returned to his residence: his life was to continue for three millions of years, his stature 100 cubits, and his colour golden: his childhood comprised a period of seven hundred and fifty thousand years; his reign continued for fifteen hundred thousand, after which on a certain day seeing a meteor fall, and considering that his life would be dissolved in the same manner, he be-

came disgusted with the world, and Lokántika Deva gave him religious instruction, on which he transferred his kingdom to his son Arinjaya, getting into the conveyance called Sīgaradatta, he went to the Sāyettthuka Van, performing six fastings, in company with 1000 Princes, he adopted a penitential life on the 12th of the dark half of the month Jyeshta, in the evening under the star Reva ti, on which he obtained the fourth degree of knowledge, and on the next day went to Ayodhyapuri to beg, and Visshoka Nripa, of the colour of gold, granted alms, on which the five wonders were exhibited, and after 12 years had expired, in dumb contemplation, he obtained to the Kevaladnyama under an Aswattha tree in the abovementioned garden, on the last day of the dark half of the month Chaitra, in the evening under the star Reva ti, Saudherma Indra performed the happy ceremony of becoming a Kevaladnyānī, and giving him the 1008 virtuous names, he returned.

He had 53 Ganadhara from Jayadhāma downwards.

1,000 Purvadharas.
39,000 Sīkaśakaras.
4,032 Avadijnayanis.
5,000 Kevalis.
8,000 Viścīrurdis.
5,000 Manaspariyagnyānī.
2,00,000 Vādas.
1,08,000 Aryakaras from Survasi downwards.
2,00,000 Sravanas.
4,00,000 Srāvakas.
Devas and Devīs, without number.
Quadrupeds and birds without number.

With all these, inculcating religious morals in the world for 12 years less than seven hundred and fifty thousand years, in Arya Kshetra, after which coming to Su meru Parvāt, and leaving his Samopasāvaranam, and in company with 500 Munis remaining in the Prathama Yuga for one month, on the first quarter of the night, of the last day of the dark half of month Chaitra, under the star Revaṭi, Ananta Bhattāraka obtained beatitude and Saudherma Indra performed the Pari Nirūnā Kalyāna, and dancing with happiness, he returned to his dwelling.

The story of Suprabha the Baladeva and Purushottama the Vāsudeva, the descendants of Srimad Anantā Tirthanākar:

Susena, the king of Padmapura, in the Bharata Kshetra, in Jambudvīpa, had 500 consorts: the state queen was called Prīyānanda Devī, with whom he enjoyed every felicity. One day Chandrabhāṣaṇa, the Adhipati of Malaya deśa, coming to this city from motives of friendship, saw the queen and fell deeply in love with her, and made use of every stratagem and carried her away with him. The king (Susena) became very much grieved at this misfortune, and said, I am really unfortunate, and have not performed any virtuous action: he then forsook the world, and after remaining some time thus, he went one day to Sreyāmasa Ganaḥār, and obtained from him the state of an ascetic, and performed the penance of Simhavikririta, and wishing as the accomplishment of his penance, that he might be reborn in his next birth, with so much beauty that he might be admired by all who saw him, and that there should be none to oppose his authority: remaining for one month in this state and with this wish, he quitted his body, and was born in the Sahaerāra Kalpa as a god (Deva) and enjoyed every felicity there for 18 sdgaras of years.

Afterwards Mahā Bala, the Aranu of Anandpur in the eastern hemisphere of Jambudvīpa, becoming disgusted with the world went to Prajāpālana Jain, and obtained the rules of asceticism from him, and performed the penance of Simhavikririta, and in the perfect state of a Sanyasi quitting his earthly frame: he was born in the Sahaerāra Kalpa, the pleasures and happiness of which world he enjoyed for 18 sdgaras of years.

Soma Prabha Raja, having descended from the Mahendrapa Kalpa, ruled over Dvarastipatana, situated in the Bharata Kshetra in Jambudvīpa, with a life of 42,000 years: his size was 90 yards in length, his State Queen was called Jayavatī, who on a certain night dreamt an auspicious dream: on the Bhādrapada Nakshatra, Mahā Bala Cerra was born to her by the name of Suprabha, and to another of his consorts named Sitā, Susena Cerra was born by the name of Purushottama, they were both surnamed Baladeva and Vāsudeva, the former was of a white colour, and the latter of a blue colour; they were each of the height of 50 yards, their lives were to last for five hundred thousand years, and they were ruling over the kingdom of their father.

In course of time Madhu Kaitabha, the king of Varanasi Patana in the Kasi Desa, sent word to them to become tributary to him, but they being unwilling to pay tribute, drove away the ambassadors, whose sovereign on hearing of the indignity they had suffered, assembled his army and came to give them battle: on meeting he flung his chakra at Purushottama,
which so far from hitting him, came and stood near him: Purushottama then picking up the chakra in his turn, flung it at Madhu Ka'itabha who was slain by it; after which he became Adhipati of three Khandas, and ruling over the kingdom for some time, Purushottama on his dissolution, leaving his body, his soul went to hell, but Suprabha after the death of his brother being much grieved, went to Soma-prabha Kevala, and received initiation from him, and acquiring the state of a Kevala, he obtained beatitude. Madhu Ka'itabha also after his death went to hell.

15. Dharma was son of Bhānu by Swrata, and was born at Ratnapuri: characterized by the vajra or thunderbolt: his devī was Kandarpā; he was forty-five poles in stature, and lived 1,000,000 years: he was deified four sāgaras after the fourteenth Jina.

16. Śanti was the son of Viśvasena by Achiśa, born at Hastināpur; he has the antelope (mriga) for his cognizance. His Śāsana was Nirvāṇā; he was forty poles in stature, lived 100,000 years, and died two sāgaras later than the preceding.†

17. Kunthu was the son of Sūra by Śrī, of the same race and complexion as the last, was also born at Hastināpur. His Śāsana was Balā; his cognizance is a goat (chhāga); his height was thirty-five poles, and his life 95,000 years. His nirvāṇa is dated in the last pālya of the fourth age.

18. Ara was the son of Sudarśana by Devi; his mark is the figure called Nandyāvarta; he was of the same race and complexion, and born at the same place as the preceding; his Śāsana was Dharipāṇi; his stature was thirty poles, his life lasted 84,000 years, and his nirvāṇa was 1,000 krōrs of years before the next Jina.

19. Malli was son of Kumbha by Prabhāvatī; of the same race with the preceding, but of blue complexion; his mark being a water-jar (ghata); he was born at Mithilā, and his Śāsana Devī was Dharaṇapriyā; he was twenty-five poles high, lived 55,000 years, and was deified 6,584,000 years before the close of the fourth age.

20. Muni was son of Sumitra by Padmā, of the Harivāsa race, and of black complexion; he was born at Rājagriha; has a tortoise (kūrma) for his cognizance, and Naḍattā for his devī; his height was twenty poles, and his age 30,000 years. He died 1,184,000 years before the end of the fourth age.

21. Śrī was son of Viśvēśa by Achiśa; born at Mithilā, of the race of Ikshvāku; figured with a golden complexion; having for his mark a blue water-lily (-niltpala), and for his Śāsana, Gāndhārī Devī. His stature was fifteen poles; his life 10,000 years; and his apotheosis took place, like the preceding eight Jinas, on Samet Sikhar or Mount Pārāvanātha, 584,000 years before the expiration of the fourth age.

22. Nemi, or Aishiṭanemi, was the son of King Samudra viśva by his queen Śivā; of the Harivāsa race, of black complexion, with the conch (sankha) for his symbol, and Ambikā for his Śāsana Devi. The Kalpa Sūtras says he was born in Śrāvan, the first month of the rainy season, under the constellation Chaśtra, at Sūriyapurī, which Stevenson supposes to be Agra, but which is generally believed to have been a town in Kāthiāwād. It is said that he excelled in all kinds of athletic exercises and was of invincible strength. His cousin Kiśhṇa was also of superhuman strength, and was able to blow a large conch from which it was believed no other person could produce a blast. One day Neminātha saw it lying on the ground, and asking why that toy was lying there, he took it up and blew such a blast upon it as quite alarmed Kiśhṇa who began to enquire who it was that could blow upon his sankhā! On finding it was his cousin, he became jealous of him as a rival, and accordingly directed his hundred gopīs to excite amorous thoughts in Neminātha and shame him into marriage, thinking intercourse with women the only way to put down his strength. The gopīs began to tease him and tell him as he was grown up to manhood

† The life of this Jina is the object of a separate work entitled Śānti Purāṇa.—Colebrooke, Essays, ut sup. p. 211 n., Asiatic. Res. IX. p. 308.
he ought to marry. At first he refused, but after a deal of reviling and reproaching he consented, and Krishna selected for him Rājimati the daughter of Ugrasena of Girnar,—whose palace is still shewn, being a ruin near the Junagadh fort beside the Bhumiyo kuo. When the wedding day came and Neminatha approached Junagadh, he saw a flock of sheep and herds of cattle collected to be sacrificed for the people that had assembled to celebrate the wedding; the sheep were bleating piteously, and, struck with pity for them and the vanity of human happiness, and to save the lives of so many animals, he resolved to become an ascetic, gave up the world, and retired into the Girnar hills, followed by his intended bride, and there they both led a platonic life. The place on the Ujjintapick where he is said to have died is considered sacred, and has a chattri erected over it where his pagld or footprints are shown. Rājimatiresided in a gūpha or cave to the south-west of the Neminatha Chattri.*

"He became an ascetic at the age of three hundred, at Dwarkā (Magadhi Baravavā). He lived seven hundred years as an ascetic, in all a thousand years. He was only fifty-five days an imperfect ascetic." The date of his death was 84,000 years before the close of the fourth age. To him the mango-tree is sacred.

23. Pārśvanātha was son of King Aśvanesa by Vāma or Bāmā Devi; of the race of Ikshvakū; and of the family of Kāśyapa; born at Chitrakot or Kundagrāma, and described as of a golden complexion, having the lion (simha) as his cognizance. His Sīsanawas Siddhayikā devi. His life is the subject of the Kalpa Sūtra, which professes to have been composed by Bhadrabahu Svaṃi of Annadapura, now Bidnagar, in the reign of Druvasena, 939 years after the death of Mahāvīra, —i. e. A. D. 454.

Mahāvīra's paternal uncle was Suparśva, his elder brother Nandivardhana, his sister (mother of Jamāli) Sudarśanā. His wife was Yaśūdī, by whom he had a daughter named Anōjja and Priyadarśanā, who became presented as approaching to worship Pārśva while engaged in his second kāyotsarga or profound meditation, at Sivapuri in the Kausambika forest, and holding his outspread hood (phanyu) over him as an umbrella. From this the town obtained the name of Akīkhetra; His Sūsanadevi was Padmāvati. He was born at Bheḷapurā in the suburbs of Varanasi (Benares); married Prabhavati the daughter of King Prasena; and, according to the Kalpa Sūtra, "adopted an ascetic life, with three hundred others, when he was thirty years of age, and for eighty days he practised austerities before arriving at perfect wisdom. He lived after this seventy years less eighty days, his whole term of life being one hundred years, after which he obtained liberation from passion and freedom from pain. He wore one garment, and had under his direction a large number of male and female ascetics." His death took place two hundred and fifty years before that of the last Tirthankara (i. e., B. c. 777). He died while, with thirty others, performing a fast on the top of Mount Summeya or Samet Sikhar.||

24. Vardhamāna, also called Viśva, Mahāvīra, Vardhamānaprabhuc, &c., and surname Charana tirthabolī, or last of the Jinas, and emphatically Svaṃi or the saint. He was the son of Siddhartha by Triśalā,* of the race of Ikshvakū and family of Kāśyapa; born at Chitrakot or Kundagrāma, and described as of a golden complexion, having the lion (śīha) as his cognizance. His Sīsanawas Siddhayikā devi. His life is the subject of the Kalpa Sūtra, which professes to have been composed by Bhadra bahu Svaṃi of Annadapura, now Bidnagar, in the reign of Druvasena, 939 years after the death of Mahāvīra, —i. e. A. D. 454.

Mahāvīra's paternal uncle was Suparśva, his elder brother Nandivardhana, his sister (mother of Jamāli) Sudarśanā. His wife was Yaśūdī, by whom he had a daughter named Anōjja and Priyadarśanā, who became
the wife of Jamāli. His father and mother died when he was 28 years of age; and he continued for two years afterwards with Nandīvaraṇa: he then departed to practise austerities, which he continued twelve and a half years as a sage only in outward disguise: as a Digambara “he went robeless, and had no vessel but his hand.” Finally he became an Arhat, or Jīva, being worthy of universal adoration, omniscient, and all-seeing; and at the age of seventy-two years he became exempt from all pain for ever. This is said to have occurred at Pāwāpuri or Pāpāpuri near Rāja-griha at the court of Hastipāla, three and a half months before the close of the fourth age or Dukhāṇa Śuddhāṇa in the great period named aśvapati. “On the night on which the adorable ascetic here was delivered from pain, Gotama Indrabhūti, the chief of his perfectly initiated disciples, had the bands of affection by which he was tied to his preceptor cut asunder, and attained infinite, certain, and supreme intelligence, and perception.” This event the Gujarāt Jainas date 470 before the Sainwat of Vikrama, i.e. B.C. 526; others apparently 512 years before Vikrama, or B. C. 569; the Jainas of Bengal 580, and those of Maiśur 607 before Vikrama; but probably by mistake for the Śaka era, which would bring these latter dates to B. C. 502 and 539 respectively.

Adiśwara, Śānti, Nemi, Pārśwa, and Vira, the first, sixteenth, and last three Tirthāṅkaras are regarded as the principal jinas: they are more frequently mentioned than the others, and their statues are more numerous.

Besides the Tirthāṅkaras of the present (Aṣarpint) cycle of the world’s duration, they reckon also twenty-four each of the past and future (Utsarpint) renovations or cycles. He-machandra gives the names of the world for forty-eight in the following lines:—

Utsarpīnyāmatīyāṁ chaturviṁśatirārhatāṁ

Kevaladanyāṁ Nirvāṇaiśvaro-tha Mahāyaśaṁ

Vimalaiśvarābhūtiṁ Śrīdharaiś Datta tirthakṛiti

Dāmodaraśah Sutejaścā Ṣvāmyāthaśah Ēkālaṁ
tiḥ

Sumatiḥ Śivagati ścaivā Astāgo theŚrīmāvaṁ

Anūlo Vaśodhara khyāṁ Kṛitārgho the Śrījēvaṁ

Śuddhamatiḥ Śivakaraḥ Śyandana ścaḥāṁ Śrīpratīṁ

Bhivinātu Padmanābhaṁ Śūrādevaḥ Śupārśaṁvākaṁ

Śravāṇarabha śca Śravānubbūttir Devaś Śrutodayaṁ

Peśīlaiṁ Pottīlaścāpāṁ Šatākṛiti śca Śuvraṁvākaṁ

Amamo niśā Kaḥśāyaśca niśā Pułakao the nirā Mamaṁ

Chitrāguptaṁ Šamādhi śca Śaṅvara śca Yaśodharaṁ

Vijayo Malla Devauṁ Ānantaśvīrya śca Bhadraṁkrīti

Evaṁ sarvāṇaśarpīnyāntarpīpiṁśu jinottamaṁ

THE LEGEND OF RISHYA ŚRĪṆA.

BY V. N. NARASIMMIYENGAR, BENGALOR.

In one of the deepest and most romantic glens of the Maiśur Malnad, formed by the buttresses of the Western Ghats, is nestled the shrine of Śrīṅgeśvara of Kigga. The locality is extremely picturesque, and the habits and customs of the inhabitants are very primitive. The soil is rich, and, though thinly scattered, the peasants are by no means over-industrious. The productions are among the most valuable, consisting of supāri, cardamoms, rice, &c. Territorially, the village of Kigga is in the Koppa Taluka of the Nagar Division. There is a tradition attaching to this shrine to the effect that no drought will ever approach within 12 gavādastra of the god. In seeking the origin of this tradition, the following legend has been gathered.

* Conf. Stevenson, Kalpa Sātra, pp. 86, 90, 91, 92, 96.
† Princeps's Useful Tables (1858), p. 166.
‡ Kalpa Sātra, pref. p. iii.
§ Weber would bring down this date to 348 or 349 B. C. Über Čatur. Mithūl. p. 12.
* Abhidhāna Chintāmani, 58—70. In other lists, the 8th, 11th, and 15th of the Past Age are styled Śrīdatta.
It is scarcely necessary to remark that the people of the country accept its truth. But a simpler explanation may easily be arrived at. The temple is built close to the eastern base of the Western Ghâts, and as their gigantic peaks intercept and appropriate the precious burden of the clouds during the S. W. monsoon, the locality happens by a simple natural law to be highly favoured with rain. The local priesthood, with a view to enhance their own importance and gains, have turned the natural phenomenon to their own advantage, clothing it with a religious and supernatural garb.

*Vibhândaka Muni, son of Kâśyapa, son of Kaśyapa, who was the son of Marîchi Brahma, consulted his father as to the choice of the best place for tapas, and was directed to the spot in which the river Tuñgabhadrâ runs in three different directions. Vibhândaka thereupon went in search of such a place, commencing from the source of the river, and after passing various tirthas and holy spots, arrived at Śrîñgapura (modern Śrîṅgârî), and identified it with the locality ordained by his holy father, from the Tuñgabhadrâ there making three different sweeps in its course. The Rishi here performed the rite of tapas rigorously for three thousand years, and its severity (lit. jvâla, flame) penetrated Indra's heaven and seriously disturbed its denizens. They in a body complained of it to their ruler, Indra, who directed one Chitraśêna to interrupt the fiery tapas of Vibhândaka. Chitraśêna thereupon conveyed Indra's behests to Urvaśi (the head of celestial frail beauties), who then went to the Rishi's Āśrama or hermitage. The ascetic was then absorbed in dhyâna or contemplation. Towards evening (pradºsha) Vibhândaka went to bathe in the river, and was deeply smitten with the celestial nymph whom he encountered on the road. He afterwards proceeded to the river, and performed his ablutions. About the same time a doe came to drink in the river and unconsciously imbibed the washings of the ascetic. The animal immediately became great with young, and in time was delivered of a human male child, with the unusual addition of two horns like those of the deer. The mother ran away directly after, and Vibhândaka, who arrived at the river-side about that time, heard the wailing of the infant. By second sight (divya jâdnam) he perceived that the child was his own flesh and blood, and conveyed it to his Āśrama, where he brought the child up, feeding him with his own fare of roots, leaves, &c., and performing over him the prescribed rites, such as Nâmakarana, Jâtkârma, Upânyâsa, &c. When the boy was about twelve years old, Paramâsvara and Pârvatî were one day taking an airing in the celestial regions, attended by their retinue of evil spirits, ghosts and devils, and were much surprised to find a child in such company. They alighted on the spot, and blessed the boy, investing him with the varam, or power of destroying famine and drought within twelve yûjanas of his abode.

*Once upon a time, when Rûmapâda* Mahârâja was ruling the kingdom of Anga, it was overtaken by an unusual drought of twelve years' duration, and the people were in great suffering, no food or drink being procurable for men or cattle. At this juncture the divine Rishi Sanatkumâra, who has the privilege of visiting the earth whenever the fancy seizes him, went to see the afflicted country and its unfortunate ruler. He was duly received by the Râja, and informed him that if the young Rishya Śrîṅga, son of Vibhândaka Muni, could be induced to visit the country of Anga, it would get rain in abundance, and regain its usual prosperity. Rûmapâda (hare-footed) could make nothing of this information, and consulted all the wise men in his dominions on the subject. They referred to their sacred books, and told him that the Āśrama of Vibhândaka was situated on the banks of the Tuñgabhadrâ river, which was in the southern direction. The advisers moreover expressed their own inability to bring Rishya Śrîṅga to Anga, but suggested that the Râja should employ dancing-girls of surpassing beauty to allure the young Rishi to the desired place. Acting upon this practical suggestion, Rûmapâda sent several lovely women of equivocal character, with large supplies of scents, cloths, jewels and wealth, and directed them to conduct Rishya Śrîṅga to his capital, by every means in their power, whether fair or foul. They at first established a depot at a place called Nârvê, and, taking advantage of Vibhândaka's absence from the hermitage, gradually initiated the unsophisticated young Rishi in the pleasures of the world, escaping from the certain malediction of

† Conf. Max Muller, Hist. Sansk. Lit. p. 444.—Ed.
the father to their own retreat at Nārvē. The enchanted young man one day asked his enchanters the object which prompted their unusual attentions. They gave him highly beguiling pictures of the wealth and beauty of their own country, and invited him to go with them to enjoy the same. The young Rishi was completely overcome by the artifices of these deluders, and consented. Taking advantage of the father's absence at the river-side, the dancing-girls took Rishya Śrīga with them and started for Angadēśa. In the mean time the long withheld rains descended upon that country, and there was soon joy, plenty, and prosperity in it. Rōmapāda took a large retinue about halfway and met Rishya Śrīga, and conducted him to his capital, where every honour and worship was paid to him. Some time after, the Maharāja praising the Rishi very much, offered to give him his daughter, Sāntādevī, in marriage, and the offer was accepted. The wedding came off with due pomp and éclat, and the happy bridegroom dwelt for some time in the country of his adoption.

'About this period, Daśaratha, king of Ayodhya, was in deep distress from the absence of an heir to his throne. Nārada paid him a visit, and, divining the cause of his host's dejection, advised him to invite to his court the Muni Rishya Śrīga, who would bring about the realization of his wishes. Daśaratha did accordingly, and Rishya Śrīga conducted a yajña (sacrifice) called Putra Kāmeshti in which the god Agni came out of the sacrificial fire, and handing a cup of Pāyasa, told the Rāja to distribute its contents among his wives, whereby he would get four sons, named Rāma, Lakshmana, Bharata, and Satrughna. The god thereupon vanished out of sight. Daśarath followed the directions of Agni, whose prophecy was duly fulfilled. Rishya Śrīga soon after returned to his father's hermitage, but did not find him there. His father's disappearance afflicted him very much, whereupon Vibhūṇḍaka emerged from the Linga of Mahāśiva. The son was overjoyed, paid him due reverence, and asked him where he could best conduct tapas. Vibhūṇḍaka referred him, however, to Mahā Vishnu, who was living in the Sahyādri hills. Rishya Śrīga was accordingly proceeding in that direction, when

he was benighted on the bank of a stream near Nirmalipura (modern Nemmār). He stopped there to perform his evening religious rites, when a Rakshasa named Vyāghra (tiger) rushed upon him with the object of swallowing him up. The holy man thereupon threw a drop of water upon the Rakshasa from the nail of his little finger, and instantly the demon quitted the body of the tiger, and begged the Rishi to tell him what he should do. Rishya Śrīga directed him to go to Sarveśvara (a Lingam so called), and by doing so the quondam tiger attained moksha (salvation).

Next day Rishya Śrīga proceeded to the Sahyādri, and performed tapas there for seven years in honour of Mahā Vishnu. That god told him to go to an incarnation of Śiva, called Chandra Śekhara, at the foot of the Sahyādri mountain. The Rishi went to the spot indicated, and peered at it through the darkness with half-closed eyes. Hence the place is called Kīgga, from Kīgguṇa, the half-open eye. The Rishi again performed tapas, and Chandra Śekhara appeared before him and asked what he wanted. Rishya Śrīga begged that Paramšvara would absorb himself within his (Rishya Śrīga's) soul. Accordingly Paramesvara became one with Rishya Śrīga, whose name also became celebrated in the world.'

Although this spot is not exactly on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, still the Purānas say so, as the rivers Nandini and Nalini flow respectively from the left and right of it, and join the Tuṅgabhadrā at Nemmār.

It will be perceived from the foregoing that the interested Brahmanas have woven a marvelous story, however preposterous, round a plain natural fact. This legend has been extracted from the Skanda Purāna. A portion of the same is related, in somewhat different language, in the Mahābhārata Aranyaparva, (Adhyāyas 110 to 113.) Also in the Rāmāyana Dīlakānda (chapters 9 to 17).

On the back part of many temples of note there are at present well cut representations in relief of the manner in which the privileged Rishya Śrīga was conveyed from the quiet of his father's hermitage by the creatures who were sent on the mission by Rōmapāda. The accompanying cut is a copy of the one in the temple.
of Gopālasvāmi in Dévandahalli, and fairly represents all similar sculptured figures. The Rishi is represented with a deer's head!

Nārvē is still a village, and goes by that name. It is about 12 miles from the shrine at Kīgga, which is itself about 6 miles from Śrīnāgīrī, the seat of the great Śānkarāchārya.

It only remains to say that the Linga in the temple is a long cylinder, over three feet above ground, and some part of it must besides be buried under the Piśham. Its surface is rough, and the credulous are asked to believe, with the aid of the light reflected from a large mirror, that the inequalities on the Linga are nothing less than the actual avatārs of Śiva, his consort, and his bull!

There are some fine carvings and inscriptions in the vicinity. The shrine is largely endowed with lands, partially free from government revenue. It would be difficult to find lovelier and more enchanting scenery than that which the traveller suddenly comes upon in these regions.

The Tuṅgabhadrā above referred to is only the Tuṅga—far above its confluence with the Bhadrā.

HINDU PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK, AND GREEK PRONUNCIATION OF HINDU WORDS.

BY Dr. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

Translated from the German by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

It is well known that in consequence of Alexander's campaigns the Greeks, for a considerable time, maintained close relations with India. Greek sovereigns reigned during more than two centuries in the north-western provinces of India, and even far down in Western India; Greek ambassadors were sent to the courts of Hindu kings; Greek merchants, Greek art and science, influenced Hindu life directly, partly from the Panjāb and partly through Alexandria. This influence was undoubtedly more considerable than is usually supposed; it extended itself not merely to practical branches, e.g. to the coining of money, to architecture, to dramatic representations, to astronomical-astrological notions, &c., but also to purely mental divisions of knowledge, such as the transmission of various western narratives, fables, traditions, and other legendary or religious matters. In return for this, various Indian materials as well as intellectual products found their way through commerce from the East to the West; but although the influence of the West upon India may have dominated in pre-Christian times, it seems, on the other hand, that in post-Christian ones (exceptions of course also existing) Hindu influence upon the West had conversely a stronger current. Many possessions which had originally come to the Hindus from the West now again migrated back, but in the new shape which they had meanwhile assumed in India.

Thus it could not fail to happen that numbers of Greek words and names should find their way to India, and conversely many Indian ones came to the West. Now, the form in which they appear in both localities bears the stamp of the pronunciation of the time, and may therefore throw a certain light thereon; that light cannot of course be very decisive, inasmuch as in general but very scanty auxiliary means, e.g. legends on coins in the imperfect and difficult Aryan characters, are at our disposal; and further, because in the reception and subsequent transmission of foreign vocabularies their phonetic values were retained merely in a general way, while at the same time they suffered considerably both from popular etymological assimilation to words current in the vernacular, and from unintentional deterioration in the mouths of the unlearned.

I desire the following data concerning this subject to be considered merely as a first attempt waiting for, and in need of, being supplemented in many ways. It is hoped that the systematic excavations begun lately in India in the ancient Greek dominions will produce a rich harvest of coin-legends, and will be lucrative also in other analogous respects. May a propitious star guide the archaeological expedition lately started to those localities under Cunningham's skilful direction, and may thereby the conception of a Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum, executable only in India, appear so feasible to the leading powers of the Indian Government that this pium desiderium, so long and painfully felt in scientific circles, at last be brought to a completion!

1 Even the silver coins of the Guptas show Greek traits.
2 The king of Palibothra, to whom, in the first century of our era, the shipwrecked Iambulos was brought, "was a friend of the Hellenes and esteemed their science." (Lassen, Ind. Alt. K. III. 254.)
To these especially pertain the Macedonian names of months, for the discovery whereof upon them we are indebted to Cunningham and Dowson. In the inscription of Tukht-i Bsku lately discovered by Dr. Leitner, the reckoning is according to Dowson’s decipherment, in Indian months. See Trübner’s Amer. and Oriental Record, June 1871, p. 188.

† As a Skythian name this strictly belongs further on, to p. 148.

†† Accordingly, in this portion of India at least, the Indian a itself had an obscured pronunciation nearly allied to e. With this circumstance it agrees that Pānīja, who was precisely of this district, actually mentions a double pronunciation of a, one open and the other close, in consequence whereof he sets up u, and not a, as the standard for the (quantitative relations of the) other vowels. See Ind. Stud. IV. 119, V. 92. In other parts of India the matter probably stood differently; see below, pp. 148, 149.

§ Although the Greek legend itself appears once on a coin as Δογα—(see Thomas, Catalogue of Bactrian Coins, London, 1855, p. 14)—the same has no Indian legend.

The name Yona, or rather Yavana, for Iaotes, was however known to the Hindus at any rate before the time of Alexander, i.e. during the earlier Persian wars, in which also Indians took part as auxiliaries against the Greeks; on the name itself see my remark in Kund’s Zeit-schrift, V. 221.
the southern Buddhists; at the same time with him also the name of his birth-place and capital A l a s a n d ä (or- s a d d a), i.e. A l e x a n d r i a is mentioned. Possibly also, as Lassen assumes, the name of the M l e c h h a — or rather P a r a s i k a-king M e g h a which occurs in the drama M u d r a- r a k h a n a , contains a reminiscence of the old royal title m e g a s B a s o l e n s e , because, although this drama itself is comparatively modern, the author of it may probably have drawn the materials for it from ancient sources, and the name B a s i l i (i.e. doubtless B a s i l i a n e ) actually occurs, according to Schi e f n e r, among the northern Buddhists. As I have also already ventured further to surmise that the royal name J a l o k a, J a l u k a s in the Kashm ir chronicle is referable to S e l e u k o s , it is further possible also that their A m i t a, A m i tâ b a , is connected with A m o r t a s . The buildings of A s u r a M a y a immortalized in the M a h â b h â r a t a reminds us of the edifices of P r o l e m a n s , and the former moreover has perhaps inherited only from P r o l e m a o s the astronomer a portion of his later reputation as a teacher of astronomy, just as also in the Mahâbhârata, doubtless represents only a faded reminiscence of the s a u r a p of post-Christian centuries; transformed by a fanciful popular etymology.

Two of the above names are preserved to us, perhaps in a direct translation, Apollodotos namely as B h a g a d a t t a , and Demetrios, as D a t t à m i t r a , the first appearing in the M a h â b h â r a t a , as a Yavana king, and the second as a S i n d h u- S a u r i t a king. Of the Roman age there is, strangely enough, besides the name R o m a k a , nothing but the word d i n d r a—d e n a r i us. Whether d a t e r i in E b n H a u k a l is referable to s a u r e p o s or t e r r a , or, according to Dowson's recently expressed opinion, has nothing to do with Greek, remains undecided. In d r a m a the word d r a m a was preserved down to late times.

The words k h a l i n a , b r i d l e—c h a l i o n s , and a s u r i n g a (in the M a h â b h â r a t a ) a mine-shaft—

s u p r y , refer probably to bellicose-political relations with the Greeks. Here I recall to mind also my surmise (Ind. Stud. IX. 380) concerning the remarkable statement of the P â s t i n i n g h Ş i k a h , v. 6,

on the salutation of the S u r â s h t r a women ( S u r â s h t r i k h n i t r i t ) : a r a according to one and t a k r a according to the other recension,—that the reading ought to be k h e r a , or rather that it is to be borrowed from the second hemistich, and that therein a reference to the Greek salutation k o r a is to be sought. *

Not so much to political as to commercial relations the words k a s t e r o s , k a s t e r i — k a s t a r c e i a n o s , k o m i — e k y h c o s , melt ink—m e l a s , s a m i t i s a n t h a k — s e m i t a l k e s , Hind. m u l u k — m o l y b d o s § , are indebted for their acceptance. Esop's fables are probably responsible for the two words l o p a k a — d a m o s and k r a m e l a k a — e u l o k o s , both of them connected with Hindu words or rather roots. The most numerous appropriations belong to the astronomical-astrological domain. In the first place— as already observed, by A s u r a M a y a—who, according to later traditions, lived in R o m a k a p u r a —is possibly meant P r o l e m a o s the author of the A l mog a s t; further by M a n i t h a perhaps M a n i t h o the author of the A p o t e l o s a t a is to be understood; at all events by P a u l i s a P a u l o s is meant,—probably P a u l u s A l e x a n d r i n u s, in whose E l r o s e y n o s almost all the technical astronomical terms which have passed into S a n s k r i t may be identified, whence probably we ought to recognize it as the basis of the P a u l i k a- i s i d h â n t a which unfortunately exists only in scanty and insufficient

273. Perhaps this text may again afford desiderated information on Roman relations. (Comp. below the data from the B l e v o j h š a k a .)

* S u r â s h t r a — S u r â s t r a was long subject to Greek domination. The oldest coins of those parts show Greek types and letters; the princes were satraps of the Greek kings, and reckoned, Thomas states, according to the era of the Seleucides.—Y a v a n a girls still appear in the dramas of K ô l i d i n a as attending to the personal wants of kings, and probably they saluted them also with the salutation of their Y a v a n a language; comp. also Introd. to my Tr a n s l. of the M a l a r i k i , pp. 33, 46, 47. (It may be remarked that already T s. V. 3, 7, 8 mentions a f e m a l e body-guard.)

† From k a s a r i p o s ? see Ind. Skizzen, pp. 75, 80.

‡ Because the assumption that these (comp. s i m i l a , s i m i l a g o ) are old Indo-Germanic words is suspicious even from the meaning. W e t l e s u r d was scarcely known to our Indo-Germanic ancestors.

§ Comp. P o t t in the Z e i c h n i c h f ü r d. K. d e s M o r g . IV. 261; k u p s , a base metal, can hardly be said to have anything to do etymologically with c u p r i u m .

• Kern (Introd. to V a r i t h a M i t h r a ' s B r i h t S a m h i t a , p. 52) once thought also of M a m i l l i u s.
quotation.* The following words, namely:—

\[\text{The text continues...}\]

* Dr. Blaim Daji doubts under the name of the Yarnamama, &c. the correct rendering of the Greek name.}

† Mr. Hermann Jacob, who is now engaged on an edition of the \textit{Logogia}, informs me that \textit{kēṇava} would rather answer to \textit{kōṣṭhit}, which with its denotative \textit{kēṇava} occurs in \textit{Pārśvanātha, Pārśvanātha, and Manuśa.}

* This word, protected by the \textit{Logogia}, appears by Muir in J. As. S. of Benj. X IIV, 581, to Lākhānī.
HINDU WORDS IN GREEK.

Among geographical names the following occur:

+ adhishattra (Abhishattra? )—Achisphros,
  Anodiakarava (Anoigaios),
  anawmatia—Anawmatia.
+ Andhika—Andhika,
  Andhikamastha—Andhikamastha.
+ Drassimenon, Drassimenon—Drassimenon,
  Sarnath—Sarnath, Vayavan (Vayavan?),
  Vayavan—Vayavan, Anawmatia, Anawmatia.
+ Arzasa Amsata, Amsata—Arzasa, Amsata.
+ Assakros, Assaka—Assaka.
+ Arzasa Amsata, Amsata—Arzasa, Amsata.

*Ikshwakus—Oxymares, Indicati—Yapotes Pavana,
  Vrada—Vrada.

In this place, however, only those words will suit
our purpose the Indian origin wherein—and we
shall have to take up many Prakrit forms of them
—is either quite, or at least approximately, as
certained, whilst numerous other names and words,
with which such is not the case, must be
excluded.

Firstly, articles of commerce, or rather mineral,
vegetable, and animal substances, and of daily
life in general, belong to the following class of words:

+ pala—pallos, kaphraka (Kaphraka) —kaphora,
  kushtha—kostos cutus, *klatruphala (Klatruphala),
  kapho—kastos, tila—tala,
  dews—dewos (dewos, basileus), nardaka—nargilia (? nargilia?),
  nile—nile; *pattemiipikata—pattemiipikata,
  bhathari—bathari (asatutada), mehaka—
  mehaka; 

Also (like 'Akeorums) purposely an echo of Greek

1+ 1. §§ Also (like 'Akeorums) purposely an echo of Greek

| **May, 1873.** |

* Of these Minaya alone has discovered lately the
  first direct trace, namely, in the Bazaar Yuga
  (Jit. IV., 3. 92), according to the Comm. of Indian
  History. (5th cent. A. D.) It contains a legendary report of repeated
  voyages of Indian merchants to Babri (Babri, of the Old
  Persian cuneiform writing as) where they brought, on the second occasion, the first peacock for sale. See M.
  langes Asiatiques of the Imp. Russ. Academy, Vol. VI.
  1871., p. 557 seqq. It is mentioned also in the Bible that
  among other things the Phoenicians in Solomon's time
  brought also peacocks from Ophir (Abhira). (Here I may
  mention:—

§ Ind. Skizzen, p. 88; Differently in V. ii. on, Cultivated plants and domes
tic animals, p. 121. (B. rinn. 1750). The use of hemp in

1+ 1. §§ Also (like 'Akeorums) purposely an echo of Greek

† This word, curiously enough, occurs in the form karas,
certainly, as early as the hieroglyphs of the 17th cent.

† The l of the words for agnos and maddra (9) bears
witness to their transmission through Semitic, not across
Persia. Hereo belongs also the name Oprah (Akhiria),
which itself does not occur in Greek.\n
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witness to their transmission through Semitic, not across
Persia. Hereo belongs also the name Oprah (Akhiria),
which itself does not occur in Greek.
MAY, 1873.]

HINDU WORDS IN GREEK.

OPAAGPO-arta or ardha (?) + athra, OPAATNO

ardha + agni or verethraghna " ? see Denfey in
Z. d. D. M. G. VIII., 450 seqq., 460 seqq.
Hence the following results are to be drawn.
Firstly, as to the vowels —

a stands so regularly for a, 4, that thereis no need
of adducing examples;–for o in IIarraNa-potala,
—for ava in Kováoxarms, Pandae, for ayat in Bušav
7"logy.

-

[Indian š is further representedt by o, as in 'Avov
poypappov, "Apurpoxarms, 'Epavvoſłoas, 'OTTopo-, Kapı
8torðoxot, Kavoytºn, Kokko-, Kováoxarms, Koppewaarms,
Močovpa, Mopus, Savópoxvirros, Jomanes, by e in
Epevveats, Aépôat, Koppaevaorms, Kmpe;300pms, Meðopa,
Sepwot;—by 1 in Çiyyipept, Adviſºape, Storukvºrtos ;—by
v in Bovrupov (bhátári), Aup3 uot, (kapuo) pu)\\oví,
NeXxvv84 (nflakantha P); by ov in orpºovyčov, Avôov

8 ptos, sulphur (Šulvārī);--by a in Mobus, M tu
aroxos. The representation by a is however by far
the more prevalent].
e stands for a (as above), for aya in Knkeot, for
ava in Ośćevros, for 7 in Epavvoſłoas; NeXxvvöa, for

w in IIoMeptos (Pulumſii), for e in dpye)\\tov (?),
{ty yuşept.
, stands for i, 4, of which examples are not re
quired; also for a (as above), for u in Kavoy, (m.
[Indian i is moreover represented by e (as
above); by et in A3ewrifloos, Elpwov, Kia Tepatot,

TortAct: by at in II Aal-" ; by v in "Yaports, Yöao
mns, 'Yqaorus, Bapuyaſa (?), Bušavrov, PvNNitat ; by
o in Ośvparts.] .
o stands for a, i (as above), for w in Odombo
rae, 'oğmum, 'orropokoju, 3rºtos, Bºobmo, -300pa,

-300pms, -3opa, kippopa, Koxxot, Kojiapua, korros,
Meðopa, uorxos, IIok\ais, Roºpakat, (with Eu-), sa
con (?), xiv6os, Xoavos, Soarros, Soºpal ;-for o in
Kokko-, rovča)\ot; for au $ in Odomboerae, Bolingae,
Colubae, IIopos;–for ava in IIopos, MiNAot.
v stands for i, i (as above), for u in Bmxuppos,
kapuo-, karrv-, Kiaratrupos, KvXuvêptum, 'Ośvöpakat,
'ošuparis, Savópoxvirros, Stavkurtos, Svěpot, Xupaq
Tpmvm.

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sulphur, Sroupa —by ev in IIevke) a ; by a in Koºpmv,
>op 1)aormvos,
m, and Latin e, stands for e in Baćoëno, 37Nußos,
Knrevs, Knkeou, Kmpeãoëpms, Mmpos, 'Oſmum, Stynóa,
sapenas, Soupaormvol, Sop lyaormvos, Xiºmpts;–for ai ||
in Huoãos;–for i in 'A3mpta (with 'A3'pta), Bmorora
peov (?);-for u in sagenon (?)
[Indian e is also further represented by e, as
above.]
a stands for o in 'Avôaparts, Koorapuśa, Aovišape,
Søvos, Sopa, TooraMet;—for au" in IIopos, Mapwevs;
—for ava in 'Huoöos;–for va in Sotetőms.
al, et stand for i (ut sup.);-ai, ao for ſtra, in
IIe v\eXairus, ‘Y&pagorms;–ao for ava in 'Inaos;-eo
for eva in Aeonſa)\t ;-av for au in TXavkavukat,

Glausae, Kavuapa, Mavora,Xos;-ov for a, u, (ut sup.),
for ri in Ośćevros ;-evo for era in 8évos.
[Indian o is moreover represented by a, o, ø,

au also by o, ø (as above); in Tapotas for Gaurſ,
there is probably a transposition from Taopias PJ
Next with reference to consonants, the fre

quent use of 3 is to be noted. This letter occurs
for p in Bišaorus, -80pa, Aaxivaşağms, 'Ivöa3apa, 843a,

Ka3oupa (?) Kapı3torðoxot, Kmpegoëpas, HaNagat'pov,
IIaM300pa, Tağaoro, Tağaororot, Tarpošavn, (but a
great proportion of these words is probably based
on Prākrit forms which already had b);-for b in
Bovāvas, Bovéða, Koorapuśa, Sağapa, Sapºot, 213ot ;for bh in 3ovrupov, Bolingae, A3mpta, A3torapms, (Bmor

orapewy?), Avôov3aptos, Colubae, kartv3oupwn (?);
—for v and especially as an initial, as in—Bagoómo,
BaAeokoupos (?), Bapuyaſa (?), Baorapovač (?), Bmpv)-

\os, Bmorabat, Bºğaorus, Buôtorms, Buſivrtov, as also
in medials, thus—cinnabari, Avp3.wot, Epavvo.3oas,

{yy}ept, 'Ia813tov, Aovišipe, Savópaśiris, Tupavvo
Boas, Xagmpts;–for do in Bapakm;-for y (perhaps
by exchange with p) in Sapºos.
[The Indian p is further represented by ph insul
phur;-by the rough aspirate in Yôāorms, ‘Yºurts;by the smooth aspirate in 'Epevverts, 'Ooraraötos,
soavos, Sonorros;–by oi in Otw8tov, IIopovapot.
Besides va appears as co,-ara as a, e, o, ao, ø,

[Indian u is represented also by t, o (as above),
by ov (Latin u) in Olipoa, Avoupo-,

Bověvas, Bov861,

dra as at, ao; as ova in Povačos (Irúvati), era as

Bovrupov, -8oupa, (kartv)3ovpum, Ataouava, Kakováis,

evo (as above)].
Further, the use of a for the smooth palatal ch

Navayovva, Mošoupa, Movorukavos, -oroupa, Xoupaormvot,

is interesting, in Glausae, IIagoraMat, IIpagriot, Xav

* Comp. Baori.Neus, Baorixeov * opóayvns on a
coin of Gºd uphara in Thomas' Catalogue of Hºctrian Coins,
No. 28 (Lond. 1857). The other words of this kind, such as
Aepo, MIIPO, MAO, MANAQ BATO are by Lassen also
referred to the Zend, more particularly to Persia; whence
it would indeed be difficult to separate the abºve words

the circumstance that we would then have to assume a

eo,

from it "with op'Ahepoy moreover, after the prefix
opA = ardha an entirely hybrid

formation would have to

be assumed. But of course the explanation of OPA through

arta is also hazardous, because (1) "r" sounds in Zand
asha (the form arta seems to belong only to the Western
Persians), and (2) because the same falls entirely away for
opAATNO Opdayvns: if it be conceived as verethraghna ;

but to seekin'it perhaps arta + agº () is

precluded by

hybrid formation, and would consequently fall into the
same difficulty which precludes the explanation of OP
AHepOY from ardha + athra.

+ The constant representation of a by a or o, e, &c.,
or more particularly of u by tor o, v, ou in different texts
is a testimony for the homogeneity of the respective pass
ages; more particularly with reference to their derivation
from a common Source.

With an echo purposely sought of Greek words.
If not already in the Indian word, o is to be prefixed
according to Prākrit rules.

*

Rather perhaps already in the Indian word itself; e.

B.

do.

do.

do.

: 0.


Of the partly rhymed, \( \theta \) appears as \( \chi \) in the same way as \( \chi \) in Greek words;—for \( r \) see above.]  

Of the aspirates, \( h \) appears for \( t, th, tdh \) in Klycaddo, KlvTwopum, yet an \( r \) as added to the dental sound (comp. drekana for \( dekanao\)). 

Lotus LEAVES; or Poems chiefly on Ancient Indian Subjects; by H. C. Dutt.—Calcutta, 1871. 

A volume of poems in the English language by a native of India is still somewhat of a novelty; but this is not the first time that the author of the collection before us has appeared before the public in verse. His name will be familiar to some of our readers as one of the contributors to the well-known "Dutt Family Album," which was so favourably received in England a few years ago. In the "Lotus Leaves" he has attempted to embody in a poetical form some of the more remarkable traditions and incidents in Indian history, beginning with scenes from the story of Rama and Sita, and coming down to the capture of Torná by Sivaji. Those into whose hands this little book may fall must not expect to find anything very striking or original in the treatment of these subjects, but they will find everywhere smooth and pleasing versification, and considerable skill shown in the adapting of the measure to the varying character of the themes. Special mention may be made of the little poem entitled The Bridal of Draupadi, in which that famous story is reproduced with sufficient fidelity and much liveliness.  

REVIEW.

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REVIEW.
ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION,

From the Methnawy of Jellád-al-dyn Râmy: 1st Duftur No. I.

When a small sage professed the belief
That heaven is an egg and earth its yolk,
An asker asked: "How does the earth abide
In this great ocean of the firmament,
A lamp suspended in the welkin vast?
Does it slide neither down nor up at all?"
The sage replied: "The attraction of the sky
From all directions keeps it in the air;
As dome of loadstone molten standing fair
Holds iron with itself suspended high."
The man rejoicing said: "Can heaven pure
Attract this sinful melancholy earth?
It so repels it from all sides alike
To fix it amidst awful hurricanes!"
The aversion of the blessed saints
In aberration fetters impious men
In the repulsion of this world and next
For either hopeful pledges they have none.
You spite the servants of the Lord Most High
Because they are aggrieved at your life.
They possess the electrum and reveal it,
Then they entice your straw, your nature vile;
But when their grand electrum they conceal
Your resignation quickly turns revolt!

E. REHATSEK.

THE MAHÁ MÁGAM AT KUMBHAKONAM.

The town of Kumbhakonam is the scene of one of the greatest of Hindu festivals, the 'Mahá Mágam,' which is celebrated once in twelve years, and to which people from all parts of India repair, to obtain remission of their sins by washing in the waters of the Ganges, which (according to Hindu legend) are brought, in some miraculous manner to the sacred tank on the south-east side of the great temple. This tank, which is known as the Mahá Mágam tank, is supposed to possess miraculous virtues at this particular season, for the goddess Gangā is said to visit the tank once in twelve years to cleanse herself from the pollution contracted by her, in consequence of so many thousands of human beings bathing in her waters and leaving their sins behind them. The purifier comes here to be purified, and at the same time to purify the multitudes of pilgrims and devotees who flock to Kumbhakonam on this auspicious occasion, that they may wash in the sacred stream and be clean. The legend given of the origin of this festival is briefly as follows:

The grandsons of a certain king of the solar race who reigned in the ancient town of Ayodhya were commanded by their grandsire to carry to the eight corners of the earth a horse which had been offered in sacrifice, according to the peculiar rites of the Hindus appointed for the Aswamedha Yajña. The object in sending round this horse was, it would seem, that all the kings of the earth might do homage to it, such homage being reckoned a token of submission to the great sovereign of the solar race who had offered it in sacrifice. During their journey the horse was one night stolen from the princes by the god Indra, who concealed the animal in the lower world close by the spot where a Rishi was performing penance. After a long search the princes discovered the horse where it had been concealed, and, imagining that the ascetic was the person who had made away with it, they immediately attacked him, while he was still deep in his devotions. The ire of the otherwise meek Rishi was roused by this sudden and sacrilegious violence to his person, and darting fire from his eyes he consumed his enemies, reducing them to a heap of ashes. Through the intercession of the aged grandsire, and, subse-
quently, of one of his descendants named Bhagiratha, the ascetic withdrew his curse, adding that the souls of the princes whom he had destroyed could only reach the abode of the blessed after they were cleansed in the waters of the Ganges which flowed upon the crest of Siva. This deity was next invoked on behalf of the unfortunate victims of the Rishi's wrath, and at his command the waters of the Ganges flowed upon the earth, and the ashes of the dead princes mingled in the sacred stream. When Siva commanded Ganga to flow upon the earth, the god also decreed that whoever washed in her waters should be cleansed from the pollution of sin, and, in order to remove from the goddess Ganga the stain of pollution she would thus contract, he commanded her to visit the sacred tank at Kumbhakonam once in twelve years, when she could cleanse herself from such pollution.

The festival of the Maḥā Māgam occurs in the year Migha during the month named Māgha, and during the occurrence of the full moon in or about the asterism Māgha." During this festival the pilgrims to Kumbhakonam bathe first in the waters of the Maḥā Māgam, then in the tank of the Golden Lotus (Pon thamarei thadagam) and, lastly, in the river Kāveri. There are twelve temples at Kumbhakonam, each having its presiding deity, the chief of the twelve being Kumbhaśvaram. These twelve deities are placed in their respective cars and dragged each round his own temple. They are all then carried on the shoulders of men in grand procession, with banners, incense, and fireworks, to the great tank, on the banks of which are erected twelve shrines, one for the reception of each idol. In the shrine which is built in the centre of the tank certain ceremonies are then performed, the trident being planted within it and besprinkled with holy water and incensed by the officiating guru. After the completion of these ceremonies, the people, who stand around the tank in anxious expectation, make a sudden plunge into it, as if the healing virtue would affect only the first who entered. A correspondent writing to us regarding this festival says,—"I am told that about 33,000 people are expected to visit Kumbhakonam during this Maḥā Māgam, and judging from the number of special trains that the G.S. I. Railway run, both by day and by night, I believe there is no exaggeration in the statement."—Madras Times, Feb. 12.

A FESTIVAL AT HAIDARABAD.

Once a year, on "Lungur Day," the city of Haidarabad presents a scene characteristic of that Oriental grandeur, wealth, and fondness of display which historians and travellers chronicle but we in India seldom see. The whole of the tributary princes, chiefs and nabemen, within a certain radius of Haidarabad, assemble at the head of their dependants for the inspection of the Prime Minister, Sir Salar Jang, pay homage to the Nizam, and undergo a species of "muster" previous to the disbursement of the annual government stipend for the maintenance of the troops they keep up. The "Lungur" of 1873 took place on the 5th March. A writer in the Madras Mail says that all present were conspicuous for their magnificent and costly dresses, whilst their dependants, horse and foot, contributed to an amusing spectacle. Uniforms of all ages, Oriental as well as European, were exhibited: coats, wristpieces, and morions of chain-mail; Saracenic head-pieces with their spikes of steel and chain-mail curtains; buff coats of tough bull's-hide; coats with tarnished epaulettes and wings of five and twenty years ago; shakos huge-topped and befeathered; the bearskin of some long-forgotten commander of a "grenadier company;" long swallow-tailed coats of the Christy Minstrel type, worn without continuations of any kind. Motley and numerous as the dresses were, in weapons the diversity was greater still. You saw bell-mouthed petronels of the time of the first James, an arquebuss or two, crossbows with dangerous-looking bolts, matchlocks, flint and steel muskets of various degrees of efficiency; swords of every age, shape, and nation. Yonder a curved scimitar; here the long straight blade of a knight of Malta. Knives more or less richly ornamented appeared in the kamarbands of high and low, but the arm most fancied seems to be a double muzzle-loading gun or rifle, many of which were carried in the hands of the noblemen seated on elephants. Long, light, bamboo lances were adopted by the majority of the mounted retainers, with, in some cases, a carbine slung behind the back. Throughout the day there was music for the Europeans present.—Friend of India.

AJANTA CAVES.

About five and twenty years ago the Court of Directors of the late E. I. Company, with the liberality that so distinguished it, resolved to secure faithful transcripts of the wonderful frescoes in the Ajantā Cave Temples. Accordingly, Major R. Gill was employed, with the necessary establishment of assistants, and in the course of a number of years he sent home nearly thirty large and faithful copies of almost all the best portions. Of these, twenty-two or more were placed in the Sydenham Crystal Palace, where they were destroyed by fire about six years ago. No copies, tracings, or photographs were taken...
of them before sending them to be exhibited—and finally burnt: and all we possess of this magnificent series of facsimiles are woodcuts, on a very small scale indeed, in Mrs. Manning's *Ancient India*—of two of the pictures and of eight detached fragments of others. Fortunately five or six of Major Gill's large paintings had not been sent to the Crystal Palace, but were afterwards found among the stores and are now hung in the corridors of the India Office.

Most of the frescoes have suffered much since they were copied by Major Gill,—some have almost, if not entirely, disappeared. Still representations were made to Government to attempt rescuing some portion of what still remains, and Mr. Griffiths of the Bombay School of Art was accordingly deputed to visit them and report on the feasibility of copying them. His report has not been published in extenso, but the following extracts from it are of interest:

"They are not frescoes in the true acceptation of the term, nor do they appear to correspond to the Italian *Fresco secco,* where the entire surface of the wall was first prepared for painting on, and then thoroughly saturated with lime-water before the painting was commenced,—as the groundwork upon which the paintings at Ajantâ were executed would, I think, hardly admit of this treatment. The groundwork, which appears to be composed of cowdung with an immixture of pulverized trap, was laid on the roughish surface of the rock to a thickness varying from a quarter to half an inch. To increase the binding properties of this ground, rice-husks were introduced in some instances, especially in the ceilings. Over this ground was laid the *intonaco* of thin, smooth plaster, about the thickness of an egg-shell, upon which the painting was executed. This thin coating of plaster over-laid everything,—the mouldings, the columns, the ornamental carving, and the sculptures,—and enough remains to show that the whole has been closed.

"Many of the paintings, as far as the hand could reach, have been wantonly defaced, hacked, and scratched in every direction, leaving not a square inch perfect. Bats by the thousand have done their work of destruction by clinging to the upper portions of the walls, and, to complete the havoc, water was percolating through the rock, converting some of the paintings on the walls and ceilings into a black unintelligible mass. It is surprising how these paintings have existed for so long under such treatment, when others which were not half their age have perished despite the care that was taken of them.

"The paintings in Cave No. I. are in a better state of preservation, and are more intelligible than those in any of the other caves. There are fragments of figures, some of them larger than life-size, of which the faces and hands are painted with vigour and expression; and although they are only shadows of what they were originally, still, I think, they are worthy of being copied. Portions of the ceiling to this cave are in a very good state of preservation, and were there nothing else remaining of the paintings this ceiling alone would be well worth copying, as being a marvelous piece of work and a school of art in itself. It is divided into panels, which are filled with painted fruit, such as mangoes, pineapples; in others are elephants, buffaloes, parrots,—all most delicately drawn. The panels are divided by bands filled in with the *fret-guilloche* and the *patera,* of infinite variety in design.

"I need hardly remark that the work of copying will be attended by many difficulties. But I am of opinion that no effort should be spared to obtain records, however slight, of what remains of the paintings of these famous caves. A few years hence the originals will be entirely obliterated; and I consider it will be a loss to art if some record be not made, even of the fragments that remain, of the works of these old Buddhistic artists, who evidently were keenly alive to the pleasures derived from, and who thoroughly understood the principles of Decorative Art in its highest and noblest sense."

The Government of India having sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 5,000 for this purpose, Mr. Griffiths and a party of students went to Ajantâ early in the cold season, and it is satisfactory to learn that all of the ceiling worth copying, and four pieces of the wall-painting of Cave I. have been successfully copied. It is to this cave also that most of the paintings at the India House belong.

To the paintings at Ajantâ, however, belongs only a part of the interest attaching to the remarkable remains there: in the architecture of the various caves is to be read a remarkably extended record of the history of the development of that art during a period of from five to eight centuries, and which could be fully supplemented from other groups of Buddhist remains in the Bombay Presidency and contiguous provinces. Materials for the illustration of Buddhist art at Ajantâ and elsewhere exist at the India House and with private individuals, and in April 1871 J. Ferguson, D.C.L., F.R.S., laid before the Secretary of State a proposal for completing and utilizing these, and offering to edit the work for publication. This offer was at once accepted and referred to the Bombay Government to arrange for completing the materials and carrying into effect, but nothing has since been done in the matter.
CASTES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Dr. H. V. Carter to his “Report on the Prevalence and Characters of Leprosy in the Bombay Presidency” has added an appendix giving short notices of all the castes mentioned in the returns. “The details it supplies,” he remarks, “are of the simplest, and without pretence: such of the information as is not commonly available has been obligingly furnished by the Magistrates of Kanara, Khandesh, Thana, Dharwar, &c. and many probable discrepancies are referrible to the varying customs of the same castes in different provinces.”

“The subject of caste,” he adds, “is full of instruction to the antiquary and the ethnologist: it is a mine as yet little worked, but which holds information sufficient, by analysis of details, to explain many curious anomalies in the opinions and condition of the existing native races, if not to throw light on their origin and descent.”

The list is arranged alphabetically, but we extract the accounts of some of the castes without reference to such arrangement:

“Koli.—A caste of low rank, embracing numerous tribes who are still most numerous in the mountain ranges running parallel to the sea-coast, and par excellence a hill-people; dwellers in the jungle or forest; most numerous of all such in the Bombay Presidency; they exist in large numbers in Gujarāt and the Konkan and in the adjoining central districts of the Dekhan, but not beyond these limits: their proper locale would seem to be the Western Ghāts and prolongation northwards (18° to 24° N. Lat.); they also occupy the seaboard; it would appear as if their continuity had been disturbed by intrusions of the ‘Bhills,’ coming from inland forest hills along the banks of the Tapti and other rivers opening into the Gulf of Cambay; hence in Khandesh ‘Bhills’ occupy the ghāts and hilly ranges, the ‘Kolis’ being found in the plains, as a reflux from the south. The Kolis of Gujarāt are thus almost separated from those of the Vindhya Ghāts; their history and present condition differ somewhat also; for a few formed alliances with marauding Rajputs, and their descendants claim the title of Thākurs; and in this fertile province some of the Kolis have become admirable and prosperous farmers. Coastwise the race has maintained its place as fishermen, boatmen, and sailors: they make salt. In Lat. 20° Kolis again predominate on both sides of the ghāts: they are chiefs in the Dhangs; Patels, &c. in the Māwals; the name ‘Thākūr’ is retained, but is not now associated with any preference apart from means: here, too, in the Dekhan a large section of ‘Kolis’ have become incorporated with the population on the plains; they occupy a humbler position than the Talabdi ‘Kolis’ in Gujarāt, but have a recognised place in the village establishment, being watchmen, water-carriers, boatmen, fishermen, messengers, &c.; these have made the first long stride towards complete civilization. On the hills their brethren are still a rude people, living by selling jungle produce, cultivating a little land, and keeping a few cattle. All are very ignorant, but not unintelligent. Kolis are subdivided into numerous families (or kuls) all of which are perfectly distinct; the families form orders or classes, which under climatic and historic influences have acquired their present distinctive characters; eventually, doubtless, the whole race will become assimilated, without being decimated in process, for the people are apt.

“Ambigdr.—A Koli caste of boatmen, watermen, and fishermen, in S. India; they belong to the recognised and more civilised division of Kolis.

“Patanwaria.—A ‘Koli’ tribe of Gujarāt, originally named from Patan-Anhilwādā, the Hindu capital of Gujarāt; their rank in the Koli caste is not the highest, as they eat the flesh of buffaloes; they are cultivators and labourers and sometimes village watchmen.

“Bhu Kādr.—A widely-spread caste of rather inferior rank, whose occupation is to carry palis, dolis, water-skins, &c.; to act as porters: they also catch and eat fish: they bear some resemblance to ‘Kolis,’ and have latterly been suspected to be also aborigines; they eat flesh and drink spirits: they are an ignorant but industrious class. Buchanan describes them as of Teleng descent; and adds that distillation of rum is one of their proper occupations.

“Khādri.—A caste in Southern Konkan and Kanara, who are fishermen and palki-bearers, also crews and mates of native craft: they speak Marathi and Kanarese, and in that respect are noted to differ from ‘Bhūis’ or ‘Kāhāras;’ numerous: of rather inferior rank, and partakers of all kinds of food, &c. The name is indicative of their connexion with the sea.

“Dharālā.—In Gujarāt; an inclusive term for people who habitually wear arms and pay for the privilege: in most villages they are Kolis and Pagās: in a few only Rajputs and Sipāhis also: some are in independent circumstances: and all are probably the descendants of former successful soldiers.

“Māch.—In Surat, of the Koli caste: fishermen, chiefly; a rude, ignorant, and intemperate race, said to be short-lived.

“Wādgr.—An offset, probably, of the Koli tribe, who retain primitive habits, and are mostly hunters and snarers of game and wild animals, whose voice and calls they can closely imitate: some make earthen toys, &c. They are widely distributed; some are lepers in Gujarāt, where they are probably more numerous than in the Dekhan and Southern India. In appearance they are, often at least, of a true aboriginal type: their language appears to be the vernacular of the province they inhabit.”
THE inscription of which a translation is given below was found in a temple at Nágamangala, the chief town of a taluq of the same name, and 30 miles north of Sríngapatam. It is well engraved on six plates of copper, about 10 inches by 5, held together by a thick metal ring bearing on the seal the figure of an elephant.

The grant which it records was made by Prithiví Koñgani Maharājā of Viñāya Skandāvārā in the 50th year of his reign, the year of Śālivāhana 699 (A.D. 777), on the application of Prithiví Nīrggunda Rājā, for the support of a Jain temple erected in the north of Srípura by his wife Kundavvi, a grand-daughter of the Pāllavādhirājā.

The inscription begins with an account of the Koñgu or Chera kings, almost identical with that given in the Merkara plates as far as the date, namely, to A.D. 466. The variation is principally in the name of the first king, who is here called Koñgani Varmaṇa Dharmma Mahādhirājā, while the sixth king is called Koñgani Mahādhirājā. The form Koñgani occurs but once, in the name of the king who made the grant. The different ways of spelling this name may be of little importance, but are interesting in connection with yet another form which struck me at the time I saw it as suggestive. This was on a stone inscription in Coorg, containing a grant by Satya Vākya Koñgini Varmaṇa Dharmma Mahārājādhirājā, whom I take to be the third in succession after the donor in the present instance, and ruling about A.D. 840. If from the similarity in the names Koñgu and Koñgani we may infer that they were liable to the same changes, and that the former was sometimes written Koñgani, we have a very near approach to Koñgani, the existing name of the country which Europeans have corrupted into Coorg. I am aware that Professors Wilson† and Dowson‡ give the name as Koñgani, but the Rev. W. Taylor§ replying to them, in his literal translation of the Koñgu Deśa Rājākal, expressly says, "Throughout the document the word used is Congu-dēsa."!

To return to the grant. It confirms the statement in the Merkara plates of an alliance between the second Mādhava and the Kadamba king Kṛishṇa Varmaṇa, the former having married the latter's sister. There is not a word about the adoption of a son by Viṣṇu Gopa, nor of the reign of a king named Dindikara Rāya, both of which are mentioned in the chronicle.¶ From this period of the Merkara plates to the date of the present grant the list of kings agrees with that generally received, as far as Bhū Viṣrama, whose reign began in A.D. 539. His successor appears from the grant to have been Viḷanda, having the title of Rājā Śrī Vallābhākhyā, which in the chronicle is given as the title of the brother under whose advice he acted in the government of the country, (younger brother and named Vallavagi Rāya according to Prof. Dowson, elder brother and named Vāla Vācya Rāya according to Mr. Taylor). In reality he was king de jure as well as de facto. The younger brother, on the other hand, is here called Nava Kāma. If this be the next king, he must be the same as Rāja Govinda Rāya of the chronicle. We then have mention of a Koñgani Mahārājā whose other name was Simeshwara (?). This evidently points to the Sivaga Mahārāyā of Dowson and Siva Rāma Rāyā of Taylor. His grandson, according to the chronicle, was a Prithivī Koñgani Mahādhirājā ruling in A.D. 746. This is the name of the present donor, and by taking the intervening names of Bhīma Kopa and Rājā Kesari as mere epithets of this king, which is permissible, the grant and the chronicle are brought into agreement.

Prithivī Koñgani must have begun to reign in A.Ś. 649 (A.D. 727). It is no small matter to obtain a fixed date for the commencement of a reign, and also to learn that it was prolonged to the unusual term of 50 years—

‡ Jour. R. A. Soc. vol. VIII. p. 3 or Ind. Ant. ut a. p. 361.
§ Cat. Rais. Or. MSS.
As Dindikara Rāya does not fall in the line of descent, it was scarcely to be expected that his name should be mentioned.—ED.
how much longer we do not know. Being the grandson of his predecessor, this king must have come to the throne at an early age, and hence there is nothing improbable in the duration assigned to his reign. The thing to be noticed is the absence of the minute details regarding the date of the donation, which are usually found in inscriptions. The name of the cycle year is not given, nor the day of the month or week, nor any astronomical conjunction. But notwithstanding the absence of these particulars the date of the grant accords perfectly with what we know of the history of this king.

We are next introduced to a province named Nirggunda. This I conceive to be the name that occurs in connection with one of the witnesses to the Merkara plates, but which, from his being there described as a servant, I conjectured might mean nirguṇa, the village waterman. The position of Nirggunda I do not know. Wherever it may have been, the tributary king of the region had married the grand-daughter of the Pallavañdhirājā. I am not aware that anything definite has been published as to the chronology and succession of the Pallava kings. The following are a few scattered notices of the dynasty.

Sir Walter Elliot says: "Previous to the arrival of the first Chālukya in the Dakhan the Pallavaśas were the dominant race. In the reign of Trilochana Pallavaśa an invading army, headed by Jaya Sinha, sur

named Vijayāditya, of the Chālukya-kula, crossed the Nerudda but failed to obtain a permanent footing. Jaya Sinha seems to have lost his life in the attempt, for his queen, then pregnant, is described as flying after his death and taking refuge with a Brahman called Vishnu Somayāji, in whose house she gave birth to a son named Rāja Sinha, who subsequently assumed the titles of Rāṇa Rāya and Vindhā. On attaining to man’s estate he renewed the contest with the Pallavaśas, in which he was finally successful, cementing his power by a marriage with a princess of that race, and transmitting the kingdom thus founded to his posterity."

The rivalry, however, was not thus ended. For I have a Chālukya inscription in which the first Vikramāditya is stated to have become "the possessor of Kāñchipura by the conquest of Pallava Pati, whose insults threatened destruction to the dynasty resembling in purity the rays of the moon," i.e. the Chālukyas, who were of the soma vāṁśa or lunar line.

The next king, Vinayāditya Satyāraya, who began to reign A.D. 680, is described as having "destroyed the power of Traijāya Pallava in the same manner as the heavenly general of Bālendra Sekhara smote down the excessively-grown might of the Daityas." Previously to this, however, we find from the present inscription that Pallavaendra Narapati had suffered defeat from Rāja Śrī Vallabhākhya of the Kōngu line.

I have also met with two stone inscriptions of the Pallavaśas, but so worn from age as to be almost illegible. One of them the name Nolambādhi Rājā has been doubtfully made out.

The character in which the inscription now translated is engraved bears much resemblance to that found in the Buddhist stūpa of Amāvatī with the addition of the characteristic letters of the Hala Kannada or Ancient Kana rese, namely, the vowels, the four forms of ī and two forms of r. These are denoted in the transliteration thus:—

\[
\begin{align*}
& r = \alpha ; \\
& \bar{r} = \varepsilon ; \\
& \tilde{r} = \omega ; \\
& \text{and } \lambda = \sigma .
\end{align*}
\]

II. TRANSLITERATION.

[1.] Svasti jitam bhagavatā gata ghanam gaganabhena Padmanābhena. Śrīśa Jayānaveya kulamalā vyo- māvabhāsana bhāskaraḥ sva khadganyak prahāra khaṇḍita mahāśilā stambha labdha bala pariṣkram- modārāni—

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* Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 365, note W.  
§ Conjeveram, S. of Madras.  
¶ Kumārswāmi.
NâGAMANGALA COPPER-PLATES.
NÂGAMANGALA COPPER-PLATES.
May it be well. Success through the adorable Padma bhāṣa, resembling (in colour) the cloudless sky. A sun illuminating the clear firmament of the Jahnava race, distinguished for the strength and valour attested by the great pillar of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword, adorned with the ornament of the wound received in cutting down the hosts of his cruel enemies, was Śrimān Mādhava Mahādhirājā of the Kanvāya gotra. His son, inheriting all the qualities of his father, possessing a character for learning and modesty, having obtained the honours of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects, a touchstone for (testing) gold the learned and poets, skilled among those who expound and practise the science of politics, the author of a treatise on the law of adoption, was Śrimān Kogāni Varmma Mahādhirājā. His son, the beloved sister’s son of Krishṇa Varmma Mahādhirājā, who was the sun to the firmament of the auspicious Kadamba race, having a mind illuminated with the increase of learning and modesty, of indomitable bravery in war, reckoned the first of the learned, was Śrimān Kogāni Mahādhirājā. His son, named Avinta, possessed of the three powers of increase, who had brought anxiety to the face of Yama on account of the smallness of the residue left after the countless animals offered to him as a tribute, (viz.) the brave men consumed in the sacrifice of the face of the many wars waged for the kingdom of Andari, Alatūr, Paurulare, Pelnaga, equal to Kirātārjuna, the mighty master of the fifteen creations and of the syllable om, was called Duvvinta.

His son, the lotuses of whose feet were dyed with the balls of honey shaken from the lines of bending bees, the clustering savages, rubbing against one another, had the illustrious name of Mushkara. His son, of a pure wisdom acquired from his being the abode of fourteen branches of learning, an embodiment of the nine treasures, skilled among those who

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**III. TRANSLATION.**

Tryambaka, having by personal strength and valour purchased his kingdom, daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire from the thick mire of the Kali Yuga in which it had sunk, was Śrimān Mādhava Mahādhirājā. His son, the beloved sister’s son of Krishṇa Varmma Mahādhirājā, who was the sun to the firmament of the auspicious Kadamba race, having a mind illuminated with the increase of learning and modesty, of indomitable bravery in war, reckoned the first of the learned, was Śrimān Kogāni Mahādhirājā. His son, named Avinta, possessed of the three powers of increase, who had brought anxiety to the face of Yama on account of the smallness of the residue left after the countless animals offered to him as a tribute, (viz.) the brave men consumed in the sacrifice of the face of the many wars waged for the kingdom of Andari, Alatūr, Paurulare, Pelnaga, equal to Kirātārjuna, the mighty master of the fifteen creations and of the syllable om, was called Duvvinta.

His son, the lotuses of whose feet were dyed with the balls of honey shaken from the lines of bending bees, the clustering savages, rubbing against one another, had the illustrious name of Mushkara. His son, of a pure wisdom acquired from his being the abode of fourteen branches of learning, an embodiment of the nine treasures, skilled among those who

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* Viṣṇu. † Jahnava kula—dānagāna kula or rāja. ‡ Might also be rendered—the donor of lands to the Dattaka line. § Viṣṇu. ¶ Śiva. $ Sakti teṣa—that are prabhu nakti, mantra nakti, and utaka nakti, or the powers of sovereignty, of counsel, and of energy or perseverance.
teach and practise the science of politics, a
rising sun in dispersing the clouds of darkness
his enemies, bore the celebrated name of Śri
Vikrama. His son, whose breast being healed
of the wounds inflicted by the discus weapon of
Daradana—healt—exulting in his growing bravery
displayed in many wars—bore on itself the emblems
of victory, possessed of the quintessence of all
the sciences, having gained the three objects
of worldly pursuit,* the glory of whose virtuous
life each day augmented, was Bhu Vikrama
by name.

Moreover, he who was eager to drink the
stream of blood issuing from the door of the
breast of the Bhatta (or warriors) forced open
by his numerous weapons
he who had subdued the Pallavendra Nara
pati;† and was named Vijandana, was Raja Śri Vallabha
khyana, in the enjoyment of fortune obtained by victory in a hundred
fights. His younger brother, whose lotus-feet
were irradiated with the brilliance of the jewels
in the crowns of numerous prostrate kings, who
was to fortune as a husband chosen by herself,
beloved of the good, whose name in destroying
hostile kings was the theme of song, was named
Nava Kama. The grandson of that (?)
Kogani Mahara, whose other name was
Simeshvara (?), the groups of the toes
of whose feet were illuminated with a rainbow
light from the rays of the jewels set in the
bands § of the crowns of prostrate kings, who
had fixed his faith on Narayana, || raging
with fury in the front of war || horrid with the
assault of heroes, horses, men, and elephants,
was a Bhima Kopa. No less a captivator of
the glances of young women the most skilled in
the joyful art of love than a subduer of theworld,
laden with spoils of victory gained in many
most arduous wars, a lion to the herd of elephants
the hostile kings, he was a Raja Kesari.

Moreover, a sun greatly illuminating the
clear firmament of the Gangá race, a terror to
hostile kings, a protector of the fortunate ways
of good men, who having obtained the name of
a good king shone like a sun over all king-

* Trirarga—these are artha, kama, dharma, or wealth,
pleasure, and virtue or religious merit.
† This name is uncertain, as the greater part of the line
has evidently been altered and the original letters written
over, so that what appears is almost illegible.
§ This name has apparently been altered in the plate.
The above rendering is doubtful, as the middle letters are
out of focus in the photograph.

lord over kings who were wed to fortune, a
shining head-jewel to the brow of kings, in the
bow on his shoulder like Kama or Rama
the son of Daśaratha, in bravery a Pa-
rasu rama, in great heroism Balari, § in
great splendour Ravi, || in government Da-
nera, of a mighty and splendid energy,
the most glorious all-in-all, * to all things
living Brahma himself, the king whom all the
poets in the world daily praise as the creator
Brahma, that Pritihvi Kongani
Mahara, the middle of whose palace continually echoed the sounds of the holy
ceremonies which accompanied his daily rich
gifts, among the favourites of fortune named
the first, the Saka year 698 having passed, and
the 50th year of his glorious and powerful reign
being then current, † residing in Manyakura
in Vijaya Skandavara;—

In the village named Eregittur in the
group of Mālikagachha, rejoicing all the
world with his combination of the rays of
auspicious good qualities, resembling another chandra (or moon), was there a guru named Chandra Nandi, of the Nandi Sangha race
praised of all the highest protectors of the Śri
Mula (Jains). His disciple was a munipati
named Kumara Nandi, whose ability was
worthy of protecting the assembly of the
learned, a second Kumara worthy to rejoice
the heart of Paramesvara (otherwise, the
greatest sages). His disciple was the great
muni Kirti Nandyāchārya, who under-
stood the essence of all sciences, who had acquired
the fame of possessing wealth but for the as-
sembly of the learned. His dear disciple was
Vimala Chandrachārya, the beloved of
the lotus-lake of the disciples, a sun in illumin-
ating the sky of the virtuous actions of good men
daily praised for their great learning.

Through the instructions in law of this
great rishi, having become like the embodiment
of the sound of a twanging bow, like the
embodiment of the flood of the river of all
penance, the sceptre of whose powerful arm
had broken down the groups of trees the hostile kings, was Dunḍu, first of the name, the Nirgunda Yuvā Rāja. His beloved son, who through his knowledge of politics had destroyed without exception the groups of his enemies, a friend to all the world, of a life pleasant to be heard of, making good use of thought, word, and deed, was Parama Gola, first of the name, the Śrī Pṛithuvi Nirgunda Rāja. His beloved son, who through his knowledge of politics destroyed without exception the groups of his enemies, a friend to all the world, of a life pleasant to be heard of, making good use of thought, word, and deed, was Parama Gīśa, first of the name, the Śrī Prithivi Nirgunda Rāja. His wife, born of the beloved daughter of Pallavādhirāja by Maru Varma, an ornament of the Sāgara Kula, was Kundavvī by name. In her husband's house did she grow up, daily promoting works of merit; and she erected a Jaina temple, an ornament to the north of Śripura, a glory to all the world.

For the repairs of any cracks or defects in which, for erecting any new portions, for the worship of the god, and for the gifts and charities—on the representation of that Pṛithivi Nirgunda Rāja—the Maharājādhirāja Paramesvara, united with (his queen) Śrīja superior to Lakshmi, made a grant of the village of Ponnalli, belonging to Nirgunda, with freedom from all imposts. Its boundaries:—On the east, the white stone rock of Nolībela; on the south-east, Panyage; on the south, the bank of the watercourse of the Belgallitank and the Dilla-tank; on the south-west, the rocky ground of white stone at Jaidarke; on the west, the tank of the Henkevi weavers;* on the north-west, the piles of stones at Puguso and Goṭhagala; on the north, the great bend of the watercourse of the Sāma tank; on the north-east, the Kalambetti hill.

And he further gave other land on the north-east, (viz.) in the plain of the Dunḍu Samudra a small garden of 12 kanduga;* in the share of Nallu Rāja, the chief of Mannampale, 2 kandugas; on the west of the tānda,† of the Dunḍu chief, one tānda; in Kammargatti, in the plain of Śrīvura, 2 kandugas; under the Kajani large tank 6 kandugas; in the pasture-land of the Erēpūli tank 20 kandugas,—this is dry-cultivation land; and as a site for a house 30 . . . . . in the north-west corner of Śrīvura in the middle of Devangari.

Witnesses to this gift: The 18 existing chiefs.§

Witnesses to this gift: The existing chiefs of the 96,000 country.¶

Whoso through avarice seeks to resume this gift incurs the guilt of the five great sins. Whoso maintains it acquires all merit. Moreover by Manu hath it been said: Whoso by violence takes away land presented by himself or by another shall be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. He who makes a gift has an easy task; the maintenance of another's gift is arduous. But to maintain a gift is more meritorious than to make one.

The earth has been enjoyed by Sāgara and other kings. According to their (gifts of) land so was their reward. Poison is no poison, the property of the gods that is the real poison. For poison kills a single man, but a gift to the gods (if usurped) destroys sons and descendants. By Viśva Karmāchārya, an abode of all learning, skilled in painting pictures, was this śiṣṇava written. Though it be but four kandukas of rice seed . . . or two kandukas of waste land, it should be protected in the same manner as a gift to a Brāhmaṇ.¶

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THE HILL OF SAPTA ŚRING.

BY W. RAMSAY, B.A., C.S.

"Sapta Śring," or, as it is called in some maps, but erroneously, "Chattar Sing," is one of the highest points in the line of hills commonly known as the Chandor range, running due east and west, at right angles to the main line of the Western Ghāțas, and separating the district of Khāndesh as it formerly stood, on the north, from the plains of Nasik, to the south. The range is a remarkable one, presenting a series of perpendicular basalt faces to the south,
intersected by openings at intervals, with spurs more or less gradual running down to the valley of the Girná to the north. The range may thus be described as a continuous series of basalt blocks, mainly of even height, presenting a uniform steep face on one side, viz. the south. The range is again capped in the case of almost each block by vast masses of bare basalt rising from the centres of the lower and large masses, and assuming all sorts of strange forms and appearances, as of castles, pinnacles, &c. Sápta Śrīṅg forms one of these blocks, presenting an almost perpendicular face to the south, but with one or two spurs trending to the northward. The average height of the plateau is about 1800 feet above the plain to the south, and more than 3000 feet above the sea.

About the centre of it rises a bare rock of no thickness, but about half a mile in length, somewhat curved, highest at the two ends and depressed in the centre, giving the appearance of a wall with towers at each extremity. But at every turn the rock assumes a new appearance, and imagination must supply what the pen would fail to depict. The highest point rises over 900 feet above the plateau, and the rock is perpendicular on all sides but one, where it has somewhat crumbled away, and grass has sprung up among crevices. The name Sápta Śrīṅg is derived from a supposed idea of there being seven horns or peaks to the rock, but the eye fails to see the appropriateness of the title.

The hill is ascended by a good but steep bridle-road from the north; from the south a steep footpath leads up part of the way, ending in a flight of stairs carved out of the rock-face. Such is the rock of Sápta Śrīṅg, the abode of the goddess Dēvi, in whose honour a great fair is held every year at the full-moon of the month of Chaitra. The goddess herself resides in a cave at the base of a perpendicular scarp, the summit of which is the highest point of the hill, and her dwelling is approached by a zigzag staircase of 465 steps, built in the steep "tālas" of débris which has formed all round the rock, and is now overgrown with thick scrub jungle. At the foot of the steps lies the village, if it may be so called, consisting of three or four Gaolis' huts, two nágarkhabzās, and three dharmāśālas for the accommodation of pilgrims. The place is well supplied with water from springs, which have been built up with masonry sides and with steps leading down to the water, and are known by distinctive appellations, such as Kāli Kund, Sūrya Kund, Dātātṛe Kund, &c. &c. Some are used for drinking, and others for bathing purposes, some possibly for both! Last, but not least, comes the "Śīvalē Tīrthā," or bathing-place sacred to Śiva. It is a small stone-built tank, not above 40 yards square, and nowhere more than four feet deep; yet thousands of pilgrims manage to bathe and wash their clothes in it at the fair-time, and appear to think themselves cleaner and better for the process, though to the eye of the profane observer the water rather resembles pea-soup in colour and consistency.

Not far from the Śīvalē Tīrthā is a frightful precipice, known as the "Sit Kude." The rock overhangs at a height of more than 1200 feet clean above the valley below. Over this Tarpeian rock human victims are said to have been hurled in ancient days. Nowadays the mild but pious Hindu contents himself with sacrificing a living but generally very thin kid, commonly in fulfilment of some vow.

Looking down the dizzy height the eye discerns the mangled fragments of the poor victims being devoured by the vultures and other birds, who no doubt duly appreciate the piety of the offerers. The Śīvale Tīrthā is said to have been constructed by the "Śenāpati" of the Satāra Rāja during the beginning of last century. On one side of it stands a temple called Siddheśvar, now mostly in ruins, but with a dome still standing, and boasting some rather elaborate stone carving. Under the dome stands a linga, and in front of it (now in the outer air) is the usual carved Nāndī or bull. The temple is one of those built of large cut blocks, without mortar, and ascribed to superhuman agency. "Bibisan," brother of Rāvana, being sick, was cured by the celebrated physician Himaḍ Pant. The latter being asked to name his reward mentioned his modest wishes, viz. that 350 temples should be erected in one night, and this was duly effected by the Rākasas: of these the temple in question is one.

Not far from the dharmaśīla above noticed stands a nāmāldī or tomb of one of the Rājas of Dharampur, his name apparently unknown. It is in the form of one of the ordinary dome-capped temples of Mahādeva, and contains the usual emblem of the god inside; it is built...
in good style and has some neat carving, but is sadly in need of repair. A sādhu by name Gaud Svāmi is said to have lived here a century ago as a devotee of the goddess. The Dharampur Rājā was his chela or disciple, and on one of his visits to his guru died, and the samādhi above described was raised to his memory.

There is a fine old “Baoli” adjoining, said to have been built by Gaud Svāmi. The above are the chief points of interest on the hill, but there are numerous minor objects of adoration in various places, chiefly figures of Māruti or Ganpati, the favourite deities of the Marāthās in these parts.

The origin of the hill of Sapta Śring was on this wise:—Lakshmana, after being wounded by an arrow from the bow of Megnath or Indrajit, son of Rāvana, despatched Hanumān to procure certain healing herbs from the hill of Girjā Matāma, situated in Paradise. Hanumān duly reached the hill, but, being devoid of all medical knowledge, was quite ignorant of what particular herbs he should select, and accordingly solved the difficulty by taking up the hill bodily on his shoulders and transporting it to earth; on the way, however, portions of the mountain kept falling away, and one of these alighting in these regions became the hill of Sapta Śring. “Now there were giants,” or at least Rākṣasas, “in the earth in those days,” and the earth may well be said to have been “filled with violence.” The Hindu Triad resolved upon a remedy, and out of their own combined essence produced the goddess “Devi” or “Mahālakshmi.” Devi having been called into existence was located in a cave of the rock, and it lay with her to rid the earth of the Rākṣasas. Devi was supposed to have been created in 3½ portions—one called “Mahālakshmi” and seated at Kolhāpur, another called “Mahāsarasuti” or “Tukai” at Taljapur, a third called “Mahākali” seated at Matapur, and lastly the remaining half at Sapta Śring, known as Sapta Śring Nīvānī.

At the three first-mentioned places different ceremonies are observed in the worship of the goddess, but at Sapta Śring the forms are all combined.

But to return to Devi and her work. Two of the Rākṣasas, Shumbh and Nishumbh his brother, she killed without much difficulty. A third, named Mahisāsur, so called from having the form of a buffalo, gave her greater trouble. Devi cut off his head, and out of the trunk proceeded the Demon himself, and a long struggle ensued, during which the Rākṣasa once flew right through the rock, and an opening is said to exist at the present day, marking the spot. Eventually he too was slain, and hence the goddess received the title of “Mahīsmardani,” or the buffalo-slayer. After this the earth was at peace, and Devi henceforth took up her abode in her cave, and became a general object of worship.

A sort of portico was added to the cavern at the beginning of last century by the Senāpati of Satāra, and the present plain structure was recently built by the present Chief of Vinchur. The solid flight of steps leading up to it is said to have been built by a savādr of Nāsik, about a century ago. At certain intervals one meets with images of Rāmchandra and Hanumān, Krishṇa and Rādhā, and in one or two places the tortoise is carved out of a flagstone: these were, no doubt, designed as halting-places to serve as a pious excuse for the weary pilgrim to stop and take breath in the course of his ascent. The sight is curious during fair-time, for besides able-bodied pilgrims the sick and halt are dragged up in hopes of a miraculous cure, and barren women in numbers go to pour their vows before the shrine of the goddess. All bring offerings of some sort—grain, flowers, coconuts, or money, according as they are disposed. The daily service of the goddess consists in bringing her bathing-water from the Surya Kund previously mentioned, and laying before her offerings of khīr (cakes of rice, milk, and sugar), tūrī (cakes of flour and ghee), preserves, and so forth. After having been presented they become the perquisites of the “Bhopa,” a hereditary guardian of the shrine.

Doubtless much of the merit of the pilgrimages lies in the bodily labour endured in ascending the hill and steps; in addition to the above, there are three different paths round the mountain, which are footed by the more devout—one a sort of goatpath round the base of the scarp, a second of greater circumference on the lower plateau, and a third round the base of the mountain below, which latter is said to be nearly 20 miles in circuit, passing through the narrow valleys which isolate Sapta Śring from the rest of the range on the east and west.

The summit of Sapta Śring is said to be
inaccessible to ordinary mortals, but on the night of the full-moon of Chaitra the Pāṭil of Burigām (a neighbouring village) ascends, and at sunrise next morning is seen to plant a flag. How he ascends, or how he descends, is a mystery, the attempt to unravel which would be immediately punished by loss of sight. A pair of binoculars, however, enabled the writer to track the footsteps of the flag-bearers, who were two in number, during their descent, which in places is certainly most perilous, and practicable only to feet devoid of shoes, and capable of grasping monkey-fashion. This perilous office has been filled by the same family from father to son for generations, and though a son is never wanting, other children if born die young; such is the story told.

Opposite Sapta Śring to the east, but divided (as before described) by a deep ravine, lies the hill called Mark und Dēva, with a rocky top not unlike the Matterhorn in shape, as seen from the west. This is said to have been the abode of a Rishi in ancient days, whose spirit, after his demise, took up its dwelling in the rock; his present occupation is to recite the Purāṇas for the edification of Devī, who is said to be an attentive listener; this idea may have originated in the echoes, which are very remarkable.

The image of Devī resides in a natural cavern or hollow in the rock. The figure is about eight feet in height, carved in relief out of the natural rock, and is that of an ordinary woman, save that she has 18 arms, 9 on each side, each hand grasping a different weapon. She wears a high crown not unlike the Pope's tiara, and is clothed with a "choli" and a "sāri" round her waist and limbs. She has a different suit for each day of the week; she is bathed every day, using warm water two days in the week. In front of her is planted her ensign, viz. a Trīśulā or trident painted red: there are also the usual accompaniments of bells, lamps, and so forth. A silver nose-ring and necklace are the only ornaments in daily use. The whole figure is painted bright red, save the eyes, which are of white porcelain. Near the base of the steps leading to the temple are two nagarkhānas; one, called Barodekar, was built by Gopālrão Mairālo of Baroda to commemorate the alleged miraculous cure of his wife, who having been a helpless cripple was suddenly enabled to walk up the steps carrying on her head a vessel of water to the goddess. An allowance of Rupees 150 a month is also paid by the same benefactor for the goddess's service. The other nagarkhāna, called Chandorkar, was built by a former Divān of Sindhi a savākār of Chandor, who also added a nemnuk of Rupees 95 a month; a nemnuk of Rupees 35 a month was added by one Dāji Sāheb Kibe, a savākār of Indor.

Further, the revenues of a village called Chandkapur were alienated for the service of the Devī by the Peshwā in the time of Gaunda Svāmi above mentioned. These funds are administered by different agents, and there is also a Panchāyat who exercise some sort of superintendence over the "personal property" of the goddess, her ornaments and so forth. The money offerings of pilgrims become the property of certain families, in certain fixed shares, while one of their number, the Bhopa, receives as his perquisite all eatable offerings. The story is told that a former turbulent jāghirdār of the neighbouring town of Abhona, facetiously called "Tokerāo" or "the Hammerer" (precisely as King Edward I. was termed Malleus Scotorum)," used always to be harassing and plundering the pilgrims, until he was bought off by a fixed payment of half the offerings made to the goddess on 72 fixed days of the year. This arrangement is still in force, the allowance being enjoyed by the two widows of "Tokerāo." This is not the only occasion on which the goddess has had to yield to vulgar mortals; could a pen blush, it would do so in relating how the sanctity of Devī has recently been invaded by the myrmidons of so very human an institution as the Civil Court. Sad though it be, it is still a fact that at this very moment a mere ordinary mortal, "juptee Kārkun," is in possession of all the property of the goddess, owing to a demand made by "a claimant" against the present Bhopa. At this very moment a handsome set of ornaments, the gift of the Gaikwar, and valued at not less than Rupees 30,000, are lying in the hands of the "Panchāyat" at "Wani," who are afraid to trust the goddess with her own, lest it should be swept into the devouring meshes of the law. After this great fall from the sublime to the mundane we make our best bow to "Devi," and wish her safe delivery from the hands of her friends and their legal squabbles.
The province of Mekran is remarkably poor in archaeological remains of every kind, there not being, so far as I know, any extensive ruins or architectural monuments anywhere to be found in it.

From this circumstance we may be justified in concluding that Mekran has never been in a state of civilization, and that the inhabitants have ever remained in the same state of poverty and semi-barbarism in which they now are.

The causes of this are probably not far to seek; the general sterility and unattractiveness of the country, its hilly nature and want of water, are sufficient to account for its disregard by more advanced and energetic races, and for its not being permanently occupied and settled in by them, while it has also laboured under the additional disadvantage of lying out of the general highways of commerce. But these causes, though they have successfully preserved it from development and progress, have not been able to protect it from being frequently invaded and plundered by various conquerors.

The names of several cities and walled towns are enumerated by Arrian as having existed on this coast and in the interior at the time of Alexander's march through it, and subsequently by Ptolemy and Marcian, but no traces of these towns now remain to indicate their sites, and it is probable they were merely of the same rude and temporary character as the forts and hamlets of the present day.

Among the few memorials of ancient vigour still to be seen is a hewn-stone band or dam of considerable extent on the top of the “Batel” or high headland forming the peninsula at Guadar. This band has been admirably built across a declivity or ravine, draining a large portion of the surface of the hill, which is very flat. The huge sandstone blocks of which it is composed have been very regularly and compactly placed, and are so morticed or dovetailed together, without any cement being used, as to form a barrier of great strength and solidity, which though now partly in ruins is still serviceable, and after the winter rains usually retains a large body of fresh water. It has been supplemented by a modern band of sand thrown up at an angle to it. The reservoir thus formed usually lasts the inhabitants of the town of Guadar, where the water obtained from wells is very scanty and bad, for the best part of a year. The construction of this dam is generally ascribed by Europeans to the Portuguese, but it appears to me of much more ancient date, and is perhaps due to one of the Persian monarchs. No information can be gathered from the inhabitants on the subject, as the Baluches are singularly wanting in national traditions of any kind likely to throw light on their past history.

About a hundred miles to the W. of Guadar, near the village of Tiz, are some curious and interesting caves, which I had last year an opportunity of visiting. The village of Tiz is situated in a small valley, and is closely environed on all sides but one by ranges of hills. In the range to the N. E. of the town, and about two hundred feet above the plain, is a circular chamber with a large entrance, evidently artificially excavated, opening on to a small platform. The diameter of this chamber is about twelve feet, and in the centre of it is a rectangular block of stone or masonry seven or eight feet long with a small dome on it; in front of the block is an opening leading to a cavity underneath. There is no inscription, but it appears to have been intended for a tomb. The face of the rock to the left has been smoothed and covered with plaster: this is covered with scribing and symbols (the swastika and trisula) in Gujarati, done by the Hindu traders of the neighbouring port of Chabbar, who believe the caves to be of Hindu origin, and are in the habit of resorting to them. Below this, to the left again, is another smaller chamber neatly excavated and chunjamed, but quite empty. The platform is made of kiln-burnt bricks and mortar, and has apparently formed part of some building or structure which has been destroyed, or has disappeared by the disintegration and falling away of the sandstone rock. Some distance away to the right, the face of the cliff is perfectly smooth and perpendicular, and at the foot of it is a spacious natural cavern, the mouth of which is now almost entirely blocked up by huge fragments of rock and débris. In shape this cavern is semicircular, and it is, I should think, about a hundred yards in circumference, but the roof is rather low. It appears to have been used as a temple. The roof and sides, which bear signs of being greatly eroded...
by water, have been covered with a coating of mortar or chunam, which is still adhering in some places. In the centre is a low wall, four or five feet high, of thick chunam, forming a semicircular enclosure, and inside this is a small angle or step of chunam; this is all that remains of the building or structure, whatever it was. The ground is covered with pieces of mortar so very thick and solid that it is evident the temple has been purposely destroyed by man. Close by is another low cavern, hallowed out by water apparently, but said to be an artificial subterranean passage cut through the range of hills to a hamlet on the other side; I satisfied myself, however, that it was natural and led only a few yards. The inhabitants have a legend attached to these caves, attributing them to a former Baluch queen, who is said to have resided in them and dug the passage through the hills.

ON A PRAKRIT GLOSSARY ENTITLED PĀIYALACHHĪ.

BY G. BÜHLER, Ph.D.

In the January number of this journal (vol. II. p. 17) I announced the recovery of Hemachandra’s Deśīsabdasamgraha, the first work of its kind which ever had fallen into the hands of a European Sanskritist. By another stroke of good luck I am now enabled to give a notice of a second Prakrit Kosha which precedes Hemachandra’s work by two centuries. This is the Pāiyalachhī nāmmālā, i.e. Prākritalakshmih, ‘the wealth of the beauty of the Prakrit language.’ In the MS. bought, the title is spelt Pāyalachchī and Pāyayalachchī. But the fact that in the first verse (see below) pāyalachchī must contain eight mātrās, and the circumstance that Hem. Deśī. I. 4 has the form pāiya for prākrita, prove the correctness of my emendation.

The MS. contains about 240 granthas and is written of 64 folia à 34 lines à 46–48 Aksharas. It is perhaps a hundred years old, and its characters are Jaina-Devanāgarī.

The Pāiyalachhī nāmamālā is written in the Aryā metre and constructed on a principle similar to that of the Amarakosha. It gives strings of synonyms for substantives, adjectives, and adverbs, each string filling usually a verse or a half-verse. The principle on which the synonyms have been arranged is not very intelligible. The book is not divided into chapters or sections, and no attempt at order is apparent. First have been placed the synonyms for Brahmar (v. 1), Pārvati (v. 2), sun (v. 3), moon (v. 4), fire (v. 5), love (v. 6), ocean (v. 7), elephant (v. 8), lotus (v. 9), bees (v. 10), woman (vs. 11 and 12). Then follow some adjectives and adverbs, vs. 13–16. Next come the words denoting ‘collection, heap,’ 17 and 18, and in the second half of the eighteenth verse the author says: ‘Now we will declare the words occurring in the Gāthās’ (ittāhe gātha hi vannimo vathupajjāe). After this fresh exordium, he begins his enumeration with the terms for salvation (19°), a person saved (19°), Vishnu (20°), Śiva (20°), Kārtikeya (21°), gods (21°), Indra (22°), Balarāma (22°), Yama (23°), Kuvera (23°), Viṣṇu (24°), Garuḍa (24°), snake (25°), Daiyās (25°), cloud (26°), air (26°), water (27°), river (27°), earth, (28°), Rāhu (28°), etc.

The words given in the Pāiyalachhī are not exclusively Deśīs, but include many Tadbhavas and Tatsamas. Many of the Deśīs given occur also in Hemachandra’s Sañgārha. But sometimes their forms slightly differ in the two works. I have not found any quotation from the Pāiyalachhī in the Deśīsamgraha.

The author of the Pāiyalachhī has not given his name. But he states in the concluding, unfortunately corrupt, verses* of his work, that he wrote in Vikrama 1029, or 972-3 A.D., at Dhārānagara, under the protection of the king of Mālava. In the ninth and tenth centuries under Munja and Bhoja, Dhārā was a great centre of literary activity, and it is remarkable that Dharmasāgara in his Therāvali, as well as other Jaina authors, state that in that very same year Dhanapāla wrote in the same place a Deśīnāmamālā. I should have been inclined to identify the latter work with the Pāiyalachhī, were it not that Hemachandra quotes Dhanapāla several times and that his quotations are

nam antime vannā nāsiamni jassa kannao tenośa vinād deś || kavvam ye ye savdā bahusukhalim vajjhanty te itthān
mme raś samata karse sāhiyaycam iti pāyayalachhī nā
namālaśa sameti ||.

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* Vikramakālīva gaśaunasuttātātārāhassammi mālava
**wgrindadālī wlośa manākheleammi nī dhārānayavo pa-
***rāhīvīsa mārge ṣyīkhe aravavī viśjaśanāarvathībhīsī sam-
****dari nāmā djajjī nī kaiço svaśayam uktamakuleśapāyā-
not traceable in my MS. In conclusion I give
the text of the fourteen first verses of the Pāiyal-
achhi with the equivalents of the Prakrit words
in Sanskrit, as far as I have been able to make
them out.

Nāmiṇa paramapurisān purisuttamanāmbhi-
sambhavānam devam

vuchham pāiyalachhinnām nāsimhehi

Pāyalachhi tti...... nāmāmālam, MS. against
the metre, which is Åryā.

Translation.
'Bowing to the Supreme being, that lord who
sprang from the navel of Purushottama, I pro-
pound "the wealth of the Prakrit language."

Kamalāsana sayambhā piyāmahoya paramit

The first half-verse is mutilated, metre Åryā

Subject: Brahmā.—Sanskrit equivalents: kam-
alāsana, sayambhā, pitāmaha, parameshtiin,
sthavira, vidhi, virinchī, prajāpati, kamala-
ya.

Dakhkhāyanī bhavānī selaśu pavvai umā gori

Ajjā duggā kāli śiva ya kachchhāyaṇa

MS. varakhkhāyanī ...... mori—the first against
the metre.—Metre: Åryā or Upagiti.

Subject: Brahmā.—Sanskrit equivalents: ka-
malāsana, sayambhā, pitāmaha, parameshtiin,
sthavira, vidhi, virinchī, prajāpati, kamalaya.

Akko tārānī mitto mātandvo dīnāmanī pa-
yango ya

Abhimayaro pachchhūo diyasayaro aṁśumālī
ya ya || 4 ||

MS. saumālī ag. met.—Metre: Åryā. Subject: Sun.
Sanskrit equivalents: arka, taraṇī, mitra, māṛṇa,
dīnāmanī, pāṭanā, pratyūṣa, dīvasakara, aṁśumālī;
abhimayaro is doubtful to me.

Mayalaraddhao anango minhāo mammaho kusumabāṇo

Kandappo panchasaro mayaṇo sakhappa-

Pāryāvāra jalarī tārangamālī samudda ya || 8 ||

Sanskrit equivalents: mārkadhvāja, anangā, ratīnātām,
maṁmata, kusumbhāva, kandarpā, panchasara,
madama, sāṅkalpayoni.

Mayaraharo sindhuvai sindhū rayaṇaśaro sa-
lārāsī
dīvāna

Dīva gaṅgā pāryāva yonah kusumabāṇa
dīvān

Abhimayaro pachchhūo diyasayaro aṁśumālī
ya ya || 4 ||

Amburuham sayavattam saroruham pūnda-
rīyam araviṇdam

Mayaṇaṁ thāmarasāṁ mahuppalam pāṇkayaṁ
nāṣiyam ||

The la of madhuppalam has been destroyed by
an insect, and the reading is conjectural though
Sanskrit equivalents: ambhura, saśiapatta, saror-
ruha, aravinda, rājīva, tāṁmarasa, madhvāpa,
pāṇkaja, nālinā.

Kullāndhaya rāḍā bhiṅgā bhasalā ya ma-
huystack alīṅo

Sanskrit equivalents and etymologies: kuli-
ładhaya, rassāpa drinking with the tongue or from
ras, to sound? (bhringā, madhukara, ali drī-
COORG SUPERSTITIONS.

BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

The Demons in Coorg.*

I. MALES.—1. Ayyappa (Ayya-Appa),† i.e. Lord-father, a name at present explained as if Ayyappa were the lord of the universe. I think it originally means Demon-master, Appa being a very common honorific. If a person falls under his influence (drishti), he will become ill. Ayyappa is also called Malé Deva, i.e. Hill-god, and Δῆτε Ayyappa, i.e. Lord-father of hunting, and his favour is sought for hunting expeditions. His stone, on a small platform (dimba katál), is met with in jungles and gardens. Here and there a whole jungle is dedicated to one of his stones, and out of such jungles superhuman sounds are said by some occasionally to proceed. On his platform models in wood and clay of bows, arrows, dogs, horses, elephants, &c. are laid as gifts. When a hunt has been successful, an Ayyappa stone is presented with a cocoanut and some rice, and, according to others, also with a fowl and some

arrak in a leaf. The hill-Ayyappa stands nowadays on the boundary between the Kūlis (Demons) and Devas (Deities), as is indicated by the fact that no swine—the gifts thought particularly fit for Kāranas (Ghosts) and Demons—are offered to him.‡ To some of the jungle-Ayyappas Brahmans are sent once a year; others are served only by the Coorgs—with such the Brahmans have nothing to do. Some Coorgs say that in a few places a buffalo is tied up, in Ayyappa's name, in the jungle (i.e. killed†)?

With the Tamijas, Ayyappa is called Ayanarr, and receives also swine as offerings‡; the Tulus call him Ayyappa.

2. Another name of Ayyappa in Coorg is Sastāvu or Sartāvu. It is also found among the Tamijas, and Tulus (Sāstāvu), both of whom consider its bearer to be the master of Demons. In Coorg he is a stone within or

firm or tight, and is very common. Bala and Bali of Sanskrit literature may be Dravidian.

* No bigoted Coorg would dare, and no Brāhma would, put the Ayyappas and Kūlis under the same heading with the Demons.
† Ay Ayya, is a honorific title among the Dravidians frequently affixed to proper names, like "Appa." May it be connected with orya?
‡ Bala is the specific name for "bloody sacrifice" with the Dravidians; the root bala means to be strong, able,
outside a temple, with a Brahman Pājāri, and only at some distance from his Pājā-seat receives fowl-sacrifices from the hands of the Coorgs. Among the Tuluas he holds about the same position; among the Tamils he seems to bear more of the Demon character.

3. Ku tti Chā tta, a pure Demon that is found also among the Tamils and Tuluas. It means “the small Chātta (or Sātta).”

4. Karu Vālā, i.e. he of the black sword. This is a Malēyāla and Tulu Demon.

5. Guliga (the Kulika of Sanskrit dictionaries), a stone under a jack or other tree with abundant sap. The Coorgs have this Demon in common with the Tamils and Tuluas. By the Tamils he is stated to be one of the eight Serpents supporting the eight angles of the world; but this idea is not familiar among the Coorgs. One thing, however, connects him with serpents also in Coorg, viz. the notion, though not at all general, that where a Guliga is, also a Nātā or Nāga stone ought to be.† Guliga means either “he of the pit,” or perhaps “he who is united” (so as to be ringled?)

One or more Coorgs of the house to which a Guliga belongs go to it once a year with one of the three above-mentioned Malēyālas, who breaks a cocoanut, kills a fowl, and offers some arrak (his reward being a quantity of rice). This is done with the object of averting contagious cattle-disease. If it happens that the Brahmins declare, and are believed, that some Guligas have become impure, they are sent to cleanse them with water—for which performance they are presented with some rice. To the Nātā stone, once a year, pājā is performed by a Brahman, and people from the neighbouring Coorg house go and light lamps to it.

6. Kōraga. This and the next are expressly stated to have been introduced by the Tuluas. It may mean “he who cuts into pieces,” or “he who dries up”—perhaps the sap of the body,—or also “the snorer.”

7. Kalunguṭṭi (Kallu-Kuṭṭi), i.e. he who strikes with stones. Throwing stones at houses and people is thought to be a trick of certain Demons.

8. Panjuruli (Panji-Uruḷi), i.e. pig-rider. Among the Tuluas, from whom he no doubt came, he is represented by an idol on the back of a pig. Brass images of Demons are most frequent with the Tuluas.

9. Kurūnda, i.e. perhaps “the blind one,” or “the shaky (unsteady) one.” He is a specific Demon of the Coorg Hōlayas or outcasts.

10. Tammācha. A jungle and hunting Demon that receives bloody sacrifices, but no pigs. He is especially the Demon of the Malē Kudiyaas, i.e. hill-inhabitants, and is said to sow the cardamom seeds: these spring up wherever a big tree is felled in certain parts of the Western Ghāts.

II. FEMALES. 1. Chāmundi or Chaundī (Chāvu-Un di), i.e. either “death-mistress,” or “she who preys upon death.” Her name translated into Sanskrit is Māri, the killer. She is also named Māsanī (Śma-sānī), the woman of the burial-place. This Chāmundi is always a mere stone, which is sometimes enclosed in a small temple but for which there never is a Brahman Pājāri. She has three other appellations: Bētē Chāmundi, i.e. Hunting-Chāmundi, Kari Chāmundi, i.e. dark Chāmundi, and Pulī Chāmundi, i.e. Tiger-Chāmundi. Another name is Bētē Māsanī, and a stone of this appellation is kept by some people in their houses to invoke for hunting purposes.

2. Karigāli (Kari-Kāli), i.e. the dark black one. She has only one place in Coorg, viz. at the village Kutta, where she is represented by some stones in an enclosure. She is so terrible that no Coorg of the old school likes to utter her real name; she is therefore generally called “the deity of Kutta.” An Okka-līga, i.e. a Kanarese peasant, is her Pājāri. At her yearly masquerade (Kōla, the Canarese tàra) Botta Kurubas (hill-shepherds) and Malēyas use to dance, but no Coorgs. Regarding the animals to be decapitated on that

§ This Demon is throughout Dravīśian.
|| Kāli’s root is Kar, Kal, to be black; Krishna probably belongs to this same root.
† With the Tamils the Pājāris at the pagodas of Đurgā are Pāṇḍaras, a class of agricultural labourers or Śudras. The Coorgs are peasants or Śudras themselves.
occasion in Kutâ I had unfortunately been misinformed when I wrote my first article.* Kâringâli has been raised so high as to be offered no pigs, but only fowls!—possibly from the fear arising from publicly declaring her to be a demon.

3. Badra Kâli, as Kâdu Badra Kâli i.e. the Badra Kâli of the jungle. She has a Brahman as Pûjârî; but near her place is another stone at which either the Coorgs themselves, or by their order, Malîyas offer fowls and goats. She has this character also among the Tûlus, who once a year send a Brahman to serve her; sometimes the Brahman (against his caste-rules) orders a bloody sacrifice. By putting the epithet Bhadrâ (propitious, happy) to Kâli the Brahmans may have tried to change the demon's character: Bhadrâ means also "gold"—conf. No. 10.

4. Kundamme (Kunda-Amme), i.e. hill-mother: not general.

5. Kâringôrsti (Kari-Krati), i.e. the dark Kôrati. Kôrati is also among the Tûlus. She appears to be a female form of Kôrâga: see Males, No. 6.†

6. Kalluruṭi (Kallu-Uruted), i.e. stone-roller. She and the next are pointed out as having been imported by Tûlus.

7. Nuchhûtte (Nuchhu-Utte), i.e. probably "she who feeds on broken grains."

8. Nanjavva (Nanju-Avva), i.e. poison-mother. She and the next two are demons of the Coorg Hûlîyas.

9. Nîlî Avva, i.e. black mother. Nîlî is the name of a crafty demon among the Tamîlas.‡

10. Ponnañgalâmmme (Ponnu-ah-kûlu-Amme), i.e. mother with the bright (or golden) foot-sole. But is she not likely to be the same as the Tamila Âîgâli; Âîgâlâmme?§ Then the translation might be: Mother Kâli, who is the bright incubus (conf. No. 3). Other Coorgs pronounce the name Ponnañgalâmmme; in this case the composition might be Ponnañ-kûlu-Amme, i.e. mother of strong feet, or, according to the Tamila reading, Mother Kâli who is the impetuous incubus.

III. Biras.—Another class of beings whom the Coorgs believe to exist is still to be mentioned, viz. the Biras.¶ They are said to be human souls transformed to demons.¶ Such people as die a violent death are likely to become Biras. Biras have their stones at which bloody sacrifices are offered (fowls and also pigs).

Deities, sometimes called Rain-gods.

The so-called Deities (deva, devi) of the Coorgs are known by their being connected with regular temples (tûrîkâ, lit. sanctuary), Brahman Pûjâris, and partly with idols. They are partly demons in a Brahmanical garb, partly entire importations.

Such of them as are represented either by stones or by images, or by both, are the males Ayyappa and Mâhâdeva (Onkâresvara, Lînga), both being nearly identical; and the female Badra Kâli. Occasionally a face is painted on Mahâdeva's stone.

As a temple-deity also Ayyappa is the patron of huntsmen; he receives the same hunting implements as the jungle-Ayyappa*; his bloody sacrifices (or rather those connected with his host of Demons) are performed by the Coorgs at some distance from the temple, the Brahman Pûjârî remaining in the temple. Mâhâdeva is quite modern Brahmanical, as no animals are killed for him.

The temple Badra Kâli (also called Pôgôdi, Pâvôdi, a tadhava of Bagvâti) is considered by some Coorgs to be one with Châmndi. Her bloody sacrifices, consisting of fowls, goats, and buffaloes, are made in the vicinity of her temple. About every second year a buffalo-sacrifice takes place. The decapitator is a Parûva (Mêda), an outcaste who makes bamboo mats and baskets and beats the big drum (hêmbarô) at certain festivities. Also the Tamîlas hire a Pariya (i.e. drummer) to perform the decapitation at their Badra Kâli sacrifices.† In the Tulu country the peasants (Bançu, Gañdû), though employing the Parûvas at masquerades,

* There are many Coorgs that have never acquired the knowledge of such particulars. *Vile ante*, p. 46.
† In Tamila a female basket-maker who at the same time divines by chiromancy is called Kâratî.
‡ Zieg. p. 196.
§ Regarding this Âîgâlâmme, see Zieg. p. 164 seqq.
¶ Viras? or Bhaîras?* Pêy (i.e. wicked), the Tamila word to denote a male devil, Pêyechi, being a female of them, is not found among the Coorgs and Tûlus. The feminine form strongly reminds one of Piskôl, a word that is known and used everywhere in the South.
* It may be remarked here that, as a rule, at all places connected with Coorg superstition, Trîśâlas (tridents) are found.
† Zieg. p. 172.
decapitate the buffalo themselves. With the Coorgs the Paruva is superintended by the Mukkâtis, i.e. arrangers, who are either Coorgs or other Śūdras.

Near the source of the Kâvēri river is the temple, and within it the idol of Kâvēri Amma, i.e. Mother Kâveri. The service of this deity is quite Brahmanical, and my opinion is that the deity is an importation from the plains. The Amma's Tantris, or owners, are Tulu Brahmans. I do not find that the Coorgs are water-worshippers, though they have adopted also something in this respect from the Brahmans; and besides they have no tangible profit from this river in their own country.

Another deity with purely (Tulu) Brahmanical pūjã, whom some people declare to be identical with Subrahmanya, is Iguttappa (Igutta-Appa), i.e. Father Igutta. He is prayed to for rain, and invoked at the harvest-festival. Might this deity not be the same with the Tamil Vēgutta-avatāra, i.e. the Buddha-avatāra of Vishnu? Besides Vēgutta the form Vēgutta is also correct.

It seems to be quite certain that many centuries ago the Coorgs, and with them most probably others of the Dravidian tribes, were mere ghost and demon worshippers without any ray of light to alleviate their fear. Have Brahmanical innovations in any way ameliorated their spiritual condition, or has even the contrary taken place? The discussion of questions of such a character is of much interest.

Merkara, 22nd April 1873.

NOTES ON NATURAL HISTORY.

I.—SNAKES.

By W. F. SinclaiR, Bo. C. S., Khândesh.

It is the common belief of Khândesh, the Dekhan, and Central Provinces that the amphibi- bona or slow-worm, (mandūp) changes its head to its tail, and back, every year. Also that its bite causes leprosy. At Christmas 1870, I shot a short, thick, clouded snake known as Jogi (I suppose because it is lazy and venomous). My police orderly, a Marātha from Anjanvel in Ratnāgirī, said: "There are lots of these in my country. If they bite a man or a buffalo, he swells up to the shape of this snake, and spots like those on the snake come all over his body." The beaters, Thākursof the Ghāţs, knew nothing of this belief, though they held the snake in so much dread that one man threw away the stick with which he had crushed its head. I have often met with this snake in the Dekhan and Khândesh, and never found this belief current anywhere above the Ghāt; but it is certainly poisonous. Compare the snake in Dante by whose bite a man was turned into a snake and vice versa. In the year 1865, or thereabouts, a snake with fur or hair upon its body is said to have appeared near Bhrīma Shankar, the source of the Bhrīma river in the Sahyādri hills. It is described as having been about four feet long, and covered with a soft curly wool; and the people worshipped it for a season until it disappeared. My informant was very hazy about dates and details. Perhaps the creature was suffering from some furry fungous disease, such as fish are liable to.

The little river Yel, on the high plateau, known as the Peṭ Pathār, in Taluka Kher of the Puṇa District, is inhabited by great numbers of Dhāman s, the large water-snake with yellow net-like markings on his back. The belief of those parts is that the Dhāman is powerless to injure man or beast except the buffalo; but if a buffalo so much as sees a Dhāman he dies of it—the idea of the basilisk! Further east it is sometimes believed that the Dhāman drowns bathers by coiling round their limbs. It is really quite harmless to any creature above the size of a water-rat.

The natives of the Ghāţs hold a small snake called the Phursa in much dread; and the Bombay Government have honoured it by bracketing it with the cobra, and putting a price on its head. The Kolis, who ordinarily bury their dead, have so great an abhorrence for four sorts of death that they will not bury the victims of any of the proscribed means of exit from this world. Three of the four are cholera, small-pox, and the bite of the Phursa. The fourth I have forgotten; but in these cases they make forks of saplings, pick up the deceased, and pitchfork him over the nearest cliff.
With all this, I have never been able to find out satisfactorily what the Phursa is*. I have been shown at least a dozen different snakes by that name, the most of them tree or water snakes and as harmless as frogs.

A long thin yellow snake called Korad is much dreaded in the open stony parts of the Puna district. The people say: "He does not give a man time to drink water." This is certainly the most active ground-snake I have seen.

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**LEGEND OF VELLUR.**

*BY DINSIAH ARDESHIR TALEYARKAN, SECRETARY, KATHIAR ARD EKAMPI RAJASTHANI SABHAI.*

If a traveller in Southern India is induced to visit Vellur, it is specially because of its forts and its temple. We ascended one of its hills called "Sajra," on which there still exists an ancient fort. There is a sort of rough track which leads to the summit in about an hour. Surveying the town from this height, you find it lying close upon the base of the Sajra, irregular, scattered, and closely surrounded by high hills except towards the north. There you find the broad bed of the river Palăr stretching as far as the eye can reach. Over it runs a lengthy viaduct of about a hundred low arches. The river is dry, but here and there are canals dug for cultivators, dhobis, and others. The expansive bed and the beautiful bridge lying amidst numerous glittering nalás testify to the dimensions to which the river attains during the rains. Before the bridge was built intercourse with the surrounding places was very difficult: it took a whole day to cross the river, and four pairs of bullockswere required to drag a laden cart through it. We have scarcely seen another town so picturesquely situated. It is pleasantly buried amid clumps of trees of various sorts. Interspersed here and there about the outskirts of the town are paddy and sugar-cane fields. Above all is a fort, but nothing of it remains except the surrounding walls. Broken cannon lie here and there half-buried. Large balls are also found scattered and rusting. You sometimes alight on artificial caves. In the very centre of the peak there still exists a deep tank. The water in it, though unused for years and rendered unwholesome by the growth of weeds and the rubbish which continually falls into it, would be drinkable in time of need. There are lasting springs in it.

Besides Sajra there are other hills close to it. On two of these are also ruined forts. The highest of all is Gojra, whose peak is narrow and pointed. To ascend Gojra is much more difficult. A tunnel is built in it, which, it is said, leads to all the other mountains, but no one ventures to go in. These hills, forts, &c. were one of the principal means by which the former rulers used to defend themselves. The height, the positions, and the number of the hills were sufficient to harass the most patient.

Besides these forts, at the extremity of Sajra hill below, is another fort built of large black slabs, which is oblong, occupying about four miles; a very wide ditch surrounds it, full of pure water.

Inside the fort are found the offices of the Small Cause Court, Sub-Magistrate's and Tehsildar's Kacheris, Pension, Post, and other Offices. In the middle is an open space where a building was erected by Government many years ago, in which to confine princes who fell prisoners into their hands. As you enter the fort, opposite you stands a large Hindu temple which in extent and workmanship excels both the grand temples of Konjivaram. It has several gigantic "Mandaps" of superior carving. In them are many dark cells for gods. The gods of this temple were those who lived in water, hence

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* Natives are generally very ignorant of natural history, and often give the first name that occurs to them for any of the less common plants or animals. The Phursa is a species of Lycodón, the 'Gajoo Putta' (Kaju Tattá) of Russell, who describes it as a Coluber, "the head broader than the neck, ovate, depressed, obtuse. The first pair of lamina between the nostrils, small, sub-ovaricular; the next, pentagonal; the middlemost lamina of the three between the eyes, broad-lanceolate; the last pair, semi-lanceolate. The mouth small; the lower jaw shorter than the upper. The teeth below, numerous, close, reflex; two palatal rows above, close also and numerous, but the anterior in the marginal row, longer than usual. The eyes lateral, small, sub-ovaricular. Notostris close to the rostrum, gaping. The trunk round. The scales, broad-ovate, imbricate. Length 14 inches. Circumference near the head, 11 inch; the thickest part of the trunk about 2 inches, and diminishes considerably till near the tail. The tail very small, tapers suddenly, sharp-pointed; length 2 inches. The colour—the head very dark, obscure, green, without spot. The trunk (including the tail), almost black, with a dark-greenish cast. The ridge of the back variegated with about twenty narrow spots, composed of longitudinal, short, dusky-yellow, white and black lines. Along the sides, and half down the tail, are interrupted rows of short, white lines; and from the head to the anus, on each side close to the scuta, there is a regular row of black dots. The scuta and squamae are of a bluish white colour. In an observation, he remarks that the "colour resembles the Gedi Paragud", of the Coromandel Coast, which is the Maner or Manyhr (Bungaram canidum) of the Konkan; "but the variegating spots are very different," and "from the want of poisoning organs it may be inferred that it is not so formidable as, by the natives, represented."—(Account of Indian Serpents, p. 22).—Ed.
there are wells all about. Streams of water run continuously underneath the temple. There is one portion of the temple in which you cannot go without a guide and torch; it consists of seven rooms built one beyond another.

This temple went out of the hands of the Hindus about the commencement of the Muhammadan rule in Vellur. No idol is left in it; half a dozen public offices are located in it; the richly carved black massive "Mandaps" have been whitewashed; the whole building has been disfigured. The following story will tell how this curious temple and fort were erected.

It is said that when this place was a desert it was resided in by a god named Jalagandi Ishwar; Gangā Gauriaman was the goddess. The small hill or Durgam was their frequent resort. The Palār river was then called Chir and was on the north. To the south was the village of Welapadi. To the east was Palakonda Rānmalāi mountain. To the south-east was Dharmalinga Malāsi mountain. To the west was the tank of Sādipāri. Every thing within these boundaries was "Welankud," or forest. Cholā Rāja was then reigning, who had acquired much fame.

A person named Eatumardi used to live in the sacred city of Palavansa, on the banks of the Krishna river. He had two sons, Bimardi and Timardi, whose statues are yet at the sides of the temple gate. They are also found inside the temple in various attitudes. Their mother died soon after giving them birth. Eatumardi had four sons by his second wife. His wealth consisted in cattle, and they were by thousands. Soon after the marriages of his sons he made two divisions of his wealth; one was given to Bimardi and Timardi, and the other was divided among the four sons by his second wife, who commenced quarrelling with and even concerting the death of their two half-brothers after the death of their father. Herupon the two brothers abandoned their homes with their families and their cattle. In course of their journey they halted at a place called Tīrum, whence water was conveyed for the god Śrīranganaigār, who was living in Palkonda. Hearing of the fame of Cholā Rāja and the sacredness of the hills in his possession, they went to Kailāspatnam; and Bimardi besought the Rāja to give him some land for cultivation. The Rāja, seeing he had come with immense cattle, gave him as much land as he wished in Welapadi to till and to rear his cattle. This place was called Welapadi, because it was full of trees named welam which furnished sticks for cleansing the teeth. He daily went to Kailās Hill to worship the Dharmalinga, from whom he wished to know all about his lot. He intended to stay where he was, if he was thereby to become happy; otherwise he purposed to go and live in Senchi near Tanjor. On the tenth day the two brothers were attacked by Palagar marauders, but Bimardi and Timardi fought so boldly against them that they retreated. On hearing this the Rāja was much pleased, and the two brothers were entrusted with numerous Silladars. The villagers also rendered them any aid they needed. At this stage of affairs one of the cows of Bimardi was delivered of a calf. It was as white as milk; but its horns, nose, tail and hoofs were black. Its teats were five. When it grew it never went in company with the other cattle. It went to graze alone, and returned alone. It was delivered of a calf, but did not allow it to drink milk. Bimardi was surprised to find that daily when the cow returned in the evening it came with empty udder. Nor was the herdsman able to explain this, but one morning he followed the cow wherever it went. The cow went on till it came near a small island, to which it went crossing the water. Immediately after this a serpent came out of a hole. It had five mouths, by which it drank milk from the five teats of the cow. After the serpent had done drinking, the cow returned to its master's place. Bimardi was much affected by this sight. He considered both the occurrence and the locality as sacred. On the morning of the following day he crossed the water and went near the hole of the five-mouthed serpent. There he prayed to know what were the wishes of the serpent. After this he fell fast asleep. A figure then appeared to him in his dream and said to Bimardi—"My name is Sambaśivāram. That cow which you possess is created by me. I drink its milk and am pleased. I therefore wish you all success and happiness!" Bimardi answered—"I do not care for life or happiness, but am anxious always to remain in your service; and I am also anxious to perpetuate your name; with that desire I wish to construct a temple and a fort." The god replied: "Why need you do this? I am not any way known, and wish to remain so." Bimardi repeated, however, his prayers with much supplication. The Deva then asked; "Well, if your wishes be so strong, whence can you bring all the wealth to build the temple and fort? What money have you got for this purpose?" "All my wealth consists in the 8,700 head of cattle I possess; I shall sell them and carry out my object."

* A different legend is given by Lieut. H. P. Hawkes in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, vol. XX, p. 274, bearing some slight resemblance however to this.—Ed.
The god was much pleased to hear this, and ordered Bimardi to erect a temple and fort, and said to him—"When I was living with Wenkat Saprumal on the hill of Dharmalingamalai, that god placed one foot on the Dharmalinga Hill and the other on the Tripati Hill, and went to Tripati. In the place on which he placed his first foot there lies immense wealth, of which you may take as much as you can in the course of seven days and seven nights." So saying the serpent returned to his hole. Bimardi awoke from his dream, and implicitly believing everything that he had heard and seen in his vision, the first thing he did was to place a line of labourers from the hole to the hill mentioned by Sambaśivam. Bimardi afterwards required to the summit of the hill, where he repeated what the god Sambaśivam had uttered. All of a sudden, golden coins now flowed out, which Bimardi's men began to carry one after another. On this news reaching the Rāja he summoned Bimardi into his presence. Bimardi informed him of all that had occurred. The Rāja was so gratified to hear all this that he rendered his best assistance in getting the aforesaid jungle cleared for Bimardi. As the jungle was being cleared, it so happened that a hare appeared and made a certain sort of round several times and then disappeared. Bimardi was lost in astonishment. He implored his patron god to conduct a rāj and to keep all affairs in connection with the temple in a prosperous state, so that I may have more time to spend in your devotion." To this the god answered—"There is one Wenkatderamahariar, the son of Pargondama Pirawadardevamahariar, who maintains a thousand Brahmans daily. He is a fit person for the rāj; go and tell him to undertake the management." A dispute was now raging between Wenkat and his brother as to the distribution of certain villages between them. Vellur was also added to these villages. The two brothers agreed to proceed to the Melkatachala-pularaisna temple in the Maisur Zilla, and there to cast lots and abide by the result. Wenkat got Vellur. On leaving his father's palace to repair to Vellur, he met with what was considered a very good omen, which was in the form of a maid-servant who was preparing torches in the palace. The result of his connection with her at this moment, which was justified and unavoidable in consequence of the coincidence, was that she gave birth to a son, who was, according to the law of the times, proclaimed heir-apparent to the rāj. He was named Krishna Devamahariar, who maintains a thousand Brahmans daily. He is a fit person for the rāj; go and tell him to undertake the management. After this he abandoned all his possessions and business, and retired into a jungle where he led the life of a hermit. The Rayars or the descend...
JUNE, 1873.

THREE COPPER PLATES.

The Acting Collector of the Krishna District has forwarded three copper Śāsanams to the Madras Government, presented by the Zamindar of Nazid. The largest of the three was found about a year and a half ago in the Mokasa village of Ederu, near Agiripalli, where the Zamindar lives, by a man ploughing; and the others were found in the time of the present Zamindar's father. The writing on all is a mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit. The plates are in the Government Central Museum. The following translations were made in the Collector's office.

The first and most important, gives some particulars of the Eastern dynasty of Chālukyas descended from Kubja Vishn̄u Vardhana, or Vishn̄u Vardhana 'the Little' or 'Hunchback,' the younger son of Kirtti Varma, and brother of Satyāśraya of the Kalyānid dynasty, who established for himself a new kingdom by the conquest of Vengi. His successors extended their territories northwards from the Krishṇa to the borders of Orissa, and ultimately fixed their capital at Rājamahendri, now Rājamandri. Their emblem was the Varāha lānchhana or Boar-signet. Some orthographical mistakes in the following versions have been rectified, and a few notes added from Sir W. Elliot's Gleanings respecting this dynasty:

I:—SRI RAMULU.

A king called Kubja Vishnu Vardhanudu*, elder brother of Satya Śri Vallabhu, of the Māna Vyasa gotra or tribe, who was a descendant of a Rishicalled Häriti, who got the kingdom by virtue of the boon of Kauśika, who was nourished by seven mothers named Bhamhi Maheswaryadi, and who was a votary of Shanmukhudu,† who possessed an emblem of the boar which he obtained by the grace of the god‡ and which could subjugate all enemies, who had his body purified by an ablation of the end of a Śvamedha and who was an ornament of Chālukya race, reigned over the earth for eighteen years. Vishnu Vardhanudu‖, son of Indrarāja, his elder brother, reigned for nine years. His son, Manga Yuvarāja, for twenty-five years. His son Jayasimharāja, for thirteen years. His half-brother, king Kakati§, for six months; Vishnu Vardhanudu, elder brother of Kakati, for thirty-seven years, after defeating his brother; his son, Vijayāditya Bhattachārjudu, for eighteen years; his son, Vishnu Vardhanudu, for thirty-six years; his son, Vijayāditya Bhupati,¶ after fighting 108 times within the space of 124 years with the force of Gangawat, and after constructing 108 Śiva temples, left this world for heaven after

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† 'Śvami Mahāśiva,' according to Sir W. Elliot.
‡ Bhagavān Nārayana.—Elliot.

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|| Vishnu Vardhana III.—the fourth king of the Eastern line of Chālukyas.—En.
§ Kakkili, in Sir W. Elliot's list.—En.
¶ Narendra Mriga Rāja, in Elliot's list.
a reign of forty-four years. His son, Vishnu Varillanudu, knowing the rules of castes, conquer his foes, and becoming the chief of his tribe, reigned for one and a half years. His son, Vijaya-
ditya, who became king of all kings, who conquered many heroic kings, and who shone with great splen-
dour, who had the power of Siva, who, by the induce-
ment of Ratta Bhupati, beheaded Vengu Bhupati, burnt his kingdom, reigned for forty-four years and left this world for heaven. Afterwards the king-
dom of Vengu Bhupati was usurped by the kinsmen of Ratta Bhupati.† His younger brother, Chālukya Bhumādhipudu (who had another name of Drahari-
juven), and son of Vikramādityudu, protecting all people in general, reigned for thirty years and left this world for heaven. His son, Vijaya
dityudu, inheriting the kingdom, which is replete with comfort and every blessing, in his nonage conquer-
ed many foes during his father's lifetime by the strength of his arm. After his father's death, too, he conquered many of his foes and left this world for heaven. His son, Udyādityudu, bearing also the name of Rāma Rāja Mahendrudu, and possess-
ing all the powers of a king, the abilities of a prime minister, &c., and excelling the glory of his ancestors, one day in his reign seated himself on his throne, sent for the Grahastas (householders) of Kunteruvadi and addressed them thus:—"In the family of that warrior who was the best person of the Pattavardhami family, who was a follower of Kub-
javishnu Vardhanudu, who was well known by the name of Kaṭhakampa, and who in battle conquered Dudardudu, and brought all his banners, titles, &c., Somādityudu was born. He begat Prithivi-
java Rāja. His son, this Kuntādityudu, who is the king of solar race. Ikshvāku and other kings, by whose valour Devendrudu enjoyed the kingdom of heaven, was born in the solar race which deserves adoration. Kakucha Bhupati who rode upon Devendrudu who assumed the form of a bull, Raghumāhārāja who rendered the weapon of Indra useless, and Sri Rāmachandrudu who built a bridge over the sea and killed Dasakanttudu, having been born in that race, the glory of that race cannot be too much extolled. In that race King Arikaludu is born lineally, who begat Kalikaludu, whose history excelsthat of former kings thus:—He used to bathe every day in Ganges water brought by the hands of kings between the Kāveri and Setu (the bridge at Rāmeśwaram), and subjugated them. He refused a platter (to be employed in worshipping the god) which is suitable to be accepted, and which was sent by Bhojarāja. He derided with his toe the fire of Arunadhadi.—ELL. ut sp. p. 79.

"This should not be annoyed by anybody. He who does so is considered as one that has commit-
ted the five great sins—Veyasulu. Up to this time many granted gifts of lands and many had them granted. Whenever the gifts are accepted by the donees, to them they really belong. He who usurps the land given either by himself or by others will be born as a worm in the human excre-
ment for 60,000 years."

II:—SRI SOBHANADRI.

One by name Vijaya
dityudu,§ a sovereign of the Chālukya family, grandson of Vikrama Rāma Bhupati, and son of Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja, gave at the time of a solar eclipse one khandrika of rent-free land, sufficient to be sown with twelve khandis of korra seed (Panicum Italicum), to a Brahman named Paḍma Bhattārakudu, of the vil-
dge of Minamina, who is of Kaśyapa gotra (Apa-
stambha sect), grandson of Tukasarma Trivedi and son of Danaserma Trivedi; the land being bound-
ed on the east by Korraparu polemeca (or bound-
ary), on the south by Pataka, on the west by Rumati, on the north by Renukavadi.

III:—SRI SOBHANADRISWA.

Stayambhhuva Mānava, who was kept and saved on the ark of the Earth at the general deluge by the Supreme Being who assumed the form of a fish and preserved the world, is born first of the kings of solar race. Bhāgiradhudu, who, after many years' trīyas or self-mortification, conquered Siva and brought to earth the Ganges, the gem worn on his head, is the king of solar race. Ikshvāku and other kings, by whose valour Devendrudu enjoyed the kingdom of heaven, was born in the solar race which deserves adoration. Kakucha Bhupati who rode upon Devendrudu who assumed the form of a bull, Raghumahārāja who rendered the weapon of Indra useless, and Sri Rāmachandrudu who built a bridge over the sea and killed Dasakanttudu, having been born in that race, the glory of that race cannot be too much extolled. In that race King Arikaludu is born lineally, who begat Kalikaludu, whose history excels that of former kings thus:—He used to bathe every day in Ganges water brought by the hands of kings in succession. He conquered all the kings between the Kāveri and Setu (the bridge at Rāmeśwaram), and subjugated them. He refused a platter (to be employed in worshipping the god) which is suitable to be accepted, and which was sent by Bhojarāja. He derided with his toe the

† No such name occurs in Elliot's list: the successor of Vijayāditya III. was Amma Rāja, who probably reigned about A.D. 900.—ELL.

§ This appears to be Vijayāditya II. of the preceding grant.—ELL.
eye in the forehead of Pullavabhupati, and he has certain other qualifications. In the reign of Nata Bhimudu and other potent kings born in the family of the said Kalikaludu, the earth had been prosperous for a long time. Somabhumati, son of Duhutta Nārāyaṇa Rāmakubhaṇi of the same family, who is the emblem of Supreme Being himself, subdued many neighbouring kings and begat a son named Prince Gangādharabhupati by his wife Surāmbikā. Gangādharabhupati, devoting himself to the god and Brahmins, begat a son, Bhakitbhupati, who resembles Parijata (the name given to all the flowers resembling in scent the jasmine), which exudes a sweet scent over all the earth, and who is a votary of Śiva, by his wife Irugambā, who is the daughter of Kāmabhupati of the lunar branch, and sister of Vahupati.

Bhaitbhupati, deserving as he is to be adored by many kings, wore the badges or the honourable distinctive marks of "Gandabherunda," which is fit to repel all lions of foes (i.e. kings' foes), and of "Rāyavesiya bhujanga," which is fit to compel all kings to leave off their haughtiness and be submissive, and so he continued to reign. One day, while he was proceeding on his royal tour, he happened to meet on a hill a Brahman hermit named Visvanadhudu, who is well versed in Vedas, and finding him to be zealously engaged in divine contemplation, and, as such, an emblem of Śiva, saluted him. He remained there for some time with devoutness.

On Monday, the 15th of the waxing moon of Kārtika, Śālivāhana Śaka 1277, he gave with pleasure to the said Visvanadhudu, who is steadfast in devotion and a great hermit of the Kauśika gotra, the village of Kadavakolam, which is replete with complete comfort and every blessing and with the eight sources of pleasure.

The village is bounded on the east by a large ant-hill, on the south-east by Chintajodupallam, on the south by a Vagu or watercourse, on the south-west by Madetopuna Nandikambham, on the west by Doni Mara, on the north by a Kundam or pond, on the north-east by the boundaries of Bommada and Makkala.

The said king having given to the aforesaid worthy Brahman the village of Kadavakolam, within the above-mentioned notable limits, thought the descendants of his family would be meritorious. May this Śāsana, inscribed to notify the gift of the village called Kadavakolam, endure until the end of time!

As bestowing the gift is common to all kings, this deserves to be preserved by you for ever. Rāmachandrulavaru will frequently pray all kings that commit anything to affect this gift.

—Proceedings of the Madras Government, Public Department, 7th April 1873.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF BELĀRI DISTRICT.

(From the Delāri District Manual, by J. Kelsall, M.C.S.)

The finest specimens of native architecture are to be seen at Hampi, the site of the ancient city of Vijyanagar. These ruins are on the south bank of the Túngabhadra river, about 36 miles from Belāri, and cover a space of nearly nine square miles. At Kamlapur, two miles from Hampi, an old temple has been converted into a bungalow, and this is probably the best place to stop at when visiting the ruins. Many of the buildings are now so destroyed that it is difficult to say what they were originally meant for, but the massive style of architecture, and the huge stones that have been employed in their construction, at once attract attention. Close to Kamlapur there is a fine stone aqueduct, and a building which has at some time or other been a bath. The use of the arch in the doorways, and the embellishments used in decorating the inner rooms, show that the design of this building was considerably modified by the Musalmans, even if it was not constructed by them altogether. A little to the south of this is a very fine temple, of which the outer and inner walls are covered with spirited basso-relievo representing hunting-scenes and incidents in the Rāmāyana. The four centre pillars are of a kind of black marble handsomely carved. The flooring of the temple, originally large slabs of stone, has been torn up and utterly ruined by persons in search of treasure which is supposed to be buried both here and in other parts of the ruins. The use of another covered building close by, with numerous underground passages, has not been ascertained. It also is covered with basso-relievo, in one of which a lion is represented. At a little distance is the building generally known as the "Elephant stables," and there seems no reason to doubt that it was used for this purpose. Two other buildings, which with the elephant stables form roughly three sides of a square, are said to have been the concert-hall and the council-room. Both, but especially the latter, have been very fine buildings.

Not far off are the remains of the Zenana, surrounded by a high wall now in a very dangerous condition, and beyond this again the arena where tigers, elephants, and others animals were pitted.
against each other for the amusement of the court. This is the account given by tradition, and, judging from the character of the sculptures surrounding the place, it is probably the true one. The animals fought on the ground, and the king and his suite watched them from elevated platforms of stone. The buildings in which these beasts were confined cannot now be distinguished, but the stone trough at which they were watered still remains. The trough is a monolith, which has unfortunately been slightly cracked in turning it over to look for treasure. Its dimensions are \( 41 \frac{1}{2} \times 3 \times 2 \) feet.

Leaving these, the road passes through a few paddy-fields towards the river. There are fine stone buildings all round and the débris of countless houses of stone and brick. On the left is a mutilated monolith representing Siva with a cobra with outstretched hood over his head. Siva is represented seated, and the statue is about 35 feet high. It has been much damaged by Tipu’s troops, who have broken off the nose and one of the arms. Close by are two fine temples between which the road passes, but which are remarkable for nothing but the enormous size of the stones which have been used in their construction. Masses of cut granite, many of them 30 feet in length by 4 in depth, are seen high up in the wall, and no explanation can be given of the mode in which they were placed in their present position.

About 100 yards beyond this place, the crest of the hill is reached, and from it a magnificent panoramic view is obtained. Immediately below, the river Tungabhadra flows through a gorge between the rocks, and on the opposite bank are high rugged granite hills. Parallel with the river is the main street, lined with temples and palaces and some modern houses. Small patches of paddy and sugar-cane cultivation serve to give colour to the scene. At one end of this street, which is about half a mile long and fifty yards in breadth, is a large pagoda in good repair, which is the only one in which service is still kept up. A channel from the river runs through the centre of it, and is led through the room used for cooking, so that at all times there is a supply of fresh running water. At the other end of the street is a large figure of Hanuman, the monkey-god, while the whole is commanded by a high hill composed of irregular granite boulders, on the summit of which a large temple has been erected. The view from the top well repays the trouble of the ascent. Parallel with this main street, but a little further from the river, is another, equal in size, but with fewer fine buildings in it. The finest temples of all are about half a mile lower down the river. One dedicated to Vishnu, a form of Vishnu, is said to be equal in its architectural detail to anything at Elora. The roof is formed of immense slabs of granite supported by monolithic columns of the same material richly carved, and twenty feet high. Close by are similar buildings dedicated to Vinabhadra and Ganesa. In the centre of the Vishnu temple is the stone-car of the god, supported by stone elephants, and about 30 feet high.

Tadpatri (population 7,869) is built on the right bank of the Pennar river, which flows close underneath its walls. According to tradition, it was founded by Ramalingam Nayudu, a subordinate of the Vijayanagar kings, about 400 years ago. The village was first called “Talepalli,” having been built in a grove of palmyra trees, and this was afterwards corrupted into Tadpatri. He also built the fine temple dedicated to Rama Iswaru. The other temple, on the river-bank, called that of Chintaraya, was built by his grandson Timma Nayudu, who also founded several other villages in the neighbourhood. These two temples are “elaborately decorated with sculptures representing the adventures of Krishna, Rama, and other mythological events.” Among the bas-reliefs is a figure holding a Grecian bow, rarely seen among Hindu sculpture.” The temple on the river-bank is by far the finest, but was never finished. The Goparam of the other temple was struck by lightning about 30 years ago and split in half. After the battle of Talikota, the country round Tadpatri was subdued by the forces of the Kutb Shahi dynasty, and a Muhammadan Governor was appointed. Afterwards the town was captured by Morari Rao, and still later by Haudar Ali. The situation of Tadpatri is low, and in the rains and when the river is in fresh the worst parts of the town are under water. The main street, though narrow, is straight, and the houses on each side of it well and substantially built. Another good street might be made along the bank of the river, and the embankment necessary would have the effect of preventing the river from undermining the Rama Iswara temple, as it now does. The streets in the rest of the town are small and crooked, and lined with squallid mud houses, built without any attempt at regularity. The road from Kadnapah to Belari passes at the rear of the town, as does also the railway, though the station is at Nandelpad, about 2½ miles off. Tadpatri has always been a great trading centre, and on this account, and also on account of its peculiar sanctity (one authority reckoning it next to Benares), it has always been a thriving and populous town.
At Lepakshi, in the Hindipūr taluqa, is another large temple, said to have been built by Krishnā Rayal. The roof of the large hall here is supported by about forty pillars, two of which do not touch the ground but are suspended from the roof. So at least the attendant Brahmins tell you, and prove it by passing a cloth between the pillar and the ground. The space between the pillar and the ground is about half an inch, and the trick is managed so adroitly that, unless the action is closely watched, the cloth really appears to be passed completely underneath the pillar. As a matter of fact each of these two pillars has one corner resting on the ground. The natives will not admit that it has always been so, but attribute this sinking to the act of an engineer some thirty years ago, who endeavoured to find out how such solid pillars were suspended, and injured them in the course of his experiments. About a hundred yards away is a colossal monolith, a Basava or stone bull. The story is that the coolies employed on the great temple being dissatisfied with their wages struck work and retired to consult. They chanced to sit down on a rock, and while debating the question began to hack it with their tools. The masters gave in an hour and the coolies came down from their rock, when it was found to have assumed the form it now has.

Of more recent buildings, the pagoda at Pennaholam, on the left bank of the Pennēr, and the Jamma Masjid at Adoni, are perhaps the best specimens of Hindu and Muhammadan architecture. The temple of Anantasaingudi, near Hospet, is worthy of mention, and is of interest to engineers and architects from the peculiarities of its construction.

At most of these places there is an annual festival. Nearly every village has its car-feast in honour of its patron deity, but the great festivals are held in the vicinity of the splendid pagodas and shrines, of which a brief account has been given.

The general opinion seems to be that the attendance at the Hampi festival is decreasing year by year. About fifteen years ago it was estimated that 100,000 people were present, five years ago it was 60,000, last year it was doubted if 40,000 people attended. The reason of this has never been satisfactorily explained, and it is the more remarkable, because in former years cholera invariably broke out among the assembled pilgrims, while during the last five years, in which sanitary precautions have been adopted, the festival has not been accompanied by this scourge. One reason possibly is, that the people do not like these sanitary measures; they object to leave their bullocks at some distance outside the walls, to be obliged to bathe in certain places, and to get their drinking-water from others; they dislike being interfered with, and though the better informed readily admit the benefits that result from these measures, and value their immunity from epidemic disease, yet they, as well as the great mass of the people, would prefer to have none of them, and keep away rather than submit to them. During the last three festivals it has been found very difficult to get enough people to drag the car from one end of the street to the other, according to custom.

One of the superior magistrates always attends this festival; medical assistance is sent out from Belāri, and Rupees 600 is annually allotted for clearing out wells, &c., and for other necessary purposes.

After Hampi the festival held at Mailar is the best attended. It is held after the harvest, and the people encamp in the fields, being spread over a space about a mile square. The Tungabhadra is close by, so that there is an abundant supply of pure fresh water, and, as there is no necessity for the pilgrims to crowd together as at Hampi, disease does not often break out. There is one custom which is peculiar to this festival. On the great day, in the evening, when the worship is completed and the offerings made, the deity deigns, in the person of a child, to lift the veil of the future, and in the presence of the assembled thousands to utter one sentence prophetic of future events. A little child is held up on the shoulders of the priests, and, closing in his arms the iron bow of the god upheld by the priests, he utters the words put into his mouth by the god.

The words uttered in 1869 were, "there are many thunderbolts in the sky," and the words were greeted with a murmur of joy, as implying probably a good supply of rain in the coming year. Great faith appears to be placed by the people in these words heard at these times, and, as there seems to be the same vagueness about them as characterized the utterances of the Delphic oracle, it is probable that their faith is never put to any severe test. The sentence uttered the year before the Mutiny,—"the white ants are risen against,— is now recalled by many in proof of the far-seeing power of their god * * * "There were present at the festival about 5,000 bandies, 23,000 head of cattle, and not fewer than 40,000 people." (Report of Mr. Clogstoun, Assistant Collector, in G. O., 3rd March 1869.)

* The chief festivals are:—at Hampi in Hospet taluqa, in honour of Virupaksha Svāmi about 15th April; at Kotūr, in Kollurī, in honour of Basāpesvara Svāmi, 27th Feb.; at Mailar, in Hadagali, in honour of Lingāpya Svāmi, 14th August, 14th to 16th Feb.; at Kuruvalli, Harpanhalli, in honour of Goni Barappa Svāmi, 12-14th March; and at Manchala, Advani, in honour of Rāgavendra Svāmi, 14th August.

† Ibid., pp. 292-295.
Inscriptions and Sâyans.

The numerous inscriptions at Hampi have all, at one time or another, been deciphered. A list of them, with translations, will be found in Vol. XX. of the Asiatic Researches, appended to an essay by Mr. Ravenshaw, B.C.S. ... There are several long inscriptions in the Hali-Kanarese character at Kurgödu, in the Belâri Tâluqa, but they are so worn with age as to be in many places illegible. An inscription on the wall at Kenchengödu, in the same taluqa, is not of much interest, for it only gives the names of the village officers at the time the pagoda in that village was built. There is another long inscription on a stone lying on the tank-band at Chikka Tumbul, which has never been deciphered. In such places as Belâri, Guti, Raidûrg, Harpanhalli, and Pennakonda, where inscriptions might have been expected, none are now to be found. There has indeed once been an inscription on one of the rocks at Guti, but it is almost obliterated, and hardly two consecutive letters can be made out. Diligent search would doubtless result in the discovery of other inscriptions or dedications, the existence of which is unsuspected or unknown beyond the limits of the village where they are.

In connection with the subject of this chapter, mention must be made of a peculiar hill about eighteen miles from Belâri. Captain Newbold was the first to call public attention to it, and his account will be found at page 134 of No. 18 of the Journal of the Madras Literary Society.

About three miles beyond Kodutanni, and close to the Antapûr pass, on the right of the road, there is a small hill about fifteen feet high and four hundred in circumference, and surrounded by hills of considerable elevation. The summit of this hill or mound is rounded, and the surface partially covered with scanty patches of dry grass, from which crop out masses of tufaceous scoria. The hills around are composed of a ferruginous sandstone in which minute scales of mica are found disseminated, but this mound is evidently composed of very different materials, and when struck it emits a hollow cavernous sound. Some have thought it of volcanic origin, but Captain Newbold thought it more likely to be the remains of an ancient furnace. The local tradition is that this mound is composed of the ashes of an enormous Rîksliasa or giant, whose funeral pile this was. The giant’s name was Edimbassurali, and he was living here when the five sons of king Pandu visited the country. The giant’s sister fell in love with one of them, named Bhimsena, and instigated him to kill her brother, who was opposed to the alliance. Another account is that a great battle accompanied by fearful loss of life was fought here. After the conflict the wounded and the dead were gathered together and placed so as to form an enormous funeral pile, which was then fired. These ashes, or whatever they are, effervesce when treated with dilute sulphuric acid, and thus show traces of carbonate of lime. Colonel Lawford thought the ashes were such as were found at funeral piles, and very dissimilar to those formed in lime-kilns. Dr. Benza thought it was limestone slab, but certainly not pumice-stone, or in any way of volcanic origin. “The stone is white and osseous-looking, and internally porous and reticulated.” There are two smaller mounds at the foot of the Copper Mountain.

NOTES ON EARLY-PRINTED TAMIL BOOKS.

Some little time ago when reading Fra Paolino Bartolomeo’s Voyage to the East Indies the following passage attracted my notice, as indicating a circumstance in the history of printing in this country which, as far as I was aware, was unknown —

“The art of printing, in all probability, never existed in India. • • • The first book printed in this country was the Doctrina Christiana of Giovanni Gonsalvez, a lay brother of the order of the Jesuits, who, as far as I know, first cast Támulic characters, in the year 1577.† After this appeared in 1578 a book entitled Flos Sanctorum, which was followed by the Támulic Dictionary of Father Antonio do Proenza, printed in the year 1679, at Ambalacate, on the coast of Malabar. From that period the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar have printed many works, a catalogue of which may be found in Alberti Fabricii Salutaris Lusae Evangeli, p. 395.”

That the books mentioned as having been printed at Ambalacatta, in the Cochin territory, in the Támulic character, had a circulation in their time in the Tamil country, seems evident from the following extract from Sartorius’ Diary for 1732, with which I fell in also in the course of reading. On a visit that this Danish missionary paid, in company with others from Tranquebar, to Palicacatta [Pulicat, 23 miles N. of Madras], in February of that year, he states: “The Malabar Catechist

* pp. 295, 296.
† Conf. Ind. Antiq. vol. II. p. 98.
showed us a transcript of a Malabar [Tamil] book entitled Christiano Wanakkam, 'Christian Worship,' printed in 1579 at Cochin, in the 'College of the Mother of God,' for the use of the Christians on the Pearl-fishery Coast. And so, no doubt, was another Malabar book, which we have seen in the possession of a Romish Christian at Tranquebar, of which the title is: "Doctrina Christam, a maniera de Dialogo feita em Portugal pello P. Marcos Jorge, da Companhia da Jesu: Tresladada em lingua Malavar ou Tamul, pello P. Anrique Anriquez da mesma companhia. Em Cochin, no Collegio da Madre de Dios, a os quartzo de Novembro, de Anno de MDLXXIX."*

As transcripts began to be made so long ago as the early part of the last century, it is hardly possible to expect that any copy of these early-printed books may now be found, especially as the paper then used was not likely to be of a very durable kind.

Ziegenbalg, in the preface to his Tamil Grammar [Grammatica Danulica] which he printed at Halle in 1716, mentions that Tamil types had been cut at Amsterdam in 1678 for representing the names of some plants in the large work Horti Indici Malabarici, which appeared in six large volumes, but, whether from inexperience or carelessness, the characters were so dissimilar to those of the language, that he says the Tamils themselves did not know them to be Tamil. The attempt, however, made at Halle in 1710 to produce Tamil types seems to have been more successful, for Ziegenbalg's Tamil Grammar was printed there in 1716, and the Tamil characters are represented pretty fairly in it, though there was great room for improvement. Fenger, in his "History of the Tranquebar Mission," thus records this attempt:—"The people there, though unacquainted with the Tamil language, succeeded in making some Tamil letters, which they hastily tried, and sent out to Tranquebar; where the first part of the New Testament, as well as other things, was printed with them. This sample, the very first thing ever printed in Tamil characters, was the Apostles' Creed: and the friends in Halle, when they despatched it with the printing-press, requested soon to be requited by a copy of the New Testament in Tamil" (p. 87). The translation of the New Testament into Tamil had been commenced by Ziegenbalg on Oct. 17, 1708, two years after his arrival in the country, and brought to completion on March 21, 1711. Meanwhile the supply of Tamil type from Halle enabled him to bring out the first part of the New Testament, containing the Gospels and the Acts, which was printed at Tranquebar in 1714. The other part, completing the New Testament, came out in 1715.

Tamil type continued to be cast in Halle for the purpose of aiding the Indian mission work. As we have already seen, Ziegenbalg's Grammatica Danulica, a small quarto of 128 pages, was printed there in 1716, which, though superseded by other modern grammars, is interesting as the first attempt to reduce the principles of the language to the rules of European science, and is valuable for the matter it contains. But the work was written in Latin, and never having been reprinted has become very scarce. Two other works were also printed at Halle in Tamil for the use of Native Christians in this country: one in 1749, the Hortulus Paradisiæus translated from the German of John Arndt, one of the most spiritual and searching writers of the Pietists as they were called, and printed in four parts in small 8vo, comprising 532 pages; and the other a translation of another popular German book by the same author, de Veri Christianismo, which appeared in 1751, and consists of 399 pages of the same size as the former. Both these books obtained wide popularity in this country, and copies of them were to be found some ten or twenty years ago in old Native Christian families, where they were treasured as heirlooms.

Founts of Tamil type were all this time also cut in India, and a long series of publications in the language was issued from the Tranquebar Press. As it is not intended to furnish a Bibliographical Index in this paper, I omit the mention of these.

In 1761 the Madras Government presented the Vepery missionaries with a Press taken at Pondicherry from the French, and in 1793 the Christian Knowledge Society in London sent out a Press to the Vepery Mission, and stores were continued to be furnished from England by the Society. The Vepery Mission Press—or as it is now better known as the Christian Knowledge Society's Press, Vepery, Madras—has from that period, with two intervals of cessation from 1810 to 1819 and again from 1861 to 1866, been in operation with varying degrees of activity, and is now the foremost agency in South India for the accurate and elegant printing of Christian books and tracts in the vernaculars.

Madras, April 21, 1873.

C. E. K.

NAKED PROCESSION.

At the Sīhaṇṭhā jātra, lately held at Nāsik, one of the religious or quasi religious ceremonies is a procession of naked devotees, men and women.

* Notices of Madras and Cuddalore in the last Century from the Journals of the Earlier Missionaries, p. 106.

London: Longmans, 1858.
I believe a few fig-leaves are used to satisfy very sensitive feelings, but practically the people are naked or nearly so.—Report by L. Ashburner, C. S. I.

THE COORGS.

Regarding the custom of polyandry said by Mr. Burnell* to be followed by the Coorgs, I feel constrained to state that its existence at any time is far from being proved. Whether polyandry may have occurred occasionally in former times, or may do so in these days, is of course a different question altogether. The Coorg custom of several nearly related families living together in the same house is certainly connected with its peculiar temptations. In bygone times, however, there was the custom of so-called “cloth-marriages.” In these a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she accepting it became his wife without any further ceremonies; he might dismiss her at any time without being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during the connection. This custom was abolished by one of the Lingavant Rājas, who, being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished, from wanton selfishness put a stop to it. The Rev. G. Richter in his Manual of Coorg (p. 41) says ‘tiger-weddings’ take place among the Coorgs. As this idea seems to spread, I take the liberty to mention that it has been wrongly inferred from the name given to a festivity, the name being nari-mangala. In translating mangala into English its possible meaning marriage was hastily adopted, whereas in this case it means nothing but joyful occurrences; nari-mangala—tiger-feast. This last meaning of mangala has also as part of the Coorg compounds ettumangala, bullock-feast, and mane-mangala, house-feast.

Merkara, 13th March 1873. F. KITTEL.

ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION. No. II.

Translated by E. Rohatsch, M.C.E.

Meaning of Jelli’d-al-dyn Rāmy, 2nd Daftar.

All things attract each other in the world, the heat allureth the heat, and cold the cold, a foolish portion fascinateth the fools, the well-directed the remainder lure; the igneous attract the hell-destined, the luminous draw on the sons of light; also the pure attract the immaculate, whilst the melancholy are courting pain; the Zangi from the Zangi friendship seeks, A Roman with a Roman gently deals. With closed eyes you are dismayed indeed because the light of day rejoiced the eye; the eye’s assimilation caused your grief, it longed quick to join the light of day. If eye again be thus dismayed to you, the heart’s eye you have closed! Why not indulge that heart-proclaiming bent of your two eyes which longs for infinite brilliancy? When absence of those mundane fickle lights distressed you, your eyes you opened! Thus separation from eternal lights dismay will bring to you; then cherish them! When He calls me I must investigate, am I to be attracted or repelled?

* Specimens of S. Indian Dialects, No. 3, Kodagu, pref. p. iii.
THE two great desiderata in Indian Archaeology at the present time are — a connected history of Indian art, and a collection of the Inscriptions. So far as Architecture at least is concerned, the want, we believe, would soon be supplied by the only writer able to do full justice to the subject — to interpret correctly its history and development, and to read therein the record of the past — were the materials only available. But they are not: nor is there much promise at present of their soon being forthcoming.

To the Inscriptions, on the other hand, the attention of many labourers has been directed. Our knowledge of the early history of India is so extremely meagre, that those interested in it long since naturally gave their attention to the numerous existing records of this kind. Thus Lassen wrote fully twenty years ago, "the only hope perhaps of replacing the want of documents and annals ... and of filling up the many lacunae in the history centres in the Inscriptions. Their high importance as a supplement to the history imperfectly transmitted to us, and as a means of fixing the eras of dynasties, was recognized and called attention to by him who laid the foundation of the knowledge of most branches of Indian Antiquities, — namely, Colebrooke, ... who himself also edited and translated several inscriptions with his usual accuracy." The learned Society, one of whose greatest ornaments he was, possesses in its Transactions most of the communications of this sort; and several of its members have by these acquired imperishable merit in the investigation of Indian Antiquities. It is no slight to others if here I only specialize James Prinsep, who not only himself deciphered the oldest forms of writing, and edited more inscriptions than any one else, but who knew also how to incite his fellows to search for and communicate them." After enumerating some of the more remarkable, he justly adds, "as to the inscriptions collected, we are indebted for the knowledge and preservation of these ancient monuments of the country not so much to the zeal and care of isolated individuals; who have hence acquired the merit of securing them from the destruction to which so many others have fallen a prey, and have thus contributed as far as they were able to their preservation. In order to utilize those collected for the purposes of science, it would be necessary that a scholar qualified by requisite knowledge should arrange and edit them, which however could only be accomplished were the Indian Government to allow a subsidy for the labour. That, however, will probably remain a pium desiderium, though such an obligation is much more incumbent on it than editing the cuneiform inscriptions was on the French Government, or the collecting and elaborating the Greek and Latin inscriptions on the Prussian Academy of Sciences."†

The list of workers in this department is thus briefly summarized by Mr. A. C. Burnell‡:

"The Portuguese at Goa took some inscriptions on stone to their native country, but Sir Chas. Wilkins was the first to explain one (at Cintra), about the end of the last century. The earlier volumes of the Asiatic Researches contain several interpreted by Wilkins, Jones, and Colebrooke, and in the later volumes H. H. Wilson contributed many valuable articles on this subject. The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal about forty years ago made (by the articles by J. Prinsep, Dr. Mill, and others) immense progress, and of later years the same Journal, the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Bombay Society, have often done much to advance the study of the Sanskrit inscriptions of India, and the names of Mr. Norris, Professor Dowson, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Bayley, Dr. Bhânâ Dâjî, and Bâbu Râmendralâl Mittra need scarcely be mentioned as most diligent and successful decipherers. In the South of India an immense number of inscriptions exist in the so-called Dravidian languages, many of which are not inferior in antiquity or interest to most of the Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions of the..."
North; nor have they been neglected, though, with the exception of a few articles (in the Madras Journal) published by Sir W. Elliot, and containing the results of his own researches and those of the late F. W. Ellis, nothing has been, as yet, made public. Colonel Mackenzie, however, at the beginning of this century, made an immense collection of copies of inscriptions, and to the disinterested labour of Mr. C. P. Brown we owe the existence of copies of this collection, which, though purchased by Government for an enormous sum, had been neglected and suffered to rot from want of a little care. What remains of the originals, and all Mr. Brown's copies, are at Madras. Copies of inscriptions collected by Sir W. Elliot in the Canarese country were presented by him to the R. A. Society of London. Of late years General Cunningham has made large collections of copies of inscriptions in the North of India. Apart from these partial and local collections, an attempt was made about thirty years ago, by the late Mons. Jacquet, to commence a 'Corpus' of Indian Inscriptions, and, had not an untimely death interrupted his scheme, much might have been done.

To this he further adds,—"A large volume of photographs of inscriptions from Mysore and Dharwar has been published by Dr. Pigou and Colonel Barr, but unfortunately few of these are clearly legible, and many seem to be of small value. The book is also very costly. The same remarks hold good of Captain Tripe's photographs of the inscriptions at Tanjore."

To these latter may be added the quarto volume of "Photographs of Inscriptions in the ancient Canarese Language taken from Stone and Copper Sāśanas, and photographed for the Government of Mysore by Major H. Dixon," containing 151 photographs of inscriptions or parts of inscriptions, on 57 large quarto pages, but many of them are taken on so small a scale and so badly as to be almost without exception nearly useless.

The fact is—photographing inscriptions is a special branch of the art, and requires the use of a proper lens and a special mode of treatment, of which amateur photographers are generally ignorant: thus the art comes to be blamed through its professors.

"It is beyond doubt," remarks Mr. Burnell, "that the real work of collection and decipherment of Indian Inscriptions is as yet scarcely begun. Most also of what has already been done will certainly have to be done again." And, we may add, what has been done under the patronage or at the expense of Government during the last ten or twelve years should demand attention first, for it is the most unsatisfactory. So long as such work is entrusted to amateur photographers and official routine, it is only to be expected that the bulk of it will be unsatisfactory and disappointing.

Elsewhere in his pamphlet Mr. Burnell remarks "that even the best-known inscriptions in India have only been copied in the very roughest possible way may not be a generally known fact, but such is the case. The great inscription of Kapur-di-giri (near Peshawur), which is of surpassing interest, is only known by a badly executed impression on cloth wrongly pieced together. Mr. Edwin Norris's wonderful skill and acuteness have restored and deciphered it, but an estampage (made as below directed) would be still of the greatest value. The Aśoka inscriptions (except that at Girnar, which was properly copied nearly 30 years ago by General Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard) have been equally neglected; one of these exists (I believe) near Ganjam. These inscriptions are the great fact in early Indian History, and yet our knowledge of them is most imperfect.

"A single instance may show how much curious information even trivial inscriptions will give. The temple of Tirukkazhukkunram, some 36 miles S. of Madras, is well known, as few residents in the neighbourhood have not been there to see the kites come and be fed at noon. This curious usage (the temple is now devoted to the worship of Siva) has never been explained. An inspection of the inscriptions there shows that the temple was once Jaina, and thus the practice becomes intelligible. However, on reading Tāranātha's History of Indian Buddhism (in Tibetan), I found this temple mentioned there as a famous Buddhist shrine by the name of Pakshitiāra, or (in the Tibetan corresponding name) Bird-convent. This succes-
sion of cults is of the greatest interest, and shows that modern Hinduism has been chiefly developed in South India.”

Mr. Burnell’s suggestions as to methods he thus states:—“What yet remains to be done, is to make available to the scientific public copies of all existing inscriptions; and this involves a uniform system of preparing such copies. Scattered as inscriptions are over the whole of India, it is at present chimerical to attempt to study them ; to say nothing of the want of time for such work experienced by all students resident there. To make and collect copies is however a mechanical task, which may be easily done; and now that a little interest is awakened regarding the ancient civilization of the many races of India, a few suggestions as to the best way of doing so may not be thought inopportune, especially by those who see that a work of this kind if not soon done, can perhaps never be done at all. Inscriptions are daily being destroyed during repairs of temples, and by the country people taking stones from ruins. Copper śāśanas find their way to the melting-pot. The first question is—How to make the copies? Many ways have been tried; rubbings by heel-ball on paper, impressions on linen made by a pad daubed with printing-ink; sketch-drawings, photographs, &c. Considerable experience and a number of experiments have convinced me that all these methods are defective, and that only two ways are really trustworthy; one applicable to inscriptions on stone, and the other to those on metal.

“Firstly for inscriptions on stone, I recommend impressions on stout unsized paper, such as is now manufactured at Paris for the use of Egyptologists. The inscription must first of all be quite cleared of dust or mud or other obstructions, and this may be best done by a hard clothes-brush. The paper is then to be rapidly but uniformly wetted in a tub of water, and applied to the inscription and forced into the irregularities by repeated and forcible strokes with a hard brush—an ordinary clothes-brush is as good as any for the purpose. If the stone be clear of dust the paper adheres, and when dry falls off, forming (if at all well done) a perfect mould of the inscription. Paper large enough to cover most inscriptions is easily to be had; in the case of very large ones, it is necessary to lap over the edges of the sheets and apply a little gum and water or weak paste to them, and also to prevent those sheets first applied from falling, and thus spoiling the rest, a few poles or sticks leaning against the corners in large, or the gum used for joining, in small inscriptions, will be found enough. When properly dried, copies made in this way (in French, ‘estampages’), may be rolled up or put in blank books without the slightest injury, and even will stand damp.”

“The second process is applicable to inscriptions on plates of metal; I devised it several years ago and never found it fail. The plate or plates should be carefully cleaned with a dry brush, and the letters occasionally must be cleared out with a blunt graver. The native process of rubbing the plates with acid, and then putting them in the fire to loosen the incrustations, should never be resorted to, as it invariably injures them fatally. From the cleaned plate an impression (reverse) is to be next taken by passing a roller charged with ink over the plate, and then printing from it as from an ordinary copper-plate. From this impression another may be taken by means of an ordinary copper-plate press; and with a little practice a perfect facsimile may be thus obtained, the letters being white, and the rest of the plate appearing a dark grey. Photozincography and many other methods exist by which ‘estampages’ and facsimiles made by the last process may be multiplied to any extent.”

The processes here suggested are most useful, and in experienced hands they yield very satisfactory results. Copying by the eye, where the character and language are not familiar, and any of the letters indistinct, is most tedious and unsatisfactory: and as it is desirable to be able to copy inscriptions when no printing-press and few appliances are available,—some other methods may be noticed :—

1. When the surface of the stone or plate, between the letters, is perfectly smooth, as in the case of marble or polished granite, a rubb

* Cf. also the remarks of Prinsep and Mill, and recently of Dr. Bhaú Dâji, as to the great alterations required by improved transcripts of inscriptions long known and published. The great objection to photography as a means of reproducing inscriptions consists in the imperfections of the paper used, and the difficulty (or impossibility) of managing the light.

* But compare the lithographs of the Vállapakam Śáñanas, from copies made by the second process above, with the facsimiles that appear elsewhere in this journal.
bining with shoemaker's heel-ball will be found a most satisfactory and expeditious method. The paper should be wove or printing paper, not thick; and care should be taken to rub the paper well down upon the inscription before applying the heel-ball, which should be rubbed gently over it, first in a direction making a small angle with the lines, and then at right angles to the first. Of course the slightest movement of the paper during the process spoils the copy. The smaller the letters and the less deeply cut they are, the finer and softer must be the paper.

2. Another process, better adapted for rougher surfaces, is to press gently beat down the paper, which ought to be soft and very pliable, and may be slightly dampened before applying it to the surface; then with a pad made of patti (cotton tape such as is used for bedsteads) wound tightly round a handle and covered with a piece of fine cotton, dab it over with thin Indian ink. A little practice will enable any one to make excellent copies in this way.

3. If an inscription is clearly cut in stone, a very good "estampage" may readily be obtained, in the manner described by Mr. Burnell, by means of the common white-brown coarse paper to be obtained in any native town. If the letters are large or deeply cut, and the wetted paper tears in beating it home, another wet sheet has only to be beat down over it, or even a third if thought desirable. When the inscription is in cameo, as most of the Muhammadan ones are, four or more thicknesses of paper may be required. When dry it can be peeled off, and forms a pretty stiff mould of the inscription.* Copper-plates may similarly be copied with a finer, thin, but tough paper, wetted, beat well in with a small hard brush, and the beating continued until the paper is quite dry. And when the plates have been much oxidized, as most of the Valabhi ones are, leaving a rough surface with but shallow traces of the letters, and Mr. Burnell's process would not give a good reverse impression,—paper-squeezes made in this way may often be found useful, especially if the letters are traced on the upper side of the squeeze with a fine black pencil. But to obtain perfect copies, in such cases,—and they are of frequent occurrence,—other and more laborious methods must be adopted, which need not be detailed, as only professional experts could put them in practice.

4. Small inscriptions may be copied (in inverse) by covering them with tin-foil and laying over it a coat of wax pressed well down, and backed with a piece of pasteboard or thin board. From this a cast in plaster of Paris for a stereotype might be obtained.

5. For inscriptions whether in stone or metal, there is another easy process:—Rub the inscription over with coarse chalk, or lime (pipeclay will not answer) and water, letting it settle as much as possible in the letters. When it is just dry, with a hard pad that will not search into the letters, rub off the white colouring from the surface; then copy on tracing cloth or paper fixed over it:—the white in the letters will render them perfectly legible through the tracing cloth. Inscriptions thus prepared may also be photographed with a copying lens, and the negative should be intensified in a bath of bichloride of mercury and washed with hydrosulphate of ammonia or a thin solution of hyposulphate of soda. For this process it would however be better to whiten only the surface and have the letters dark. Negatives so prepared are suited for zincographic printing.

The knowledge of these processes may be useful to private individuals desirous to obtain copies of inscriptions they may come across, but it is not to be expected that many should learn to use them with perfect success, still less that an amateur here and a dilettante there, in so vast a country as India, should contribute much to the formation of a Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum, such as any other government but an English one would long ago have set about. There seems to be only one feasible way of preparing such a body of inscriptions: the work must be entrusted to one skilled hand having the use of at least a portion of the resources of a lithographic or photozincographic office, one or two of the lads of which he could speedily train in all the processes required. Portable inscriptions, such as copper plates, could be copied and printed rapidly and at comparatively small expense. For the stone inscriptions, estampages should in the first

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* This process is also applicable for taking moulds from sculptures in basso-rilievo. But see Dr. Forbes Watson's Report on the Illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India, pp. 39 and 45, and Mr. Lottin de Laval's Manuel Complet de Lottino-plastique, Paris, 1857.
to appreciate the data in the *Satruñjaya Mahātmya*, on this point, first of all, the time of the composition of the book, and its credibility, have to be subjected to examination.

Its author, Dhaneśvara, is represented as a contemporary and teacher of the Vallabhi king Silāditya; he is called “the moon of the lunar race”; he instructed this ruler of the town of Vallabhi in the purifying Jina doctrine, and induced him to expel the Buddhhas from the country, and to establish a number of Chaityas near the Tirthas. Silāditya lived in the 477th year of Vikramarka, purified the law and reigned till 286. In this passage it is incorrect to say that he expelled the Buddhhas, since it is certain that he was a very zealous adherent of the religion of Śākyas; he cannot in any case have persecuted the Buddhists, although there is nothing to oppose the supposition that many Jainas lived also in his kingdom, and that they were protected by him. If further, as is proper, the epoch of Vikramāditya be taken as a basis, he would have reigned as early as 420, which is contradictory of the age of the reign of this monarch obtained from inscriptions. Calculated according to the era of Śālivāhana his reign falls about 555, which is nearer the mark.

The time of the composition of the book in question is rendered still more uncertain by the last and prophetical portion of it. King Kumārapāla, purified the law, and reigned till 286. In this passage it is incorrect to say that he expelled the Buddhhas, since it is certain that he was a very zealous adherent of the religion of Śākyas; he cannot in any case have persecuted the Buddhists, although there is nothing to oppose the supposition that many Jainas lived also in his kingdom, and that they were protected by him. If further, as is proper, the epoch of Vikramāditya be taken as a basis, he would have reigned as early as 420, which is contradictory of the age of the reign of this monarch obtained from inscriptions. Calculated according to the era of Śālivāhana his reign falls about 555, which is nearer the mark.

Further, the later composition of the book of Dhaneśvara is confirmed by the idea he propounds about Kālkin, the 10th future incarnation of Viṣṇu, which indeed is already mentioned in the Mahābhārata, but the development thereof pertains to the much later period of the Purāṇas. Of this avatāra the following circumstances are reported:—On account of the preponderance of the Durahamad, i.e. the evil age, after the death of the entirely unknown Bhāvaḍa, the power of the Mudgals will forcibly, like a current of the ocean, inundate the earth and seize it; cows, corn, riches, children, women, men of low, middle, and high place in Saurāṣṭra, Lāṭa, and other countries, will be taken away by the Mudgals. They will assemble the castes pursuing their usual occupations, and will arrive in the country distributing great riches. As a foreign nation is evidently meant here,||

I do not hesitate to put Dhaneśvara's statements about Kālkin also into this category. He will be born 1914 years after the death of Viṣṇu as the son of a Mlechha, and will bear the three names Kālkin, Chaturvakra, and Rudra,—this latter must be the proper reading for Rudva. He will destroy the temples of Meṣal or Balarāma and Krishṇa in Mathurā, and many disasters will happen in the country. After the lapse of 36 years Kālkin will become king and dig up the golden stūpas of King Nanda; in order to obtain treasures he will cause the whole to be dug through. On this occasion there will, according to the tale, appear a cow of stone, named Laywadeśa, whereon many inhabitants will leave the town. Then the angry Kālkin will persecute the Jainas, but will be prevented by the tutelary goddess from doing mischief. An inundation of 17 days will compel him, with many believers and unbelievers, to abandon Pātaliputra, which town he will rebuild by the aid of Nanda's treasures, and in which prosperity will prevail for 50 years. Towards the end of his dominion he will become wicked and cause the Jainas to be persecuted by heretics. Then Śakra or...
Indra, assuming the form of a Brahman, will take the part of the persecuted, and Kalkin will die in his 87th year. His son and successor Datta will be instructed in the Jaina doctrine by Sakra himself, and will, under the guidance of Prajitapada, build chaityas for many Arhats. He will erect also many sanctuaries; among others also on Mount Satrunjaya in Surashtra, and in Aryan and non-Aryan Indian countries he will everywhere cause temples to be built for the Jainas, according to the instructions of his guru or spiritual teacher.

Now so far as the inducement to the above two tales is concerned, the raid of the Madgala into Surashtra, Lata, and the adjoining countries is referable only to the invasion of Mahamud the Ghaznavido in the years 1025 and 1026, during which he plundered the rich temple of Somanatha, in the peninsula of Gujarat, and on his return march reached also the capital, Anravadha,*—especially as this event is placed before the time of Kumapala. The name Mudgala is most correctly explained from the Sanskrit word mudgala, hammer, and understood to mean the smashing power of the foreign invaders. It is difficult to discover the basis of the second narrative, because several miracles and incredible events are mixed up with it, e.g. the disinterment of the stupa of King Nanda, and the appearance; 466 years and 13 months afterwards Vikrama lived 466 years 1 month after him, but had long ceased to exist at the time to which the disinterment of the stupa of King Nanda, according to above, p. 195, 477 years after him.

If this tale be divested of its fabulous additions, the reign of Datta also over Aryan and non-Aryan India is evidently a fiction. If this tale be divested of its fabulous additions: Kalkin persecuted the Jainas but there the names of many sanctuaries; among others also on Mount Satrunjaya in Surashtra. The name Mudgala is most correctly explained from the Sanskrit word mudgala, hammer, and understood to mean the smashing power of the foreign invaders. It is difficult to discover the basis of the second narrative, because several miracles and incredible events are mixed up with it, e.g. the disinterment of the stupa of King Nanda, and the appearance; 466 years and 13 months afterwards Vikrama lived 466 years 1 month after him, but had long ceased to exist at the time to which the disinterment of the stupa of King Nanda, according to above, p. 195, 477 years after him.

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After this, of course, merely approximative determination of the beginning of the Jain doctrine, I proceed to set forth the most important arguments for their Buddhist origin.

For this origin, first of all, two names vouched for by them testify, i.e. Jina and Arhat, the former being a derivation from an oft-used name of Buddha, i.e. Jina, and the latter designates not merely one of the highest degrees of the Buddhist hierarchy, but also Buddha himself. Further, the Jinas assume 24 Jinas, in which particular they agree with the Buddhists, who also specially point out just as many Buddhas. That the names are different among the Jinas does not invalidate the comparison. Of the other names of Jina only two more need be pointed out here, i.e. Sarvajna, omniscient, and Sugutta, which are applied also to Buddha. On the other hand, the Jinas have attempted an approach to the Brahmanas by attributing to their Supreme Being the name Tirthankara; it designated merely the preparer of a tirtha, or holy place of pilgrimage, whilst the Buddhists applied to their antagonists the name Tirthya and Tirthika.

A second coincidence between the Jinas and the Buddhists manifests itself in the circumstance that the former pay divine homage also to mortal men, namely, to their teachers, and erect statues to them in their temples; this is specially the case with the 23rd Jina or Tirthankara Pirivanatha, as will afterwards appear. This coincidence is no doubt an appropriation on the part of the Jinas. The same holds good also—and this is a third agreement between the two religions—of the great value which the Jinas attribute to the ahiñad, i.e. non-lesion of all living beings. Some of their Yatis or pious men go so far in this respect that they sweep the streets in which they walk with a broom.
lest they should kill an insect. In Surat a richly endowed hospital exists in which sick and disabled animals are nursed with the same care as if they were men.†

Fourthly, the Jainas, following the example of the Bauddhas, have invented monstrous periods, and have in this respect even excelled their predecessors. Their larger periods are called Avasarpini and Utsarpini; each contains 2,000,000,000,000 years; another period has obtained the name ságarav or sea, and consists of 1,000,000,000,000,000 years. Each of the two periods is divided into six smaller periods; in the first the happiness, duration of life, stature, &c. of men continually decreases until they descend to the lowest degree of misery, and during the period called utsarpi gradually again reach the highest degree of perfection. These periods the Jainas have partly filled out with the stories of the ancient epic dynasties of the Pāṇḍavas, of Krishna, and of Prasenajit, a king of Śravasti famed in the oldest Buddhist history, where in they have sometimes indulged in unimportant alterations of the usual accounts.§

In a similar manner the Buddhists have remodelled the history of the ancient Śūrya-vaṁs or solar race; they place King Mahāsammata at the head of the first large period of the world, and allow after him 28 dynasties to reign in various parts of Upper India down to I kṣvāku; these periods are called Așankya, i.e. numberless, and from those dynasties the later ones are derived; from Mahāsammata to I kṣvāku 252,539 or perhaps 140,300 successors are counted.||

These agreements between the Jainas and the Bauddhas will suffice to establish the point that the former have branched off from the latter. Their deviations from their predecessors are chiefly in the domains of philosophy and of cosmography, with which their system of gods is most closely connected. But before considering these differences between the Jainas and the Bauddhas, I consider it proper to insert a brief report on the literature of the former, because from this it will appear that in this respect the Jainas have attached themselves to the Brahmins.¶

The Jainas possess a number of Purāṇas, which chiefly contain legends of the Tīrthankaras, and present only exceptionally such as occur in Brahmanic writings of the same name. The most important work is attributed to the Jīna Sūri Akārya, whose age cannot be determined quite accurately; the statement that he was a contemporary of King Vikramādiya is worthless, because the origin of the Jain doctrine cannot be pushed so far back. The tradition said to be current in Southern India makes the author with greater propriety to have been the spiritual preceptor of Prince Amoghavarsha, who resided at Kāñchi during the sixth century. As this kind of works does not exist among Buddhists, the Jainas have borrowed the title and one of the subjects of these writings from the Brahmins.*

The books called Siddhānta and Āgama partly take the place of the Vedas of the Brahmans, which the Jainas as well as the Bauddhas despise. The first title, as is well known, designates a book of instruction, wherein a scientific system, especially an astronomical one, is demonstrated by arguments.† The title Āgama means also, among Brahmins, doctrines or instructions which have come down by tradition; among Buddhists four collections of writings, which, according to the correct conception, relate to the Śūras, and treat of discipline and cognate subjects, are also called by this name.‡ The three significations attributed to this title coincide in the general traditional doctrine or

| seqq. From the mention by Hemachandra, III. v. 688 seqq. p. 127 seqq., of Dāsaratā, of his son Rāma and his foe, of the giant-king Rāvana, of the other enemies of Vishnu, as well as of several kings of the old Śūrya-vaṁs or solar race, the conclusion may be drawn that in other writings also of the Jainas, the history of this dynasty is narrated.
| See the references to this, Ind. Alt. I. p. 478, note 1.
| Of the literature of the Jainas, Wilson has treated most in detail, As. Res. XV. p. 240 seqq.
| A similar kind of writings are the Charitrapas, in which legends and miraculous histories of the Tīrthankaras are narrated.
| See on this, Ind. Alt. II. p. 113 seqq.
The following twelve Angas are enumerated: Akira and Upanga, which seem, according to Hemachandra, to designate the sacred scriptures strictly so called of his sect. The first word signifies member, and among the Brahmanic Hindus designates six writings pertaining to the Vedas and explaining them. Upanga, i.e. lateral or subordinate member, is the title of four works completing the books of the Brahmins. As these titles are wanting among the Bauddhas, it is evident that the Jainas have in this case imitated the Brahmins.

The preceding writings are considered as derived from the oral instruction of Mahavira and of his disciple Gautama; whether correctly, may be very questionable. The Jainas moreover possess a class of books, called Tarma, because they are said to have been composed by the Ganadhara or Paurakrya before the Angas. As a more detailed treatment of the writings just mentioned would be out of place here, I content myself with having noticed their existence.

The Jainas have followed their predecessors in this respect that they call their sacred language Magadhik, though it does not entirely agree with the language so called by the authors of Pankrit grammars, but more with the Sauraseni, which, according to previous researches, is the basis of the Pali language. The reason for this choice may have been one of two,—i.e. either the example of the Buddhists, or the circumstance that Southern Bihar was just that portion of Northern India from which the Jaina doctrine was first propagated; my reasons for this opinion I shall submit further on. Besides Magadhik, the writers of this sect also use the sacred language of the Brahmins, and there are but few Indian vernaculars in which no Jaina writings exist.

After the above explanation, no doubt can remain that the Jainas are descendants from the Bauddhas, but that in some points they considered it advantageous to approach the Brahmins, probably in order thereby to escape being persecuted by them. So far as the philosophical doctrines of the Jainas are concerned, their chief points are the following. And here I shall pay special attention to that part of their doctrines which may serve to determine more closely the relation of the Jainas to the Buddhists.

Jaina philosophers comprise all things in two supreme categories, named jiva and ajiva. The first is intelligent and feeling; it consists of parts but is eternal. In a stricter sense, in this system of instruction jiva designates the soul, which is subject to three states; it is firstly nirgasiddha, i.e. always perfect, or yogasiddha, i.e. perfected by immersion in self-contemplation, like the Arhats or Jinas; it is secondly mukta or muktatma, i.e. liberated by a strict observance of the ordinances of the sect; it is thirdly buddha or buddhatma, i.e. fettered by acts, and as yet abiding in a state which precedes the last deliverance. The second, ajiva, is everything without a soul, without life and sensation; it is the object of enjoyment on the part of jiva, which enjoys. In a stricter sense of the word, ajiva means the four calendars. On the Upangas various statements occur which have been collected in the Sanskrit Wortherbocke of O. Bocklinck and R. Roth under that word. As such the Dhanuraka, archery, i.e. science of war, and the Ayurveda, i.e. science of medicine, is also alluded to; otherwise, however, these pass for Uparadas or subordinate Vedas. Also the Luminabhas are counted among the Upangas. The statement seems to be the most correct according to which the Purusas, Niyas, Mimamsakas, and Dharmaikas are such, because in it the number four is expressly mentioned.

* Colebrooke, in his Misc. Ess. I. p. 381 seq.
elements, earth, water, fire, air, and everything immovable, e. g. mountains. The Jains further assume six substances, viz.: — jiva, soul; dharma, right or virtue; adharma, sin which permeates the world and effects that the soul must remain with the body; pudgala, matter which possesses colour, odour, taste, and tangibility, such as wood, fire, water, and earth; kala, time, which is past, present, and future; and akasa, infinite space. According to their view, bodies consist of aggregates and atoms. The Jains philosophers, like all Hindu philosophers, believe that the soul is fettered by works, and that man must endeavour to free himself from them. They adduce four causes as obstacles to the liberation of the soul: viz.: pāpa or sin; the five ásramas or hindrances of the soul from obtaining holy and divine wisdom; disruva, i.e. the impulse of the incorporated soul to occupy itself with physical objects; and stîncara, i.e. the cause of this obstacle.* In another passage eight kinds of interruptions to the progress of the soul towards liberation are enumerated, namely, jñānádaraníya, i.e. the false idea that cognition is ineffectual, and that liberation does not result from perfect knowledge; dharma-pavaníya, or the mistake that liberation is not attainable by the study of the doctrine of the Arhats or Jinas; mohaniya, or doubt whether the ways of the Tirthānakaras or Jinas are irresistible and free from errors; antarāya, or the obstruction of the endeavours of those who are engaged in seeking the highest liberation. The four other interruptions are: veda-yogyata, or individual consciousness, the conviction that the highest liberation is attainable; ēkānya, or consciousness of possessing a determined personality; jñānādara, the consciousness of being a descendant of one of Jina's disciples; lastly, dyushka, or the consciousness that one has to live during a determined time. These spiritual states are conceived in an inverted order; the four first of them designate birth and progress in the circumstances of personal life; and the four last designate progress in perception. The highest liberation or moksha is attainable only through the highest cognition or by perfect virtue.

In this system a syncretism meets us to which Buddhism, the Vaishnava and Sāṅkhya philosophy have contributed. The doctrine that by a perfect cognition and strict observance of the teaching of a religious or philosophical sect the liberation of the soul from its fetters may be attained, is Buddhistic, or, more accurately, almost universally Indian.† The opinion that matter is eternal, and that there are only four elements, is Buddhistic.‡ The idea that all things are composed of atoms belongs to the Vaishnava school, although this doctrine had been more developed by Kanada than by the Jains. This philosopher, moreover, considered time as a special category.§ Kapila teaches that by four states the liberation of the spirit is impeded, and by four others promoted; he arranges them, however, in a logical manner, so that the progress from the lowest state to the highest, i.e. to that of dharma or virtue, is well established, whilst such is less the case in the arrangement of the Jains.|| The sect now under discussion borrowed from that philosopher probably also the idea of an ethereal body with senses formed of ideal elements, wherewith the soul is invested.¶

(To be continued.)

STONE AND WOODEN MONUMENTS IN WESTERN KHÁNDÉSHE.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, B.O. C.S.

In a former correspondence (Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 321) I alluded to the monuments erected by the tribes of Western Khándesh, similar to

* Colebrooke, passim, in his Misc. Essays, I. p. 382, where dharma is explained through dharma-pavaníya paraśāram, and Wilson, passim, As. Res. XVII. p. 266.
† See Ind. Alt. III. p. 428, and Note 2.
‡ See Ind. Alt. III. p. 428, and also Sāṅkhya-sūtra of Kapila, v. 41 seqq.
§ Colebrooke, passim, in his Misc. Essays, II. p. 194, that the Baudhās as well as the Jains have borrowed this view from the Sāṅkhya philosophy, and I. p. 394.
|| See on this Ind. Alt. III. p. 329, and also Sāṅkhya-sūtra of Kapila, v. 41 seqq.
¶ See on this Ind. Alt. III. p. 424. This remark belongs to Colebrooke in his Misc. Essays, II. p. 192. The
They are of various shapes and sizes, the largest about 8 feet high above ground, square, finished with a round head, and ornamented with figures in relief on all sides. Others are long slabs, and some mere flat stones erected much as they were found. A great many are of wood, invariably teak, which seems to last a wonderful time. It is difficult to get at the precise age of such remains; but I have seen many teak monuments of which the name had entirely passed away, yet which were still in fair preservation. They are always in the shape of a post about half as thick as it is wide, with a round head. The Thildris, or shepherds, merely dab a little red paint on the spot where a man happened actually to die. The monuments are generally cenotaphs, and erected in groups in a favourite spot near the village, perhaps near a temple. I was fortunate lately in getting a pretty full explanation of such a group from a Pátil. No. 1 was a flat stone 7 ft. by 1 ft. 6 in. by 5 in. "This," quoth my informant, "is Būla Pātil, who died about 60 years ago. Here he is on his horse, and here he is driving in his cart. This was his stone (pointing to another of the same class but broader, and with only a mounted figure on it), but it was broken; so I made and set up the other some seven years since." As far as the execution of the carving, or appearance, of the stone went, the one looked as old as the other. "This," said the Pātil, "is my ancestor Vīshobā, and this is fire over his head, because he was burned in the rādd that you were looking at now. The Band-wallas did that, two hundred years ago, in the days of the Šāhu Rājas. This is Mahādev Pātil. He was going to Umbarpāte, and a tiger came out and pulled him off his horse and ate him." These two stones were of the same class as the first—long rough slabs. The burnt Pātil was represented on foot, with flames over his head; the others on caparisoned horses. It is to be remarked that a man who never in his lifetime owned anything more warlike than a "bail" is often represented on his monument as a gallant cavalier. Another stone in the same place represented a Teli who had left no family; wherefore, as the Pātil explained, his mother spent his remaining estate on giving him a good stone. It was about seven years old, four or five feet above ground, square with a round head, of the class first mentioned. There is a remarkable group of stones, to the number of about a dozen, at a spot on the Dhulia and Surat Road about two miles west of the village of Dahiwel. It commemorates a fight that took place there in the "days of trouble" about 75 years ago, respecting the cause and conclusion of which there are two sides, to the story. The Kunbis and Musalmāns say that the Bhills broke out and began plundering the country, and were met and defeated at this spot by a detachment of the Peshwā's troops from the post at Saraf, below the Kondai Bārī Ghāṭ. The Bhill version is that "certain Musalmāns came up out of the Gaikwāḍi to loot; and Sabhāji, Konkañi Pāṭil of Malangaum, called together the Gāwids and the Konkañīs and Naiks, and gave them battle and beat them. Sabhāji, in any case, was killed in the skirmish, and his is the largest of the group of monuments. It is about 8 feet above ground and 18 inches square, of a single stone. On each side of it in an even line, the smallest outside, are the cenotaphs of the others slain on the Bhill side. All the Bhills and Konkañīs make pilgrimage to this place in the middle of April, and build a māndād, or tabernacle of boughs, over the stones, and slay goats and fowls in honour of Sabhāji, winding up the proceedings by getting "most abnormal drunk." There is a stone of the same class at the head of the Kondai Bārī pass, said to have been erected in memory of a Rājput warrior slain the same day—on which side does not appear. Also there is one at the Bābul Dhara pass, about which I could get no information; but similar rites are observed at both by the village Bhills, although there is no pilgrimage to them.

In explanation of the caste terms used above, it should be explained that, the Gāwids or Māwachas, and Konkañīs, are races inhabiting Western Khāndesh, and very similar to Bhills with whom they are generally confounded. They however keep up a distinction; the Gāwids consider themselves superior to the Konkañīs, and the latter to the Bhill Naiks, or pure Bhills; and this relation is admitted by the last. The Gāwids and Konkañīs, moreover, are more given to agriculture (such as it is) than the Bhill Naiks. They bury their dead; in some instances all the dead man's property is buried with him.

Various figures are carved besides that of the
deceased. In the case of a man killed by a tiger the tiger is always carved above his victim. These monuments are very common, but generally of old date. I never saw a new one. They are sometimes erected on the spot of the death, but more often in the village group. In one case certain Bhills petitioned me in respect of a Mhowa tree, which they said their ancestors had planted "where one of our people was slain by a tiger." There was no stone or other monument besides the Mhowa tree, which was about 50 years old. The snake is used both as an ornament and to indicate death by snake-bite; the latter is rare, and in such cases the snake is shown uncoiled, and under the man's foot. Other common ornaments are the peafowl, antelope, the sun in the moon's arms (almost universal), and fighting men; all very rude. The boldest attempt at sculpture that I have seen was that of Būla Pāṭil in his cart; and in that case the artist was so sore put to it for perspective that he cut one bullock walking on his yokefellow's back, and one wheel before the other. The open hand is the emblem of a satī, but is very rare. Women's memorial-stones are seldom seen together with those of the men, but cluster apart round some pipal-tree or the like. In some cases one stone commemorates several persons; e.g. at the village of Dongrāli I asked a Bhill the meaning of a large and very old-looking stone with five curious figures on it, about which I rather expected a good story. "Oh!" quoth he, "those are my brothers. That's Vithyā, and that's Khandyā, &c. and I gave a man a rupee a head to carve them."

ARCHAEOLOGY IN NORTH TINNEVELLI.

Extract from a letter from the Rev. J. F. Kerns to the Collector of Tinnevelly.

(Proceedings of Madras Government, 18th November 1872.)

I have a few observations to offer with reference to some portions of Mr. Boswell's letter. (See Indian Antiquary, vol. I. page 372.)

With reference to "inscriptions," I quite agree with him that no time should be lost in obtaining correct copies of all that exist, for it is only too true that time is fast effacing some very valuable ones. In this zilla (Tinneveli) there is a rock temple, Kalugumalei, covered with Jaina figures and inscriptions; some of the latter I had copied many years ago and presented them to the Madras Literary Society. These inscriptions have been, by competent scholars, pronounced the oldest specimens of the Tamil language hitherto discovered. The Tamil character of the inscription is as different as possible from the Tamil character of to-day, but the germ of the present character is contained in it. I think that all the inscriptions on this temple should be carefully copied.

In a field close to Nagalapuram, in Ottapedaram taluqa, there is a colossal Jaina image such as Mr. Boswell describes in his letter. This figure ought to be preserved in some Museum. There is a small Jaina image in the village of Kolatur, and it is worshipped by the natives, who apparently do not know what it is. There is another in the ancient village of Kolkheī, near to Sawyerpuram.

I have opened and examined many cinerary urns in cromlechs, notably in Kourtalam, but I have not discovered stone implements in any. There were many iron implements and exquisite pottery in them. The neighbourhood of the Jaina image at Nagalapuram abounds with these urns.

Mr. Boswell remarks, "I have seen many Buddhist temples converted into temples of Vishnu; but I do not know of any re-dedicated to Śiva." The old Jaina temple, already alluded to, at Kalugumalei is dedicated to the god Subramanya, Śiva's youngest son. Perhaps there is more contained in this fact than is apparent. According to the oldest legends, Subramanya is the god of war, and that the Jainas in the south were cruelly exterminated by the Śaivites is a matter of history. In the re-dedication of a Jaina temple to Subramanya, Śiva's youngest son, are we to infer that the measures were taken to extirpate Jainism?

Mr. Boswell refers to what are called "Kolle Kallu," and he states on Mr. Walhouse's authority that there is one "within a mile of Mangalor." The descriptions which Mr. Walhouse gives of the figures on the stone closely resemble those which in this zilla are found in places where Sati had been performed, and further information respecting them seems desirable. By whom were those stones called Kolle Kallu? By immigrants
or by the aborigines? An answer to these questions would lead to further interesting investigations. I have seen many Venetian coins in this zilla, but they are rapidly disappearing; the natives, valuing them for the extreme purity of the gold, convert them into jewels.

I have designated the images on the rock "Jaina," and not Buddhistic, and my reason for so doing is that each inscription designates the image above it a "Tirru Meni," the usual term for a Jaina saint.

Puthiamputhar, 23rd January 1872.

REVIEWS.


The author of this dictionary has been for many years well known to Gujaratis as a writer of both prose and poetry. He has a knowledge of English, is a diligent student, an enterprising author, and has made successful efforts to give his countrymen the benefit of his studies. He now appears as a lexicographer, and presents to the students of Gujarati a goodly quarto of 619 pages, double columns and close print.

The book has been long promised and earnestly expected. Years ago we had several instalments in parts, which gave us up to the word jethämadha (ºlaw). Yet the present work is not a continuation of these parts. The old matter has been recast and the work completed on a slightly abridged scale. To keep the work within prescribed bounds, many words and forms of words (*w-ax at-t) have been omitted. The author informs us that not only all proper names, but many generic or class names of animals and plants, and also technical terms, have been excluded—omissions greatly to be regretted. Yet some agricultural terms have been retained, and some rustic words have been given as examples of a class. Of Sanskrit words, and words of foreign origin, only those are given which are in common use. He has also endeavoured to include words used by the older writers.

We must thank the author for giving us this information. We know what to look for, and must not be disappointed when we miss in the dictionary words we may occasionally meet with in reading and conversation. No doubt the student will regret many of these omissions; for we naturally go to a dictionary for rare words and uncommon forms of words. Yet, both for the number of words illustrated and for the fulness of the meanings given, this dictionary leaves all its predecessors far behind. It will at once take its place as a most valuable help to the Gujarati student. Foreigners will be troubled at first by finding that the explanations are given in Gujarati, but this trouble will ultimately facilitate their progress.

We cannot help regretting that the author has not seen fit to introduce a little philology into his book. The source whence a word, or a leading word, has been derived is indeed indicated, but nothing more; no attempt is made to show the connection of words one with another, nor to exhibit the historical and logical relations of the various meanings of words. He has, indeed, taken pains to give us fully the meanings of words, but the arrangement of these meanings might have been different and better. We hope the author will, with his characteristic energy, turn his attention to this matter in preparing any future edition of his valuable book.

In two particulars he adopts rather a peculiar system of orthography. As Gujarati is commonly written, anuswär uniformly represents the five nasal spärka consonants ं, ः, ं, ं, ं. Narmadå Śankara discards the anuswär and uses the consonants: for ं, ः, ं, ं, ं, ं, &c. he writes ं, ः, ं, ं, ं, ं, &c. Whatever may be said in favour of this, we fancy the convenience of the common mode will carry the day. But a greater innovation is the introduction of a point under a letter to represent a light h or aspiration after the letter so marked. He gives a list of some seven hundred words, or more, in which this point is introduced. We fear the author rather overrides his hobby, but he has a good excuse for proposing this orthography. The Gujaratis have not yet fixed upon a uniform way of representing h in the body or at the end of a word. They sometimes omit it altogether, sometimes insert it with or without the vowel of the preceding letter. Thus we have नार, नारी, नारी, नारी, नारी, नारी, नारी, नारी, &c. These words our lexicographer proposes to write नार, नारी, नारी, नारी, &c. Time will show whether this will be generally received. There is this to be said for it, it helps to show the syllabification of a word: नारी, for instance, seems to be a word of three syllables, but is considered to be of only two; so also नार, नार, नार, are counted as words of only two syllables.

The author in his preface and introduction gives us some interesting information. Passing by several autobiographical notices, we remark that
he has taken the trouble to count and classify the words he has placed in his dictionary. There are 25,268 words explained. Other words introduced in the course of explanation raise the total to 25,855. These are classified as follows:

Sanskrit, pure or slightly changed........... 5,831
  Do. more changed (apabhraṣṭa) ................. 17,066
Foreign words ....................................... 2,958

In every hundred words there are—
Sanskrit, pure or slightly changed... 23
  Do. more changed (apabhraṣṭa)... 66
Foreign .................................... 11

Of the foreign words there are from—
Persian and Arabic ...................... 8
English ........................................ 1
Others ........................................ 2

Substantives number ............. 17,350
Pronouns .................................... 47
Adjectives .................................. 3,746
Verbs ......................................... 2,218
Verbals (kṛidanta kṛūḍata) ............... 569
Particles (avyaya अव्यय) .................. 1,338

25,268

We hope the author will be liberally rewarded by the public. Every Gujarātischolar will find it to his advantage to add the Narmac Kośa to his library.

The book has been printed partly in Bhāvanagar, and partly at the Mission Press, Surat. The printing in the latter establishment is evidently of a superior character.

SUPPLEMENT TO A CLASSICAL DICTIONARY of INDIA illustrative of the Mythology, Philosophy, Literature, Antiquities, Arts, Manners, Customs, &c. of the Hindus, by John Garrett, Director of Public Instruction in Mysore, Editor of the Bhagavat Gīta in Sanskrit and Canarese, &c. &c. 8vo pp. 100.—Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1873.

This Supplement is intended to supply the defects of Mr. Garrett’s Classical Dictionary of India, published about two years ago. Among the principal new articles are those on Festivals, Castes, Aboriginal tribes, &c. There are also many additions to articles in the Dictionary. The work is principally a compilation, the books that have supplied most materials being H. H. Wilson’s Works, Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, Sherring’s Tribes of India, Dubois’s Manners and Customs of the People of India, The Indian Antiquary, Frederika Richardson’s Hind of the East, and Goldstücker’s contributions to Chamber’s Encyclopaedia; but it is to be regretted that the compiler did not avail himself more fully of the European literature of his subject. The continental Orientalists are only referred to through translations, though the writings of Burnouf, Polier, Lassen, Weber, Boucgy, Zenker, and others would afford great masses of information on any of the subjects treated of. It is unfortunate too that Mr. Garrett sometimes fails to make the best use of the materials at his disposal: the most glaring instance of this is probably his account of the Mahāva ṣāṇḍa (p. 74), which consists simply of an incident related in chapter VII. of the work, and given by Prof. Weber in a long note on his Essay on the Rāmāyana (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. pp. 173, 174).

Yet with all its defects—arising chiefly from its being the work of a single individual, instead of the combined production of different writers—Mr. Garrett’s Dictionary is a highly important work, and, upon the whole, exceedingly creditable to the industry of a single labourer. It will form a suitable basis for any more elaborate and complete work that may hereafter be attempted. It is most desirable that we should possess a comprehensive and trustworthy Dictionary, which should be a real help and guide to every student of Hindu literature and antiquities. The materials are abundant, and they are still accumulating. And even in such vernacular works as Narmada Śankar’s Narmakāthā Kośa much important information will be found. But no work of this nature can be successfully carried out without the co-operation of many scholars, under the direction of a competent editor, each furnishing contributions in the department which he has made the subject of special study. And we feel sure that any one who will undertake such editorship will gladly acknowledge how deeply he is indebted to Mr. Garrett for the valuable labours by which he has prepared the way for our possessing an adequate Classical Dictionary of India.

ANNALS and ANTIQUITIES of RAJASTHĀN, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India; by Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod. 2nd Edition. 2 vols. royal 8vo (pp. 724 and 719). Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1873.

The first edition of Tod’s Rajāsthān appeared in 1829 and 1832, and has been long out of print and excessively dear; Messrs. Higginbotham & Co’s reprint is therefore most welcome. It is well got up, in fine clear type, the notes in even a larger size of type than in the original colossal work.
We miss, however, the beautiful plates of the latter, omitted apparently at the suggestion of Colonel Keatinge, as being "very inaccurate," a character which, as applied to the views, is in most cases, unfortunately, only too correct; still it is somewhat awkward when the reader comes to page 8 and reads, "To render this more distinct, I present a profile of the tract described from Abu to Kotra," &c., and to find that this section of the country has been condemned to omission with the artistic pictures. At p. 224, the author says he "exhibits the abode of the fair of Ceylon"—meaning the palace of Padmani, but it is not to be seen; and again at p. 576 we read of "the Jain temple before the reader," and ask an "etching of the fortress of Komalmer itself, both finished on the spot," and yet neither of them is before the reader. And so in other cases. This of course is one of the results of the want of editing; another is the uncorrected errata. The author himself had pointed out a few of those in volume I, but even of them only one has been corrected; and on page 25, where, by a misprint of 'or' for 'on,' the original had "Maheswar, or the Nerbudda river," the reprint has "Mahaswas, or the Nerbudda river," while at p. 61 we have "perpetual larchon," exactly as in the quartino.

But no writer is more in need of careful editing than Tod: his book is as readable as his opinions are often rash and fanciful. His facts—where he confines himself to facts—are interesting and important, and are fortunately so numerous as to give his work a high value in spite of his very illegitimate and misleading etymologies, on which he frequently hangs whole theories of ethnology. His imagination is never at a loss: from a few names having each a syllable or so alike, he can reconstruct whole chapters of lost history. In Chapter II. he cites (p. 28) the Agni Purana for 'the genealogies of the Surya and Indu (moon) races,'—but they are not found there. A little further on, he makes the Pandavas the sons of Vyasa by Pandava (p. 29); he would make his "Barusar the son of Chandragupta" the same as the 'Abisares' of the Greek writers (p. 38); Bajagraha is 'the modern Rajmahal' (p. 39); 'Dushkhanta,' as he names Dushyanta, is 'the father of Sakuntala, married to Bharat' (p. 40); Tanjore he makes the probable capital of 'the Regio Pandiona' of Ptolemy; Un-déj, the country of the Shawl goat or Tibet, he makes As-déj, in order to identify it with Agra-asia (p. 41); Valmika (as he calls Valmiki) and Vyasa were cotemporaries (p. 42); Marco Polo was at Kashgar in 'the sixth century' (p. 58); the Jazartes is the same as the Jihoon (p. 57); madhu means 'a bee' in Sanskrit, and the name of the drink extracted from the Mahu tree is derived from madhu (p. 66); 'Siv-rát' is the same as 'Sarcant' (Sankrant) and means 'father night'; the fíca religiosa presents a perfect resemblance to the poplar of Germany and Italy, a species of which is the aspen (p. 73); Larikì of Ptolemy was Káthiavár, and took its name from the Silar tribe (p. 104); and so on,—endless inaccuracies rendering Tod most untrustworthy as a guide. And even in what came under his own eye he sometimes sacrifices truth to effect: thus, describing an old temple at Komalmer (vol. I. p. 577) he says,—"The extreme want of decoration best attests its antiquity, enabling us to attribute it to that period when Sampriti Rúja, of the family of Chandragupta, was paramount sovereign over all these regions (200 years B.C.)... The proportions and forms of the columns are especially distinct from the other temples, being slight and tapering instead of massive, the general characteristic of Hindu architecture; while the projecting cornices, which would absolutely deform shafts less slight, are peculiarly indicative of the Takeham architect. It is curious to contemplate the possibility, may the probability, that the Jain temple now before the reader may have been designed by Grecian artists, or that the taste of the artists among the Rájputs may have been modelled after the Grecian." Yet after all this and much more confident assertion, no competent critic looking at the plate "before the reader" in the first edition, would be disposed to relegatethe temple to an earlier age than about A.D. 1500; and indeed it bears this inscription upon it, which shows more than that it was a Jain temple,—

\[ \text{[Harthy]}\]

Showing clearly enough that the temple was scarcely more than three centuries old when he saw it, dating only from the reign of Ráná San-grán, A.D. 1514. Yet with all its errors and defects, Tod's work is one of sterling value, and well worthy of careful study; and whilst some will regret the want of references in this new edition to later and more trustworthy writers, and the correction of errors, or, perhaps, that the wheat has not to some extent been separated from the chaff by the judicious omission of the greater portion of the merely fanciful speculations of the author,—all interested in it will feel grateful to the publishers for bringing so convenient and careful a reprint within their reach.
PROFESSOR WEBER ON PATAÑJALI, &c.

SIR,—Let me offer you my thanks for having given to your readers a translation of my incursions on the date of Patañjali. True, I should have liked to see it given in full, with all the copious annotations, and also with my treatment of that important passage from the Vīkyapadīyaṃ about the melancholy fate that befell the Mahābhādhyāya for some time. But as your space is limited, I easily conceive that you could not well afford to devote more of it to this discussion. Doing it, you have, dīghiyā, elicited from Prof. Bhāndārkar some very able and pertinent remarks, and I am glad to acknowledge the scholarly display displayed by him in handling the subject.

Ho begins by saying that he "hardly shares in the regret" I had expressed with regard to his not having been aware of the fact that I had ten years ago treated the same subject, as his "facts were now, and his conclusions not affected by anything" I had said formerly; and I beg therefore to inquire first somewhat deeper into the merits of this rather blunt rebuff.

The example: "iha Pushpamitraṃ yāja-yāmaḥ" is no doubt new, as it was neither noticed by Goldstücker nor by myself, but the question is, does it really conveys that meaning which Prof. Bhāndārkar gives to it—"at the time Patañjali wrote there lived a person Pushpamitra, and a great sacrifice being performed for him and under his orders"? The whole passage, rendered by him somewhat obscurely, is to be translated as follows. Pāṇini (III. 2, 123); lat (the present tense) is used when something is going on;—Kātyāyana: they should be taught with regard to the not-being-finished (i.e. continuation) of an action going forward (i.e. to use lat also when an action going forward is not yet finished, merely stopped), as it is not going on;—Patañjali: "they should . . . . action" (i.e. to use it also in the following cases): here we study—iha yādāmaḥ, here we sacrifice for Pushpamitra—iha Pushpamitrāṃ yājyādāmaḥ. What is the reason? It is not clear (wants to be stated expressly), "as it is not going on;"—Kātyāyaṇa: "here we study," so (one is to say as long as) the study is going forward, begun, not yet finished; for when they are not studying, being engaged in eating and other like things, the use of the word "we study" seems not proper,—therefore an express statement is required. The meaning of this is: the present tense may be used as well of short actions which are really going on at the very moment of speaking, as of prolonged actions which are for a certain time in the course of going on and not yet finished, though they may be interrupted for a time by another business, such as studying a certain system, staying at a given place, sacrificing for Pushpamitra. Are we now really obliged to draw from this last example Prof. Bhāndārkar’s conclusion that this sacrificing for Pushpamitra was "not yet finished"—at the time Patañjali wrote, was "still going on"? If we did not know anything of an individual of the name of Pushpamitra, we should not doubt take the word simply as a common proper name in the sense of Gajus, Calpurnius, Sempronius, like Vishṇumitra (see Mahābhādhyāya, p. 233, ed. Ballantyne). It is therefore of the highest importance that we get from another passage Patañjali’s precise notion (and this fact was adduced first by myself), that the Pushpa-mitra spoken of was really a king, and a noted king too, as it seems, as distinguished as Chanda-gupta, no doubt the Aśopoposessor of the Greeks, along with whom he is mentioned,—distinguished, as this example, "iha Pushpamitrāṃ yājyādāmaḥ," as well as a similar one happily brought forward by Prof. Bhāndārkar (p. 69), shows, especially also for his sacrifices. And this agrees well with what we know from other sources of a king of that name,† as the tradition of the Buddhists affirms,‡ that he was a staunch friend of the Brahmans; and of his aśvamedha even Kālidāsa takes notice in one of his dramas. This dynasty is called in the Purāṇas that of the Śūnyā, a name which recurs under the Brahmanic families and teachers of the Sūtra-period, in the Sūtyāyana, Aśvāsāyana, and Nandā Śūtras, as well as in Pāṇini (IV. 1, 117), and which has probably accrued to Pushpamitra, its founder, from his spiritual affiliation by one of his gurus (just as Śākyamuni is called Gautama for a similar reason, see Ind. Stud. X. 73), or from the sacrificial custom it thus, though the other form given by the northern Buddhists, Pushyamitra, as a nādhakarta name, would seem to merit the preference in a royal name.

† According to the Aśoka-Avadana (Burnouf, Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme, L. 431, 432) he offered for each head of a Sāmanā a hundred dināras, and got for this his persecution from the Buddhists the nickname nunihata, "celui qui a mis à mort les solitaires," he is considered there as the last of the race of the Mauryas (i).
tom not to use the king’s ancestral pedigree, but only that of his purohita (purohitapravareṇaṃ bṛih-
manasaḥ, ibid. X. 79). To speak of his sacrifices in the way Patañjali does, appears thus as a most natural thing for any Brahmanic writer who lived at a time when their fame was still fresh enough to be thankfully remembered, but seems to me far from implying with any strictness that the writer was contentparsavasam with him. “There would result a very curious biography of Patañjali if all the examples which he draws from common life, and which are given by him in the first person, were to be considered as throwing light on his own personal experiences.” Both passages on the sacrifices of Pushpanmitra are highly welcome as a bit of history of that king, but with regard to Patañjali’s age, in my opinion, they add nothing more to the fact, already known previously (since 1861), that he did not live before Pushpanmitra’s time, but that they convey the notion that the memory of this king was still cherished by the Brahmanas.

We come now to the second point, the two passages adduced by Goldstücker: “arurad Yavanaḥ Sāketaṁ,” and, “arurad Yavanaḥ Mahāyānikāṁ.” Only the first of them was noticed by Bhāndārkar in his first article (Ind. Ant. I. p. 392); but his silence on the second, far from implying that he did not coincide with the interpretation of it given by Goldstücker, would seem to show, on the contrary, that he acquiesced in it, not being yet aware of all the difficulties of the case. When therefore he now proclaims that the conclusions at which he arrived at that time are “not affected by anything” I have said in my critique on Goldstücker, he is enabled to say so only from my having meanwhile drawn his attention to Professor Kern’s opinion on the Mādhyamikās, which, too, contained in an English book published in India, 1864, had remained to him as unknown as my own lucubrations written in German in 1861. For so long as, with Goldstücker, he considered the Mahāyānikās to be the Buddhism sect, but a people in Middle India, its interpretation would still remain beset by all those difficulties, from which Bhāndārkar has now, to be sure, made a very good case against me, but which were almost all of them already pointed out by myself too, stating at the same time that, as I readily acknowledged, my rather forced attempts to explain them away rested “on the double assumption that the reading mahāyānikās is correct, and that the name of the school did not exist until after its foundation by Nāgārjuna.” There was no other explanation at hand at the time when I wrote. By Kern’s interpretation, the aspect of the whole question is indeed very much changed, though I still hesitate to consider it as settled, and hold to the opinion that it “requires further elucidation.”

I come now to the facts adduced by Bhāndārkar at pp. 69-71. The first of them—the third mention of Pushpanmitra’s name—I have already spoken of. In his remarks on Patañjali’s native place he quotes a very remarkable passage from the Mahābhāshya, which no doubt refers to Sāketa as lying between the place of the speaker and Pātaliputra. Sāketa, Bhāndārkar takes to be Ayodhya, and proceeds: “Patañjali’s native place therefore must have been somewhere to the north-west by west of Ouddh.” Now there is a town and district of the name of Gondā, 20 miles to the north-west of it. Gonda represents a modern corruption of the Prakrit Gonaḍḍa, Sanskr. Gonarda, contained in Gonardiyā, a surname of Patañjali. Gonḍa therefore is the native place of the great grammarian. This conclusion, though very ingenious and clever indeed, seems to me still surrounded by very grave difficulties. First there

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*Ind. Stud. V. 158, in the following note, left out in the translation on p. 63.—* When Goldstücker records the example given in the Mahābhāshya, III. 2, 11 (which occurs also in I. 1, 44, Ballantyne, p. 538): “abhiṣiktaṃ devadatta Kasmīrśaṃ vatsyāmaḥ, tatra saktūn pāśyāmaḥ (odanam bhikṣyāmahe, p. 538), Kasmīrīru sappadāmad, tatra saktūn agilāma (odanam abhiṣiktaḥ, p. 538) as information which Patañjali has given us of his having temporarily resided in Kashmir, and adds:—*This circumstance throws some light on the interest which certain kings of this country took in the preservation of the Great Commentary,*—I do not understand either how so perfectly general an example can determine any conclusion whatever regarding events in the personal history of Patañjali, or how such a journey as his into Kashmir, for the purpose of there drinking saktūn (beer) pavaśāṣhaṁ, Tattv. S, ed. Boer, I. p. 627, or of eating odana (pay)—vase lakṣhaman bhajanāma lakṣhayam, says quite impossible that he could have stood by his conclusions in spite of all I had brought forward with regard to their relation to Nāgārjuna, and Nāgārjuna’s relation to Abhimanyu, and that they should not have been anyhow affected by them. Without the fresh light thrown upon the passage, in question, when interpreted according to Kern’s view, that the Mahāyānikās are not the Buddhism sect, but a people in Middle India, its interpretation would still remain beset by all those difficulties, from which Bhāndārkar has now, to be sure, made a very good case against me, but which were almost all of them already pointed out by myself too, stating at the same time that, as I readily acknowledged, my rather forced attempts to explain them away rested “on the double assumption that the reading mahāyānikās is correct, and that the name of the school did not exist until after its foundation by Nāgārjuna.” There was no other explanation at hand at the time when I wrote. By Kern’s interpretation, the aspect of the whole question is indeed very much changed, though I still hesitate to consider it as settled, and hold to the opinion that it “requires further elucidation.”

*In one point, however, he overstates them, when he says it is a mere supposition, not supported by any reliable authority, “that Kanishka persecuted the Buddhists before himself became a convert;” this is no “supposition” of mine at all, as he calls it still another time, since I quoted for it (p. 92) the testimony of Hiwen Thsang, T. 107 (Lassen, III. 857).
is a passage in the Mahābhāshya: *Mathurādyāḥ Pāñjaliputraṃ pāraṇāṃ,* which gives us just the opposite direction, as it implies that Pāñjaliputra was situated between the speaker and Mathurā; the speaker therefore must have lived to the east of the former. It is true that Bhāṇḍārkar overcomes this difficulty by translating these words by "Pāñjaliputra is to the east of Mathurā," but I doubt very much the correctness of his translation of pāraṇāṃ in this case, as Patañjali states it expressly as his purport to give an example, where pāraṇāṃ stands in the sense of vyavahāra, i.e. of distance (not of direction). How are we now to account for two so contradictory statements? * na hyeko Devadatto yugapāt Sraṅglāe Mathurāyāḥ cha sambhavati.* One might resort to taking them as a proof that Patañjali had visited different parts of India while he was writing the Mahābhāshya, and that one passage comes from a time when he lived to the west, the other from a time when he lived to the east of Pāñjaliputra, as there may have been, according to Bhāṇḍārkar himself (in his first article, vol. I. p. 301), also a time when he lived in this town. Or, we might take one or the other passage as one of those which have crept into his work under the remodelling which it underwent by Ch and r fichâry à di bhih (p. 53). Or we may waive that question altogether. Thus much remains: we cannot rely on either of them for attaining to certainty about Patañjali's dwelling-place, far less, as Bhāṇḍārkar takes it, about his native place. The only support for this latter supposition is his explanation of the name of Gonda by Gonarda; but in giving it he has failed to give attention to the statement of the Kārika (though he mentions it) which addeduce Gonar d iya as an instance of a place situated in the east. This statement appears fatal to his view, as a district situated to the north-west of Oudh cannot well be said, in a work written in Benares, to be situated prāchā dā. Finally, even the correctness of his identification of Sāketa, as mentioned in this passage of the Mahābhāshya with Oudh, cannot be much called in question, as the other passage, addeduce already, by Goldstücker: "Arunāda Yavanah Sāketaṃ,*

*In my Note, Ind. Stud. V. 154, I remarked that—this is open to question. For there were several places called Sāketa. Koppen (I. 112, 113) adduces very forcible reasons for the opinion that the Sāketa (Sāketa, according to Hardy) mentioned so frequently in the life of Budhāna cannot be Ayodhyā, as Lassen assumes (II. 65). And Lassen himself shows (III. 129, 209) that just as little can the Ptolomaic Sagēda, Ṭayṣaṃ mṛgāsāṇa in the country of the Aṅācārya, who dwell mṛgya tō Ojīsūśu dhūryā (Polem. VII. 1. 71), be Ayodhyā. According to the view of H. Kiepert, which, in answer to my inquiry, he has most kindly communicated, in an attempt to adapt the statements of Ptolemy to our present geography, the position of Sagēda on the Ptolemaic map would fall southward as there are two or three other towns of that name, any one of which has, prima vista, the same right to be the Sāketa of either of these two passages of the Mahābhāshya as Oudh has.*

To proceed, Bhāṇḍārkar's remark "on the native country of Kātyāyana would be very conclusive but for one rather serious drawback—there is, so far as I can see, no cogency in taking the words *yathā lokikavaiśikākṣau* as a vārtika; they are a simple example quoted by Patañjali from the speech of the Dākshirātya, as he refers to it in other places, for (Ballantyne p. 387) "astichā loke sarasāśabdasya pravṛtīthi, dākshiṇaḥpathe hi mahānti sarāṣṭri sarasya ity uchhyante." We know from the Vākyapādya that the Mahābhāshya remained for some time preserved in books only (Stenzler in Ind. Stud. V. 448) amongst the Dākshirātya, a tradition which no doubt renders the assumption probable that we may thus have to account for some such allusions.

For taking the word āchāryaśādiya in the sense of "āchārya the younger," as Bhāṇḍārkar proposes (p. 96), I can find no authority. Either we must take it like (sabrahmachāri) taddāseṣāḥ (Mahābh. XII. 605) as "countryman of the āchārya" (though no doubt āchāryasādiṣṭāḥ would be more correct), or it conveys the idea of a certain inferiority in rank (Ishad asamāpta, Pān. V. 3, 67); and with Goldstücker, I doubt very much, whether Kātyāyana, who supports in general Patañjali's views against Kātyāyana, would have called him by such an epithet, reserving the title of āchārya to the latter.

With regard to my opinion "that the word āchārya in such expressions as pākyati tu āchāryāḥ, as occurring in the Mahābhāshya, applies to Patañjali. I think Bhāṇḍārkar right in correcting it in the instances given, in others I am still doubtful; the question appears not yet ripe for being finally settled.

In the passage about the Māuryas I must leave it to others to decide if Patañjali's words do really imply it as his opinion that Pāṇini himself, in referring to images that were saleable, had in his eye such as those that had come down from the
Mauryas. I never said more than this, and Bhāpālākar goes too far when he says “Prof. Weber infers that Pāñini in making his rule had in his eye,” &c. My words are: “According to the view of Patañjali;” “Patañjali is undoubtedly of opinion;” “Be this as it may, the notice is in itself an exceedingly curious one.”—Now with regard to this very curious and odd statement itself, I ventured to throw it out as a mere suggestion whether it may not perhaps refer to a first attempt at gold coinage made by the Mauryas (in imitation of the Greek coins). It is true no Maurya coin has been discovered as yet, so far as I know, but this may be mere chance; the real difficulty is how to bring Patañjali’s words into harmony with such an interpretation, the more so as in his time no doubt gold coins were already rather common.

When a thing is called at the same time Paroksham and Prayokturdarsanavishayam, we can render the first only by “what is no more to be seen,” the second by “what has been seen by the speaker, or could have been seen by him.” The imperfect is used always, paroksha, when a thing is no more to be seen, but it may be either lokavijnatā, notorious, or prayoktur darśanavishayam, belonging to the personal experience of the speaker, or even to both together.

In thus concluding what I had to say in my defence, I beg to repeat my acknowledgment of Prof. Bhāpālākar’s critical spirit, of which he has given ample proof already in an elaborate review of Haug’s Aitareya-Brahmana (1864), of which he now acknowledges himself the author, and which I embodied in the ninth volume of my Indische Studien, on account of its intrinsic merits, without knowing at all from whom it came. “It is the first time,” I said in introducing it, “as far as we know, that a born Hindu has subjected with courage and independence the work of a European Sanskrit scholar to a searching critique, and this moreover in a manner which shows him quite competent and fully prepared to do it.” He has given a new instance of his sagacity on the present occasion, and in congratulating him as a most welcome fellow-labourer in our common studies, I beg to express my hope that he may continue still for a time to make the critical ransacking of the Mahābhdāhyā his special department; as he has succeeded already in drawing from it some very important details, he will not fail doubtless to find more of them. Combined efforts are necessary to wield this huge mass, which, in spite of the Benares edition, as well as of the forthcoming photolithographed edition, prepared in London under Goldstücker’s care, will still defy for a while many attempts to break through its hard crust. It is a great pity that from the colossal dimensions of Ballantyne’s edition we are now reduced to the other extreme, viz. to having nothing except a mere transcript of a manuscript, without any indications and helps of an editorial character. The text of the Mahābhdāhyā, in all three editions, is prima vista a quite indiscernible mixtum compositum of Pāñini’s vārttika and bhashya; and the bhashya, again, is itself composed in a most unwieldy and unsettled way, stuffed to suffocation with objections, counter-objections, repetitions, examples and counter-examples. And with regard especially to the latter, we ought never to lose sight of the circumstances under which, according to the testimonies of the Vākyapadīyam and the Rājatarāṅgini, the work was finally arranged in its present form, and of the many chances that rendered it liable to changes and intercalations, under the treatment it may have experienced.

I beg to add some remarks on another subject: In The Academy (No. 68, March 15, p. 118) I gave a short statement of my real views on the relation of Vālmiki to the Homeric saga-cycle, by reproducing pertinent passages from Mr. Boyd’s translation of my Essay on the Rāmāyana, as contained in your pages. A correspondent of The Academy had (No. 65, p. 63) drawn the attention of its readers to the patriotic indignation of some learned Hindus against its results, at the same time himself stating its purport in terms which I could not consider as a true representation of my views. I had not then seen the review of my Essay by Kśināth Trimbak Telang, and could judge of it only from the notice given by the writer in The Academy. By the courtesy of the author I have since received it, and take this opportunity to state that—far from “laying particular stress on the total want of correspondence in the delineation of the various characters introduced in the two poems,” as he was said to do in The Academy, and which would have exposed him too, to the charge of “fighting against windmills,” which I direct against all who state it as my theory “that the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki is simply an Indian translation of Homer’s Iliad”—he has indeed “endeavoured to refute my arguments one by one,” without at all giving so prominent a part to that particular point. Though prejudiced, as he honestly allows, by his national feelings, he proves a faithful inquirer after truth; and if he has not, in my opinion, succeeded in anyways changing the aspect of the question—partly because he too puts it wrongly,—and partly because he has written

* The title of his review is:—“Was the Rāmāyana copied from Homer?” I never thought of maintaining so much as that.
apparently in great haste, and without sufficient acquaintance with the present state of scientific research on several of the topics touched on or discussed in my Essay—still his review contains some very valuable hints and communications, especially from the Mahābhāshya, for which we are thankful to him and to Prof. Bāndārkar, to whose aid he several times states that he is indebted.

Berlin, 18th April 1873.

A. WEBER.

Note.

Might not Sagada, the metropolis of the Adivathroi, near the hills of Uxentus, be Sagara, near the sources of the Daśāna (Dosam), 200 miles E.N.E. of Ujjain? Spruner places it about 50 miles W.N.W of Warangol.—ED.

GENITIVE POST-POSITIONS.

To the Editor, Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—In the April number of the Indian Antiquary (p. 121) appeared a letter from Dr. Pischel with criticisms on my theory of the Gaurīn genitive post-positions. I now request the favour of your inserting the following reply.

As regards the remark regarding the Prākrit of the plays being founded on the śātra of Vararuchi, I regret its somewhat careless expression, as it seems to have scandalized my critic so much. Many Prākrit scholars, and all those who combine a knowledge of the modern Indian vernaculars with that of Prākrit (e.g. Beames in his Comp. Gram. passim), hold that the colloquial or vulgar Prākrit differed, and perhaps considerably, from the literary Prākrit used in the plays, and grammaticalised, so to speak, by Vararuchi and his successors. These two Prākrits cannot have been without influence upon one another; hence in the plays forms are found which are not noticed, especially in the earlier grammars, and which probably were introduced from the vulgar Prākrit. Still, generally speaking, the literary Prākrit remained stationary, while the colloquial or vulgar Prākrit changed and developed. Those who wrote Prākrit (in dramas and otherwise) must have learned the literary Prākrit, and must have learned it from the Prākrit grammars. This is what was meant. The question is too large a one to be fully stated here. Perhaps Dr. Pischel takes a different view of it; but that is no reason why my view should be incorrect. What the colloquial Prākrit must have been, cannot be determined from the Prākrits of the dramas and grammars only, but also, and often more truly, from the modern vernaculars. Now the old and, at present, poetical and vulgar Hindi past part. kind (or kind) postulates some Prākrit form like kina or kunna, or even kunna (for old Hindi appears to recognise a verbal base kana). That the base kuna is restricted to verse by Prākrit grammars is not opposed to my theory, as my critic seems to imagine, but is in favour of it; and that is the reason why I referred to it. It is a well-known fact, of which Hindi affords examples in abundance, that the colloquial has many forms which by the literary language are restricted to poetry. That the past part. pass. of the base kuna is not met with in any Prākrit work (of which, by the way, we know only very few as yet) is no proof, that it cannot be formed and did not exist in the spoken language. However, what I maintain is that the Hindi genitive post-positions are derived from a Prākrit equivalent of the Sanskrit past part. kriya; as to the rest, I merely expressed an opinion, and gave some reasons for it, that they are identical with the Hindi ones. This requires further proof: but my own further investigations have rather confirmed me in my view. My critic thinks that "it is easy to prove" that the Bangāli and Oriyā genitive post-positions are not derived from the Prākrit keraka. But he has not produced his proof. For his statements as to the use of keraka in Prākrit, whether true or not, have no particular bearing on the question whether the Bangāli er or the Bangāli er is a curtailment of keraka or not. The only argument that I can discover among his criticisms is that "the word keraka is far too modern to undergo so vast and rapid a change as to be curtailed to simple er." The fact is that keraka occurs in the sense of a genitive post-position so early as in the Mrichchhakatikā, which is generally supposed to have been written in the beginning of the Christian era; and of the oldest Bangāli there is next to no literature; so that the argument has no leg to stand upon.—I may take this opportunity, however, to state that since writing my third essay I have modified my view so far (for in such a novel inquiry it is especially true that dies dies does) that I now consider the Bangāli er not to be a curtailment of the Prākrit keraka, but of ker; because otherwise the Bangāli post-position would be pronounced era, and not er.—My critic says that I maintain that the genitive of santāna was originally santāna-keraka. I maintain no such thing. If he had followed the drift of my argument more attentively, he would have seen that I merely wished to trace the probable steps by which keraka in conjunction with the final e of a noun becomes curtailed into er. For this purpose any noun with a final quiescent a would do. I took santāna because it was ready to hand, being the paradigm in the excellent Ban-

† The August part of the Indian Antiquary contained the conclusion of Mr. Boyd’s translation, and Mr. Kāsēth read his paper on the 2nd September.
gāli Grammar of Śama Churn Sircar. For the purpose imputed by my critic I should have chosen a word like bdhyer, which, no doubt, may have actually been once bdhakèrō. But it should not have needed explanation to see that after kera had once been curtailed to er and established as a genitive post-position, it would be added also to Sanskrit and foreign nouns in ə, the genitive of which can, of course, only ideally be said to have once had the supposed Prākrit form.—Dr. Pischel further says that I might as well say santāna keraka or kerakaṇa or kerakassa, etc. So I might; indeed so I do. But unfortunately he has overlooked two considerations—first, that it would be too tedious to declare a noun through all cases whenever you quote it, and that hence it has been always customary to quote an adj. noun in the nom. case sing. masc.; secondly, that all Bangāli adjectives have dropped all case, number, and gender terminations; and that therefore, in whatever case keraka be quoted, it would equally assume the shape er in Bangāli.

Again, my critic is very severe on me for saying that keraka only occurs about 14 times in the Mrichchhakatikā. Now suppose my statement be incorrect, to err is but human; and even my critic is not above it: he says that "keraka in the more modern dialects is always changed to kelaka;" but the Hindi has kerd, etc. In regard to the particular point of how often keraka occurs, my critic has overlooked the fact that I quoted from another edition of the Mrichchhakatikā (viz. Calc. 1829) than he. The two editions evidently differ considerably. His edition, no doubt, is the better one. According to my Calc. edn. the word keraka occurs about 10 times, not as a genitive post-position or pleonastically, but as a dative post-position (like Sanskrit kṛta). All these instances I excluded as irrelevant to my purpose. Thus of Dr. Pischel's 38 there remain only about 28. Of these, I own, some escaped me, and I am indebted to Dr. Pischel for pointing them out. On the other hand, I intentionally expressed myself guardedly, "about fourteen." Moreover, I wonder it did not occur to my critic that the more examples of keraka as a genitive post-position can be shown to exist, the more it makes for my theory. For this peculiar use of keraka must have been very common and marked in the colloquial, to have been so frequently introduced into the drama. As regards the two instances from the Sakuntālā, the first is a false one; for kelaka is there used to express the dative; and the second is a doubtful reading (according to M. Williams). The instance from Hála, likewise, is a false one. Those from the Malaviktā, Mudrārākṣāhasa, and Malātī are true ones; but the two first plays I could not examine.

As to the word pakelaka, having only the Calc. edition to consult, I was obliged to trust to it. If the reading is erroneous, the error is not mine. But to say that the error invalidates my deductions as to the meaning of keraka is absurd. The meaning of keraka (own, peculiar to, or as Lassen says, pertinens ad, and as Dr. Pischel himself, belonging to) is beyond dispute, whether my suggestion as to how it came by that meaning be true or not.

Again, my critic says that there is not the slightest reason for my supposition that the use of the word keraka is slang. Yet, with singular consistency, a little further on he himself says "there is nothing extraordinary in the pleonastic use of keraka; people of lower condition like a fuller and more individual sort of speech, and to emphasize their own dear selves." I think it will be generally admitted that this amply justifies my supposition; and it is merely what I said myself in other words in the essay. My critic seems to imagine that all Brāhmans must be educated or respectable men, and that policemen may never affect to talk high language. At any rate, a general phenomenon cannot be invalidated by one or two contrary cases which admit of being explained in many ways.

As regards the base-form kerika, it is contained in the regular feminine kerikā; but it seems to occur occasionally also in the other genders: e.g. Mrichchh. 124, 15, mana kelikāin the acc. plur. neuter (as quoted by Dr. Pischel; Calc. edn. has kelakādī). It is mentioned by Lassen (Inst. Prak. pp. 422, 423), who seems to mistrust the form, but I, think, unjustly; for other words of the same form occur; e.g. kṣethriṇā (= svastikaraṇa for svastakam); the regular attī (= iṣṭika, not iyatika, for iṣantaka), besides ettao (Śak. p. 61, ed. M. Williams); see also Dr. J. Muir, Sansk. Texts, vol. II. p. 122; Weber, Bṛgavati, p. 438. These forms are generally explained by an affix ika, but such instances seem to point rather to the conclusion that the form in ika is a corruption of that in aka.

As regards the identification of keraka with Sansk. krita, it is an old traditional one of the Pāṇḍits. Dr. Pischel says that Prof. Lassen has proved beyond all doubt "that this interpretation cannot be accepted," and that his identification of it with the Sansk. kārya "has been adopted by Prof. Weber as in accordance with the laws of the Prākrit language." Now in his Inst. Prak. p. 118, Prof. Lassen, after having stated the usual interpretation, gives two reasons (which I shall notice presently) which he thinks stand in its way and concludes by saying "hence I am inclined to
believe kera to be rather a corruption of kārya."

So Prof. Lassen is not quite so positive as my critic represents. Prof. Weber (Hāla, p. 38), treating of the changes of ā into e, says that it changes so sometimes under the influence of a following y, as sējīḍ (sāyāḍ) achēkhā (dēkhāya); māḥa kēraṃ (māma krita). This does not show that he is more positive than Prof. Lassen. The fact is that they are both too cautious and too well-informed scholars to commit themselves to such a dogmatic statement on insufficient data. I do not know on what grounds Prof. Hoefer may have supported the traditional interpretation, as unfortunately I am not able to refer to his work. But that it is the true interpretation the modern vernaculars conclusively prove. In Marathi the equivalent of krita is kēld, and in the Low-Hindi it is kēllā (or kēylā or kēillā). Now kēld or kēllā are contractions or modifications of the Prākrit kelao (or kēlo), or kērao (or kēro); and it follows that the Prākrit kērao or kēro are also equivalents of the Sanskrit krita. The interchange of r and l is so common that it needs no remark. Its extreme frequency in the modern vernaculars shows that in colloquial Prākrit it must have been even more frequent than in literary Prākrit. The l of kelao is a substitute for d, and d again for the Sanskrit t; namely, krita becomes kada, and kada becomes kela or kelaa. This disposes of the earlier, the can be explained by the help of the modern vernaculars. The Low-Hindi has still the modern past part. form kalo (in Mrichchh. Calc. Inst. Prakrit. p. 363); thus bhri has bhārata, and bhārata, etc. (I give the full phonetic ground-forms). Thus kri would form kārita, that is, in Prākrit kario (or kāriao), which is actually preserved in the old Hindi form kāryau (e. g. Chand, XXVII. 60), and in Modern Hindi is contracted to kārd. Now the Prākrit forms kario or kāriao would easily explain the forms kero or keroa, by the translation of the vowel i into the preceding syllable; just as echchēkārio contracts into achchhera. This disposes of the second difficulty of Prof. Lassen (p. 118), which is that the vowel ā changes to e only under the influence of a following i or y. The difficulty, however, may not be so absolute as Lassen seems to have thought. In some instances such an influence is doubtful. The supposition is, therefore, quite allowable, that the Prākrit past part. form kalo (in Mrichchh. Calc. edn. for kālo might be the original of the form kelao or kero. This was my theory formerly, which was briefly stated by me on p. 133. Nevertheless my critic insinuates that I made the e of kelaka to be a modification of the Sanskrit ri; and then he proceeds to knock down the man of straw of his own creation. (And, by the way, what are we to think of a Prākrit form keta, to which my critic thinks kāta might change?) Further on Dr. Pischel says that I “believe that in some examples kēroa has become a sort of affix; if this be true, it ought not to be inflected, as it really is,” like all other adj. nouns. Now the substance of what I said was this, that in some instances kēroa has no (predicative) meaning, but merely determines the case of another noun, and that in this respect it had become like an affix (see p. 130). Now this is altogether a different thing from what Dr. Pischel attributes to me. That kēraº is an adj. noun and treated as such, I know very well; in fact, it is the whole drift of my second essay to prove that the Hind­genitive post-positions are curtailments of such an adj. noun (see p. 125).

Again, Dr. Pischel adds a number of other words, as kajjau, kīchekhau, etc., which he says are used exactly in the same way as I say kēra or kērakah is. This is again a misunderstanding. What I maintain is, that kēraº is used very often pleonastically, or to form a periphrastical genitive, as amhakērao for amhākā aload. Now the words instances by Dr. Pischel are not used pleonastically; for if omitted in the sentences quoted, the sense of the latter would be incomplete or none at all; and, moreover, they are used to form a periphrastical dative, not a genitive. These means of forming a periphrast dative are well known. Kēran is one of them. But kēraº in this particular use was irrelevant to my purpose. Dr. Pischel will find it discussed in a future paper on the dative post-positions, which I shall try to show can be traced back to it.

As regard the three words nija, gada, sanāha, they are never used pleonastically, certainly not in the instances quoted by Dr. Pischel; e. g. if gadoa were left out in the phrase taggadēna akilām, its sense would become doubtful; it might mean both “by his desire for her” or “by her desire.” Again if niyam be omitted in the sentence...
ahān niśam gehān gamissam, it would be doubtful whose house was meant. With keraka it is very different; in many instances it is absolutely superfluous; as in kasa keraka edān pavahānān, 'whose is that carriage?' which is absolutely identical with kasa edān pavahānān.

I am indebted to Dr. Pischel for pointing out the inaccuracy in the word bhramarkao, which of course ought to be bhakmarako. It is inexplicable to me how it escaped me. Such slips will happen to most writers.

DR. A. T. RUDOLF HOERNL.

Benares, May 1873.

ŚRI HARSHA, AUTHOR OF THE NAISHADHA.

As a slight contribution to the discussion that has arisen regarding the date of the poet Śṛ Harsha, it may be interesting to note the place assigned him by the Hindu bard Chand, writing at the end of the 12th century after Christ. At the commencement of his great epic poem, the Prithvirāja Rāsa, he gives a list of the most eminent writers, his predecessors, with brief allusions to their principal works. The catalogue includes only eight names, which are evidently arranged in what is intended to be chronological order. First comes the great mythical Dvṛśrī, Šeš nāg, the author of the universe; second, Vīshṇu, who revealed the Veda; third, Vyāsa, the composer of the Mahābhārata; fourth, Śuṣkadeva, who recited the Śṛ Bhogavat; fifth, Śṛ Harsha, author of the Naishadha; sixth Kalidāsa, to whom is ascribed the popular work, in mixed verse and prose, entitled the Bhajaprabandha; seventh, Danda-mālī, without reference to any special work, though doubtless the Dasa-Kumāra-Charita is intended; and eighth and last, Jayadeva, who wrote the Gītā Govinda.

From this it is clear that Chand regarded the Naishadha as a poem of considerable antiquity; and writing in the twelfth century he is presumably so far a better authority than Rāja Śekhara, who wrote in the fourteenth. Mr. Beames has attempted a translation of the passage to which I refer (reprinted in the Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 318), but it is not very accurate; and he has omitted as unintelligible the line in which Śṛ Harsha's name occurs, adding in a note that he does not know what the allusion is. The couplet is:

\[ \text{Nārāyaṇ īcām Śri hā śārāṃ,} \]
\[ \text{Nārāyaṇ īcām Śri hā śārāṃ.} \]

which may be thus literally done into English:

Śṛ Harsha fifth, preeminent in arts of poetry,

Who on King Nala's neck let fall the wreath of victory—an appropriate reference to the Naishadha, which concludes with the description of Damayanti's Svayamvara.

F. S. GROWSE.

Mathur, May 11, 1873.

DISCOVERY OF DIES.

A Soni at Umreth, a town in the Kaira Zilla, was charged with receiving stolen property. The police in searching his house found four dies: two of them Muhammadan, impressions alone of which have been forwarded to us. They are from 0.98 to 1 inch in diameter. The legend on the obverse one, as read by Professor Blochmann, is—

\[ \text{Shāh 'Alam Pādishahi Gāzi;} \]

on the one for the reverse is

\[ \text{Struck in the year 48 of the auspicious accession.} \]

As Prof. Blochmann remarks, they represent "a coarse type of modern Shāh 'Alams as still struck by native princes, chiefly in Rajputana. As Shāh 'Alam was the last (historical) Moghul emperor, his name is continued on coins."

The other two when first found were so encrusted with rust and dirt, it was not clear there was any engraving on them, but a little washing and brushing revealed figures and legends. We are enabled to print these directly from the dies themselves.

They represent clumsy imitations of the impress on Venetian sequins. The legend round the Madonna ought to be—

\[ \text{REGIS \· ISTE \· DVCA \· SIT \· X\· PE \· DAT \· Q\· TV;} \]

That down behind the Apostle on the other side of genuine coins is—

\[ \text{S \· M \· YENET;} \]

And behind the 'Doge' ought to be his name: one before us reads 'PET \

Prof. Blochmann mentions a forged one in the Calcutta Mint cabinets reading IOAN \

* No allusion to this work can be traced in Mr. Beames' translation, who renders the line meaning simply 'who composed the chronicle of King Bhoja' by 'who firmly bound the dyke of threefold enjoyment.'
ine one having ΛΥΔΟΥ·ΜΑΝΙΝ· and the usual ἐν at the top of the staff.

The man in whose house these dies were found refuses to give any account of them: he says he was ignorant of their existence till the police rummaged them out. It appears probable that both pairs of dies have been cut for making counterfeit coin.—Eb.

PERSIAN STANZAS ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION.—No. III.

Translated by E. Rehatshek, M.C.E.
From the Memnawy of Jalal-al-dyn Ramy.—3rd Duftur.

The wisdom of the Lord by fate destined
To mutual love this family—mankind,
All beings must, obeying that command,
Reciprocal, as loving couples, stand;
Each couple in this world a pair must want
Exact as amber with a blade of grass.
The firmament salutes the earth beneath,
"I unto thee as iron to the magnet am!"
The sky is man, and earth his fitting spouse.
What's'er the sky throws off, the earth receives;
When she no heat possesses, he it sends,
When she no moisture has, dew he presents.
The spheric sign of earth will earth bestow,
The aqueous sign humidity will bring,
The sign of wind will fleeting clouds afford—
Absorbing noxious vapours of the land;
The element of fire will heat produce,
Which issues from the flaming disc—the sun.
The heaven still rotates for the earth—
Like the husband for his wife providing.
This earth a faithful housewife represents,
Who toiletth for the offspring she begat;
The Lord implanted love in man and wife,
This unison endues the world with life!

NĀGĀ MONUMENTS.

The Nāgās set up large stones on roads in and about their villages: these are often of great size, 10 to 12 feet high. This is done by individuals, when living, to perpetuate their own memory, and that of the feast that is given to all who take a part in carrying in and setting them up. These large stones are sometimes set up like a dolmen, supported below by three or more stones; but I never observed any slabs that were thus raised more than two feet or so. Some of the villages are very large—600 to 800 houses, and villages of 200 are common, and this number, I should say, was the average.—Major Godwin-Austin, in "Ocean Highways," May 1873.

Queries.

Two questions I should like to ask any of the readers of the Indian Antiquary possessed of the information:
1. What is the origin of the division into Right and Left hand Castes in South India? And can a list be had of each division?
2. Why do the Panchala wear the sacred thread like the Brahmans: what gave rise to the custom?

Tranquebar, 7th June 1873.
STORY OF RÂNÎ PINGLÂ.

BY MAJOR JOHN W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PAHLANPUR.

THE last sovereign of Chandrâvati of the Par-mar dynasty was named Hûn. One day Râja Hûn went to the forest to hunt, and there was a native Pârdhi also lying in wait for game. Shortly after a black cobra bit the Pârdhi, who died immediately from the effects of the bite. The Râja however sat still watching what might happen. After a little while, the wife of the Pârdhi came in search of her husband, and found him thus lying dead. She wept and bewailed him much, then collecting wood made a pile to burn the body: when the corpse was being burned she cut off pieces of her own flesh and threw them on the pile; finally she climbed on the pile and embracing her husband’s corpse became a sati. The King witnessed all this, and was struck with the devotion of the woman, and on his return home related the circumstances to his Queen, whose name was Râni Pinglå, the daughter of Râja Somachandra, and said to her that he had never seen or heard of a sati like the Pârdhi’s wife. Râni Pinglå replied that the woman hardly deserved to be called a sati, that she was simply a surmi, or a brave or desperate character, who had destroyed herself on the spur of the moment, and that a real sati was one who, on hearing even of her husband’s death, would bathe, put his turban on her bosom, and heave a sigh which would end in instant death, the soul escaping through an aperture caused by the bursting of the skull. The Râja rejoined that if there were any true sati in the world, it must be Râni Pinglå herself. From this the Queen considered within herself that the King might one day test her virtue as a sati. Some time after this occurrence, her spiritual preceptor, Guru Datâtriya, paid her a visit. Râni Pinglå implored him, saying, “Reverend Sir, give me such a thing that by virtue of it I may be enabled to know of the death of my husband, even though it should happen far away from Chandrâvati.” The Guru gave her a seed of the Ísso Pâl tree, and said, “Sow that in your chaok (yard), and in a short time it will grow into a plant. Whenever you wish to ascertain whether your husband be dead or alive, you should bathe, and then, approaching the plant, put the question to it; should your husband be alive, water will ooze out of its leaves; but if he be dead the leaves will wither and fall off.” Râni Pinglå received the seed with gratitude, and sowed it in her yard.

A few months after this, Râja Hûn left Chandrâvati to subdue a refractory Mehwâsi village, and determined to send from thence a false intimation of his death to the Râni to test her virtue as a sati. He desired his Sirdars to be the medium of this communication, but they all indignantly refused, saying that it would be a black deed. At last a Rabâri agreed to carry the tidings, and the King gave him his own turban to deliver to the Queen, desiring him to tell her at the last that the news was false. The Rabâri then mounted his camel and taking the king’s turban went to Chandrâvati. At this time Râni Pinglå and her maidens were in a balcony of the palace; the Queen saw the Rabâri afar off and intuitively felt that her death was near. She said to her maidens, “The day of my death has come.” Her maidens endeavoured to comfort her, but, she pointed to the camel now approaching nearer and nearer, and said, “There is the messenger of the fatal tidings.” Just then the Rabâri arrived, and began to call out, “Alas! Alas! Râja Hûn is slain!” He then handed over the King’s turban to one of the attendants for delivery to Râni Pinglå, to whom it was at once conveyed. Râni Pinglå wept bitterly, she then bathed and approached the Ísso Pâl plant and asked it whether her husband were alive or dead: water oozed out of the leaves, thereby satisfying her that Râja Hûn was alive. She however thought thus within herself: If I do not die, I shall lose the love of my husband, whereas if I become a sati, I shall not only reign with him in Svarga, but shall be re-united to him in my next birth on the earth; further, were I not to die, I should shame my father, Râja Somachandra. She then addressed the Ísso Pâl tree thus—

आशुष मदियम गयः
कणधा केमो लाभे माधुः
भवथो अभो न गयः
तो लक्ष्मी राजा शीत्यमरसः.
You forbid my death, O Ássô Pâl!  
But without dying how can I regain my beloved?  
If I die not when the time has come for death,  
Râja Somachandra will be shamed.  

So thinking, Râni Pinglâ determined to die,  
and putting her husband’s turban on her bosom embraced it, heaved a sigh, and immediately expired. The Rabâri, touched by the devotion of Râni Pinglâ, called out that the Râja was alive, and that his news was false, but it was too late, Râni Pinglâ having breathed her last. Her maidens now placed her corpse, still in death embracing her husband’s turban, on a magnificent funeral pile and set fire to it.  

Some time after the Rabâri had been despatched by the king, Râja Hûn repented of what he had done, and laying relays of swift horses galloped to Chandrâvati. As he drew near the city he saw the smoke of the pyre, and meeting a girl asked her what it was. The damsel replied as follows:—

The flames arising from the pyre glitter like gold,  
And the smoke assumes a silvery shade:  
Husband thy wife is burning,  
Whose house thou wast wont to frequent.  

On hearing this unexpected and heartrending news, the King was overwhelmed with grief, and, dismounting, commenced wandering round the pyre. His ministers and nobles endeavoured to comfort him but it availed nothing. Thus Râja Hûn remained for many days. One day Guru Gorakhnâth arrived at the place and said to Râja Hûn, “Why are you thus wandering in a shunshán” (place of cremation)? Râja Hûn replied that he had lost his incompa-rable wife Râni Pinglâ. Just then a dîbî or earthen waterpot of the Guru’s fell on the ground and broke, and the Guru commenced bitterly lamenting over its loss, and wandering round the place where the fragments had fallen, groaning and weeping. Râja Hûn was very much surprised at seeing so great a sage so much distressed at the loss of so trifling a thing as a waterpot, and thus addressed the Guru:—

“Mahârâj! I wander in this place because I have suffered an irreparable loss in the death of my virtuous Râni, but your loss consists simply of an earthen pot, which I can make good a thousand-fold.” The Guru replied that he also could in his turn restore the deceased Râni to life. The King was overjoyed at this, and the Guru sprinkled water over the ashes of the Queen. No sooner was this done, than twenty-five women appeared, all exactly resembling Râni Pinglâ. The Guru then desired Râja Hûn to recognize his wife and take her home. The King however was unable to do so, as all the women were exactly alike. The Guru then sprinkled water on them all, and all but the true Pinglâ disappeared. The King then said that he had now no wish to return to the world again, but that he earnestly desired to become Guru Gorakhnâth’s disciple. Guru Gorukhnâth endeavoured to dissuade the Râja from his purpose by contrasting the easy luxurious life of a king with the wandering life of an ascetic, but the Râja remained immoveable. The Guru then sprinkled water over Râni Pinglâ, who, after casting a reproachful glance at Râja Hûn from her beautiful eyes, disappeared, and Râja Hûn followed Gorukhnâth Guru as his faithful disciple.  

The tradition adds that the Parmâr dynasty of Chandrâvati ended with Râja Hûn. Chohan Sheshmâlji, seeing the country without a Râja and in a disorganized state, attacked Chandrâvati and plundered the city, annexing the Parmâr principality to his Pargana of Máwal.

LIST OF WEAPONS USED IN THE DAKHAN AND KHANDESH.

By W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S.

I. SPEARS.

Bhâla (M.)*: The long horseman’s-spear.  
Barchî (M.): Short pike used by footmen; generally has a spiked butt and long narrow square head, with no edge.  
Haldâ? (M.): A broad hunting-spear used by the Thâkûrs of the Sahyâdri hills.

II. SWORDS.

Surai (M.): The sword straight for two-thirds of its length, then curved.  
Âhir (M.): The curve commences from the grasp.  
Phirangi (M. lit. ‘The Portuguese’): A cut-and-thrust straight blade; either imported

* M. = Marâthî; H. = Hindustânî.
from Europe by the Portuguese, or else made in imitation of such imported swords. Generally it has three channelled grooves. Grant Duff and Meadows Taylor have both mentioned that the importation was considerable, and that Rāja Sivaji’s sword Bhacchini was a Genoa blade.*

**Pattā (H.)** : The long thin blade with gauntlet guard and grip at right angles to the blade; used by professional swordsmen.

The hilt (kabjā) of the first three varieties is often surmounted by a spur; useful both for guarding the arm, and for a grasp for the left hand in a two-handed stroke. The blades most esteemed are those of Lāhor, in the Panjāb.

### III. DAGGERS.

**Jambiya (H.)** : Originally introduced by the Arabs. Short, crooked at an angle, double-edged, with a central rib. Often silver-hilted and worn three in a sheath.

**Katār (M.)** : Has a cross grip and guard of two bars reaching halfway to the elbow; corresponds to the Pattā among swords. Is a common cognizance among Rājput and Marāthā families, and is, like the Pattā, originally a Hindū weapon.

**Mādò (M.)** : The stiletto of the Khāndesh Bhills and other wild tribes, also a favourite weapon with Hindū religious beggars. It consists of a pair of horns of the gazelle (chinkāra) set parallel, but with the steel-tipped points in opposite directions, and joined by two transverse bars. Is sometimes used in the left hand of a swordsman for guarding.

**Vin chū (M. ‘the scorpion’)** is a dagger, shaped something like one side of a pair of shears, and worn without a sheath, but concealed in the sleeve. I have one a foot long and double-edged; but the commonest form is not more than half that size, and is stiletto-bladed, i.e. has no edge.

**Chūrī (M.)** is the commonest native knife, with a knucklebone hilt, and slight curve in the edge; introduced by the Muhammadans. The Afgān knife and Turkish ataghan are of the same class.

**Wāgnak (M.)** is an Oriental version of the knuckle-duster, three or four steel claws on a frame, worn concealed between the fingers. This and the vinchū were used by Rāja Sivaji in the murder of the Bijāpur general Afsūl Khān.

There is a sort of brown-bill (Pār sī) used by village watchmen and Mawāsis in Khāndesh; the blade is usually about a foot long and three inches wide, and fastened by two straps of iron to a bamboo shaft five feet long.

I have seen the mace and war-axe only in the armouries of great men. The axe sometimes has a pistol-barrel in the shaft.

A common weapon among Hindustanis and Musalmāns is a long steel rod with three or four small rings sliding on it. These, slipping forward as the weapon descends, add force to the blow, which is far more severe than might be supposed from the slender appearance of the weapon. It is also a good guard against sword-cuts.

The bow (Kāmān, H.) is still used as a weapon of offence by the Khāndesh Bhills, and I have known men to be killed with it. It is of bamboo, with string of the same, and two or three spare strings are carried on the bow itself, half-strung and ready if the first should break. I do not think any other race in this Presidency uses the bow much; and even among the Bhills archery is out of fashion. At the Dhulia athletic sports of 1872, no passable archer could be brought forward from the Bhill Corps or villages around. They have a peculiar arrow for shooting fish, with a long one-barbed head which easily comes off the shaft, to which however it is attached by a coil of twine. The shaft floats and is recovered by the Bhill, who thereof bauls in his fish by the line. The arrows used for other game are made of bamboo about 25 inches long, with two feathers and a flat two-edged head about three inches long, set into the shaft (not on it, as with us), and secured with waxed thread. The well-known pellet-bow is used throughout Western India. I never knew poisoned arrows to be used, but once knew a sword to be poisoned with milk-bush.

The sling is, to the best of my knowledge, never used as a weapon; but devoted both in the Dakhan and Khāndesh to the scaring of birds from the fields.

Perhaps the most popular of all native weapons is the Lo hangī or Longī Kati, or iron-bound bamboo; especially affected by Rāmusis and village watchmen. I have one weighing six pounds, which was the property of a Koli dakhait called Bagunya Naik, who used to carry this in his left hand and a sheathless “pattā” in his right when “on service”; “and then he wouldn’t mind what four men said to him,” as my informant put it. Bagunya, however, disdained

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ordinarily to use either his right hand or his trenchant blade: but was content upon common occasions to rely on the club in his left, with which he actually knocked down two men in the affray that caused his final apprehension.

The matchlock is in common use throughout the Presidency, and, as far as I am aware, there is no variety in its appearance or mechanism, although some barrels are made of Damascus twist, and some are rifled. The bore is invariably small, and the bullets used are frequently of iron. The best I have seen belonged to the Raja Ratansing Jadurao of Malegaon, near Baramati, and were said to be Rumi.

INSCRIPTIONS ON A CANNON AT RANGPUR.

By G. H. Damant, B.C.S.

Amongst a number of old cannons lying in front of the kachari at Rangpur is one made of brass with a dragon's mouth carved at the muzzle; it bears two inscriptions, one in Persian and the other in Sanskrit, and has the word 'Bundoola' written on it in English characters. The Persian inscription is as follows:

"During the reign of the king of kings, protector of the world, Nuruddin Jahangir Badshah Gahi, when the Khwazad Khan Firoz Jang was Subadar, and Akhand Mouli Murshid was Minister, and Hakim Haidar Ali Darogha, and Pir Muhammad and Sri Harihardas Amins of Bengal, this cannon was made of Jahangirin brass in Jahangirnagar by Surmanath in the year 1021. The weight of the cannon with its carriage, by Jahangiri weight, is 619, 5113, t.t.t. The master of the ordnance was Sayyid Ahmad."

Jahangirnagar is either Gaur or Dhaka, most probably the latter. The figures given as the weight I cannot interpret, and should be glad of any information on the subject. The Sanskrit inscription is in Bengali characters of an old type, approaching the Devanagari, and is very much worn and difficult to make out, but Babu Rajendralal Mitra has kindly given me the following transliteration and translation:

"I, Sri Sri Svarga Narayana Deva, lord of Saubhara, Gadadhara Sisha, having conquered the Yavanas and destroyed the Turaks, obtained this in the Saka year 1604 = A.D. 1683."

He says Svarga Narayana Deva is a common title of the kings of Asam, and that Gadadhara was reigning in A.D. 1683.

The history of the gun appears to be—that it was made in Dhaka by the Mussalmans in the reign of Jahangir and placed in one of their frontier posts, Rangamatiya probably, from whence it was taken by the Asamese in A.D. 1683. Lastly the Burmese general Bundoola conquered Asam in 1822, and probably this gun was amongst his captures; and in 1825 Assam was recaptured by Colonel Richards, who took two hundred pieces of cannon from Rangpur, the capital of Assam: it must have been about this time that the word "Bundoola" was written on the gun. The gun was brought to the kachari in 1862, after the mutiny, when the zamindars were disarmed.

THE NALADIYAR.

By the Rev. F. J. Leeper, Tranquebar.

The Naladiyar is one of the few original works we have in Tamil. It contains altogether forty chapters, of ten stanzas each, on moral subjects.

The origin of the name is thus told in the introduction of Father Beschi's Shen Tamil Grammar:—"Eight thousand poets visited the
court of a certain prince, who, being a lover of the Muses, treated them with kindness and received them into favour; this excited the envy of the bards who already enjoyed the royal patronage, and in a short time they succeeded so completely in their attempt to prejudice their master against the new comers that the latter found it necessary to consult their safety by flight, and, without taking leave of their host, decamped in the dead of night. Previous to their departure each poet wrote a venba on a scroll, which he deposited under his pillow. When this was made known, the king, who still listened to the counsels of the envious poets, ordered the scrolls to be collected and thrown into a river, when four hundred of them were observed to ascend, for the space of four feet, maladi, against the stream. The king, moved by this miraculous occurrence, directed that these scrollsshould be preserved, and they were accordingly formed into a work, which from the foregoing circumstance received the name of Naladiyar." I append a few chapters as specimens of the work.

CHAPTER 1.—Unstable Wealth.

1. Even those who have eaten of every variety of food of six flavours laid before them by their wives with anxious attention, not taking a second portion from any dish, may yet be come poor and go and beg somewhere for pottage. Verily riches are but seeming, not to be considered as actually existing.

2. When by blameless means thou hast acquired great wealth, then eat with others rice imported by oxen, for wealth never remaineth in the centre with anyone, but changes its position like a cart-wheel.

3. Even those who have marched as generals, mounted on the back of an elephant and shaded by the umbrella, when the effect of evil deeds works its ruin, will suffer a change of state, and, while their wives are enjoyed by their foes, will fall for ever.

4. Understand that these things are unstable which thou deemest stable. Therefore do quickly the duties in thy power to perform if thou wouldst do them at all, for the days of life are gone, are gone, and even now death is come, is come.

5. Those who give alms at once without keeping it back, when anything, however small, has come into their hands, and do not say, Oh, this can be given hereafter, will escape from the forest path in which the cruel but just Yama drags those whom he has bound fast with the rope.

6. The day appointed passes not its bourne; there are none in this world who, escaping it and passing by, have leaped over death and lived. Be liberal, then, ye who have laid up abundant and exceeding wealth. Your funeral drum may beat to-morrow.

7. Death devours your days, using the sun from which they originate as the measure by which he metes them. Practise therefore virtue and be compassionate, for such as do not act thus, though they are born, must be esteemed as unborn.

8. Men of but small attainments in virtue, not considering their natural tendency, say, We are wealthy. The greatest wealth may be utterly destroyed and vanish, like a flash of lightning darting in the night from a thunder-cloud.

9. If a man will not eat sufficiently, will not dress becomingly, does nothing worthy of commendation, will not wipe away the distress of relatives, who are with difficulty to be obtained, and is not liberal, but keepshis wealth to himself, of such a one it must surely be supposed that he is lost.

10. They who, vexing their own bodies by stinting them into food and raiment, perform not acts of that goodly charity which never faileth, but avariciously hoard up what they have gathered together, will lose it all. O Lord of the mountain land which toucheth the sky! the bees which are driven from the honey they have collected bear witness.

CHAPTER 2.—Unstable Youth.

1. Those who are truly wise, mindful that grey hairs will come, have become ascetics in youth. Those who rejoice in unstable youth, never free from vice, leaning on a staff will rise up with difficulty.

2. The bonds of friendship are broken, wives have become cold in love, or few, the cords of love are loosened. 'Consider the matter well. What profit is there in the married state? Oh, it is come, the wail of distress, as when a ship founders!

3. Those foolish men who give themselves up to lust and cling to the marriage state until their body is an object of disgust to all, their teeth falling out, their gait unsteady, and com-
peled to lean for support on a staff, while they are indistinct in speech, walk not in the path of virtue, which is a fortress to its possessor.

4. To those men who conceive useless desires towards her who is ready to die, stooping, staggering, shaking her head, leaning on a staff and stumbling, shall trouble come; when the staff she holds in her hand becomes her mother's, that is, when she exchanges her own staff for her mother's, on account of age.

5. She who was my mother, having borne me in this world, had departed seeking a mother for herself; if this be the case also with her mother, one mother seeking after another mother, then is this world wretched indeed.

6. Unstable joy like that of a sheep, which when the fragrant garland, thick with leaves, is waved in front of it, in the hands of the priest in the horrid place where he exorcises devils, eats thereof as though it were fodder, such joy wise men have not.

7. Since the season of youth is like the ripe fruit, which being loosed falls from the trees in the cool grove, desire ye not greatly the damsel, saying she has eyes like a lance, for she will hereafter stoop in her gait and have to use a staff in lieu of her eyes.

8. How old are you? What is the state of your teeth? Do you eat twice a day? Thus with one question after another do they inquire about the state of the body. The wise, who understand its nature, care not about it.

9. Say not, We will look to virtue bye-and-bye, we are young; but do good while you have wealth, without concealing it. Not only does the ripe fruit which has come to maturity, but strong green fruit also falls down during a storm.

10. Truly relentless death wanders about seeking after men. Oh, take ye the shoulder wallet betimes and be ready. He even thrusts forth the fetus and takes away the child amidst the cries of its mother. So it is well always to remember his subtility.

Chapter 3.—The unstable body.

1. Even of the lords of the umbrella held over the head of the elephant, like the moon when seen over the hills, none are left in this world without its being proclaimed upon earth that they have died.

2. The orb of shining light rises as the measure of the day of life without one day's omission. Therefore perform your duty before the day of life be finished. No person will abide in the earth beyond it.

3. The mind of the excellent will urge them along the path of safety by the suggestion that the marriage drum that is beaten in their house may that very day become the funeral drum for the inmates and sound accordingly.

4. Once they go and beat the drum, they beat a little and beat it again; behold how brave it is. And in beating it the third time, they rise and cover up the corpse and take the funeral fire, the dying carrying the dead.

5. To him who though he has seen the relatives assemble together and with loud laments take the corpse and convey it to the burning-place, does nevertheless marry, and say to himself this is happiness, It is, It is the funeral drum speaking out in warning tones.

6. When the soul which carries the skin bag, i.e. the body, to experience joy and sorrow, and dwelling in it operates secretly but perfectly, has left the body, what does it matter whether it be dragged about with a rope, or be buried in some carefully selected place, or whether it be cast into any hole dug in the centre, or whether it is left to be contemned by all?

7. Who are they upon this wide world who can be compared with the men of profound wisdom, who look upon the body as nothing more than a thing which is like the bubbles caused by the falling rain, appearing for a moment and then vanishing; and who say, We are the persons who will remove this evil of births?

8. Let those who have got a vigorous body enjoy the benefit which is to be derived from it; for the body is like a cloud which quivers on the mountain—it appears for a time and almost directly vanishes.

9. Practise virtue even now, acknowledging the instability of the body, which is like the drop of dew on the point of grass; for it is daily said, This very moment he stood, he sat down, he reclined, and amidst the cries of relations he died.

10. Men come into the world unasked for, appear in the house as relations and quietly depart, as the bird which goes far off, its nest-tree being forsaken, leaving their body without saying a word to relatives.
CHAPTER 4.—The source of the power of virtue.

1. Those who, relying on penance done in a former birth, do not exercise penance now, will be greatly afflicted, for they shall stand at the threshold, not being allowed to enter, and looking in will say, How flourishing is this family! i.e. they shall be homeless.

2. Say not, foolish heart, While here let us pursue our interests and forget virtue; for although thou mayest live long and prosper, say, what wilt thou do when the days of thy life are past?

3. When the ignorant receives the fruit of former evil deeds, he sighs bitterly and grieves within himself. The wise, reflecting that it is the destined consequence of their sins, hasten to pass the limit of metempsychosis and to depart from it.

4. Having obtained a human body, so difficult of attainment, so act as to procure great merit by it, for in the next birth charity will profit thee as the juice of the sugarcane when pressed, while thy body will decay like the refuse cane.

5. Those who have pressed the cane and extracted the sugar will not be grieved when they see the flame arising from the refuse cane while burning; nor will they who have acquired the merit arising from the mortification of the body mourn when death approaches.

6. Think not whether it will be this day, or that day, or what day, but, reflecting that death even now stands behind thee, eschew evil, and as far as possible practise the good prescribed to thee by the excellent.

7. Since upon inquiry it will be found that the benefits that arise from being born in human shape are great and various, it is proper to practise virtue in order to obtain heavenly bliss, and to walk circumspectly, avoiding evil desires.

8. The seed of the banyan tree, though exceedingly small, grows into a large tree and affords abundant shade; in like manner, however small may be the benefit of a virtuous act, it covers as it were the face of heaven.

9. Although they daily see the passing away of days, yet they think not of it, and daily rejoice over the present day, as if it would last for ever, for they do not consider the past day to be one day added to the portion of their life that has expired.

10. Shall I put away the precious jewel of honour, and by the ignoble practice of mendicancy shall I live? I will do so if this body can endure permanently though fed by meanness.

CHAPTER 5.—The impure body.

1. Do they look on a perishable body, i.e. the wise? and are they loud in praise of woman’s beauty? If only a piece of skin, small as the wing of a fly, be grazed on the body, a stick will be required to drive away the crows.

2. Since the beauty of the body consists in a covering which hides its inward filth, a covering of skin in which are many orifices, encourage not these sensual desires which are excited by this external covering of the body, which hides its filth. It is proper to look upon it as the inside of a (dirty) bag.

3. The ancients noticing that by the process of eating, the body always emits a stench, and on account of this bundle of dry and worthless sticks, (i.e. the body), chewed betel, crowned the head with many flowers, and adorned the body with meretricious ornaments. Is the inward filth thereby done away with?

4. Shall I forsake asceticism because the senseless crowd would excite me, saying, Woman’s eye is like the lotus in clear water, the Gyal fish, and the battle-spear? I will conduct myself as one who sees that the nature of the eye is like a palmyra nut, from which the pulp has been taken and the water poured out.

5. Shall I forsake asceticism because foolish, vain, and despicable persons trouble me, saying foolish things about teeth white as pearls or the jessamine buds? No; I will conduct myself as if I saw the jawbone fallen from the head in the burning-ground, in the presence of all men.

6. Tell me what is the nature of the damsel adorned with cool garlands, who is composed of flesh and fat, which are placed in the skin with the sinews which bind together the bowels and marrow, the blood and the bones.

7. By reason of the beautiful skin causing it to appear lovely to the eye, and which is the external covering of the body, which is like a pot ejecting liquid feces and seething filth abominable, from nine orifices which oozc out with excrementitious matter, the foolish will say of this body, Oh, thou who hast wide shoulders! Oh, thou who art adorned with bracelets! &c. &c.

8. Have they not seen the powerful vulture,
both cock and hen, close to the carcass, overturning and pecking at the stinking vehicle, the axle (i.e. life) being broken—they who, not comprehending the true nature of the body, commend it because they see it adorned with sandal powder and garlands?

9. The skulls of the dead appearing with deep and hollow eyes, that alarm the minds of those who see them, look at the living and working, will abundantly testify and say, Stand in the way of virtue, this is the nature of the body.

10. The whitened skull of the dead will correct the faults of the proud, alarming and mocking at them. Those whose faults are corrected by seeing the skulls, acknowledge that such is the quality of the body; they will not therefore be anxious to hold themselves as things that have any real existence.

CHAPTER 6.—Asceticism.

1. Like as when a lamp is brought into a room darkness disappears, so sin cannot stand before the effects of former good deeds. And like as darkness approaches and spreads over the room when the oil in the lamp is decreasing, so when the effect of the good deeds is exhausted, the effect of evil deeds will take its place.

2. Those who are preëminent in learning, knowing that youth is unstable and that sickness, old age, and death are certainties, perform their duty now. There are no men so foolish as those, or fools so foolish as those who rave about the indestructible treatises of grammar and astrology.

3. Those who are greatly wise, seeing that, on careful examination, all such things as youth, complexion, form, dignity, and strength, are unstable, will without delay endeavour to save themselves by becoming ascetics.

4. The poor, though they endure many days’ affliction, will desire one day’s pleasure; the self-controlled, knowing the changeableness of domestic happiness, and having regard to its attendant misery, have renounced the domestic state.

5. Youth is gone in vain, and now old age with sickness comes. Therefore, oh my soul! take courage and rise up with me without hesitation—will thou not go? Let us walk in the way of asceticism or virtue.

6. Since it is a hard thing for a husband to part with his wife, though she may neither have borne children, nor have a good disposition,—therefore on account of the misery which matrimony causes, the wise have long ago called it kerdly,—that is, the thing to be eschewed.

7. Those earnest men who, when troubles hard to be borne and enough to prostrate the mind come upon them, to frustrate the austerities which they have resolutely undertaken, put them aside, and, confining themselves steadfastly, observe their rules, are ascetics indeed.

8. It is the duty of the excellent not only to forgive despite, but also to pity those who, on account of the despite they have done them, will in the next birth fall into the fire of hell.

9. He who has power to observe the rule of virtue which he has laid down, and to keep himself undisturbed by the five organs of sense from which arise lust and desire—or the body, mouth, nose, ears, and eyes—shall unfallingly obtain beatitude.

10. The mean, though they see afflictions come thronging upon them, never think of asceticism, and long only for gratification; but the excellent, though pleasures come crowding in upon them, having regard to their attendant miseries, cherish not the desire of any pleasure.

CHAPTER 7. Placidity.

1. Let the respectful honour, and let despising trampers trample: good is the freedom from abusive anger in those who know that all is as the treading of a fly upon their heads.

2. Will those renounce their precious life of indestructible excellence, not caring to preserve it when they find any cause of offence (or when their penance is hindered), who, not removing from the place in which they stand, are able perseveringly to complete their penance, even when they experience great reproach.

3. As the angry words which a man speaks, opening his mouth unguardedly, continually burn him, so those who possess that knowledge which arises from oral instruction and incessant search after truth will never be angry and utter burning words of fury.

4. The excellent will not be hot and angry when their inferiors oppose them and utter bad words. The base, turning it over in their minds will speak of it and chafe in the hearing of everybody in the place, and jump with rage and knock their heads against a post.

5. The self-control exhibited by youth is self-control indeed. Liberality manifested by one
who has no increasing riches is liberality that
is profitable for all things. The patience shown
by one who has the power and ability to op-
press others is patience indeed.

6. They who are noble will, in the sight of
all men, take patiently and regret the evil words
that issue from the mouth of the vulgar like
stones that are thrown, being influenced by the
consideration of their high birth, as the cobra
quickly closes its hood when ashes are thrown
upon it.

7. To be unresisting to those who would
oppose them as enemies, the wise call not in-
becility. When others have impatiently opposed
them and done them evil, it is good if they do
not evil in return.

8. The wrath of the vulgar will continue to
spread though it run on a long time; the anger
of the excellent in disposition will cool of itself,
like the heat of boiling water.

9. Having done them a kindness they mind
it not; do them never so much unkindness they
will do what is kind; but to do unjustly, even
through inadvertence, is not proper for those
who are born in a high family.

10. There are none here who, though they
see a dog snap angrily at them, will in return
snap at the dog again with their mouth. When
baseborn persons mischievously utter base things,
will the noble repeat such words with their
mouths in return?

(To be continued.)

TUMULI IN THE SALEM DISTRICT.

BY THE REV. MAURICE PHILLIPS, L.M.S.

A Report prepared for the Madras Government.

I. The Tumuli found in the Salem District
may be classified either according to their con-
tents, into—(1) Tumuli without bones and urns;
(2) Tumuli with urns but without bones; and
(3) Tumuli with bones and urns; or, according
to their internal structure, into—(1) Cromlechs
and (2) Cairns. Cromlechs* are those tumuli
the inside of which is formed by four perpendi-
cular stone slabs in the shape of a cist or a box.
Cairns are those which have no internal lining
of stone. They consist of two classes: (A)
Cairns in which large earthen urns baked in fire,
containing human bones, small urns, and orna-
ments, are found—which urns appear to have
been intended to incase the chamber instead of
perpendicular stones; and (B) Cairns whose
chambers have no artificial covering.

These classes of tumuli do not differ in gen-
eral outward appearance. They present themselves
to the eye as mounds of earth and small stones,
of various sizes, circular in shape, and often
surrounded with circles of large stones. They
measure from 3 to 20 feet in diameter and from
1 to 4 feet in height. Very often in the stone
circles, four large stones opposite the four points
are seen towering above the others; and in the
case of cromlechs the entrance is from the east.

After clearing away the mound and stones, it

* Cromlech is from the Keltic crom ‘crooked’ or curved, and lech a stone, “and therefore,” as Mr. Ferguson
observes, “wholly inapplicable to the monuments in question.” See his Rude Stone Monuments, p. 44. Conf. also
Capt. Mackenzie’s paper, ante, p. 7.—Ed.

is found generally, but not invariably, that the
mouth of the tumulus is covered with a stone
slab varying in size from 2 feet long by 2 feet
broad, and 4 inches thick, to 9 feet long, 6 feet
broad, and 14 inches thick. Forty men with
strong wooden levers failed to raise one of the
largest stones. Fire had to be kept under it for
hours till it broke, before it could be removed.

When the top-stone is removed the presence or
absence of the border formed by the edges of the
four perpendicular stones which form the cist,
shows whether it is a cromlech or a cairn. If a
cromlech, the fine sandy earth within the chamber
must be carefully removed till the flat-bottomed
stone appears, and if there be any objects in it
they will be found resting on that stone. The
chambers vary much in size. Some of them are
as small as 3 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet
depth; and others are as large as 5 feet long, 3½
feet wide, and 4 feet deep. Cromlechs generally
contain small urns and iron implements, but no
bones except very small pieces which appear
charred. If it be a cairn, then the dimensions
of the pit are shown either by the appearance
of the mouth of a large urn (Class A), or by
the difference between the earth with which the
pit is filled and that from which it is dug
(Class B). These large urns invariably contain
human bones and small vessels, and very often some iron implements and ornaments. I do not think that any one of them is large enough to contain the body of a full-grown man, though placed in a sitting posture, with the legs and thighs drawn up, and the head bent downwards between the knees, as is sometimes found in tumuli in Europe. If, therefore, full-grown men were buried in them, as probably they were,—for the small swords found in many of them lead us naturally to conclude that they must have been used by the deceased warrior,—I think the body must have been either cut up or partly burnt before interment. The position of the bones in layers, one upon the other, seems to indicate the same conclusion. Remnants of this mode of burying were visible 80 years ago among the Kukis, or the non-Aryan inhabitants of the mountainous districts to the east of Bengal, as stated in the 2nd vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*:—“When a Kuki dies, his kinsmen lay the body on a stage, and, kindling a fire under it, pierce it with a spit and dry it; when it is perfectly dried, they cover it with two or three folds of cloth, and, inclosing it in a little case within a chest, bury it underground.”

The interior of these cairns not being so accurately defined as that of the cromlechs, it is not always easy to ascertain exactly their dimensions. Speaking roughly, however, I should say that they vary in size in about the same proportions as the cromlechs. These are the most barren in results, though the most difficult to open. In some of them nothing is found, and in others only small urns with small bits of iron, the crumblings of some instruments, and small pieces of bones which look like the remnants of cremation.

II. The objects found in the tumuli may be distributed into four classes:—1, Pottery; 2, Human bones; 3, Ornaments; 4, Iron implements.

1. Pottery.—This consists of urns, vases, and other vessels of different shapes and sizes. The large urns already mentioned as found in Class A are so brittle that they invariably fall to pieces by their own weight as soon as the surrounding earth is removed, so that it has been impossible to procure one unbroken specimen. This, however, is not a great loss, for there is nothing about them curious or uncommon, either in shape, size, or colour. They very much resemble the large chattis or *sáls* now used by the Hindus to hold water or grain in their houses. Figures 1-11 and 14-29 represent all the different kinds of vessels which I have seen. And though many were destroyed by the workmen’s tools, and dozens crumbled to dust when exposed to light and air, yet I am confident that they did not differ materially from those which I have procured. There was nothing found in these vessels except fine sandy earth or ashes, which, in most cases, had become a hard mass, so that it was necessary to soak it in water for some time before it would dissolve. Some vessels are red and some black; some are red inside and black outside, and *vice versa*. Some have a glossy surface as if they had been glazed, and, as I believe such a phenomenon as glazed pottery has not yet been discovered in ancient cairns and cromlechs, I sent a few specimens to Dr. Hunter, of the School of Arts, Māras, and asked his opinion. He replied—“The surface is not glazed, but is merely polished by rubbing it with the juice of *Tuthi*, or *Abutilon Indicum*, a mucilaginous juice, somewhat like gum, that is used by the natives at the present day to give a gloss to black earthenware. The surface can be scratched with a knife, though it resists water. After rubbing the surface with the juice, the vessel is again fired and a species of smear is thus produced which resists acids and water, but if you examine the broken edge of the vessels, you will find that there is no thickness of glaze, either outside or inside.”

“Another method of producing a smear is in use in India, viz. rubbing the vessel with mica ground in water and exposing it to heat.”

2. Human bones.—These consist of skulls, teeth, thigh, shin, arm and other bones. These are invariably found in Class A. The bits of decayed bones occasionally found in Class B and the cromlechs are so insignificant that I cannot identify them with any part of the human skeleton. I cannot account for the existence of human bones largely in this class of tumuli, and their comparative non-existence in the other classes, except on the supposition either that the large urns are better adapted to preserve them than stones or earth, or that this class is of a later age and indicates a different mode of sepulture.

3. Ornaments.—These consist of round and oval beads of different sizes and colour, which
must have been worn by women as necklaces and bracelets. Dr. Hunter makes the following remarks respecting them:—"The beads are very interesting; they are made of carnelian ornamented with a pure white enamel of considerable thickness, which has been let into the stone by grinding the pattern, filling in probably with oxide of tin and exposing the stone to heat. The enamel is very hard, cannot be touched with a knife, and is not acted upon by strong nitric acid. The small beads are made of white carnelian and ice-spar, a glossy felspar used by the natives to imitate diamonds... They are in a better style than most of the beads I have seen from tumuli." Besides these, a few were found made of quartz and of some dark-green stone. Figures 12 and 13 show the beads.

4. Iron implements.—These, consisting chiefly of knives or short swords, and measuring from 1 foot to 2½ inches, are in such a crumbling state that I have been able to procure only one unbroken. All the others have had to be gathered in pieces and stuck together on boards with strong cement. Figures 30–32 represent these. Some pieces of iron which appear to have been spear-heads, and some other things, have also been found, but in consequence of their broken condition I cannot pronounce positively what they were.

III. In discussing the difficult question "How old are the tumuli?" it is necessary in the first place to glance at the results already achieved by antiquaries in Europe. The northern countries of Europe—Denmark, Sweden, and Norway—are particularly full of these ancient burial-places; and they have received the most careful attention from the northern antiquaries, by whom they have been divided, according to their contents, into three classes—(1) Tumuli of the Stone period; (2) Tumuli of the Bronze period; and (3) Tumuli of the Iron period. Those of the Stone period are considered the oldest. They are often of great size, and are "peculiarly distinguished by their important circles of stones and large stone chambers, in which are found the remains of unburnt bodies, together with objects of stone and amber." This period represents the lowest state of civilization—a state before the introduction of metals, when arms and implements consisted of spear-heads of flint, and arrow-heads of flint or bone. The tumuli of the Bronze period contain relics of burnt bodies, vessels of clay, and implements and ornaments of bronze; and so show the people in a more advanced state of civilization than the preceding. The tumuli of the Iron period are the most recent.* They show the people in a comparatively advanced state of civilization. Iron swords, knives, and spear-heads, highly polished vessels and trinkets of gold, silver, and precious stones are found in them. Some of them also contain sculptures and inscriptions.

Now it will be readily seen that all the tumuli in the Salem District belong to the last or Iron period.

It is a striking fact that tumuli are found in almost every part of the world. Besides the countries already mentioned, they are found in Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, Siberia, America, and the north of India. In Europe, tumuli belonging to each of these three periods are common. But in the south of India I believe that only those of the third period are found.† I am not sure—not having seen Capt. Meadows Taylor's book—whether any of the tumuli in the north belong to any of the earlier periods, but I think not.

The question now is reduced to this:—What is the probable age of the last or Iron period? I confess candidly, at the outset, that this question is enveloped in much darkness, and that, with the present data, nothing more can be done than to fix proximately the time when the Iron period ceased in Europe, and then, reasoning by analogy, to fix conjecturally the time when it ceased in India.

The earliest account of tumuli we have is in the Iliad. Homer in his account of the funeral of Patroclus describes in glowing terms how the body of the warrior was left burning during the night, and the embers quenched with wine at the dawn; how the ashes were then inclosed in an urn, placed near the centre of the place occupied by the pyre, which was surrounded by an artificial substructure; and how the loose earth was heaped above it so as to form a mound.

* But on this theory see Ferguson's Rude Stone Monuments, pp. 9, 10, 19, et passim. —Ed.
† Bronze vessels and ornaments have been found in tumuli on the Nilgiri Hills, but as iron implements were found with them, they do not define a Bronze age, but rather the transition from the Bronze to the Iron age.
The prophet Ezekiel (B.C. 587) alludes to the same custom of burial when foretelling the fall of Meshech and Tubal and all her multitude. He says (chap. xxxii. 27)—"They are all gone down to hell"—or Hades, which here probably means the grave—"with their weapons of war; and they have laid their swords under their heads." These were the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Caucasus mountains and the Black Sea, and were probably the Skythians of Herodotus.

Tacitus, who lived in the first century A.D., from whom we have the first satisfactory account of the Germans, observes that their funerals were distinguished by no empty pomp. "The bodies of illustrious men were consumed with a particular kind of wood, but the funeral pile was neither strewed with costly garments nor enriched with fragrant spices. The arms of the deceased were committed to the flames, and sometimes even his horse. A mound of earth was then raised to his memory, as a better sepulchre than those elaborate structures which, while they indicate the weakness of human vanity, are at best but a burden to the dead."

It is reasonably conjectured that this mode of sepulture gradually disappeared in Europe before the progress of Christianity, which introduced the practice of burying the dead unburnt and unaccompanied by any such superstition as that of depositing certain articles with the deceased. In that case the ancient mode of sepulture must have disappeared in Europe about the ninth or tenth century A.D.

It is reasonable to suppose also that the inhabitants of Central and Northern Asia were induced to give up the same practice through the influence of Muhammadanism, which, equally with Christianity, imposes the simple method of burying the dead. On this supposition the ancient mode of sepulture must have disappeared among the Mongols, Tatars, and others about the twelfth or thirteenth century.

It is evident from the most ancient records, viz. the Pentateuch, that the Semitic races have from the earliest periods observed the custom of burying their dead unburnt and unmaimed. And as the Jews and the Arabs, two cognate branches of the same family, were the pioneers of both Christianity and Muhammadanism, they imposed their own simple method of burying the dead on the nations who embraced those religions.

We may safely conclude, therefore, that before the mighty influence of Christianity and Muhammadanism, the Skythian mode of sepulture disappeared in Europe altogether, and in Asia to a great extent.

Now, in applying the same mode of reasoning to the tumuli found in India, we must inquire whether any external influence has been brought to bear on the aboriginal inhabitants, similar in its power to the influence of Christianity and Muhammadanism on other nations, before which we may reasonably conclude that the ancient religion and practices of the people disappeared.

It is well known that the Aryans came to India at a very early period, probably about B.C. 1600; and that on their arrival they were opposed by the aboriginal inhabitants, whom they denominated Mlechhas, Rākshasas, Dasyus, and Nishadas, a people who were wholly different from themselves in colour, language, and customs.

It is evident from the Vedas, Manu, and the Purānas, that the Aryans have, as a general rule, always burnt their dead. The ashes are sometimes gathered and thrown into a running stream, or, in the case of distinguished persons, they are occasionally placed in an urn and buried, but without any tumuli or stone circles.

The conclusion, then, is inevitable, that the practice of burying the dead in tumuli must have been observed by the pre-Aryan inhabitants, who in the north disputed every inch of land with their conquerors. These aborigines were so completely subdued that they adopted even the language of the dominant race. There is nothing now to distinguish them from their Aryan masters, except the low social position assigned to them, and a few un-Sanskrit words in the Prakrits, or languages derived from Sanskrit which are now prevalent in the north of India. Those few words, however, show that they are the remnants of the great Skythian or Turanian group of languages, and hence that the aboriginal inhabitants who spoke them were different altogether from the Aryans.

It is easy, then, to see how completely the ancient customs of the primitive inhabitants would cease before the mighty influence of Brahmianism, and to such influence I attribute the cessation of the custom of burying in tumuli in the north.
FROM TUMULI IN SALEM DISTRICT

1. Round flat dish
2. Cone-shaped vessel
3. Wide-mouthed pot
4. Pyramid-shaped object
5. Jar with rounded top
6. Bowl
7. Double-handled vessel
8. Pot with a wide opening
9. Vessel with a flat base
10. Spherical vessel
11. Flared-mouthed pot
12. Fragmented image
13. Beaded necklace
But the Aryans never conquered the south by force; hence they neither denationalized the people nor changed their languages. They conquered the south, however, by the influence of higher civilization and superior knowledge. Aryan civilization was probably introduced into the Dakhan about the sixth or seventh century B.C. In the time of Rāma, it is stated in the Tāmāyana, that during his expedition to the south he met holy Rishis here and there among the savages, by which it is supposed that he met Aryan Missionaries from the north, dwelling among the aboriginal inhabitants of the south. About the commencement of the Christian era, Aryan influence had spread extensively in the south. The Pândya kingdom of Madurá, which was established on Aryan principles, was then well known even in Europe. It is reasonable, then, to suppose that before such influence the religion and primitive customs of the aboriginal inhabitants would sooner or later disappear. Then it must be remembered that during the following thirteen centuries there were other influences at work more aggressive for a time than Brahmanism, and which must have stimulated the Brahmans greatly, not only to maintain, but to extend their own influence. Buddhism became the national religion of the north by public edicts in the time of Aśoka, about 250 B.C. Buddhist Missionaries came to the south probably before that time, and it seems pretty evident that up to the seventh century A.D. Buddhism gained considerable influence in the south. The Buddhists burnt their dead, like the Brahmans.*

Then from the sixth or seventh to the twelfth century A.D. Jainism made wonderful progress, and seems to have been the predominant religion at one time. The Jains also practised cremation, like the Brahmans and Buddhists. In the twelfth century there was a reaction against Jainism and in favour of Brahmanism. The Jains were finally expelled from the Pândya kingdom, and the Brahmans firmly established their influence, which has continued down to the present day.

Under the influence of the rival reformers Śāṅkarāchārya and Rāmānuja Achārya, the whole of the inhabitants of the south became gradually absorbed in Saivaisnism and Vaishnavism.

About this time, then, I am inclined to place the total disappearance of the ancient customs of the pre-Aryan Dravidians, and, of course, the custom of burying in cairns and cromlechs. In remote and isolated places where Brahmanical influence did not freely penetrate, the ancient custom of burying in tumuli probably continued till a very late period. In the tumuli found on the Nilgiri Hills there are rude sculptures and inscriptions both in Tamil and Kanarese.

According to Dr. Caldwell, the eighth or ninth century A.D. is the earliest date to which any extant Tamil composition can be safely attributed. The Tamil letters used in those inscriptions are not of the oldest type, but the more modern. Judging from a specimen I saw in the corner of a photograph, I should conclude that they differ but little from the characters now in use. Photographs of the whole inscriptions, I hear, have been sent to Germany to be deciphered, and I doubt not that when published and translated, it will be found that they cannot be much earlier than the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D.

To sum up, then, I conclude that the tumuli were the burial-places of the non-Aryan aboriginal inhabitants of the south, who are now represented by the Dravidians, and who, like the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the north, are proved by their language to have belonged to the same branch of the human family as the Turanians; that their ancient customs and religion disappeared before the combined influence of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism, precisely in the same way as the ancient customs of the Teutons, Celts, Latins, and Slavs disappeared in Europe before the influence of Christianity, or the ancient customs of the Sāthanians of Central Asia disappeared before the influence of Muhammadanism. If this theory be correct, I do not think that any tumuli in the plains of India are later than the thirteenth century A.D., and on the Nilgiri Hills probably none are later than the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D.

The natives know nothing about the tumuli, and according to Dr. Caldwell there is no tradition respecting them either in Sanskrit literature or in that of the Dravidian languages.

"The Tamil people call them Pându-kuiris. Kuri' means a pit or grave, and 'Pându

--- Ed.

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But the Buddhists buried the ashes and relics in tombs.---Ed.
denotes anything connected with the Pândus, or Pândava brothers, to whom all over India ancient mysterious structures are generally attributed. To call anything 'a work of the Pândus' is equivalent to terming it 'Cyclopean' in Greece, 'a work of the Picts' in Scotland, or a work of Nimrod' in Asiatic Turkey; and it means only that the structure to which the name is applied was erected in some remote age, by a people of whom nothing is now known. When the Tamil people are asked by whom were these Pându-kuris built and used, they sometimes reply, 'by the people who lived here long ago'; but they are unable to tell whether those people were their own ancestors or a foreign race, and also why and when these kuris ceased to be used. The answer which is sometimes given is that the people who built the cairns were a race of dwarfs who lived long ago, and who were only a span or a cubit high, but were possessed of the strength of giants."

The almost total absence of traditional knowledge respecting the origin and use of the tumuli is a strong presumptive evidence that they cannot be later, but may be much older, than the time fixed above.

IV. The bones found in the tumuli prove beyond a doubt that the people buried in them were neither dwarfs nor giants, but men of ordinary stature. And the large stone slabs lining the interior and placed on the top of the tumuli, which in most cases must have been cut from the solid rock and carried from some distance, prove that the people physically were equal to the present race of men.

The objects found in the tumuli represent the people in a comparatively advanced state of civilization. They required and made earthen vessels for culinary and domestic purposes. And those vessels show considerable ingenuity in the art of pottery. They are not only all tastefully designed and well baked in fire, but some of them are ornamented with transverse lines and highly polished. The people were acquainted with the value and use of metals. The small swords are elegantly designed and well wrought. And so are the knives, razors, and gold and bronze ornaments found in tumuli on the Nilgiri Hills. They made and wore necklaces and bracelets of precious stones ornamented with what appears to be oxide of tin. The most recent tumuli contain rude sculptures and inscriptions, which show that the people were acquainted with reading and writing.

The great care and trouble with which the tumuli were prepared as receptacles for the dead, manifest a tenderness of feeling and reverence for the departed which can only be expected in an intelligent and civilized people. Reverence for the dead can only arise from a strong manly affection for the living, which reverence and affection diminish in intensity as people descend in the scale of civilization, till they become almost extinct in the savage.

Whatever the religious tenets of the people were, it is pretty certain that they firmly believed that human existence is not bounded by the tomb; for no reasonable cause can be assigned for the practice of depositing various objects with the dead but a firm belief in a future state, where they supposed that such objects would be required. Their conception of the future world was cast in the mould of the present; and hence they believed that whatever is necessary, useful, and ornamental in this world would be equally so in the next—the warrior would require his sword, the husbandman his agricultural implements, and the lady her ornaments. This conception of the future is neither the transmigration of the Brahmans nor the nirvāna of the Buddhists, and hence forms another link in the chain of evidence that the people who used the tumuli were neither the one nor the other, but anterior to both.*

Salem, November 20th, 1872.

* Possibly co-ordinate with both: for, as Mr. Fergusson remarks, "The Bluii, the Kol, the Gond, the Toda, and other tribes remain as they were, and practise their own rites and follow the customs of their forefathers as if the stranger had never come among them." Rude Stone Monuments, p. 459. See also ante, p. 10.—Ed.
NOTES AND LEGENDS CONNECTED WITH ANIMALS.

II—BIRDS, &c.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S. KHÂNDÉSH.

In former days the Hoopoe (Upupa epops) had a crown of gold, for the value of which it was sore persecuted by men. Therefore the Hoopoe went to Solomon, the son of David, who understood the language of all creatures, and besought him to intercede with the Most High that its crown might be of feathers, which was granted. This story is Spanish, but appears to me to be of Muhammadan origin. Is any reader of the Antiquary acquainted with it in a Musalman form, or with the somewhat similar belief that the Fähta (Turtur humilis) owes the reddish-brown colour of its breast to the stain of the blood of the Prophet's son-in-law 'Alif? In Khândesh, the beak of the slate-coloured Hornbill (called Dhuncherí) is considered a remedy for rheumatism. It is powdered and taken internally. I once saw the bones of a panther's foot, much rubbed and worn, hanging in the Mâmlatdâr's Kacheri at Sâsur, in the Purâ collectorate, and found, on inquiry, that for skin diseases, water in which the scrapings of these bones is mixed, is considered a specific. The panther's paw, accordingly, was kept in the office, along with the Government stores of ammonia and quinine. A ring made of the scale of the Pangolin (called by natives Kaul-mânjar or scaly-cat, and by Europeans, incorrectly, an ant-eater) is a protection against poison if worn on the finger. When the hand wearing such a ring is dipped into the dish all the poisoned food immediately turns green. The same scales, worn in the turban, are a protection against evil spirits of all sorts.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.


This part of the Journal contains the following papers:—

1. Extracts from a Memoir left by the Dutch Governor Thomas Van Rhee to his successor, Governor Gorti de Heere, 1677—translated from the Dutch by R. A. Van Cuylenberg. Governor Van Rhee begins by pointing out "how many castles, forts, fortresses, and fastnesses the Honourable Company" had then possession of. They were—"The fortress of Calpitty, 21 Dutch miles north of Colombo. The fortress of Negombo, 5 Dutch miles south of Colombo. The fort of Caltura, 8 Dutch miles south of Colombo. The fort of Auguratotta, 5 miles inland from Caltura. The fort of Hangwella, in the Hewagâm Korle. The fort of Malwana, four hours' walk east of Colombo. The castle and island of Jaffnapatam. Mannar with other forts. The fort of Arripo. The fortified town of Galle, and the fortress of Matura. The Logie of Tutucoryn. The fortresses of Trincomali and of Batticaloa, on the east coast. The eight islands—Carredive, now also called Amsterdam, Pangeredive or Middleburg, Anucole or Rotterdam, Neynadive or Haarlem, Tannidive or Leyden, Perrendive or Illadvaka called Delft, also Hooren and Eukheuvens." He then goes on to say "the several sources of revenue and advantages derived by the Honourable Company under their government are: the peeling of cinnamon, the capture of elephants, the arrack, cloth, and salt trade; the tolls and rights of the Company's domains, which are yearly rented out, agriculture, the Chank and pearl fisheries." Next come the inhabitants, consisting of "forty different classes of people, who are subject to perform certain services, and to pay several petty taxes to Government, in addition to the payment of land rents and the tenth of their lands, trees, houses, and gardens." They are:—The Bellales (Vellaler), the most numerous of all the classes; the Chiandas (Sandar), comprising but a very small number; the Tamakees (Tanaikkaran); the Parandees (Parateikal); the Madapallys (Madappali) are bound to work for the Government twelve days in the year, and to pay two fanams as poll-taxes, and one fanam as 'adegariye.' The Madapallys (Madappali) are also employed among the heathen to assist the Brahmins in the preparation of their meals. The Malcales Agambaduys (Malaiyala Akampadis) are bound to serve the Government twelve days in the year, and to pay two fanams as poll-tax. The Fishers—consisting of six different classes, viz: Carreas (Karaiyar), Paruwas (Parayar), Kaddes (Kadaiyar), Mechaes (Mukkuvar), Chimbalawes (Sampadavar), and Tummulas (Tumilar)—are required to serve as sailors twelve days in the year on board the vessels belonging to the Government. The Moors pay 10 fanams, and assist in hauling
up boats and counting copper money; the Cheteys
6 fanams, and help to count coin; the Silversmiths
3½ fanams, and decorate houses; the Washers
6 fanams and decorate houses; the Weavers
7½ fanams; the Parreas 6 fanams; the Christian Car
penters and Smiths 4 fanams; the Heathen Car
penters and Smiths 5 fanams; the Dyers 6 fanams and
dye cloth; the Oil makers 6 fanams; the Chivias
(Siligar) 2 fanams and carry palanquins; the
Brass-founders 2 fanams and work in copper; the
Weavers 73(Sitiyar) 2 fanams and carry palanquins; the
Masons 2 fanams each; the Tailors 2 fanams and
decorate houses; the Painters and Barbers 2
fanams; the Maruas 2 fanams and serve as Las
coryns; the Dancers pay 2 fanams and hunt
curries; the Walleas pay 2 fanams and hunt
hares for the Company.

"The poll-tax, land-rents, 'Adargy' office money,
&c., according to the statement made out
on the 1st September last, amounts to the sum
of Rs. 31,640.

"Having thus shown into how many castes the
people of Jaffnapatam are divided, and what each
is bound to perform on behalf of the Company,
I think it necessary to state that a bitter and
irreconcilable hatred has always existed in Jaff
napatam between the castes of the Bellales
be elevated in rank and the offices of honour one
above the other. For this reason the two writers
of the Commander are taken from these two castes,
"So that one of them is a Bellale and the other a
per. Mr. Capper states that, "owing to local cir-
cumstances, the failure of a harvest in Ceylon means
"Something more than dear food; its signification want
"The fact that in nine cases out of ten the paddy
cultivator has no other occupation, possesses no
means of barter, and when his crop fails he is
obliged to ward off starvation, to sell his cattle,
and then his fields.

2. The Food Statistics of Ceylon, by John Cap-
pier. Mr. Capper states that, "owing to local cir-
cumstances, the failure of a harvest in Ceylon means
something more than dear food; it signifies want
too often bordering on starvation, from the simple
fact that in nine cases out of ten the paddy
cultivator has no other occupation, possesses no
means of barter, and when his crop fails he is
obliged to ward off starvation, to sell his cattle,
and then his fields.

3. Specimens of Sinhalese Proverbs, by L. de
Zoysa—a continuation of the list given in the Jour-
nal for 1870-71 (See Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 59): the
following are specimens,— Like squeezing lime-
juice into the sea,' said of attempting great things
with ridiculously inadequate means. ‘Though
you eat beef, why should you eat it hanging
round your neck— if you will indulge in forbid-
den pleasures, there is no reason for doing so in
an open and scandalous manner. ‘A bush near
is better than a fine building at a distance.' 'The
man who left his country because he was not
permitted to speak, found in the country where
he arrived that he was not allowed even to make
a sign.' 'Like the tongue in the midst of thirty
teeth,— maintaining one's position though sur-
rounded by difficulties. There is a story of a
man who went to the king to complain of the tax
on sesamum oil, but he was so confused in the
royal presence, that when the king demanded to
know what he wanted, he said that he came to
request that a tax might be imposed on the refuse
(muruwařit) of the sesamum seed: this has given
to the saying 'Like what happened to him
who went to get the tax on oil removed, and had
to pay tax on muruwařit also.' ‘Like the man who
described the taste of sugar-candy—is a saying
founded on a story which has been omitted in the
paper: it is said a man describing the taste of
sugar-candy was asked whether he had ever tasted
it. ‘No,' he replied, 'I had heard it from my
brother,' and when questioned as to whether his
brother had tasted it, his reply was 'No, he had
heard of the taste of it from somebody else!'

4. On Paragi, by Dr. Boake: a short paper on
the treatment of Parangi Leda— the loathsome
disease,— believed to be hereditary.

5. Text and Translation of a Rock Inscription
at the Buddhist temple at Kelaniga, by L. de
Zoysa, Mudaliyar. The inscription is on a stone
slab, and contains an account of the repairs
executed in this temple by King Parākrama Bālu,
who reigned (according to Turnour) between A. D.
1505-1527 (A. H. 2048-2070), at Jayawardhanapura,
now called Kūte, near Colombo. The translation
is as follows:—

"On the eleventh day of the bright half of the
month of Nuwan,* (February–March) in the 19th
year of the reign of his imperial majesty Śri
Sangabodhi Śri Parākrama Bālu, the paramount
lord of the three Sinhalas, † sovereign lord of other
Rājas, on whose lotus-sect rested bees-of-gems in
the crowns of kings of the surrounding (countries);
whose fame was as bright as the beams of
the moon, who was adorned by many noble and
heroic qualities resembling so many gems, who
was an immaculate embryo Buddha, and who
ascended the throne of Lañka in the 2051st year
of the era of the omniscient Gautama Buddha,
the prosperous, majestic, sovereign lord of Dhar-
ma, who gladdens the three worlds, who is a
tiloka ‡ ornament to the royal race of the Śākyas,
and who is the sun of the universe, and the giver
of the undying Nirvāṇa.

* Nuwan on the stone. Probably a mistake of the en-
graver, for Nuwan noha.
† Lit. " the three Ceylons," or " Three-fold Ceylon" ; in

referred to the ancient divisions of Ceylon, Pithiti, Mayā,
and Echunu.
‡ A forehead ornament. A title implying pre-emminence.
in the Vihāra, conferred on the work thoroughly, (the King) thinking to the chief officer of the royal revenue, and assigned the task of accomplishing the work with a Sandakadapahana (a semicircular stone serving as a stepping-stone) on the east; thoroughly rebuilt the Sandalihā image-house, the Nagulimageya and the eastern gate of the same monastery and its flight of stone-steps, the minor Trīvanka house, the Talkatarageya, the latrine common to the priesthood, and the east gate; repaired breaches and injuries, &c., of the Pasamahilaya, Selapiśimagaya, Siwurudageya, &c., and repaired various other breaches, and other works in the Vihāra. And after having accomplished this work thoroughly, (the King) thinking it desirable that His Majesty's royal name should be perpetuated in this Vihāra, conferred the execution of the plastering of the Chaitya and other necessary repairs and works; built a parapet wall of granite sixty cubits (in length) on the north, constructed a flight of steps with a Sandakadapahana (a semicircular stone serving as a stepping-stone) on the east; thoroughly rebuilt the Sandalihā image-house, the Nagulimageya and the eastern gate of the same monastery and its flight of stone-steps, the minor Trīvanka house, the Talkatarageya, the latrine common to the priesthood, and the east gate; repaired breaches and injuries, &c., of the Pasamahilaya, Selapiśimagaya, Siwurudageya, &c., and repaired various other breaches, and other works in the Vihāra. 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In obedience to the command delivered by His Majesty, sitting on the throne at the royal palace of Jayawardhan Koṭṭe, in the midst of the Medali saru (nobles), that a writing on stone should be made in order that kings and ministers in future ages might acquire merit by preserving and improving this work, I, Sanhas Teruvarahan Perumal, have written and granted this writing on stone.

The boundaries to Rājamahā Kelaniya are—Watagala, Malsantota, Kulpā Mābolā, Galvalutoṭa, Gongitotā, Gоṭarabgala Galpotta, the stone pillar at Gonasēna, including the Uruboruwa Liyedda, the canal Rammudu Ela, the Kessakethāgala, the Watagala, Esalaqlaluwa, the inside (?) of Pasuru-
disturbed in the early part by the competition of his brothers, whom he succeeded in reducing to submission."

7. *On an Inscription at Dondra, No. II.*, by J. W. Rhys Davids, C.C.S. This inscription has already been given in this Journal (I. A. vol. I. pp. 329-331), and Mr. Davids now reads the first sentence—"In the 10th year of the Overlord Siri Sangha Bodhi Sri Parākrama Bāhu, a cocoanut tope, bought for money, (near) to the Bhūmi-mahā-wihāra, to the image-house, and 200 cocoanut trees to the Lord Dewa Rāja (Vishnu)." And in addition to the citations formerly given for assigning the inscription to Sulu Siri Sanga Bo, he adds from the "Rājawali—"

Oka bona Sri Sanga Bo rāja Siyāgal vēhēra kovarē Dewa nuwara kovarē Dewa-rāja sangayen solos avunuddak rajjya kēla. Which Upham (vol. II. p. 248) translates:—"He was succeeded by his nephew, whose name was Sri Sangha Bo Rāja, which king caused to be built the dagoba of Siignal, and the city Dewa Nuwara; and, through the assistance of Vishnu reigned for the space of 16 years."

To this Mr. Davids adds the following:—

Translation from the Mahāvahā, Ch. 46.

1. After the death of Hatthadiśa, Agra Bodhi, the eldest son of the king, also called Sri Sangha Bodhi, became king. 2. He was a righteous king, full of insight, and did innumerable acts of merit. 3. He superintended the maintenance of the priests of the three sects, preserved the canon of scripture, and forbade slaughter. 4. He gave offices impartially, according to merit, and favoured those who by birth or learning were worthy of favour. 5. Wherever he saw priests, he, the high-minded, did them honour and asked them to say the liturgy (parit) or talk of religion. 6. He studied under the wise, virtuous, and learned priest Dāthāsiva of Nāgasāla monastery. 7. And there, having thoroughly heard the teaching of the all-wise one, being perfected in religion, he became a doer of all gentle deeds. 8. Having heard a discussion between priestesses who (previous to their putting on the robes) were related to him, he quite turned away his favour from those who were wicked heretics. 9. He restored broken monasteries and parivenas to their former state. 10. He restored alms fallen into abeyance, and gave slaves to the priesthood according to the necessities of each (sacred) place. 11. He made a splendid house for that priest, called after his name; which, having received, he, the high-minded one, gave to the priesthood. 12. And the king gave to him villages for his maintenance, Bha-ruttāla and Kihimbila, and Kataka and Tulādhāra. 13. And Andhakāra, and Attureli, and Bālava, and Dvāranāyaka, and Mahānikatthika, and Pela-hāla also. 14. These villages and others he, the lord of men, gave for maintenance, and he gave servants also of those related to himself. 15. Then, either seeing or hearing that monasteries of both sects were poorly provided for, he gave many villages for their maintenance. 16. But what is the use of much speaking? to the three sects he gave a thousand villages, fruitful ones and undisputed. 17. And following the three gems in the highest virtue, he took a necklace and turned it into a rosary. 18. So in every way he followed after religion; and all men, taking him for their example, became doers of virtue. 19. A Tamil called Potthakuntam, who was his constant servant, made a splendid and wonderful house called Mātambiya. 20. And the king gave him Ambavāpi in Bukakalle, and the cloth-weavers' village Chāṭika, and the village Hitṭhilavoṭṭhi, with the slaves (living therein). 21. And he built as residences the monasteries at Kappura and the places at Kurundapillaka. 22. In other places too the wealthy one divided villages among the monasteries; and the wise general named Potthasāka added to Jeta Vihāra. 23. A parivena called after the king's name; and Mahākanda the Tamil a parivena of the same name. 24. And the under-king Sanghatissa made a small house called Sehala-upa-rājaka for the king. 25. And in other places many people both built monasteries (of which these are only a few), and were full of goodness, following the example of the king. 26. For when the chief does evil or good, the world does just the same; let him who is wise note this. 27. This king had a most virtuous queen called Jeṭṭhā, who built the Jeṭṭhā monastery as a home for priestesses. 28. And gave it to two villages in very stony land called Tanbuddha and Helagāma, together with a hundred slaves. 29. And the king added a splendid relic house to the dagoba in Māṇḍalagiri monastery. 30. And he roofed in the inner chamber in the Brazen Palace (at Anurâdhapura). The celebrated Bodhi Tissa built Bodhi Tissa monastery. 31. And all the provincial governors throughout the island built monasteries and parivenas not a few, according to their ability. 32. In the time of this chief of men everywhere in the island virtue alone was practised. 33. It seems bad to me (thought the king), according to the most important sign of goodness, to have passed so much time here. 34. So after a time he went to Pulastipura, and there lived, acquiring merit. 35. Then when he was afflicted
with a severe illness, seeing that the time of his death was come, he addressed the people, and exhorted them to virtue; and so died. But the people were overcome by sorrow at his death. And when his obsequies were performed, nothing being left out, they took of the dust of his funeral pile and used it as medicine. So in the 16th year this king went to heaven, and Potthakuntha, the Tamil, carried on the government.

Siñhalese Rock Inscription.

A paper on An ancient Rock Inscription at Pepliyana, near Koṭṭa, was read by Mr. L. de Zoysa, Chief Translator to Government, at the last general meeting of the Ceylon Asiatic Society. This inscription, it appears, is on a rock on the site of an ancient Buddhist Temple near Koṭṭa, where, from A.D. 1410 to A.D. 1542, Siñhalese kings held court. The following is an abstract:

No part of the ancient buildings of the temple now remains, having been, it is said, levelled to the ground by the Portuguese, who destroyed this and other buildings in and near Koṭṭa.

My copy of the inscription was taken from one in the possession of a Buddhist priest who now occupies the modern Pansala, built on the supposed site of the ancient temple, and I was informed by him that his teacher's teacher obtained it some seventy or eighty years ago from a transcript preserved in the archives of the late king of Kandy. There can be no question, however, as to its genuineness. I have compared it with such parts of the stone as still remain, and have found that it exactly corresponds with the stone. The style and matter, too, of the inscription, furnish indisputable evidence of its genuineness and authenticity.

The inscription records the erection and endowment of a Buddhist temple in memory of his deceased mother, Sunetra Mahā Devi, by King Śri Parākrama Būhu VI. who reigned at Kotta (according to Turnour) from A.D. 1410 to 1462. It also contains a variety of provisions for the due maintenance of the temple, for the expenditure of its income, and regulations for the observance of the clerical and lay members of the establishment.

The style of the inscription is similar to that of other writings of the 14th or 15th centuries; and Mr. Alwis has published, in his Introduction to the Sīdat Sinojand, the introductory paragraph of the inscription, as a specimen of the prose of that age. The construction of the sentences, however, is very peculiar. The whole of the inscription, which is a very long one, is conglomérated as it were into one sentence by means of conjunctive particles and participles, having apparently only one finite verb expressed. The words in general are those in modern use, with a very few exceptions.

The date assigned to the king's accession is the year of Buddha 1958 (A.D. 1415), whereas Turnour, in his adjustment of Siñhalese chronology, compiled from native records, has fixed the date at 1953 (A.D. 1410), five years earlier. The authority of the stone, however, cannot be disputed, and it is corroborated in a remarkable manner by the well-known contemporary poem Kāvya Śekhara, the author of which was the most learned monk of the age, and, according to tradition, the king's adopted son.

The regulations enacted for the management of the temple establishment, and for the distribution of its income, are also very curious, and throw considerable light on the manners, customs, and social condition of the island at the period in question. It shows that the forms of Siñhalese letters now in use have not undergone any material change during, at least, the last five or six hundred years, with the exception of a few.

It is believed by many that the worship of Hindu gods, and the practice of Hindu rites and ceremonies, were introduced into Ceylon by the last Tamil kings, who obtained the throne of Kandy, after the extinction of the Siñhalese royal family, about the year A.D. 1739, but it would appear from the inscription that the innovation is of much earlier date, the king, who, it is well known, was an eminent patron of Buddhism, having built four Devalas in connection with the Vihāra.

The following translation, given by Mr. De Zoysa, from a native work, is curiously illustrative of the progress of the Portuguese in Ceylon:—

"Then certain people who traded at the seaport of Colombo, having long remained in the character of traders, gradually rose into (political) power. These, Parangi, professors of a false religion, a wicked, fierce, and merciless race, built forts in every direction, prepared for war, and oppressed the Siñhalese, both as regards their temporal and spiritual interests, going from one province to another, destroying cultivated fields and gardens, setting fire to houses and villages, corrupting the purity of noble families, and destroying even Dāgobas, image-houses, Bo-trees, the image of Buddha, &c., &c."—Ceylon Times, June 11th, 1873.

Journal Asiatique, Avril 1873.

At a meeting of the Society held 14th Feb., M. Ganneau observed,—with reference to an article published in part III.-IV. of the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1873, and containing a number of unedited Himyaritic texts accom-
panying a bas-relief,—that he had already made one of these the subject of a communication to the Academy of Inscriptions (Aug. 1872). M. Ganneau observed that this monument properly belongs to a funerary series characterized by the identity of their epigraphic formulas and the analogy of their style of art. This series includes the monument published by him in the Journal Asiatique and some monuments preserved in the Bombay Museum. M. Ganneau concluded by saying it would be useful that the Society should take means to obtain facsimiles, 'estampages,' or casts, of the originals preserved at Bombay, the copies given in the Journal of the Bombay Society rendering this desirable.

TRANSLATIONS BY MR. Gogerly.

Mme. A. Grimblot communicates to the Journal Asiatique* the following translations from the Pāli, given to M. Grimblot by the late Rev. Mr. Gogerly.

PARABHAWA-SUTTA.

Thus I heard: when Buddha was once residing at Jetavana, the vihāra of Anāthapindika, in the vicinity of the city of Sāvatthi, a certain deva possessed of pleasing appearance, approached Buddha, after the expiration of the first ten hours of the night (in the middle of the night), illuminating the whole Jetavana with his splendour, and, having worshipped him, stood on one side of him (at a respectful distance) and spoke to him in this stanza:

1. Who is the person that declines (in prosperity)? Lord Buddha of the family of Gotama, we have come to you for the purpose of proposing the question: what is the cause that leads to the decline of prosperity?

2. The person who advances in prosperity may be easily known, and so is the person who declines. He who delights (in the performance of the) ten meritorious acts+ will attain to prosperity, while he that entertains an aversion thereto will decline in prosperity.

3. We know that this is the first cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavā! please declare the second cause which leads to that result.

4. If any individual takes delight in wicked men and has an aversion towards the righteous, and delights in the doings of wicked men, that will be a cause to bring about his decline in prosperity.

5. We know that this is the second cause which leads to the decline of prosperity. O Bhagavā! please declare the third cause. What is it that leads to the decline of prosperity?

6. If any individual should be habitually sleepy (whether sitting, walking, or standing, etc.), be addicted to company, be of malicious temper, or would not exert himself, that would operate as a cause towards the decline of his prosperity.

7. We know that this is the third cause which leads to the decline of prosperity. Please declare the fourth, O Bhagavā! What is it that leads to that result?

8. If any individual should not support and maintain either of his parents in their old age, having it in his power to do so, that would cause the decline of his prosperity.

9. We know that this is the fourth cause which leads to the decline of prosperity. O Bhagavā! please declare the fifth: what is it that brings about that result?

10. If any individual utter a falsehood and thereby impose upon a Samana, a Brähman, or any other description of mendicants, that will operate as a cause towards a decline of his prosperity.

11. We know that this is the fifth cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavā! please declare the sixth: what is it that brings about that result?

12. If any individual possessed of gold in abundance, plenty of kahapanas, and various kinds of viands, should himself alone enjoy his wealth, that would be a cause to the decline of his prosperity.

13. We know that this is the sixth cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavā! please declare the seventh: what is it that leads to that result?

14. If any individual disrespect his relations, actuated by too high an opinion of himself, founded on his superiority in birth, wealth, or family, it will operate as a cause towards a decline of his prosperity.

15. We know that this is the seventh cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavā! please declare the eighth: what is it that tends to a decline of prosperity?

16. If any individual becomes a debauchee, a drunkard, or a gambler, and thereby entirely squanders away his earnings, that will be a cause to the decline of his prosperity.

17. We know that this is the eighth cause which leads to the decline of men's prosperity. O Bhagavā! please declare the ninth: what is it that brings about the decline of prosperity?

18. If a man, not pleased with his wife, be constantly seen in the company of prostitutes and among the wives of others, that is a cause which would lead to the decline of his prosperity.

* Tome XX, pp. 226-231. † Dasa-pañña-kiriya. Vide Clough, Dict. vol. II. p. 262, for the different significations of this word.
AUGUST, 1873.

MR. GOGERLY'S TRANSLATIONS.

19. We know that this is the ninth cause which leads to the decline of prosperity of men. O Bhagavā! please declare the tenth: what is it that leads to that result?

20. If any old man take a young woman, with breasts like unto timba-fruits, for his wife, and break rest from motives of jealousy, that will operate as a cause towards the decline of his prosperity.

21. We know that this is the tenth cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavā! please declare the eleventh: what is it that brings about that result?

22. Should any individual entrust the management of his affairs to a gluttonous and prodigal woman or man, or place him or her at the head of his household, that would be a cause to bring about the decline of his prosperity.

23. We know that this is the eleventh cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavā! please declare the twelfth: what is it that leads to the said decline?

24. If any individual is born of royal race, but is deficient in wealth, and full of ambition, aspiring to sovereignty here, that is a cause which will lead to a decline of his prosperity.

25. Therefore the wise man who has seen well the causes which in this world lead to the decline of men's prosperity will lead such a life here as will entitle him to a birth in heaven.

METTA-SUTTA, or DISCOURSE ON GENTLENESS.

Thus I heard: Buddha resided in the garden of Anāthapindika in Jetavana, near Sāvatthi. He then convoked his priests and said to them:

There are eleven advantages, Priests, resulting from cultivating, meditating on, becoming accustomed to, led by, established in, following after, and acting according to a spirit of mildness and freedom from passion. These eleven are, that he who acts thus sleeps sound, awakens refreshed, has no evil dreams, is beloved of men, is beloved of demons, is preserved by the gods, neither fire, poison, nor sword can injure him, he has constant tranquillity, is of a pleasant aspect, will die in full possession of his intellectual powers, and hereafter will obtain an existence in the worlds of Brahma. These are the eleven advantages which result from cultivating, meditating on, being accustomed to, led by, established in, following after, and acting according to a spirit of mildness and freedom from passion.

When Buddha had thus spoken, the priests were much edified.

MEÑA-NISAMSA-SUTTA, or ADVANTAGES OF GENTLENESS.

1. He who never violates friendly feelings, whenever he journeys from his own residence shall obtain abundance of food, and become the means of supporting many others.

2. He who never violates friendly feelings, whether he visits town, country, or province, he shall be everywhere treated with respect.

3. He who never violates friendly feelings shall be unassailed by robbers, shall receive no dishonour from princes, and shall escape from every enemy.

4. He who never violates friendly feelings shall return in tranquillity to his home, rejoice in the assemblies of the people, and be a chief among his kindred.

5. He who never violates friendly feelings, exercising hospitality to others, shall be hospitably treated, honouring others he shall be honoured himself, and his praises and good name shall be spread abroad.

6. He who never violates friendly feelings, presenting offerings to others, he himself shall receive offerings, saluting others he shall receive salutations, and shall attain to honour and renown.

7. He who never violates friendly feelings shall shine as the fire, be resplendent as the gods, and never be deserted by prosperity.

8. He who never violates friendly feelings shall have fruitful cattle, abundant crops, and his children shall have prosperity.

9. The man who never violates friendly feelings, should he fall from a precipice, from a mountain, or from a tree, when he falls he shall be sustained (so as to receive no injury).

10. The man who never violates friendly feelings shall never be overthrown by enemies, even as the nigoroda-tree, firmly fixed by its spreading roots, stands unmoved by the winds.

KARANiYA-METTA-SUTTA.—THE DISCOURSE NAMED KARANiYA-METTA.

I declare the Protection (or Paritta) by the power of which the demons shall display not dreadful sights; by which he who is diligently occupied by day or night may sleep securely, and sleeping see nothing evil.

1. These things must be attended to by the man wise in securing advantages who desires to ascertain the path to Nibbāna. Let him be skilful, upright, honest, mild in speech, gentle, free from arrogance.

2. Let him be cheerful, contented, unencumbered with business, with little property, having his passions under control, wise, temperate, not desirous of obtaining much from those who assist him.
NOTES ON THE BHONDAS OF JAYPUR.

BY J. A. MAY, TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

The most remarkable hill on the outfall of the Jaypur plateau to the south-west (Lat. 18°15' to 18°30', and E. Long. 82°15' to 82°30') is Cherubiding hill-station. This hill is about a square mile in extent, having two principal undulations, on which the survey stations are, and between them is a curious-looking depression, suggesting the idea of an extinct crater, about 150 yards in length, being nearly in form of a square, with banks fifteen feet or thereabouts in height, in which, during the rains, water is retained to a depth of from four to five feet. There are two outlets to this little basin opposite to each other, forming rather considerable streams, which meet about four miles distant in the valley below.

A legend is current among the natives as to the origin of this hollow, and is as follows:—At a time, as is generally the case with such stories, beyond the memory of man, one of their gods, named Bhima, with his sister, occupied this hill and jointly cultivated it; and as it was usual for them to labour apart in a state of nudity, Bhima, to prevent unseemly rencounters, had recourse to a string of bells which he wore round his waist, and served to make known his approach to his sister, who immediately covered herself in order to receive him. But on one occasion she accidentally appeared before him naked, a circumstance which so shocked their modesty that they fled precipitately from each other in opposite directions; thus the basin is said to have been formed by rice cultivation, and the two outlets are the respective paths taken by this highly modest couple. The presence of 'paddy,' unaccountable to the villagers, has no doubt led them to the framing of this legend. I was encamped on Cherubiding for a day in the month of March, and found it delightfully cool and pleasant. A little way down the hill, in one of the streams above alluded to, is a spring of good water, which I believe is perennial, as is the case with all streams on the highlands.

The Boro Kolab or Machkund runs diagonally across the ground in a south-westerly direction parallel to the ranges of hills on either side in a deep narrow valley. It is fordable near the villages Sindgar, Bojugura, and Amliwar during the dry season, but further down it is very deep, and alligators are said to be plentiful. In these parts the only means for crossing the river are small canoes scooped out of solid logs of sál (Shorea robusta), about 15 to 20 feet long and 2 deep; these are at best unsafe, but by lashing two together, a boat, reliable and capable of bearing a pretty heavy load, is constructed, but the scarcity of canoes makes it a matter of the utmost difficulty to cross a camp. It is remarkable that this river seems to separate the Telugu from the Uriya speaking people, the former occupying the country on its left bank. Another peculiarity I noticed was that on its right bank the magnetic needle was deflected to a great extent and unequally by the ironstone so plentiful in the little hills about, and caused me great annoyance and extra labour while surveying, as I could not depend on a station unless made by reference to three or four points. On the opposite bank, however, the needle seldom or never varied.

The general aspect of the country is hilly, rugged, and forest-clad, and, excepting on the highlands, cultivation of any kind is rarely to be seen. The villages in the valley are very few, scattered and small, seldom consisting of more than two or three huts, and inhabited by wretched specimens of humanity, who are for the most part

* That is, he shall not be born again, but upon death migrate to the highest of the Brahma worlds, and after residing there the necessary time cease to exist.
afflicted with loathsome scrofulous sores, which render them almost useless to themselves and to others.

Roads, which are nothing better than mere paths leading from one village to another, are few, and, with the exception of one or two, bad in the extreme, running as they do along steep ravines and over rocky ghâts quite impracticable to beasts of burden.

The several tribes inhabiting this portion of country are the Bhondas, Dera Porja, and a caste of people who speak the Telugu language exclusively. Of these, the Bhondas are the most remarkable, the rest being generally like the other tribes to be found in Jaypur and the adjacent districts.

The marriage ceremony, costume of the women, and religious observances of the Bhondas, are peculiar to themselves. These people, who are to be met with chiefly on the highland between Andrahal and Dangapara in the district of Jaypur, and comparatively few in number, keep themselves apart from all other tribes, with whom they do not intermarry. The men are not bad-looking; they are well built and active, and passionately fond of sport, of which they seem to be very jealous with regard to Europeans; they dress like the other Uriya tribes, and adorn their necks with beads, but to a moderate degree.

The women, however, are extremely ugly, both in features and form, which is rendered more repugnant by their short hair, and the scantiness of their attire, which consists of just a piece of cloth either made of the kerong bark and manufactured by themselves, or purchased from the weavers of the country, about a foot square, and only sufficient to cover one hip. The goddess, finding herself surrounded by a large number of naked women; she blushed to behold such indecency, and forthwith presented them with a piece of tussur cloth, which was eagerly accepted, but when divided was found to supply each one with only just enough to cover one hip. The goddess, whose travelling wardrobe evidently did not allow of greater liberality, then commanded that they should always in future cover themselves thus much, death being the penalty of their disobedience.” My informant gave me to understand that one of the Government agents in these parts some years ago insisted on a young woman being properly clothed, the result was she survived the change only three days! This story, which is declared to be strictly true, has unfortunately had the ill effect of confirming these people in their superstition.

Their marriages are consummated in a very curious manner. A number of youths, candidates for matrimony, start off to a village where they hope to find a corresponding number of young women, and make known their wishes to the elders, who receive them with all due ceremony. The juice of the Salop (sago palm) in a fermented state is of course in great requisition, as nothing can be done without the exhilarating effects of this their favourite beverage. They then proceed to excavate an underground chamber (if one is not already prepared), having an aperture at the top admitting of the entrance of one at a time; into this the young gentlemen, with a corresponding number of young girls, are introduced, when they grope about and make their selection, after which they ascend out of it, each holding the young lady of his choice by the forefinger of one of her hands. Bracelets are now put on her arms by the elders (this has the same signification as the wedding ring among European nations), and two of the young men stand as sponsors for each bridegroom. The couples are then led to their respective palaces, who approve and give their consent. After another application of Salop and sundry greetings, the bridegroom is permitted to take his bride home, where she lives with him for a week, and then, returning to her parents, is not allowed to see her husband for a period of one year, at the expiration of which she is finally made over to him.

Their religious ceremonies, like those of their neighbours, consist in offerings to some nameless deity, or to the memory of deceased relations. At each of the principal villages the Bhondas congre-
Pushpamitram yajayamah Patañjalidoes not merely speak of Pushpamitra’s sacrifices as one living after him might do, but he speaks of about Pushpamitra I have brought forward that nor does he assign his own reasons for differing writing the History of the Decline and Fall." 

Theirother festivalshave nothing remarkable. Thus ends the grand festival of theyear. Their other festivals have nothing remarkable.

Country produce is poor and limited to Sua (a small grain resembling sago) and Khandol (a large species of arrar dâl), which are cultivated on the slopes of hills; rice is also grown in the beds of small streams which are terraced and ‘banded’ for the purpose, but to a very small extent, Sua being the staple. This grain is prepared for food by either boiling to the consistency of gruel, or hard, like rice.

The natural products are iron ore, gallinuts, and stick-lac. This last is to be found only on the Kasum tree (the hardest of all jungle woods), on the twigs of which the little lac-insects build their gum-like nests which constitute the lac. These are collected by the villagers in small quantities, and sold or bartered for at the different häts or fairs about the country.

The only timber trees I could recognize were the sâl, a few wretched specimens of teak on the banks of the Boro Kolab, and Kendu, a species of ebony.

Game is plentiful, as must be the case in a country so thinly populated. The bison (gaor), sambur, pig, axis or spotted deer, the raviine deer, bears, and occasionally the wild buffalo, and tigers, roam at large and fearless of man, with whom they are so little acquainted. Peafowl and other wild fowls are abundant. The otter also is to be found, but only on the banks of the larger streams. —Report of the Topographical Survey of India, 1871-72.

Professor Weber does not, so far as I can see, refute my argument for inferring from the passage about Pushpamitra I have brought forward that Patañjali was a contemporary of that monarch, nor does he assign his own reasons for differing from me. In the passage containing the words tha Pushpamitrav yajayamah Patañjali does not merely speak of Pushpamitra’s sacrifices as one living after him might do, but he speaks of them in a definite manner. If those words illustrate the rule that the present tense (lat) denotes actions that have begun but not ended, and if, again, Pushpamitra was a historical personage, and not a mere Caius, it certainly does, in my opinion, follow that the action of sacrificing had not ended when the passage was written. If we were in these days required to give an instance of such a rule, an instance containing the name of a historical personage, should we give such a one as “Johnson edits the Rambler,” or “Gibbon is writing the History of the Decline and Fall”? Would not, on the contrary, our instances be such as “Drs. Boehlingk and Roth are compiling a Dictionary of Sanskrit?” I think we should use such as this latter, for in the former the actions of editing and writing have long been over, and consequently they would be of no use to illustrate the rule, which specially requires that they should not be over. I perfectly agree with what Professor Weber says in the quotation he gives from his essay, and I myself always thought Dr. Goldsticker’s inference from the instance about Kâsmir was extremely weak. But I contend that my instance is not one containing merely the “first person,” but it is one in the present tense, and given purposely to illustrate the use of that tense in a certain sense, and that sense therefore the present tense in the instance given must have.

The passage is exactly similar to Arunad yawanah vakram, the historical value of which is admitted by Professor Weber. The translation Professor Weber gives of the passage under discussion does not seem to remove the obscurity in which he says mine was shrouded.

With regard to the second point, I must complain of Professor Weber’s not believing what I say with regard to myself. The exigencies of the controversy do not, I think, require this. I again distinctly state that the reason why I was silent as regards Dr. Goldstücker’s second instance was that I did not agree with him in his interpretation of it, and my object in the article was not to criticize him, but to throw additional light on the date of Patañjali. I considered his rendering very questionable when I first read the book, about ten years ago, some time before I wrote an article in the Native Opinion reviewing his theory of Pâini’s technical terms. My principal reason was the impropriety of speaking of a sect or school as besieged. And I had, and have, a feeling that the names of the Buddhistic schools generally known
to Sanskrit authors could not have originated so early. Dr. Kern's book I saw and glanced over the preface of, several years ago; but I did not remember his explanation of the word *nyaahita* when I wrote my article in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 229, though I always thought the word meant some such thing. But soon after the article appeared, and before Professor Weber's criticism on it was received, I read Dr. Kern's preface again, so that it was not Professor Weber that first directed my attention to it.

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that passage to do with the circumstance of this being a vrātika? If Professor Weber means to show that Patañjali was acquainted with the lingual usages prevailing in the South, I do not deny that he was, and it is just the lingual usages in that part of the country that are noticed even here. But this does not destroy the character of the passage as a vrātika. It must be a vrātika for the above reasons; hence my inference that Kātyāyana was a Southerner. The Professor is inclined to account for allusions to Southern usage contained in the Mahābhāṣya from the fact that it was preserved in books in the South, i.e. probably, he thinks them interpolations. Are we similarly to think that the Mahābhāṣya was preserved in books and unfairly treated by the people of Surāshtra, by the Kambojas, and by the Prāchyas and Madhyamas, because it contains allusions to their usage also? (see p. 62 ed. Ballantyne.)

Inferiority in rank there is in Patañjali in comparison with Kātyāyana. It does not matter if Patañjali's views are adopted by Kaiyata and others. They are so adopted because he was the last of the three Munis. When the three Munis differ, the rule for one's guidance is yathottaram muntnám prāmán̄ya, _the later the Muni, the greater the authority_. But still Pālini is always regarded as first in rank, Kātyāyana second, and Patañjali third.

I need not say anything on the few remaining points. Professor Weber has made one or two admissions, and as to the rest I leave it to my readers to judge of the merits of the controversy. I reserve one point for discussion on some future occasion, especially as Professor Weber has not given prominence to it now. I do not believe that the Vākyapāḍya and the Rājatarangini afford evidence of the Mahābhāṣya having been tampered with by Chandrāchārya and others. They appear to me to say that these persons promoted the study of grammar, brought the Mahābhāṣya into use, and wrote several works themselves.

In conclusion, I give Professor Weber my sincere thanks for the many good and encouraging words he has said about me. I am gratified to find that my criticisms have not offended him. Controversies on philological or literary points ought not to embitter the feelings of the disputants against each other, but unfortunately they very often do so. I am therefore particularly glad that our controversy is an exception to the general rule in this respect.

R. G. Bhandarkar.

CHAND'S MENTION OF ŚRI HARSHA.

With reference to Mr. F. S. Growse's note on Śri Harsha at p. 213 of the Indian Antiquary, I would observe that the MSS. read na rānīṝṣa, not naraṁṝṣa, in the passage in question, and it would be interesting to know by what process naraṁṝṣa and sṛdṝṣi are made to mean "pre eminent in arts of poetry"; further, the MSS. have ṭṝṣi, not ṭṣi, and in consequence the rendering "wreath of victory" is purely imaginary.

The line rendered "who composed the chronicle of king Bhoja" stands in the MSS. "jina seta bandhyautibhojan prabandham," which is, I admit, not very easy to translate. There is a reading bhojāśi which is far better; the anusvara is here merely inserted to make out the metre, which, being Bhujangi, requires a long syllable at that place, thus—

\[ jinā śi ṭā bān dhyaṣā tī bhojā ṭā prā bān dhām. \]

I willingly admit the new reading and the consequent mention of the bhojaprabandha, but the syllable ṭ is thus left unaccounted for, as well as seta. My rendering proceeded upon the supposition that ṭi stood for tri, and bhojan can only mean "enjoyment." The line in this aspect appears to allude to Kalidāsa's wide-spread popularity as a writer of plays and poems, which are figuratively compared, by a familiar image in Indian literature, to the Setubandha, or bridge between India and Ceylon. Seta is further used to signify any work which, from its merits and established authority, acts as a dyke or protection to laws, institutions, or literature, against heresies of belief or taste. Putting these considerations together, I essayed the rendering quoted by Mr. Growse. If we are to give up this rendering, then we must have an explanation of seta and ṭi, otherwise our line is still partially untranslated. The rendering "who composed the chronicle of king Bhoja," though so dogmatically asserted to be correct, will certainly not stand.

John Beames.

Balasor, July 12, 1873.

The same.

Mr. Growse is a well-known authority on Chand's Epic, but it seems to me he is not correct in regarding the "Naishadha as a poem of considerable antiquity." Chand, in the prefatory chapter of his Prithvīraja Rīṣeau, mentions the names of Śeshnāg, Vishnu, Vyāsa, Sukadeva, Śrī Harsha, Kalidāsa, Dandamāli, and Jayadeva; but these are not placed in chronological order, as Mr. Growse supposes. For the great bard Kalidāsa, who graced the court of Vikramādiṭya and Bhoja, flourished some centuries before Śrī Harsha. Śrī Harsha was one of the five Brāhmans who were invited by Adisura, king of Gaur. This fact is clearly pointed out in the historical work on Ben-
gal entitled *Kshitiṣavaṇṭihasthī charitam*, edited and translated by Mr. W. Pertsch of Berlin. Śrī Harsha wrote the *Gaurorvishakulaprasasthi* in honour of his patron the king of Gaur, and he himself confesses, in the concluding lines of his work, that he received a couple of betel-leaves in the court of the king of Kanauj as a token of the great regard in which he was held. The king of Kanauj here was evidently Jayachandra, or Jayanti Chandra, son of Govindachandra, under whose patronage Śrī Harsha completed his *Nāishadha*, and who was a contemporary of Kumāra Pāla, the disciple of Hemachandra. This Jayachandra and Prithirāj were cousins: consequently Chand Bardai, who immortalizes the fame of the latter king in his epic, was also a contemporary of Śrī Harsha. This would place Śrī Harsha in the 12th century. Rāja Śekhar is quite correct, then, in his remarks about Śrī Harsha, because these are in perfect keeping with the other facts under notice. Chand writes only a couplet in praise of Śrī Harsha, and he was quite wrong in ascribing the authorship of *Bhoja-prabhandha* to Kalidasa, since the work was written by Ballāl.

Kam Dās Sen.

Berhampur, Bengal, 14th July 1873.

PERSIAN STANZAS ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION.

Selected and Translated by E. Rehatsek, Esq., M.C.E.

IV.—From the Mesnaviy of Jellāl-al-dyn Rāmy.—
3rd Duftur.

The dust to body’s dust exclaims:—“Return!
The soul abandon; join us like a rose;
Thou’rt to our nature and our kind,
Prefer to leave that body, flee to us!”
The dust replies:—“My feet are shackled so,
Although like thee I, separated, groan.”
The moisture of the body waters seek—
“Humidity, come back from wand’ring far!”
The sphere of fire invites the body’s heat:—
“Thou art of fire! Thine origin approach!”
Maladies seventy-two do bodies feel
From the attraction of the elements.
Diseases try to tear the body up,
That the elements may separate.
Four they are, these birds with captive feet,
But death, disease, and dissolution fall
Untie the ligatures of the nimble feet;
And liberate each elemental bird.
Attraction of these roots and branches great
Subjects our body every moment to disease,
That these connections may be severed all,
And every bird to its original fly!
But the wisdom of the Lord forbids this haste,
And keeps them join’d in health till doom arrives.

EARLY ROMAN INTERCOURSE WITH INDIA.

The proof of early commercial intercourse between the Romans and Singhalese, founded on the discovery of coins, is by no means a solitary instance. Numerous examples of similar finds in Southern India can be adduced. In the second volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, mention is made of the discovery of a number of gold coins at Nellor in 1789, two of which, a Hadrian and a Faustina, were in possession of the writer of the notice. In 1800 a pot full of gold coins, and in 1801 another of silver denarii, were found in different parts of the Coimbatore province. A third instance is mentioned by Colonel Mackenzie as occurring in the same district in 1806. In 1817 a silver coin of Augustus was found in excavating an old kist-
vaen or pudu kuli, as they are there called, also in Coimbatore. After a heavy fall of rain in the monsoon of 1842, a pot containing 522 denarii of Augustus and Tiberius, with a few of Caligula and Claudius, was laid bare in the same district; and in 1840 a hoard was discovered near Sholapur, a few specimens only of which were secured, and proved to be aurei of Severus, Antoninus, Commodus, and Geta. I myself possess an aureus of Trajan found at Kadapā, and a solidus of Zeno at Madurā.

All these afford testimony of the frequent intercourse of Roman traders with the Indian Ocean, but still more decisive proof is supplied by the existence of great numbers of Roman coins occurring with Chinese and Arabian pieces along the Coromandel coast. The Roman specimens are chiefly oboli, much effaced, but among them I have found the epigraphs of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Eudocia. These are found after every high wind, not in one or two places, but at frequent intervals, indicating an extensive commerce between China and the Red Sea, of which the Coromandel coast seems to have been the emporium. The Western traders must either have circumnavigated Ceylon, or come through the Paumbām passage, probably by the latter way, but in either case must have communicated freely with Ceylon. We know from Muhammadan writers that this commercial intercourse was continued by Arabian merchants from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries, and from these, and the narratives of the early Portuguese voyagers hitherto little explored, valuable information concerning Ceylon may probably be gleaned. W. E. in Notes and Queries, Apr. 19, 1873.

INSCRIPTION OF GONDOPHARES.

The Ariano-Pali Inscription, noticed by Prof. Dowson as having been forwarded to England by Dr. Leitner, was discovered by Dr. Bello at Shāhbāz-garhi, and is now in the Lahore Museum. Before seeing Prof. Dowson's notice I had already deciphered the name of Gondophares (Guduphāras), with the year of his reign and the name of the month, Veddhi, etc. This inscription is of considerable interest, as it is almost certain that Gondophares is the king Gondoferus of the Legenda Aurea, who is recorded to have put St. Thomas to death. The tradition is supported by the date of the inscription, which I read as Sāniosat 103, the fourth day of the month Veddhi (equivalent to A.D. 46), in the 20th year of the king's reign. The inscription ends with the words sa-puyae máti-pitupuyae, "for his own religious merits, and for the religious merit of his father and mother." It is therefore only a simple record of the building either of a Stupa or of a Vihār by some pious Buddhist. The stone has been used, perhaps for centuries, for macerating spices, and the middle part of the inscription is nearly obliterated. In 1863 I discovered the base of an Ionic pillar in the ruins of a temple at Shadhīn, which I have identified with the ancient Taxila. I have now got a second base in much better preservation, and two Ionic capitals. These formed part of a Buddhist Vihār, which cannot be dated later than n.c. 80, as I found twelve coins of Azas carefully secreted under one of the statue pedestals.—A.C.

With regard to the inscription referred to by General Cunningham... the inscription, though not the stone, was discovered by Dr. Leitner, who, after many useless attempts, finally and after much labour succeeded in restoring the whole of the inscription. Dr. Bello had discovered the stone, on which only "IX" was visible, and had abandoned it at Hoti Murdan, in Dr. Johnson's compound. Several years afterwards, in 1870, he authorized Dr. Leitner to take away anything he might have left at Hoti Murdan. Dr. Leitner, after personal inspection, got the stone carried down to Lahore by bullock-cart, and there got the inscription both lithographed and photographed... The discovery of the stone therefore belongs to Dr. Bello, that of the inscription to Dr. Leitner.—Editor, Trübner's Record, June 1873.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES.

Dr. Leitner has taken with him to Europe large collections of antiquities, statues, arms, coins, and numerous interesting objects of natural history, all collected by himself, and referring to the various countries between Kābul and Lhassa. These collections he has left at Vienna, where they will be shown in the Exhibition. It is expected that the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures brought over by Dr. Leitner will attract much attention, and prove that a school of art existed in the East, of which the founders probably migrated from Greece: it will also throw light on a very obscure portion of Indian history, and show the relations that existed between the Baktrian Satraps and Buddhism.—Trübner's Record, June 1873.

CASTES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

(Continued from p. 154.)

Bhavasār:—A dyer caste in Gujarāt, of somewhat inferior rank.

Bharthara:—In Gujarāt, a caste of middle rank; sellers of parched grain, &c.

Sugurio:—In Gujarāt (Surat Zillā), a not uncommon caste of middle rank, who are gardeners and sell vegetables: habits similar to those of the lower classes of Hindu traders.
ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF RĀMGARH HILL, DISTRICT OF SARGUJĀ.

BY W. BALL, M.A., GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

MY duties as a Geological Surveyor have led me into many remote and seldom-visited localities in Western Bengal. Few of these have appeared to me more curious and interesting than the Rāmgarh hill, in the district of Sargujā, Chota Nāgpur Division.

Previous notices of some of the antiquities of the Rāmgarh hill by Col. Ouseley and Col. Dalton, C.S.I., will be found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal." In the paper by Col. Dalton there are some technical details of the architecture.

On the 22nd of March 1872 my camp reached Khādri, a village some six or seven miles west of Lakanpur, in Sargujā, and on the following morning early I started to explore the Rāmgarh hill. Two miles south of Khādri we passed through a miserable Gond (locally Gor) hamlet called Sãontāri, soon after leaving which the path became almost obliterated, and we found ourselves on the rise to the Rāmgarh hill. Proceeding onwards for some distance through a tangled mass of charred and smouldering branches and logs, where the jungle had been set on fire, we at last emerged on a piece of flat ground shaded by a few mango and ebony trees, and bounded on the south by a wall of rock which rises perpendicularly for several hundred feet. At the foot of this wall an unusual luxuriance of the vegetation at once attracted attention,—ferns, species of Ficus, and other moisture-loving plants being abundant. On going a little closer the cause of this became apparent, as a grotto, to which there is an ascent by a few steps, opened out to view. There, from a fissure in the massive bed of sandstone, a constant stream of pure water spouts forth in so strange a way that it is no cause for wonder that the natives regard the place as sacred. Col. Dalton compares the fountain to the one which we are told issued from the rock at the touch of Moses.

I found the water refreshing but not cool; at the same time the temperature was not higher than that of the air, as Col. Dalton found it. This is easily explainable by the probable constancy of the temperature of the water, and the different seasons at which our visits were made, his being in the cold season, and mine towards the end of March.

The sandstone out of which the water gushes rests upon a seam of coaly shale 4 feet 5 inches thick, but not of much value for burning.

Leaving the fountain and grove, which are at the north-east corner of the rectangular block of sandstone which forms the main mass of the hill, and renders it a conspicuous and easily recognisable object for many miles around, we proceeded round by the eastern side to the south. The general level of the path, which runs for nearly three-fourths of the way round the base of the rectangular mass, maintains an elevation of about 2600 feet above the sea, or of 600 below the summit of the hill.

High up on the south-east corner, water trickles down over the vertical face of the cliff till it is caught by a ledge of rock, which doubtless serves to redirect its course and cause its appearance on the north-east. After passing rather more than three-fourths of the way along this path, the attention is arrested by a rudely cut model of a temple or memorial stone which is about four feet high. In the lower portion of it there is a cavity for the reception of a tablet. But no vestige remains of one now, if it ever did exist. This object the natives call mal karn. It is on the right hand of the path. A few steps further, on the left, there is a block of sandstone, which, if the attention were not specially drawn to it, one might pass without remarking anything particular about it. It is, however, of some interest, being artificially hollowed, with an entrance facing to the west. This block measures externally 3 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. 8 in. by 6 ft. The entrance is 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot 4 inches, and the internal length 3 feet 10 inches. The bottom is now somewhat filled up, but it is evident that there was room for a man to creep inside and squat down. The natives call it 'Muni gosar'—the Muni’s den. Close by this are the remains of an old wall built of uncut stones.

A short distance beyond, the ascent of the great block of sandstone commences by the only practicable route: this is at the south-west corner.

After a stiffish climb for about 400 feet, the path passes under an arched entrance, which shows some skilful carving, into a small temple in which there is an image of Mahādeva, close to which, as it were on the very corner of the hill, there is a cleared space surrounded by a wall or breastwork, from which a magnificent view of the country to the south and south-west can be obtained. From this point there is a sheer descent of not less than 1,000 feet, and a pebble thrown over would have to travel that distance before it reached the tops of the trees in the jungle below. A further ascent of less than 50 feet by a made staircase, and the remains of another old building are reached. Here there are two old images of Durgā and one of Hanumān. From this the path runs along a ridge to the summit of the hill, 100 feet higher, the elevation of which above the sea, according to the Topographical Survey, is 3206 feet. While passing along the ridge the existence of a cap of from 60 to 70 feet of trap, resting on the sandstone, first becomes apparent. Here was an opportunity of testing a theory put forward by the late Captain Forsyth in his Central Highlands of India that a trap soil will not support Sāl (Shorea robusta) trees. There were some very fine trees growing on this trap, and I have met with a few similar instances.

On the highest point of the hill there is a very tumble-down old temple, of which however the inner wall still remains. Whether a disinclination to interfere with a structure which is said to be of supernatural origin, parsimony, or want of religious zeal, is the cause of the dilapidation of this unquestionably ancient building, I do not undertake to say; but, in spite of the fact that there is a mela held there every year, the custom of the Rājas or Zamindārs does not interfere with it. Whether this be so or not, one cannot help regretting that the Rājas or Zamindārs care very much about the place, otherwise the wretched and overgrown condition of the approaches, and the ignorance even of the village Baigas who profess to do puja there, as to what the hill really contains, are perfectly inexplicable. Even the custodian of the temple, a fakir, who I was warned would hurl big stones at me if I attempted the ascent, had deserted the place. Still tradition asserts that some sāheb was prevented from ascending by this fakir.

Inside the temple on a sandstone stand there are images of Lakshman, Balasundri, Janaki, and Rāja Janak. They appear to be made of trap, but, owing to the thickness of the crust of dirt and ghee upon them, I could not, without being guilty of desecration in the eyes of my followers, examine them sufficiently closely to make certain of the material. Col. Dalton mentions the existence of a tank near the summit. This my guide was unable to point out, and as there was still much to be seen I was unable to spend time in searching for it. Some distance below the temple there is a spring which yields water at all seasons. This is no doubt the source of supply of the fountain below. It must have been invaluable when the hill was used as a place of retreat. Another hill near the Main Pāt was said to have been used for the same purpose. There is but one steep and difficult ascent to it, which might be easily guarded. An old tank still exists on the top. It is said that the women and treasure of the Sargujā Rājas used to be sent there during the incursions of the Marāthās, and at other times when the district was disturbed.

Having enjoyed the magnificent view of the Main Pāt and other surrounding plateaux and ranges, and the cool breezes which played about the top of the hill, we descended again to the fountain and then struck eastward along a spur. Passing an old gateway described by Col. Dalton, we continued along the path for about half a mile till we reached the N.W. end of a very singular tunnel known as the Hathpor. It is situated close to the north end of the spur, about a mile from the village of Udaypur. Although its name implies that it is made by hand, I sought in vain for evidence of its being artificial. I can only attribute its origin to the trickling of water through crevices in the sandstone. There is no trace, however, of any slip or dislocation of the strata, such as is a usual cause of such phenomena. The stream having found its way through an immense mass of sandstone has been at work for ages enlarging the passage, and the present result is a tunnel 160 paces long, and, as Col. Dalton has described it, 12 high and 8 broad, but it varies in places in both dimensions.

When about to enter its gloomy but cool re-

* Is it not a corruption of Hathipola—'the Elephant-gate'?—Ed.
CAVE OF RAMGARH HILL.

Fig. 1.
Fig. 2.

CAVE AT THE NATHIPOR, RAMCARN HILL.

PLAN.
Scale 1 in. = 100 ft.

Fig. 3.

SKETCH PERSPECTIVE SECTIONS
OF INTERIOR
cesses I recalled Col. Dalton's remark that at the time of his visit it had all the appearance of being the dwelling-place of a family of tigers, so I took the precaution of calling up my rifle-bearer to be at hand in case of need. When about halfway through, I saw by the dim light some animate object and a pair of glaring eyes on one of the ledges of rock in front of me. It proved to be a young wood-owl, who clapped his bill in furious rage at the intruders and then made several abortive attempts at flight.

At the south-east end of the tunnel, on the south side, a face of rock appears to have been chiselled off for some purpose, possibly for the reception of an inscription which was never written. Close by there is a small cave to which you ascend by a few steps; it has been partially enlarged artificially, but there is nothing further remarkable about it.

Returning through the Hathpor to the north-west, the stream is found to take its rise in a basin or horse-shoe-shaped valley of very singular appearance. On the south rises a cliff of sandstone, high up on the face of which are seen the entrances to two caves. A climb up over débris from the mouth of the tunnel brings one, after an ascent of more than 100 feet, to the foot of a double flight of stairs cut in the solid rock (see fig. 1).

Ascending the stairs you find yourself on the threshold of a rectangular chamber cut in the rock. The accompanying plan and elevations of this chamber, on a scale of 1 to 100, will render the following brief description intelligible (fig. 2, 3, 4).

There appears to have been originally a natural cave here—at least the outer hollow shows overhead no sign of artificial excavation.

On the slope of the rock on the right of the staircase there are two deep grooves or channels, said by the natives to have been portions of the charmed circle drawn round Sitā or Jankī by Rāmachandra. To me they looked like drains for the purpose of carrying off water used in the ablutions of those who may have lived in the cave.

On the extreme right of the mouth of the outer cave there are two footprints somewhat rudely cut in the stone.

The entrance to the inner chamber is 12 feet wide at the mouth, but widens to 17 feet. To right and left of this the cave extends with perfect symmetry. The total length is 44½ feet. The breadth at the centre is 12 feet 10 inches, and the height varies from somewhat over 6 feet down to about 5 feet 6 inches. This is partly caused by the floor of the recesses to right and left being raised some six inches above that of the central portion, and partly to curvature of the face of the strata of rock which forms the roof. The walls have throughout been finished with cutting tools. The linear dimensions are not quite constant, but the differences are so small that they are neglected in the plan.

All round the wall there is a raised bench cut out of the solid rock. On three sides this bench is double, the inner portion being raised two inches above the outer. On the side facing the entrance the double bench is 8 feet 6 inches wide. In the recess portions of the entrance side there is a continuation of the lower bench, and on each side of the buttresses of the entrance small seats of rock have been left.

On the left side of the entrance there is an inscription in two lines, the last two or three letters in each of which are much damaged and illegible. A transcript is given (No. 1).

The letters are about two inches high, but, though clearly engraved, they do not exhibit much skill. I forwarded a copy of both this and the one which follows to Bābu Rajendralāla Mitra, who informs me that these are in the Old Pali or Aśoka character and the Pāli language, but not of Aśoka. They record something about one Devadatta, but what it is I cannot make out. Many of the letters appear to be doubtful. Copies of both inscriptions were formerly forwarded to the Asiatic Society by Col. Dalton and Major Depree, but nothing was ever published regarding them, and the originals appear to have been lost. Col. Ouseley in his short account of the caves makes no allusion whatever to the inscriptions.

Although there are some broken idols resting on the bench, which represent, on the authority of the Baiga, Mahādeva, Pārvati, and Bardevli, there is nothing to connect them with the cave.

There is no attempt whatever at ornamentation in this chamber, and the benches look so eminently suitable for sleeping purposes, while the recesses might be so readily shut off, as Col. Dalton suggests, for females, that I am inclined to believe that this cave must have
been constructed for, and used as, a dwelling-place.

The second cave is only some 30 or 40 yards off. The natives appeared to be unaware of its existence; they protested that there was only one cave, and I made on my first visit no particular search for a second. On referring to Col. Dalton's paper I found that he most distinctly mentioned two caves, containing each an inscription: accordingly I returned to the Hathpor on the following evening, and had the pleasure of introducing the two Baigas to the second cave, which they declared they had never seen or heard of before.

It is at about the same elevation as the other cave, but to reach it you have to scramble up a face of rock by means of some rudely cut steps. The interior shows little or no sign of artificial excavation, and the sole point of interest is that it contains an inscription in much bolder and larger character than the other (see No. 2).

Having completed my examination of this second cave, the old Baiga, who had come specially to show the cave which he supposed I wanted to see when I inquired about a second, led us through the tunnel, and out to the south-east corner of the spur, where he pointed out, high up on a face of sandstone, the entrance to a cave which he called Lakshman's Bangalā. It is much less easily accessible than the others, and to get to it over the rocks one has to use both hands and feet. It is simply a rectangular chamber cut in the rock. The dimensions are 9 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 5 inches by 3 feet 5 inches.

A portion only of the side of the entrance remains standing. I saw no trace of any inscription near it.

The local tradition regarding these caves is that they were the residence of Rāmachandra for fourteen years previous to the expedition to Lanka, and that it was from this place that Sītā of Jānki was carried away.

The surrounding jungle is called Iran Ban.

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INSCRIPTIONS AT THE AUDIENCE HALL OF PARĀKRAMĀ BĀHU, PULASTIPURA, CEYLON.

BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, C.C.S.

Pulastipura,* the capital of Ceylon from the middle of the 8th century to the beginning of the 14th (A.D. 769–1314), was at the height of its prosperity during the long and glorious reign of Parākrama Bāhu the great, whose conquests extended over the whole of the Drāvidian portion of South India, and are even said to have extended to the coast of the Bay of Bengal.

The stream of Aryan invasion, having been stopped in South India, seems in the 6th century B.C. to have flowed over to Ceylon, for, according to the well-known tradition, Wijaya in 543 B.C. came over from the Sarkars (Sī|h|apura, then the capital of Kalinga), and conquered, or rather colonized, Ceylon. From that time to the present the history of Ceylon has been chiefly the record of the struggle between the Tamils advancing from South India, and the few Aryan Sinhalese driving back the Drāvidian hordes, and sometimes, as in Parākrama Bāhu's time, carrying the war into the enemy's country.

The census taken in 1871 shows that of the present 2½ millions inhabiting Ceylon, about two-thirds of a million are pure Sinhalese;—in former times the population round the ruined cities must have been very great, but the Sinhalese were probably even then greatly outnumbered by their Tamil foes: slowly but surely they were driven southward; and the wave of battle constantly reeding and advancing laid waste the fairest provinces of the island, until the whole country, from near the Jaffna Peninsula southwards to the mountain fastnesses of Kandy, became an almost uninhabited and pathless jungle. And in this jungle for some hundreds of years lay, forgotten and unknown, the ruins of what must have been the magnificent capital of Parākrama Bāhu.

The ruins, since their re-discovery in 1820, have been often described, more especially by Sir E. Tennant in 1847 (Ceylon, vol. II. p. 583 et seq.), and have been well photographed by Lawton and Co. Kandy, in 1870, when they were partially cleared by order of Government. They stretch for about five miles along the band

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* Pulastipura, the ancient name of the city, was used by its founders, and its inhabitants, and recorded in all the inscriptions: the modern name is Tōpā-wāpi, or Topāwe, which is simply stupa-wāpi, the lake where the (ruined) stupas are. Sir E. Tennent calls the place Pollannararu, a corruption of Polonaru, a name of uncertain derivation applied to the place in the artificial language used in Elu books, but probably never used in living speech.
INSCRIPTIONS AT RAMGARH HILL.

No. 1.

No. 2.

SKETCH PLAN OF THE AUDIENCE HALL AT PULASTIPURA.
**INSCRIPTION ON THE GREAT LION AT PULASTIPURA.**

**ON THE COLUMNS.**

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of a large artificial lake, which must have been 10 or 12 miles round, and can be reached in 3½ days from Kandy,—there being a carriage road for the first 59 miles, and a cart road for the remaining 20. Just at the end of this road, and on the bank of the lake itself, once stood the hall in which these inscriptions were found, which has been renamed "the Audience Hall." All that remains now are 48 large stone pillars with carved capitals supported on a stone platform, round the base of which are sculptured a row of lions; there are also several fine stone slabs, a flight of entrance steps with handsomely carved balustrades, and the splendid Lion on which the inscription was found. This was lying almost entirely buried at some distance from the Hall, and was set up with great difficulty; it had probably been thrown out of the Hall by the Tamils when they took Pulastipura, and may formerly have stood between the inscribed pillars: search has been made for a second one, but as yet unsuccessfully.

The inscriptions have only lately been noticed, Sir E. Tennant making no mention of either the ruin or its letters; but they are very interesting, as affording a reliable glimpse at the state ceremonial of that place and time, from which conclusions, with a large degree of certainty, may be drawn regarding others in more distant places and in more ancient times.

According to the writing on the Lion and eight of the pillars, the high officials stand near the king in the following order (see the sketch plan):—

At pillar 8. Members of the Chamber of Commerce (Kiyastha) with the record-keepers.
7. The Police.
5. The heir-apparent (yuwardija), seated.
4. The chiefs (adhipa), seated.
3. The Commander-in-chief (senadhipati), seated.
2. Prime Minister (pradhān).
1. The Secreiry (Kiyastha) with the record-keepers.

I am inclined to think that the king must have been seated in the position marked a, and not— as has been supposed—in that marked b; for he would thus have the lower officials behind him, the great ones facing him, and the heir-apparent seated at his right hand; whereas in the position marked b, the members of the Chamber of Commerce would have had the post of honour: now, although Parâkrama Bâhu was perhaps a very enlightened despot, and seems to have given the merchants or boutique (kada) keepers of the day a place in his Council of State, it is scarcely possible that they were nearer to his august person than the heir-apparent himself.

The transliteration, * which is unusually certain, is as follows:—

**On the great Lion.**

Śri wirâ durîja wirâ veiyâbhujâga Nissanka Laṅkeśwara Kâlinga chukrawarti swâmin wahânæ wēdæ hun wîra Śiṇhâsanayayi.

Translation.

This is the mighty Lion-throne on which sat the glorious, powerful king, in whose arm is strength, the Lord Emperor Kâlinga Nissanka Laṅkeśwara.

**First Pillar.**

Śiṇhâsanaye wēdæ hun kâle pot warâma etulâ-wâ kâysthâyanâta sthânayayi.

When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the Secretary, among the record-keepers.

**Second Pillar.**

Śiṇhâsanaye wēdæ hun kâle pradhânanâta sthânayayi.

When he is seated on the Lion-throne, this is the place for the prime minister.

**Third Pillar.**

Śiṇhâsanaye wēdæ hun kâle senewirâduṇâta sthânayayi.

When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the commander-in-chief.

**Fourth Pillar.**

Śiṇhâsanaye wēdæ hun kâle ūpâ-warun hindrâna sthânayayi.

When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place where the chiefs sit.

In hat, a being simply the lengthened form of the same sound (nearly the French à before r). Almost every word requiring some notice, and the number of words being altogether so small, the notes on them are thrown into the form of an alphabetical vocabulary.

† See etula in the vocabulary.
Fifth Pillar.

Siṅhãsanayewada hun kala yuwarāja-wa siti ge . . . n wahanse hindina sthānayayi.

When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place where . . . who is the heir-apparent, sits.

Sixth Pillar.

Siṅhãsanayewada hun kala asampandi bhāraka-mândalika-warunta sthānayayi.

When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the mandalis, the unequalled wise men (or for the governors of the districts Asam and Pandy).

Seventh Pillar.

Siṅhãsanayewada hun kala echausi-wa runta sthānayayi.

When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the sheriffs.

Eighth Pillar.

Siṅhãsanayewada hun kala kada-goshtiyehi attawa runta sthānayayi.

When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the members of the council of commerce.

Vocabulary

of words used in the Inscriptions A.D. 1150.

A s a m, G. "(Sansk. asuma), unequalled (*name of country).

A p t a, I had great doubts about this word, and for a long time supposed it must be 'amati=amātyā,' but, just as this paper is being sent off, the expression in another inscription 'raja-pâ,' which can scarcely be anything else than 'raja-pati,' leads me to the inference that the word must be ap for 'adhi-pa'; and this is confirmed on consulting the facsimile. The word is not given in the dictionaries, but seems to me to be most probably correct. It means therefore chiefs. Still it is curious that of them alone (besides the king and the heir-apparent) the word hindina, 'sit,' should be used. a is the Elu equivalent of Sanskrit ādi at the end of compounds.

A t t a w a n t a, 8. Dat. pl. of attawā (S. dharm), pron. The modern form would be atti, dat. pl. attanta, and the addition of the suffix wa is remarkable.

K a ḍ a, S. Crude form of kahiga (contracted into ka), boutique, native shop. (Dravidian.)

K a l m, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Loc. sing. of kala (Sansk. kilam), 'time.'

K a l i n g a, on the Lion.—from Kalinga. This

epithet may have been adopted by Parākrama Bāhu the Great, either because the father of Wijaya, the first—and rather mythical—king of Ceylon, A.D. 513, came from there, or more probably because he himself was a native of Kalinga. Vide Cumingham, Geog. of India, vol. I, p. 510 et seq.

K a y a s t h a y a n t a, I. Dat. pl. of kāyasthaya (Sansk. kāyastha + nominal suffix ya), writer, scriber.

G o s h ṭ y e h i, 8. Loc. sing. of goshtiya (Sansk. goshthi), an assembly; not found in Siṅhalese Dictionaries.

C h a k r a w a r t t i, on the Lion. A king who has tributary kings under him, and has no opponent within his own realm; not necessarily, at least in Siṅhalese usage, a universal king—superior, overlord. (Note the t is always doubled in Ceylon.)

C h a u r ā s t i, 7. Not given in the dictionaries; asi is probably sword, and the word may mean thief-punishers, executioners; if so, it is characteristic to find these useful officers taking their places among the chiefs of the state. The word chaurahānta (Stenzler's Yiñuwarānta, II. 271) has suggested to me that our word might be 'chaumattālih' and mean thief-catcher, peon; s being much like dhā in the Siṅhalese alphabet of the 12th century, and that form would be an almost inexplicable corruption; the s seems quite clear, and it would be still more unlikely to find peons or police than executioners in the privy council. The word probably means body-guard, or something similar, but its form is remarkable.

D u r ā j a, on the Lion. The word is not found in the dictionaries. It is probably Sanskrit duravañā, and means bow-bearer or chief.

N i s s a n k a, on the Lion. (Sansk. niśsanka, in which way the word is spelt in other inscriptions by this king), steady, unhesitating: an epithet of Parākrama Bāhu, king of Ceylon and South India, 1148-1181 A.D. He is called in two or three inscriptions simply Niśsanka Malla. The very curious proclamation, apparently addressed to the people just before he died without an heir, and recorded on a stone disinterred by me at the gate of his palace, in which, foreseeing the anarchy which would ensue, he urges the people to choose a proper ruler, begins with a Sanskrit stanza of which the last words are "Hear these wise counsels, they are spoken by Nissanka Malla."

P a n d i, 6. (Sansk. Panḍita), learned. See Nāṃkalangeta, edit. C. Alwis, p. 47, stanza 179; modern form 'patilta.'

P o t, I. pl. of pota (Sanskrit pūtā), a book.

P r a d h ā n a y a n t a, 2. Dat. pl. of pradhānayā (San-kr. pradhāna), Both in Sanskrit and Pili (conf. Wuskalva Abhid. 340,) malā matto po-

* The numbers following the words refer to the pillars as numbered on the plan.
SEPTEMBER, 1873.

MOUNT ABU.

BY JOHN ROWLAND, BENGAL U. C. S.

Mount Abu, or Arbuda—'the mount of wisdom,' in the territory of Sirohi in Rājputāna, is regarded as part of the Aravalli range, but is completely detached on all sides. The formation is chiefly trap, and granite of good quality; small blocks of an inferior sort of white marble are also found all over the hill.

The mountain peaks are extremely irregular, often assuming fantastic shapes. The circuit of the base of the hill is supposed to be about 50 miles. The highest point is Guru Śikar, about 5650 feet above the sea. The ascent by the new road from Anādrā is very steep, and is accomplished on mules, or chairs carried by six or more coolies. The distance from the foot of the hill to the station of Abu on the summit is about five miles.

The station is charmingly situated on the
west side of the plateau of the hill, in a natural basin surrounded on all sides by lofty peaks. It partly overlooks the lake called the Nakhi-talāo, which by the natives is said to be unfathomable. It is clear, however, that it is formed by the closing up of a gorge on the west side, where the overflow runs off, and a bānd has lately been built to increase the depth of water, fears having been entertained that it might run dry or nearly so, should an exceptionally dry or hot season occur. There are several small islands with trees on them scattered about the middle of the talāo, but they are almost submerged, and the trees are fast decaying. A path has been made all round the lake, the straight lines of which sadly mar the picturesque ness of the spot.

The best view of the lake and station, embracing also a glimpse of the plain, is obtained from Bailey's Walk, so called from the officer (the present Magistrate) who made it: it extends from the station to "Sunset Point" (the favourite evening rendezvous of the residents and visitors), and crosses over one of the higher peaks of the mountain overhanging the lake. The scenery from these heights and from the sides of the hill is of wonderful beauty and great extent. Early morning and evening are the most favourable times to enjoy it, as in the heat of the day the distant mountain ranges are often lost sight of in the haze. One misses here, however, the lovely tropical foliage seen to such advantage at many of the other hill stations, the trees on Abu being small and sparsely scattered about. Date palms and corinda bushes are to be met with everywhere, as well as several kinds of fig, and a few large banyan trees. But though the trees are small, their variety is great, and there is an ample field for the botanist on Abu and its surroundings. Owing to the rocky nature of the surface, there is very little alluvial deposit, and consequently scarcely any cultivation. Still every available patch of ground is made the most of, and wells sunk adjoining them for purposes of irrigation. The plots of land (they cannot be called fields) are watered by the Persian water-wheel, and one may often see and hear six or eight wheels in full work within a quarter of a mile's radius. Besides the Nakhi-talāo, there is a large tank at the village of Uriya, to the north-east of the station, where also the only really large cultivated space of ground is met with; but beyond one or two small jhīlās, which run dry in the hot weather, and a few small streams, there is no other water to speak of on the hill; and in hot seasons fears are entertained as to the lasting powers of the wells—indeed those in the station do run dry now and then. The villages on the summit strike a new-comer: the houses are built in the shape of wigwams, low, round, with pointed roofs, and are quite different from any seen in the plains below. The people are a wild-looking race, with long grizzly hair and beards, and scantily clothed; they always carry a bamboo bow and arrows; many of them wear a peculiar charm round their necks, representing Viṣṇu riding a horse, generally embossed in silver and gilt. On inquiry I found that when a man loses his father he puts on one of these amulets, but for what purpose they could not tell me. The winter months in Abu are charming, the air is fresh and bracing, and the ground frequently white with hoar-frost. The sun, however, is hot in the day. Fires are necessary after sunset from December to the end of February. In the hot season pūnakas are seldom required, and at night the breeze is always pleasant. In the rains a good deal of fog hangs about the hill; but the fall is not so heavy as in the other sanitariums.

To the sportsman Abu offers many attractions. Seldom a day passes but news is brought into the station of a kill by a tiger or panther, but the game, though plentiful, is difficult to get at, owing to the facilities of escape afforded by the numerous rocks and caves all over the hill. Sambur abound* and do great damage to the crops of the villagers, who can ill afford to have their tiny khets cleared by deer; this, however, often happens, and many are the entreaties of the spoiled husbandman that the sāheb will come and kill the enemy. Bears abound at the foot of the hill, and are often killed by the native shikāris, who sit up for them at night over water. There are also said to be a few lions in the vicinity. At the base of the hill there is probably as much small game of every description to be met with as in any part of India—peacock, hares, partridges, quail, small deer, &c. The peacock is very sacred, as well as the great numbers, and, though yearly increasing, are nothing like so plentiful as they were before that date.

* The hill was overrun with Sambur until the year 1868, famous for the famine and drought. They died then in
rock (blue) pigeon, and strict rules are laid down by Government for their preservation. Panthers do a good deal of damage on the hill, and the visitors and residents have to keep a sharp look-out on their pet dogs after sunset. Mutton is the only meat procurable on the hill, and fowls, the mainstay of the Indian khán-sámán, are dear and scarce. Owing to the pretended sanctity of Abu, and the prejudices, if we may so term them, of the natives, which Government has bound itself to protect (for we are only tenants of Abu), no cow, òx, or nilghaim may be killed on the hill. The idea among the lower class is that Abu is supported on the horns of a bull; when he is tired of holding it on one horn he jerks it on to the other, and this accounts for the earthquakes so frequently felt up there. There is a story to the effect that a late Resident, tried to convince the natives of the absurdity of this notion, and, to prove it, ordered a cow to be killed on a certain day. It was slain, and, as ill luck would have it, the next day the most severe shock experienced for many years occurred. This was conclusive to the Hindu, the experimenter had to own his defeat, and say no more about beef for dinner. Whilst at Abu I met two French gentlemen travelling round the world. Their indignation was great when they heard they could get no “biftek,” and expressed their wish that Abu belonged to the French, who, as they said, would not only kill oxen on the hill, but the inhabitants themselves if they opposed it. This, said they, would strengthen our bodies and position as well.

The visitor to Abu should not attempt to make any excursion or shooting expedition without a competent guide. No place is so easy to lose one’s way in, and it is next to impossible for a stranger to find the road to a given spot, unless indeed it be on the main mule track: several instances have occurred of people losing their way. The inhabitants of the plains at the foot of the hill, and also of many of the villages on the summit, are chiefly Bhills, a wild and lawless race of men. No native is safe if he is known to have a rupee on him; he is not only sure to be robbed of it, but if he shows the least resistance is murdered as well. The country is so wild that there is little chance of catching the actual delinquent, and it is only in cases of dakaity, where a large gang of men have been engaged in the crime, that justice overtakes the criminals. The road from Abu to Disá was very unsafe even a year or two back for the traveller. If he did not suffer himself, his baggage was almost sure to be looted; but the energetic measures taken by Colonel Carnell, the Resident at Erinpurá, and the summary justice he metes out to these ruffians when caught, has been productive of much good. The only safe way to travel about is to take into your employ a Bhîl guide, and the same system applies to the house-chaudîlar, called a Fâgi. If you have one of these men in your employ, his tribe are supposed to respect you and yours for his sake. They are said to be very faithful and susceptible of kindness shown to them. In height and make they are like the Gonds of the Central Provinces, but have not the flat features so often seen amongst the latter race. Their hair also is longer, and many of them have thick beards and moustaches. I did not notice whether the women were tattooed, as the Gond women always are, but as they are blacker than the latter I may not have observed it on that account. Their clothing is scanty, and ornaments are rarely seen about them, with the exception of the gilt charm before alluded to. Many of them carry a matchlock, and those who do not possess a gun, always have the bamboo bow and iron-pointed arrows, as well as a formidable knife. They are wonderful trackers of game, surpassing in this respect, it is said, the Gond or Bhaigar. Their villages do not, however, come up to a Gond settlement so far as neatness of appearance and cleanliness is concerned. Most of the latter in the Central Provinces are well built of bamboo and charmingly neat and clean: those I have seen of the Bhills have anything but that character. They are a jolly, jovial set of fellows amongst themselves, and laugh heartily at any joke or comic idea that strikes them.

A bu is celebrated for the number and beauty of its temples, especially those of the Jaina creed, some of them in perfect preservation, and others in complete ruins. At the base of the hill, on all sides, may be seen fine old shrines, a few still in use, but most of them dilapidated. I will endeavour to give some account of the chief of those I have seen, though there are a great many more that want of time and opportunity prevented my visiting.

The nearest shrine of any importance to the
station is that of the tutelary goddess of Abu,—
Arbuda Mātā. It is a small rock-temple formed out of a natural cleft on the side of the hill and overlooking the station. The rock is surmounted by a small white shrine, built more for ornament than use, or, as one of the Jogis told me, it is meant to catch the eye from a distance, and this it certainly does from all sides. The approach to this temple is by a rough stair of some 450 steps, through a shady grove of mango and a few champá trees. As soon as a stranger is seen, there is a frantic rush to close all the doors, so that I could see nothing of the interior of the place, which must however be very small. One of the attendants told me that there was nothing but one large idol inside, no inscriptions or ancient relics. The place is evidently one of some sanctity: many pilgrims were present when I was there, waiting to pay their devotions to the goddess. The view of the station from the terrace is very fine—in fact the most extensive I have seen. As usual, the temple stands on the edge of a dry mountain torrent, but there is a spring of good water close by.

Delwādā:—Distant half a mile from the foot of the hill on which Arbuda Mātā stands, and about a mile north from the station, are the celebrated temples of Delwādā or Devālāwādā (the 'place of temples')—undoubtedly among the most beautiful Jain temples in India. Tod, in his Western India, has so fully described them, and his opportunities for investigation, knowledge of the people, their language, and religion, were such as to render it useless to attempt adding to his account.†

Gāmulkh, or, as it is also called, 'Bastojji,' the shrine of Vasishtha, is situated fully 500 feet down the south-western slope of Abu, and about three miles from the station. The path is a tedious one, and the temple is reached by a long flight of steps from the summit. The descent is shaded by luxuriant foliage on all sides, and the spot is a favourite one for the sportsman, as sambur are frequently met with in the neighbourhood, and one or two tigers frequently prey upon the cattle of the Brahman living at the temple. The first object on reaching the temple is the fountain supplied by water from a spout in the form of a cow's head, whence the name of the place. There are two small shrines on the edge of the tank, one containing an image of Mahādeva, the other of Ganesā; there are also two inscriptions on the sides, but they are too much worn to be legible. Close by is the temple, a plain brick edifice, surrounded by a high wall. The shrine of Vasishtha stands alone in the middle of the quadrangle. I could not gain access to the interior, though I much wanted to, as I heard an inscription was to be found inside which gave the date of the brass figure standing outside facing the door, under an ovate-formed cupola, as described by Tod.‡ Tod affirms that he is one of the Dhār Pramāras, the last of his race, and that he is supplicating the Muni for an act of violence and sacrilege committed by him. He has, however, none of the usual marks of royalty about him, such as are seen on the figure with the bow at Achalēsvāra, and his position is the common one of all the memorial tablets in marble or stone. There are several small marble figures (bearded), both alone and with females beside them, in different parts of the temple. It is worthy of note that in nearly all the bearded figures I have come across, particularly those with swords, there is a boss, either oval or round, at one side of the head. It may be noticed close to the head of the brass figure, as well as in several of the other sketches. It is in no way connected with the head, and is not a shell, as I at first supposed. On the dress of the Dhār Pramāra, as we must call him upon Tod's authority, are several pieces of silver let in, of the shape of our masonic emblem the square. I also noticed the same sign in the hands of some of the figures in the painted room at Achalgarh. Whether the design is accidental or emblematic I must leave others to determine.

The figure of Śyām Nāth mentioned by Tod§ is certainly a work of art, only surpassed by the Man-Lion incarnation, to be spoken of further on. There are two smaller temples in the enclosure, one dedicated to Pataleśvara, the other to Mahādeva, but they contain nothing worthy of note. I noticed an emblem of the shape of a square trough or dish with five balls in it; it is the only one to be seen on Abu.

† Travels in Western India, pp. 101-113. See also Ferguson, Picturesque Illustrations of Architecture in India, p. 119. § 1b. p. 119.
The temples of Devāngan, or Court of the gods, built on the ancient site of Lākhnagar, have never before been described, if indeed they have been visited, by a European. They are located at the foot of the mountain, on the south-west side, and may be approached either by the old road—a mountain path of the most rugged description and in some places almost dangerous—or from the Dāk Bangalā at Anādrā, from which they are distant about two miles to the south. They are situated in a most lovely spot, and the place itself is worth a visit as an account of its natural beauty. In the midst of a bamboo forest, in which are also some magnificent trees, on the banks of a mountain torrent bed over a pool of water clear as crystal, supplied from a never-failing spring and full of fish, are the ruins of the Devāngan temples. They are shaded by lofty forest trees, and it requires no stretch of imagination to fancy oneself on the bank of a Welsh or Scotch stream, particularly in the cold season, when the air is cool and pleasant.

According to local tradition (for I have not been able to get at the written history of the place, which is extant in a Sanskrit manuscript of some age), in this place, now a forest and completely covered with tangled groves of bamboo, so much so that without a guide a stranger could not find the place, the city of Lākhnagar once stood, of which these were the chief temples.

To judge from the surrounding débris, consisting of huge blocks of dark grey stone, granite, and marble, the temples must at one time have been of some importance. Not a vestige remains, as far as our limited time would allow us to determine, of the old city, which was probably built of brick. Numerous small ruined shrines still stand, though more or less fallen into decay, but they seem much more modern than the divinities they shelter. At present only the largest appears to be used. It is dedicated to Vishṇu, of whom a large marble statue stands on an altar surrounded on all sides by smaller images of Ganeśa, the Nārasiṇha incarnation, and the Trimurti. On the opposite side of the stream and about thirty feet up the bank is a small shrine in which we found a Tripurari, and near it, under a heap of stones, a beautifully executed Nārasiṇha.

This is without exception the finest piece of carving I have seen at or near Abu. The proportion and shape of every limb on all the figures is perfect, and the tablet, with the exception of one arm of Vishṇu, and one or two of the smaller figures, is uninjured. Several more of these figures are lying about, and no doubt many more would be found if the place were properly searched. The natives say it is full of remains, images, and inscriptions; we had not time, however, to make a search, and the only inscriptions found are those under the Tripurari and the figure of Vishṇu. They are exactly alike: vis. —

Kāroī Doīch.—This small but pretty temple, to the west of the hill and S.S.W. from Anādrā, is said to be so called from the city of Kāroī Doīch, which contained a kāro or more of houses, though, as in the case of Lākhnagar, not a vestige now remains. The temple is a little white marble structure dedicated to Kāli, whose black image was dressed up in her garish robes of crimson and tinsel. There are numerous small shrines with the usual images of Mahādeva, Śiva, Ganeśa, Hari, Lakshmī, &c., and one or two almost effaced inscriptions on the pavement. There is a wonderful statue of a Chobdār with his mace, about four feet high, rudely executed, standing on a large pedestal. The Mahant’s house is charmingly situated, with a spacious terrace in front overlooking the plains and towards Mount Abu: indeed a finer spot for a residence could hardly be selected. Adjoining the temple is a deep baṅli, and, lying about, several tablets with bearded figures on them. All had the boss before mentioned, and some a short inscription at the base: but the only noticeable difference between the figures was in the length and curl of the beard. This temple merits further and more careful investigation, as I heard that a historical inscription may be seen there.

Gotamjī or Gaутама Rishi.—None of the European residents on Abu had ever heard of, much less seen, this little shrine. It is on the south side of the hill to the west of Gaumukh, and at about the same level. Difficult of access and at least five miles from Abu, it is scarcely worth a visit except for the lovely view obtained from the rock on which the temple stands. It is

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Some of the figures lying about in the court at Gaumukh are also very well cut.—E.D.
a tiny stone building of great age, said to be over 1,000 years old, and to have been repaired 400 years ago. It contains but two images, one of Vishnu, and another of a female and a bearded male figure, both well executed in white marble. These were covered with paint and offerings. A marble Nandi stands outside.

There are a few inscriptions cut on the doorposts, and a ruined bāvli under the temple.

*Rishi Krishṇa (Rukhi Kishn):—* These temples are at the foot of the hill on the south-eastern side, and are worth a visit if one does not mind a fatiguing journey of 12 or 14 miles or more. The road is a rugged track not difficult to lose—in fact a guide is a necessity. The temple is in good repair, though ruins of other buildings surround it. The principal shrine is of white marble, and the saint is, as usual, locked up out of sight. The Mahant was absent, and his Chelū, a perfectly naked youth of some sixteen years of age, either could not, or would not, give us any information about the place.

Facing the shrine of the saint, and under a well-carved stone dome supported on white marble pillars, stands an image of Garuḍa in the form peculiar perhaps to Rajputana. It is executed in the purest white marble—such as all the images on the hill are made of. The inscription on the base is so worn as to be illegible. On the step leading into the shrine is the only readable inscription, of which the following is a transcript:

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There are a few others on one of the pillars, but they are modern in character and date. There are several small shrines within the enclosure containing the usual figures of Mahadeva, the Lingam, Ganeśa, &c., but nothing worth noticing besides. Outside the temple is a magnificent banyan tree, the largest on or near the hill by all accounts, and to the north of this, some hundred yards off, is a small block of very ancient ruins, which I had not time to examine. Here also may be seen the stone over which, as local tradition avers, after the flood, all the animals extant walked, leaving their footprints on the surface. Pilgrims visiting the shrine roll over this stone seven times. This has the effect of preventing their transmigration after death into the form of any of the animals that passed over the place. It would be interesting to trace the source of this legend, but, the Mahant being absent, we were fain to return in ignorance. It is said there was formerly a very large city here, and this is in a measure confirmed by the quantities of large bricks scattered over a great area on all sides, but the jungle is so thick that, unless accompanied by a guide.

Achalgarh and Achaleswara are distant from the station of Abu about six miles by the road and four by the footpath, which however cannot be taken even by mules. The road passes near the village of Uriya, just outside which are the ancient temples of Naudeśvara, containing one or two images and an inscription.† The first temple reached at Achaleswara is a Jaina one on the right side of the path, surrounded by a wall and approached by a flight of steps. Its exterior is the finest piece of workmanship, as far as detail is concerned, on Abu. The lowest line of figures over the base, is one of elephants standing out in bold relief with trunks joined one with another. Above this come tigers couchant, then processions of various figures, animals, and carts—some drawn by bullocks and others by camels. Above these are groups of wrestlers in various attitudes, and dancing figures, beautifully executed. None of these groups exceed eight inches in height: but above the wrestlers come larger detached figures, mostly female, in every possible attitude and form. Those on the south side are the most perfect; the north side being exposed to the weather, the figures are much worn away. The temple is built of a coarse description of white marble, now quite grey from exposure. It appeared to be perfectly devoid of internal ornamentation. I could find no inscription or date.

Between this and the Agni Kund is a small temple dedicated to Śiva, but containing nothing

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* Achaleswara is in Lat. 24° 37' N., and Long. 72° 48' E., and about 4 miles north-east in a direct line from the station. Guru Sikar lies well to the north of it in Lat. 24° 30' N., Long. 72° 49' E.—E.D.
† This inscription, which is in good preservation, is dated S. 1265 (A.D., 1288). It is translated by Prof. Wilson in the Asiatic Researches (vol. XVI. pp. 299-301). Good heel-ball rubbings of this and many other inscriptions have been sent me by Mr. Englesome, a few of which I have inserted in this article, and in the Notes on next page.—Ed.
worthy of note. On the edge of the Agni Kund, now in utter ruin, stands the marble statue of the Pramāra with his bow, which Tod speaks of in such raptures. Between it and the kund are three large stone buffaloes—life-size, and fairly executed. I could not find the inscription on the plinth of the Pramāra figure spoken of by Tod, but there are some almost effaced letters under the bow.* Tod has described the shrine at Achalesvara so fully that I need not attempt doing so again. There are many bearded figures with inscriptions on them in different places about the buildings. Here is one from a marble slab 18 inches by 10, on which is carved a bearded figure with sword and shield:

Under the porch of the principal shrine may be observed seven large marble statues, not varying much in general appearance except perhaps in the length of the beard. In one corner of the court is a three-headed Brahma with a beard. There are some curious pillars outside the chief entrance, of a peculiar design and with long inscriptions. The bull and trident are just as Tod describes, there is no inscription in the temple but on the right-hand side of the door to the chief shrine is a long, though rather mutilated one; and another in the passage leading down to the well is in good preservation.

Achalgarh is approached through two embattled gates, and must at one time have been a very large and important fortress. The second of these, called the Champa Gate, leads to the little village on the ascent of the hill, as well as to the temples and summit of the peak.† The position is charming. There is a small lake at the foot of the steps leading up to the gate; the Jaina temple of Parśvanātha stands to the left of the path, and contains two large idols composed of the five metals. There is little to attract attention in the temple itself, except perhaps the tesselated pavement—the best in any of the Abu temples. I could find no inscription.‡

* These read "Jagana Râula jogi Jota Râula jogi,"—names to be found on many figures on and around the hill. On one at Gotamji, on the edge of a water-trough, there is a date given after the names, which appears to be "Sambat 1707." There are many other inscriptions about the Managni Kund.—Ed.

† The peak is about 300 feet above the Jaina temple at Achalesvara, and 4,688 feet above the sea-level.—Ed.

‡ The peak is about 300 feet above the Jaina temple at Achalesvara, and 4,688 feet above the sea-level.—Ed.
On the right side of the entrance to the temple, is the following, on a slab 9½ inches by 15½,—recording the modern repair of the old building and erection of others by command of Gumān Siîha, the son of Māhārāva Sava Siîha of Sirohi in Sam. 1875 (A.D. 1818):—

On another slab, 16 by 27 inches, on the same side, is the following, “recording the erection (in Sam. 1394) of the temple by Mahādeva Pādhi, by the patronage of Kāhnaḍa Deva the son of Teja Siîha the Chāhumān and prince of Chāindrāvati, as well as the grant of several villages by Teja Siîha, Kāhnaḍa Deva, and the Chauhān Sāmanta Siîha. The priest is an enemy to the Jaina Sect, as he congratulates the world upon the recovery of religion from heretics and opposers of the Srutis and Smritis. In S. 1506, the Rāṇā Kumbha Karna, the son of Mokala Rāṇā, grants a village for the celebration of the Adināṭhā Yātrā. In S. 1589, the Mahārāja Akhi erects a temple or a fountain”:

And on a similar tablet on the left side, somewhat damaged at the bottom, is another dated S. 1523 and 1524: “It consists of a panegyric of the Muni Vasîshṭha, and narrates his bringing Arbuda originally from the Himalaya range, of which it was a part; it records also some pecuniary gifts made by different chiefs, by the Mahārāṇā Kheta, and Vira Rawel.”

The Morbi Copper-Plate

By Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A. Bombay.

Through the kindness of Major J. W. Watson, a loan of this plate was obtained from the Morbi Darbar more than a year ago and a facsimile made, which, however, has only recently been printed. There were two plates a few years ago, but the first has gone amissing: it is supposed that it was lent and never returned. This is greatly to be regretted, as it doubtless gave the genealogy of the royal donor. The date is given in words which interpret the figures for Samvat 585 in the penultimate line: in this the figure 5 is recognisable enough, the vertical stroke with a line over it for 8, though found elsewhere, is less usual.—Ed.

Transliteration.
TRANSLATION.

[It] is given by pouring water to the Brahmans—and Jajjåka, the sons of Shāhādīya, residing in the—hman Agrahāra, of the Sāndilya gotra and student of the Maitrāyanaṇya [sākhā], to be enjoyed by their descendants as long as the moon, the sun, and the oceans endure, on the occasion of Rāhu’s touching the disk of the sun, for the performance of the Brahma ceremonies bali, charu, and Vaiśvadeva, with a view to the increase of the holy merit and fame of himself and parents. No country officer shall hinder or obstruct these two in the enjoyment of this. And future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind the common fruit arising from grants of land, the transitoriness of all power, and the fact that humanity is as fleeting as a drop of water standing on a lotus-leaf; seeing that life is full of ineradicable misery, and momentary; observing that the store of wealth accumulated with excessive toil is as unsteady as the flame of a lamp open to (in contact with) wind; desirous of being free from censure; wishing themselves to be, like the regions of the sky, shrouded in a veil of glory as pure as the light of the autumnal moon with her spotless disk; and endowed with the purest mind, should, at our solicitations, confirm this grant of ours. And having reflected on the declaration of the covenant about the five cardinal sins laid down by pious kings of old, and mentioned by the Munis Vyāsa and others, they should, at our repeated solicitations, remember this saying of the authors of the Sṛṃtīs:—The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years; while he who resumes it, or approves of its being so resumed, dwells in hell for as many years. He who takes away the land granted by himself or others incurs the sin of killing a hundred thousand cows. The resumers of Brahman gifts are born as large serpents dwelling in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya. What good man will resume the gifts made by former kings for the sake of religious merit, prosperity, and fame, which are like flowers once worn or matter vomited? Thus reflecting that prosperity and human life are as fleeting as a drop of water on a lotus-leaf, and calling to mind all that is said here, one should not blot out the fame of others. Five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed, the king granted this when the disk of the sun was eclipsed. Jajnagya, of a pure mind, has written this charter of the king who rivals Nṛiga and Nahusha—a charter containing graceful lines of letters, charming on account of the use of apt words, distinguished by its virtuous precepts, and shining by its good and auspicious utterances, like a Brahman whose mouth abounds with such. Sānvat 585, 5th of the bright half of Phālguna. Sign-manual of Jāinka. Engraved by Deddaka the son of Śankarā.  

PAPERS ON ŚATRUNJAYA AND THE JAINS.

IV.—Translation from Lassen’s Alterthumskunde, IV. 771 seqq.

By E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

(Concluded from p. 200.)

The cosmogonic system of the Jaina agrees on the whole with that of the Purāṇas, and excels it only in exaggerations; and the Jaina have, in some respects, transformed in a pecu-
liar manner the geographical system of the Brahmans. As it would lead too far if I were here to enter into a comparison of the cosmography of the Jains with that handed down in the Mahâbhârata and the Purûnas, I shall confine myself to an outline of the cosmography of this sect.

According to their opinion, the world, which is eternal, is compared to a spindle resting on part of another. Other authors of the Jains compare the world to three cups, the nethermost whereof is turned upside down, and the uppermost, with the middle one, touch each other at their circumferences. Lastly, others describe the world as a woman sitting with folded arms. Her body, or, according to the second representation, the middle cup, is the earth. The uppermost cup, or the upper body of the woman, answers to heaven, and is the habitation of the gods. The nether spindle, the lowest cup, or lastly the inferior portion of the woman, represents in this cosmographical system the subterranean regions. The world is enclosed on its outermost circumference by the Loka Loka mountains, and the earth consists of seven déyas or islands separated from each other by oceans, the centre whereof consists of Jambûdvîpa. This island, as is well known, has obtained its name from the Jambû tree, which botanists call Eugenia Jambolana.

In the Jambûdvîpa, Bharatvarsha forms the innermost and chief portion of the world, and has a circumference of 100,000 yojanas; the six remaining portions of the world have either received other names among the Jains than among the Brahmanas, or appear among the latter in another order than among the former. According to the Jainâ view, the earth consists of two and a half parts of the world and of two seas; the former are called Dhaṭṭikakhaḍa, Jambûdvîpa, and Andrapûshka; the latter are the sweet-water ocean and the salt ocean. Of the remaining geographical notions only one more deserves to be pointed out here, namely that Bharata, Airâvatta, and Videha with the exception of Kurro, are countries noticed in their works. The prominence of the country Videha above other Indian countries might be explainable from the circumstance that it is specially particularised in the older history of the Buddhist religion.

The system of the gods of the Jains is a creation peculiar to this sect, and departs from that of the Buddhist as well as from that of the Brahmanas, although they have, as the Buddhists before them, appointed a subordinate station in their Pantheon to the Brahmanic deities. The higher part of the world, or, according to their expression, the uppermost spindle, is the habitation of the Jinas; after them follow five regions called wînda, by which name, as is well known, the Brahmanas designate the chariots of their gods; the centre is formed by the region Sarvârttha siddha, and the regions are called Aparâjita, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, and Vijayya, all of which names intimate that the inhabitants of these regions have acquired these habitations by the highest cognition and by the most perfect virtue. Beneath these regions follow nine worlds like steps, arranged in terraces, inhabited by divine beings and bearing the following names:—Aditya, Pîthukârma, Sûmanasa, Sûrâmbhûmi, and Pîthukârma.

* Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, II. p. 194 and p. 226. The writings consulted by him are the Sangrahantratna and the Lokanâtha’s ūśra, both in Prâkrit.

† Some Remarks on the Relation that subsists between the Jaina and Brahmânical systems of Geography. By the Rev. J. Stevenson, D.D., in the Jour. of the Ind. H. of the R. As. S. II. p. 410 seqq, with a map. The numbers communicated by him are the following, wherein it is to be observed that Mount Meru forms the centre also in this system, and that Sûrâmbhûmi is the extremest country and the playground of the gods:—

| Radius of the circle enclosing the déyas | 25,350,000
| Extent of Sûrâmbhûmi | 15,750,000
| Extent of Lokâloka | 125,000,000
| 166,100,000 yojanas.

Subtracting this from the radius of the whole | 25,000,000
Remain | 83,000,000 yojanas.

For Lokâloka I read Lokâlola, because this name designates, according to my remarks in Z. f. d. K. d. M. VII. p. 325, a mountain surrounding the outermost of the oceans and forming the boundary of the world. As this mountain is named in the Purûnas, the Jains have borrowed this idea from them.

† These differences, which are of little consequence here, have been collected by A. Weber in his Satrañjajñânhàtya, pp. 19, 20.

§ According to J. Stevenson’s note to the Keleputra, p. 94. These three names are adopted also by Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, II. p. 222, and to this division also, according to A. Weber’s remarks (ut sup. p. 96), the expression tri-khâna relates, which occurs several times in the Satrañjajñânhâtya.

| Hemachandra, IV. v. 916, p. 76. Airâvatta the name of a râja or part of the world, and its mention here is not clear, nor is that of the name Kurro.

‡ According to A. Weber, ut sup. p. 96.

Sumānasa, Sāviśāla Sarvatobhadra, Manoroma, Suprabuddha, and Sudarśana.

After these celestial regions, the Digambaras, or pious men of the Jainas, place sixteen, and other authors twelve regions, which are arranged in eight grades above the earth. These have the following names:—Achyuta, Aruṇa, Pranata, and Anātha, Sahasrāra, Sukra, Lāntaka, Brahma, Mahendra, and Sanatkumāra, Iśāna, and Sādhana. These twelve worlds are called Vinānas, and their inhabitants in common Kalpaśāla. Lastly, the Jainas distinguish four classes of gods of low rank, namely: Vaiśāniki, Bhuvanapati, Jyotisha, and Vyantara. The last class contains the Piśāchas, Rākhshas, Gandharvas, and the remaining evil spirits and servants of the gods of the Brahmans. The Jyotis are, as the name implies, the stars, the planets, the moon and the sun.† The gods inhabiting the abovenamed twelve worlds belong to the Vaiśāniki. The class of Bhuvanapatis, i.e., lords of the worlds, consists of ten divisions, each five whereof are governed by the Brahmancic king of gods, Indra; in this class the Jainas reckon the Aṣurakumaras, the Nāgakumaras, etc.; and they have, doubtless from hatred to the Brahmans, deprived their Indra of his particular servants, the Gandharvas and Āparaśas. Let it be observed in conclusion that the preceding description of the system of the gods of the Jainas abundantly proves the thesis that the system of gods of this sect is a peculiar one, and that it has assigned a subordinate place to the Brahmancic deities. This is also plain from the circumstance that the Jainas consider all these beings to be mortal, the Jyotishas perhaps being the only exceptions.‡

Of the constitution and manner of living of the Jainas, I mean to point out only the principal features, as a detailed representation of the subject is foreign to the purpose now in view. They consist of two large divisions: priests and devout persons are called Śādhu—the good; and laymen Śrāvakas, which name, strictly meaning "hearer," designates also an adherent of Buddha. The names Muktambara, Muktavasana, and Digambara apply only to those members of this sect which closely follow the laws of nudity §. The pious obtain also the name Yati, given by Brahmans from olden times to their penitents. The Jainas resemble the Brahmans in the following particulars:—they admit of four castes; they submit to the sacred ordinances called sanskāra, which commence at the birth and last till marriage; they worship some of the household gods of the chief Brahmanic sects; and, at least in Southern India, Brahmans perform religious ceremonies for the Jainas.|| Their festivals are peculiar, and are especially dedicated to Pārvanātha, the 23rd, and to Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, the 24th Jina, in localities where temples are built to their memory.¶

The Jainas erect marble, and sometimes colossal, statues of these two Jinas. Besides the festivals dedicated to them, they celebrate also

Śīkhar or Parasnātha at Pachete, on the frontiers of Rāmgarh, described in the Description of the Temple of Pārvanātha at Sāmet śīkhar, by Lieut.-Col. W. Frankelin, in the Trans.of the R. As. S. I. p. 527 seqq. On this spot this Jina obtained his deliverance, i.e., he died. There is a temple of Mahāvīra, considered very sacred, near Aḥāpur, Pāṉpur, or Pavapuri, in South Bihār, on the spot where Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna died: it is frequented by many pilgrims from distant places. In the district Nāvād, in South Bihār, there are three temples dedicated to this Tirthankara, and they are much frequented by Jaina pilgrims; they are described in Description of Temples of the Jainas in South Behar and Bhagholpur, by Dr. F. Buchanan Hamilton, Tr. R. As. S. I. p. 527 seqq. In all these three temples Bhūjak Brahmans undertake to purify and to adorn them; they also receive the pilgrims. In a fourth temple at Pārī, the foot-steps of Mahāvīra are shown to the pilgrims; here he is called Guntama Mahāvīra. A few inscriptions preserved there have been communicated by Colebrooke, I. p. 329 seqq. under the title On Inscriptions at Temples of the Jaina Sect in South Behar. They owe their origin to a pious Jaina named Sangriṣa Gorardhamadāsa, and one of them bears the date Sajusvat 1626, or 1629 A.D.

* This name occurs also among Buddhists and designates among them a class of gods of the second dhyāna; see Ind. Alt. III. p. 391.

† The Jainas assume, according to Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, II. p. 223, that the sun, the moon, the planets, and the stars take too much time in their rotations around Sumeru in order to appear at the right time, and therefore they double all these celestial bodies.

‡ Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, II. p. 223. Also Wilson, has, at sup. represented the mythology of the Jainas. According to him, the name Kalpaśāla refers to the circumstance that each of these twelve gods presides over one kalpa or period.

§ J. Stevenson's preface to his edition of the Kalpaśāla, p. xvi.; Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, I. p. 390. The name Śādhu applies only to secular (not monastic) priests; (see below, p. 292, n.?); Digambara—literally a man who abides naked. On Śrāvakas see Ind. Alt. II. p. 461.

¶ Colebrooke, in his Misc. Essays, II. p. 122; and Wilson, As. Res. XVII. p. 275. The Priests in all the Jaina temples in Western India are Brahmans.—Ed. Ind. Ant.

¶ Wilson, in As. Res. XVII. p. 376. There is a celebrated temple of Pārvanātha on Mount Sameta.
such as are kept by the other Hindus, e. g. the Vasanta yâtrâ, or vernal festival. From the Buddhist priests, the pious among the Jainas, have taken to the custom of living quietly during the vareha or rainy season, of devoting themselves to the study of their sacred scriptures, and of practicing fasting and meditation during that time. The Vaiṣyâs among the Jainas engage in trade only, and the names Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya, and Śudra denote among them other occupations and ranks.

Before bringing this to a close, I have only to add an outline of the history of the sect, and to lay before my readers a condensed view of the present extension of the Jainas.

Most probably Pârśva or Pārśvanâtha, the 23rd Jina, may be considered as the real founder of this sect. The statement that he was a descendant of the old race of Ikshvâku raises doubts, because Buddha's family, the Śâkya dynasty, which reigned in Kapilavastu, is well known to have belonged to that ancient Soma-vâna or solar race, and the Jainas would easily be tempted to attribute the same origin to the founder of their sect, especially as it had been attributed also to Rîshabhâ, the first Jina. He died aged 100 years, on Mount Sameta, in Southern Bihâr, 250 years, it is said, before the demise of his successor, Vardhamâna or Mahâvira. The opinion that this Jina was a real person is specially supported by the circumstance that the duration of his life does not at all transgress the limits of probability, as is the case with his predecessors. According to previous researches, that event took place during the first or second period of time is divided into two sections, i.e. one which begins 50 days before, and another which commences after the 5th day of the bright half of the month Bhâdrahu was a contemporary of the Vallabhi king Dhruvasena, and because the time of the Jina Suri Achâra, the author of the most important Purâna, is not quite certain. One consequence of his great fame was that many miracles are related of him, and that supernatural power has been attributed to him.

His father's name was Siddhârtha, and his real mother's Trisâlâ; the statement that his father was descended from the old epic monarch Ikshvâku must in this case also be a fiction. The information that his wife was called Jâsodâ must also be an invention, because, as is well known, one of the three spouses of the founder of the Buddhist religion bore a similar name, viz. Jâsodhâra. Mahâvira renounced the world in his 28th year, devoted himself entirely to a pious and contemplative life, and after two years had advanced so far that he attained the rank of a Jina. During the next six years he laboured with great success in the propagation of his views, and then took up his habitation in the village Nâlandâ, in Magadha, which is often mentioned in the oldest history of the religion of Śâkyasînha. Here he gained, among other persons as disciples, also Gósâla, and convinced Vardhanasena, an adherent of Chandrâchârya, of his errors. This latter ob.

† See Ind. Alt. II. p. 450 and p. 733.
‡ J. Stevenson's Preface to his edition of the Kalpasûtra, p. xxv., and p. 9 of the text. The expression for it is Purâyoshana, and in the vernaculars Purâyshana. This period of time is divided into two sections, i.e. one which begins 50 days before, and another which commences after the 5th day of the bright half of the month Bhûrîrâ, i.e. about the 20th July. During the first portion the Purâyshana sect, characterized by its white dress, fasts, and during the second that of the Pujâshana.
§ On the Srasvats or Jains, by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton in Trans. of the R. As. S. I, p. 531 seqq. The Jainas of South Bihâr are treated also in the following dissertation—in the Srasvats or Jainas, by Major James Delamaine, Bengal Army, ibid. I. p. 418 seqq.
|| Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, vol. II. p. 312 and I. p. 281. According to this passage, he had also the name Lanchitakâsia generally in use among the Jainas,

† Of the next Jina, i.e. Vardhamâna or Mahâvira, also Vira, we possess more extensive biographies than of any of his predecessors, since the Kalpasûtra deals specially with this subject, and since it has been treated with predilection also in other writings of the Jainas; that book is moreover the oldest among the Jainas, the date whereof can be accurately fixed, because its author Bhadrâbâhu was a contemporary of the Vallabhi king Dhruvasena, and because the time of the Jina Suri Achâra, the author of the most important Purâna, is not quite certain. One consequence of his great fame was that many miracles are related of him, and that supernatural power has been attributed to him.

† See above, p. 197. † See above, p. 198. * See above, p. 198.
§ Kalpasûtra, I. p. 221 seqq.; Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, II. p. 215 seqq.; and Wilson, As. Res. XVII. p. 251 seqq. According to the last author he was born in the unknown town Pavana, in Bârâtakshetra. The father of this Jina is also called Śreyasînha and Yâsasvin, and his son Sramana.

† On this celebrated village see Ind. Alt. IV. 692.
served the injunctions of Pārśvanātha concerning dress, which Pārśvanātha admitted, but Mahāvira on the contrary entirely rejected; therefore the adherents of the predecessor are called Svetāmbara, i.e. white-dressed, whilst those of Mahāvira are, on account of their nudity, called Digambaras.

Afterwards Mahāvira roamed through various regions of Central India, but especially through the countries on the middle course of the Gāṅgā, in the neighbourhood of which the town Kauśāmbe is situated*. Here he devoted himself during nearly eleven years to the strictest asceticism and to the hardest privations, whereby he attained the highest degree of wisdom and sanctity. Thus he became the envy and hatred especially of the Brahman in Magadha. Three sons of the Brahman Vasubhāti, born in this country, of the Gautama family, called Indrabhūti, Agnibhūti, and Vāyubhūti, imagined they could refute the doctrines of Mahāvira, but were vanquished by him and became the most zealous adherents of their former antagonist. The latter took himself after this brilliant success to the court of king Hastipāla in Apāparūrī or Pāparūrī or Pavapūrī, in the vicinity of the ancient capital Rājagriha, where, at the age of 72 years, he terminated his eventful life. After his death his corpse was solemnly burnt.‡

If Pārśvanātha is to be considered as the real founder of the Jaina doctrine, Vardhamāna or Mahāvira must be regarded as the propagator thereof. His chief tenets were that he attributed a real existence to jīva, the soul, and supposed that it imparts life to individual bodies, and is destined to bear all the pains and troubles of migration through many various forms, until it gets liberated from these bonds through the deepest insight into the true nature of things and by the most perfect virtue.§ He further maintained that matter is a reality, and thereby rejected two fundamental doctrines of Buddhism, according to which all existences are without contents and substance, and the first cause of all things is avidyā, i.e. non-existence and untruth. Mahāvira acquired many adherents, as the following statements will prove. The number of the holy men or Sādhus amounted to 14,000, and of the Sādhins or holy women to 36,000; the Śramaṇas, i.e. pious men acquainted with the sacred scriptures called Pārśva, amounted to 300. The number of the Avadhijnāins, or such priests as are acquainted with the limits of the injunctions was just as considerable. There were 700 Kevalin, i.e. pious men who abstained from works and devoted themselves entirely to contemplative life, and 500 Manorīṣas, i.e. possessed of wisdom. By the name Vādins, men are designated who are skilled in carrying on disputations: their number was 400. The number of Srāvakas or laymen amounted to 51,000, and that of the Śrāvikas or women of this kind was stated to be 300,000, an evident exaggeration. Of the eleven most prominent disciples of Mahāvira, only Indrabhūti and Sudharma or Sudharmān survived him. In favour of the view that Mahāvira was the real propagator of the Jaina doctrine, it may be adduced that the writer of the Śrāvajña-nāhātmya makes him the author of his book. That this doctrine was propagated from Magadha, or, if it so please, from Southern Bihār, to the other parts of India, becomes almost certain from the circumstance that Mahāvira obtained his most important triumphs just in that country, and that he, as well as his predecessor Pārśvanātha, died and was buried there. To were likewise descendants of ancestors of Brahmanic families.

* On the position of this town see Ind. Alt. III. 290, note 2.‡ Wilson, As. Res. XVII. p. 256 seqq., who communicates several statements about these three and the eight remaining disciples of Mahāvira from the commentary of Hemachandra to his Dictionary, and judiciously notes that Buchanan Hamilton is mistaken in assuming, in the Trans. of the R. As. S. I. p. 558, that Indrabhūti, who is, on account of his descent of course, also called Gautama, is no other than Gautama Buddha himself. Hemachandra enumerates, l. v. 31 seqq. p. 7, the 11 Gòndhīkhas or presidents of the assemblies, who bear the following names — Indrabhūti, Agnibhūti, and Vāyubhūti; these three brothers were Gautama; Mandita and Muryaaputra were step-brothers and respectively descendants of the Vedic Bhīṣa Vāsishtha and Kaśyapa; Vyakta, Sudharma, Akapita, Achaśabhṛti, Metarya, and Prabhōsa, by the title Pārśva see above, p. 109.
this it is also to be added that numerous Jainal pilgrims from distant Indian countries, e.g. from Lower Rajasthân, wander to Gayâ and to other holy localities of South Bihâr.*

So far as the successors of the last Jina are concerned, Bhadrabahu, the author of the Kalpaśiṣṭra, has given a list of twenty-seven of them with reference to their descent, together with the years in which they followed after Mahāvīra and his successors.† As the last of these successors is said to have followed in the year 993 as a propagator of the Jain religion, it is self-evident that, although the names may be correct, the chronological data of this list are worthless. Here it must not be overlooked that the last chronological data occur only in one manuscript. I suspect that the author of the Kalpaśiṣṭra, after pushing the time of Var dhamanâ into too remote an antiquity, has united with each other several lists of contemporaneous chiefs of the Jain doctrine, so as to present contemporaneous spiritual representatives of this sect as successors.

Now I pass to the comparison of the data concerning the propagation of the Jain doctrine from Magadhâ to the other parts of India. It appears very influential during the reign of the Câlukya monarch Pulakesi, who governed a great portion of the Dakhan from about 485 till 510. From the circumstance that, according to the testimony of Hiwen Thsang, Buddhism had formerly flourished much in Julya or Chola, but had in his time entirely disappeared from the country, as well as from the fact that the Jains, according to incontrovertible testimonies, conquered the Buddhists in this country, I have already drawn the conclusion that the Jains had been very powerful in this part of the Dakhan towards the end of the sixth century. In this district we find this sect still flourishing at the end of the tenth century.|| In the southernmost district, that of the Pândyas, this religion, which succeeded that of Sâkyaśinha, likewise found entrance, and the ruler of that country, Kuṇa Pândya, who is probably to be placed in the ninth century, was at first inclined towards it, but afterwards went over to Śaṅkamiva.† On the Malabar coast the princelings in Tuluva, the principal of whom resided in Ikerti, who were descended from Jaina women, and were formerly dependants of the dynasty of Vîjayanagara, greatly loved the doctrines of the Jains.♦

In Gujarat, which is more to the north, the Jain religion enjoyed the protection of the powerful Valabhi monarch Silâditya, who ruled his extensive realm with a firm hand, from about 545 till 595, although he did not, as has been asserted, belong to this sect himself.† Of the Yâdavas who reigned in the peninsula of Gujarât during the last moiety of the twelfth century, one, Mândika, was most probably an adherent of the Jains, because in the inscription relating to this dynasty he is said to have worshipped Nemi, the 22nd Jina.‡ This doctrine was especially promoted and protected by the family of the Câlukyas which reigned in Chandravatî, on the western slope of the Arbuda mountains, under the supremacy of the Vâghela dynasty.§ In this respect Tejapâla and his brother Vâstupâla particularly distinguished themselves. On this mountain they built temples, planted groves and trees, and dug tanks on the roads, in the villages and towns.|| The temples were consecrated by these two pious brothers themselves. The temple which was completed in the month Phalgunâ deserves special mention. In it statues of the ancestors

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† P. 100 sqq. The first is Sudharma; after the 8th Mahâgiri, the predecessor of Bâlisâla, the first of the second list, and the Suhastî who was his contemporary, a double list follows; the first terminates with four founders of sikhis or sects of Jainas, which are called Nâgâla, Pâdâliîa, Jayâanta, and Tâpasa; the second with Kshamavâmin.
‡ See Ind. Alt. IV. 97, 98.
§ See Ind. Alt. IV. 127, and on the names and site of this country p. 231 and also note 3.
¶ See Ind. Alt. IV. 246.
|| See Ind. Alt. IV. 239, and Wilson's remarks on the time of this king in Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pândus in T. of the R. As. Soc. III. p. 218. According to Ind. Alt. IV. p. 237, note 2, it is dubious whether the celeb}

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brace Tamil teacher and author TIRUVALLAVER was a contemporary of this prince, although tradition makes him so.
† See Ind. Alt. III. p. 515 seqq.
‡ See Ind. Alt. III. p. 570.
§ See Ind. Alt. III. p. 574, with note 3, where the names of the members of this family are given. According to Ind. Alt. III. p. 577, the Baghelas reigned from 1178 till 1297.
|| Wilson's Sanskrit Inscriptions at Abu, in As. Res. XVI. p. 368. This is inscription xviii. 3 seqq. The month Phalgun answers to the last moiety of February and the first of March.
of these two brothers, of their wives and sons, were erected. They appeared as the regents of the ten higher spheres, and as in the act of looking at Kandapa, the founder of their family. The statues were represented riding on elephants, which animals are greatly venerated by the Jaina as well as by their predecessors the Buddhhas. The high esteem enjoyed by these two brothers is also evident from statues of their wives having found a place in this temple, and from Tejapala having erected a genealogical tree of his spouse Anupamā Devi. At the sides of this temple 52 cells had been arranged for the principal Jainas, and at the entrance to the temple there was a varanda, or porch.

The nature of the testimonies on the propagation of the Jaina doctrine from Magadha to other parts of India suffers from two defects inseparable from them; firstly because they are very incomplete, and secondly because from the religious opinions of the rulers of Indian countries no conclusion can be drawn as to the number of their subjects who professed the religion of the Jainas. This gap may safely be filled out by the statements about the present extension of this sect, because it is certain that it has won no new adherents in later times. Magadha, or, according to modern terminology, Southern Bihar, the original country of the Jainas, is their principal seat. In Mālavā there are also many Jainas; here they are split into many sects, they observe the fasts, and the law of omission or non-injury to living beings very strictly, and are very active and honest.] They engage chiefly in commerce here also. They agree with the Buddhists in calling the highest deity Ādinātha; this is known to be also a name of Buddha, especially among the Nepalese. They prefer Pārāvanātha, the penultimate Jina, to Mahāvīra the last.

In the west of the Arāvali chain, or Mārvār in the wider sense of this name, adherents of the sect which now engages our attention are not wanting; this remark applies especially to Jodhpura. On the other hand the Jaina religion maintained in Gujarāt its old prominent position; there adherents of this sect live in most of the towns, and in the peninsula of this name there is scarcely a village which does not contain several Jainas. The sanctuary praised so much already in the Satrunjaya, and situated on the mountain of the same name, has been in much later times also visited by devout pilgrims. This fact appears from three inscriptions preserved in the adjacent Pālitāna. The essential point of the second inscription is that Daśa Karmasāha, who was a descendant of a Gana dhara or president of an assembly, and is zealously devoted to the Jaina doctrine, was by the liberality of the emperor Akbar, who is justly praised for his tolerance, placed in a position to again renovate and to embellish that sanctuary. The third inscription reports that the pious Tejapala undertook in the year 1583 a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain Satrunjaya and richly endowed this sacred place.

After this review of the propagation of the Jainas in Hindostan I turn to the Dakhan.

In the wide region of the north-western Dakhani highland inhabited by the Mahārāshtras or Marathas, Brahmanism dominated so much that but few adherents of the sect in question would be induced either to

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* Edward Thornton’s Gazetteer, &c. II. and the word Guzerat.

† They are published under the following title: Inscriptions from Pulitana. Communicated by Capt. Letgrand Jacob in the J. of the B. B. of the R. As. S. I. p. 56 seqq. The inscription communicated on p. 57 he translated only as an extract; the second, p. 59, by A. B. Oribehar with the help of Venyaka Shastree; it is dated Sambat 1627, or 1580, in the reign of the Emperor Akbar. The third inscription is translated by Bāl Gangādhar Shāstri and dated Sambat 1650 or 1583. Akbar reigned from 1556 till 1605. The text of the two last inscriptions is printed on p. 94. Though Lessen speaks of the inscriptions as “in dem benachbarten Pulitana,” they are from Satrunjaya itself.—Ep.

†† According to the note of LeGrand Jacob in the J. of the B. B. of the R. As. S. I. p. 56, Pālitāna, Sāmanta- sikhara (on which see above, p. 206, note *), and Githa caras in the peninsula of Gujrat, with Mount Arself and Chandragiri in the Himalayas, are the sacred localities most visited by the Jainas. [On Arbuda vide note p. 206.—Ep.]
In the north-eastern Dakhani highland, the Jainas constitute a small portion of the population that they are not worth mentioning. Their chief seats are partly in the southern half of the Dakhani highland, partly in Tuluva or South Kanara, on the Malabar coast. Their chief seats in this portion of Southern India are as follows: — Malejur, Balagoda or Belligola, and Madugiri, where also are a few famed temples of the Jainas. Of these holy places Belligola or Balagoda appears to be the principal one, because we possess a special list of the teachers there.

As the reports of Byzantine authors about India are too insignificant to be treated in detail, I prefer to utilize their communications of this kind, whenever they are worth discussing, for the history of Indian commerce, or to put them on suitable occasions before my readers and to explain them. The only information to be considered in this place occurs in the history of Laonikos Chalkondylas, and refers to a period immediately after the time of Taimur the time historian called his Hindu goddess Artemis.

JAIN INSCRIPTIONS AT SRAVANA BELGOILA.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALORE.

At the Jain village of Sraavana Belgola,† on a smaller hill named Indra Bitta, facing the lofter Chandra Bitta on which stands the colossal image of Gomateswara, are a...
number of inscriptions cut in the rock both on
the summit and around the sides. The char
acters in which they are engraved are of a
curious elongated form, measuring a foot or
more in length, strikingly distinct in the rays
of the sun, but scarcely distinguishable when in
shade. The inscriptions consist mostly of three
or four lines apiece, and are scored about in all
directions, without any appearance of order.
The learned men attendant on the Jain pontiff
of the neighbouring math can neither read the
characters, nor give any account of the inscrip-
tions.

After various attempts I succeeded in getting
a clue to the letters, some of which resemble
those of the Kanarese alphabet. On applying
the key thus obtained, the inscriptions are
found to be written in the ancient Kanarese
dialect. The one of which a facsimile and ren-
dering are now given proves to be an epitaph
to a Jain saint. None of the inscriptions I
have seen contains a date, and in the present in-
stance there is nothing on which to found a con-
jecture as to its antiquity except the archaic
forms of expression, and these hardly form a suf-
ciently definite basis on which to proceed. I

THE MRITYULĀNGALA UPANIṣADH.

BY A. C. BURNELL, M.C.S., M.B.A.S., &c., MANGALOR.

For a long time our knowledge of the Upa-
nishads was derived from Anquetil du Perron's
strange translation of a Persian version of fifty,
made about two centuries ago, to gratify the
curiosity of a Muhammadan Prince.* Of the
large number mentioned and paraphrased in
this work the original Sanskrit texts have been
discovered except in a few instances; one of
these exceptions is the forty-second of du Per-
on's list, the Mrat-lankoul, which he explains
as "Halitus mortis." Prof. A. Weber, who
has thrown light on all the "burning questions"
of Sanskrit literature, has, in the ninth volume
of his Indische Studien, also discussed this
missing Upanishad, and by his almost intuitive
knowledge of the Upanishad literaturesuc-
cceeded in restoring whole sentences of the ori-

1871-2, I, however, found two MSS. of this
tract. One (No. 7210) is written in Devanā-
gari, and is about 100 years old; the other (No.
9727) is a palm-leaf MS. in the Grantha cha-
racter, and much injured. It is probably 200
years old. This tract is perhaps wrongly
included among the Upanishads—it rather be-
longs to the Tantric worship.† Yet, as it is
included by so good an authority as the Persian
translators, it may be worth while to give an
account of it. The Tanjor MSS. present dif-
ferent recensions,—a shorter, the Devanāgari;
and a longer, the Grantha. This last seems
to be the nearest to what the Persian translator
had before him.

The text runs as follows:—

Asya śrīmṛityulāṅgalamahāmantrasya ubhi-
khāldāṅgala rīshiḥ; annShyup chandaḥ; Kālīg-

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cceeded in restoring whole sentences of the ori-

* It is said to have been made by, or for, Dārā Shikoh,
whose unhappy story is so graphically told by Bernier.
As regards the Muhammadans’ study of Sanskrit, see Prof.
Böhmämann’s translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, pp. 191-3,
especially the interesting quotations in the notes. The

† Inasmuch as the manuscript is not Vedic, though its use is
evidently imitated from Vedic rituals.
SPECIMEN OF ROCK INSCRIPTIONS ON INTRA BEṭṭA, ŚRĀVĀṆA BEḷGOḷA.

Gaṇaṃ tīrtheṇa rāṣṭrakṛtaṃ gopālaṃ
Nāsaṃ ṭhaṃ dānāṇaṃ hagaṇāṇaṃ jayata
Pāñcaṣṭhaśatamabhisājadāpadhyayena
Ayaṃ svaṃ svaṃ svaṃ bhadraṇamastu.
nirudro devata. [Aham eva kāla iti bijam; nā 'ham kāla iti śaktih, kilakam mṛtyunjayopasthānē vinīyogaḥ].* "Atha 'to yogajihvā me madhuvadini. Aham eva kālo nā 'ham kālasya riṣām satyam"—[itī asya mantrasya Yama rishih; anusuhup chandaḥ; Kālägnirudro devata mṛtyunjayopasthānē vinīyogaḥ].

"riṣam satyam param brahma parusham kṛishnapi śūlākāmrityumjayopasthäuserna]

urdhvaratam virūpiksham viṣavārūpāya vai namaḥ ||

Om varavrishabhaphenakapiline paśupataye namo namaḥ [varavrishabhaphenakapiliya paśupataye svāhā! om! aum! hīm! śrīm!] iti snārite [yadi snūri] mṛityulāṅgala, brahmahā 'brahmahā bhavati; abrahmachāri subrahma-

cchāri bhavati gurudārgam āgāmī bhavati [svaṁsateṣyā teṣyā bhavati]; surāpāyī apāyī bhavati.† Ekāvāreṇa jāptvā ashūrvamahāra-

lakṣhagāyatrīkapalānti bhavanti; ashīu brah-

manān śrīmāyītva brahmlokaṃ avānātī. Yadi kasyachca na brūvātā, hūkhis kūthitā munakābh bhavati. Yām anena gṛihivpyāt andho bhavati; śhūdhbhir māsiḥ pramāyate, "mantra naśayati— ity āya Mahādeva Vaisākhōh.

It is not difficult to explain how this magical

formula (as well as the Garuda Upanishad)
came to be included in the list of Upanishads.
At the fall of Buddhism the Upanishad doc-

trine or mystical teachings of the older Vedic

schools became of great importance to the

new sects which then came into existence.
Some of these Upanishads no doubt existed

separately; others were contained in Vedic

treatises already reduced to this form. Separate

collections of passages of this nature natu-

rally formed an indispensable weapon to the

polemical sectaries of the day; and, like all

systematists in India, the collectors were posses-

sed of the notion that the number of the Upani-

shads must be one of what they esteem fortunate,
or as possessing mystical properties. Thus the

Muktikopanishad puts the number at 108; a fa-
vourite number, especially in S. India,§ and

which was also much used by the Buddhists. But

these collections were made in different parts

of India, and it would not be everywhere easy to

make up any number of real Upanishads; thus

spurious ones, or even favourite devotional tracts,
would be included to make the number of the

collection perfect, and different collections would

vary much in the separate tracts they included.
It does not appear that in any part of India the

Upanishads are reckoned at a higher number

than 108, but at present there are about 170||
separate works recognised as Upanishads in all

India. Colebrooke (Essays, I. p. 91) put the

number of them at 52, which seems to be a

Benares calculation.

The name mṛityulāṅgala is puzzling. It can-

not possibly be translated "halitus mortis," as

Anquetil has done, probably having mistaken

one Persian word for another which looks much

the same. What, however, it is really intended
to mean is difficult to say. Ulukhalāṅgala can
only have one meaning, and mṛityulāṅgala is
perhaps also obscene; the Tantric tracts are
full of such allusions.

THE NALADIYAR.

BY THE REV. F. J. LEEPER, TRANQUEBAR.

CHAPTER 8.—Patience.

(Continued from page 218.)

swelling waves, will not regard impatient be-

haviour as praiseworthy, but baseness only.
3. Will the hard words uttered*(in reproof)
by friends be more evil than the sweet words
of strangers speaking with joy, O lord of the
cool shore of the mighty ocean, where the beau-
tiful winged insects turn over all the flowers,
if they get men who understand the consequence

* The passages in brackets show the variations or addi-
tions of the longer recension.
† I am from this compelled to follow No. 7210 alone, as
the Grantha MS. is so broken as to be useless.
‡ Svitrikusṭhi (?)
§ The Upanishads in S. India are always said to be 108,
but the Telun and Tamil Brāhmans differ in the selec-
tion. It is always said that there are 108 Śiva temples in
S. India, and this number is met with repeatedly.
|| Prof. Max Müller (Z. d. d. M. G. XIX. pp. 137 ff.)
mentions 149; to these (in my Catalogue, pp. 59 ff.) I
added 5, and Dr. Haug (Brahma und die Brāhmans) 16.
thereof? 4. Knowing what ought to be known, and submitting thereunto, fearing what ought to be feared, performing every duty so as to satisfy the world, and living in the enjoyment of pleasure according to their means, they who are thus disposed never experience the evils of life. 5. When two persons are friends, mixing without variance, should there be misconduct on the part of one, let the other be patient, as far as he can bear it. If he cannot take it patiently, let him not speak evil, but withdraw to a distance. 6. Though another do one evil, if he say, Well, let it pass, and blame himself, it is good. To give up intimate associates, O lord of the forests! is hard even to brutes. 7. O king of the fair hills abounding with hollow-sounding streams! does not close intimacy with the great arise from the idea that they forgive the grievous faults that are committed against them? Will friends be wanting to them who do what is good? 8. Those who are gifted with patience, and who are not so rash as to destroy themselves though withered and famished with hunger, will not declare their misery to those who love them not. They will make it known only to those who have the power to help them. 9. Let pleasure alone, when thou canst enjoy it, if disgrace attends it. O Lord of the hill country abounding in waters! though pleasure only be constantly regarded, it is preferable to enjoy it in a harmless way. 10. Although he himself be ruined, let not a man think of injuring the worthy; let him not eat with whom he should not eat, even though the flesh of his body waste away; let him not speak words intermingled with falsehood, although he get the whole world canopied by the heavens for his reward.

Chapter 9.—Not coveting another's wife.
1. Let not the modest man covet another's wife, since the fear attending that sin is great, the pleasure is of short duration, and if you daily reflect, it renders one liable to the punishment of death by the king, and it is a sin that daily leads men to hell. 2. To those who covet their neighbours' wives these four things,—virtue, praise, friendship, and dignity,—will not accrue. To those who covet their neighbours' wives these four things,—hatred, vengeance, and sin accompanied with fear,—will accrue. 3. What benefit arises from the shamelessly desiring one's neighbour's wife? Since in the going to her there is fear, in going away there is fear, in the enjoyment itself there is fear; in case the sin be not known there is fear,—it is always productive of fear. 4. Of what matter is that enjoyment, O wicked one, which you regard? Say. Since if you are discovered your family will be dishonoured, if you are caught your leg will be cut off; while in the act you are in dread, and it will cause ever-enduring anguish in hell. 5. Those who are destitute of everything that is good, and companions of the vile, have habitually sinned with damsels with mole-spotted breasts, and in a former birth have violated by force the wives of others, shall in the next birth be born hermaphrodites and live by dancing. 6. Why should he look with desire upon his neighbour's wife who, after inquiring about a propitious day, and having the drum beaten that all may know, has celebrated his marriage, who has a wife tender and loving in his own house, who then placed herself under his care? 7. The enjoyment of the man of unstable mind possessed with delusion, who desires and embraces the wife of his neighbour, while his neighbours reproach him and his relations fear and are troubled, is of the nature of that pleasure which is caused by licking a serpent's head. 8. Since the desire which arises in the minds of the wise increases not, nor shows itself (by actions), nor extends beyond their own family, the pain which it causes being very grievous, and they, fearing lest by it they should be put to shame before their foes, speak not of it at all. Therefore it dies away of itself in the mind. 9. An arrow, or fire, or the sun with shining beams, though they wound and burn, scorch only the body. But desire,—since it wounds, grieves, and burns the soul,—is much more to be feared than any of these things. 10. If he plunge overhead in the water, a man may escape from the fearful red flames which have sprung up in, and are ravaging a town. But though he plunge in many holy rivers, desire will still be unquenched; yea, though he live like an anchorite on the mountain top, it will still burn.

Chapter 10.—Liberality.
1. To those men the gates of heaven shall never be closed, who with tender hearts and with a mind in accordance with their alms, greatly rejoicing, give even in poverty according to their ability, even as they did in the day of prosperity. 2. Before you is disgusting old age,
and your dying day also: these are pains destructive of greatness. Run not vainly here and there. Covet not. Give alms, then eat. Hide not any of it when you possess wealth. 3. The wealth of him who in this birth wipes not away the tears of those who, trembling with poverty, betake themselves to him, by reason of his merit in a former birth, of not eating till he had given a portion to others, shall go on increasing while the time of increase lasts. But when the effect of these good deeds is exhausted, that wealth shall altogether leave him, let him hold it never so firmly. 4. Give what you are able, even though you have not the thousandth part of a measure of rice in the house, and then eat your meal; the wise call those in this birth wandering beggars whose chimneys smoke not in this earth, surrounded by the deep sea, who gave not alms in a former birth. 5. Let a man who regards both this world and the next, give what he can as he gets it; and if, through poverty, giving be impossible, to abstain from begging will be to give twice.

6. Those who give are like the female palm tree surrounded by the terrace in the midst of the village, they live beloved by many. Men who eat without giving to others, though their family be flourishing, are like the male palm in a burning-ground. 7. When the rain that should fall falls not, and when mankind omit to do the things they ought to do, O lord of the cool shore beaten by the waves where the Punnei-flower repels the noisome odour of the fish! in what way does the world get on? 8. Man's duty is to give to those who are unable to bear (their distresses), not driving them away, nor turning away from the extended hands. O lord of the cool shore of ocean, full of rivers! to give to those who will pay it back again—has the name of a loan at interest. 9. Not saying they have very little, not saying they have not anything, let them ever exercise fruitful charity to all. Like the pitcher of the mendicant who enters the house-door for alms, it will, in due course, gradually become full. 10. Those who are ten miles distant can hear the sound of the wide drum beaten with the stick; those a yojana distant, can hear the hoarse thunder; but all who live in the three worlds piled up will hear the report that some of the excellent have given alms.

Chapter 11.—The effect of actions done in a former birth.

1. As a young calf when let loose among a number of cows naturally seeks out and attaches itself to its own mother, so does the act of a former state of existence seek out and attach itself to him who has performed it. 2. The prosperity of him who knows that beauty, youth, glittering wealth, and honour remain not stable in one birth to any one, and yet in one birth performs not a single good deed—has the nature of a thing that takes a body, remains for a time, and then utterly perishes. 3. There are none at all who are not anxious to acquire wealth. Each one's experience of happiness or misery is measured by the deeds of a former birth. None can make the wood-apple round, none can dye the Karla-fruit black. 4. To avoid those things which are to happen, or to detain those who are to depart, is alike impossible even to saints, even as there is none who can give rain out of season, or prevent its falling in season.

5. Those who were once in dignity as tall as the Palmyra, live on, daily losing their greatness, and becoming small as a grain of millet, hide within them their glory. On enquiry it will appear that that which has happened is nothing but the effect of deeds done in a former birth. 6. If you wish to know how it is that those perish, who know the benefits accruing from the sciences which they have acquired by oral instruction, while the unlearned prosper: it is because Yama looks upon the unlearned as refuse cane, since they are destitute, as to their minds, of the sap of knowledge, and therefore he cares not to take them away. 7. Behold all those whose bosoms are goaded by distress and who wander forlorn through the long streets, know—O lord of the cool shore of the billowy ocean where the playful swans tear in pieces the water-flowers!—that this proceeds from the acts of former births. 8. When those who, besides being not ignorant, have learned that which they ought to know and do that which is blameable, O king of the cool shore of the broad ocean, where the lotus flings its odours to the winds! this proceeds from the acts they have formerly done. 9. All who dwell in the world surrounded by the surging ocean desire to be exempt from the afflictive effects of former evil deeds, and to experience the effect of former good deeds; but, whether men wish or do not wish, it is impossible
to prevent that from affecting them which is ordained to happen. 10. The effect of the act of former births does not fall below nor exceed its due proportion, nor doth it fail to come in its turn, neither does it assist out of season, but when it ought to be there it is. Of what use therefore is sorrow when it afflicts you?

CHAPTER 12.—Truth.

1. To say he has not that which he does not really possess is no harm to any one. It is the usage of the world. To lie standing or running, that the desire (of others) may fail, O thou who hast rows of bracelets! hath evil more than that of those who have destroyed a good thing done. 2. The excellent and the vile never change their respective natures: though a man should eat sugar it will not taste bitter, and though the gods themselves should eat of the Margosa fruit, it will still taste bitter. 3. In time of prosperity a man's near relations will be as numerous as the stars which sport over the sky. When any one is subjected to intolerable sorrow, O lord of the cool mountain those who will say "We are related to him" are few indeed. 4. He who secures the middle one of these three things, virtue, wealth and happiness, which have a hold on men's minds in this faithless world, shall secure the other two also; whilst he who obtains not the middle one shall be afflicted like the tortoise put into the pot and boiled. 5. If it be the calf of a good cow, the heifer also will fetch a good price. Though they be unlearned, the words of the rich will pass current. Like ploughing when there is little moisture, touching the surface only, the words of the poor will go for nothing. 6. Although deeply instructed in the knowledge of truth, those who have not accustomed themselves to restraint can never be restrained. Thus, O large-eyed beauty! though the wild gourd be dressed with salt, ghee, milk, curds, and various condiments, its natural bitterness will never be removed. 7. O lord of the shores of the swelling ocean covered with forests, scented by the perfume of the Punneiflowers since that which is fated to happen will happen, let persons never utter reproachful words behind the backs of those who revile them, but only before their faces. 8. Though cows be of different colours, the milk which the cows produce is not of different colours. Like milk, the fruit of virtue is of one nature, though virtue itself take many colours in this world, like the cows. 9. Has any one lived entirely without praise in the world? Has any one failed through exertion to prosper? Has any one died without being reproached? Has any one, even to the end of his life, collected (what he deems) sufficient wealth? If you inquire, you will not find even one. 10. If they every way consider there is nothing else that goes with them but the actions they have done, there (in the other world) even the body which (here) they cherished and adorned is useless when death takes them away.

CHAPTER 13.—The fear of misconduct.

1. A burning-ground is the proper place for the bodies of those who, though plunged in the sea of domestic cares, betake not themselves to asceticism as a refuge. The stomach of the possessors of little wisdom is a burning-place for beasts and birds without number, i.e. he eats them. 2. They should have their legs bound with iron, become slaves to their enemies, and go to the field of gloomy soil, who keep in a cage the partridge or the quail, which live in the woods resounding with the sound of winged insects. 3. He who in a former birth desiring crabs broke off their legs and ate them, when the effect of that sin shall take place, he shall wander about afflicted with leprosy, the palms of his hands excepted; all his fingers like Chank-shell beads will rot away. 4. Even such a thing as ghee when approached by the flame of fire will cause intolerable pain by fierce burning: of many bad actions will they become guilty who, though not crooked, become so, and associate with those who are bad. 5. Friendship with the wise will daily increase in regular gradation, like the crescent moon. Friendship with the base will daily decrease, like the full moon which rides through the sky. 6. Thinking them good thou didst associate with them. If in those with whom thou hast associated there be no good intent towards thee who hast associated with them, O thou who didst associate (with such)! listen: It is like a man opening a box believing that there is an unguent in it and seeing a snake inside. 7. O lord of the land resplendent with mountains on whose declivities genii abound! since a man's actions differ so much from his mind, who is there that is capable of searching out so as to understand the resources of another's mind? 8. O lord of the fair hills over which slowly roll streams that cast up gems.
on that hallowed spot for ever. The god graciously consented, and was instantly transformed into the black idol which ever since has stood there. A temple was built round him, and he acquired a wide reputation.

But Viṣṭoḥbā is broken and dead, and his priests have given out that the great god may perhaps be induced, by prayers and fasts, to signify his gracious consent to retake possession of the mutilated idol. So, already, thousands of religious Hindus are seeking, by extravagant vows and mortifications, to persuade Viṣṭoḥbā not to depart from Pandarpur; and the aid of the press will doubtless be sought, to spread the news of the disaster wherever there are Hindus to pray, fast, and make offerings. The fall of the Pandarpur shrine, and the stoppage of the pilgrimages, would be one of the greatest blessings that could befall the country, as the fairs are a source of annual expense and harassment to the authorities all over the presidency; for many virulent outbreaks of cholera are traced every year to the return home of the pilgrims with the fatal disease among them. Before and after each fair, sanitary precautions are taken along all the principal routes, at great trouble and expense. But the Hindus, who never appreciated this action of the British Government, are now fearful lest the angry god should plague the country, and are also warning the authorities of the certain falling off of the revenue from the cessation of the tax of four annas a head levied on every pilgrim to the temple. Those who understand the priesthood, hundreds of whom are living on the fat of the land by means of the offerings of Viṣṭoḥbā’s worshipers, can foretell that they will never allow the shrine to be deserted. The holiest man of them all will one of these days be favoured with a vision or dream, in which Viṣṭoḥbā will intimate his pleasure to hear the prayers of his servants and continue at Pandarpur.

In a Syrian (i.e. Nestorian) church at Koṭṭayam in Travancor, said to be one of the oldest in the country, I found at the back of a side-altar a granite slab with a cross in bas-relief on it, and round the arched top a short sentence in Pehlevi; at the foot of the cross a few words in Syriac. On looking round the church I found a similar but evidently older tablet built into the wall. This tablet is nearly covered by whitewash, but shows only a Pehlevi inscription. There is a similar tablet in the Mount church (near Madras), which has long been the property of the Portuguese.

Since my return to Mangalore I have found Friar Vincenzo Maria’s Vingagio all’ India Orientali, p. 135 (Roma, 1672), mention of several such tablets; he particularly mentions the ones at Cranganor and Meliapòr (i.e. Madras), and takes them to be relics of the mission of St. Thomas to India. As there is hardly a trace left of Cranganor, it would be useless to search there; but the older Syrian churches (at Niraça, Kāyamkūlam, &c.) will no doubt furnish other copies. In this very out-of-the-way place I have nothing to help in deciphering the Pehlevi inscription, which is nearly the same on the three tablets I have seen; the first few signs only differ. The last word in all looks like afṣūd (may it be increased?). As soon as I can get it lithographed I shall send copies to the principal European scholars who occupy themselves with Pehlevi.

The number of these tablets proves that there must have been communities in several places, and those large enough to have churches both on the S. W. and S. E. coasts of India. Cosmas (beginning of the sixth century A.D.) mentions Christians in Male (i.e. S. W. India), and that there was a Persian bishop at Kalliana, i.e. Kalvāṇapūr, near Udupi, and in this province—a place
always reputed to be one of the earliest Christian settlements in India. Nor were these Persians disliked, as foreigners are now, by the natives of India. Before the beginning of the ninth century A.D. they had acquired sovereign rights over their original settlement, Manigrāmam, by a grant from the Perumāl. These Persians were thus established long before the origin of the modern schools of the Vedānta, and the founders of these sects were all natives of places close to Persian settlements. Sankarāchārya was born not far from Cranganor, where the Persians first founded a colony; Rāmānuja was born and educated near Madras; and Mādhavāchārya, the founder of the sect which approaches nearest of all to Christianity, was a native of Udupi, a place only three or four miles south of Kalyāmapūr. A comparison of the doctrines of these sects with those of the Manichaeans will, I think, settle the question; but I must reserve that for another occasion. That these Persians were Manichaeans is, I think, to be concluded from the name of their settlement, Manigrāmam. This can only mean "Manes-town;" the only other possible meaning, "Jewel-town," is utterly improbable.

Prof. Weber has shown that the Brahmasamāj doctrines are an unacknowledged result of Christian missions in this century; the S. Indian Vedānta sects must be taken as a similar result of perhaps the earliest Christian (though Manichaean) mission to India.

How close the connection between Persia and India was in the sixth century A.D. is also known from the history of the European versions of the Pañchatantra. The existence of this work in India was then known to the Persians, and this knowledge presupposes a greater knowledge of Indian matters by foreigners than has ever since been the case up to the end of the last century.

I may remark also that the facts I have mentioned above render it probable that Būrzweih or Barzūyeh, who first translated the Pañchatantra into Pehlevi, was actually a Christian, as the Arab historian, Ibn Abu Oseibia, states. The S. Indian Sanskrit Pañchatantra is the oldest yet discovered (see Prof. Benfey's note, Academy, vol. iii. pp. 139-140); may not Bürzweih have got his copy in S. W. India?

Patriotic Hindus will hardly like the notion that their greatest modern philosophers have borrowed from Christianity; but as they cannot give an historical or credible account of the origin of these Vedantist sects, if we take the above facts into consideration, there is more against them than a strong presumption, for these doctrines were certainly unknown to India in Vedic or Buddhistic times.

I have mentioned before the discovery of an old Jain version of the Rāmāyana in Canarese. This is certainly more than a thousand years old, and differs greatly from the Tamil and Sanskrit versions. The Tamil version (by Kampan) is also very old and deserves examination if the question of the original form of the Sanskrit epic is to be really decided. I hope soon to be able to give some account of the Canarese version, as I have found an excellent MS., written about 420 years ago, which is wonderfully correct.—A. BURNELL in The Academy.

Professor Palmer, the Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, has an Arabic Grammar in the press, mainly founded on Syrian authorities. From what I hear of the arrangement, it will be more like a portable edition of Silvestre de Sacy's Grammaire Arabe than anything else one knows. The Professor has also been translating Alice in Wonderland into Arabic verse and prose, and proposes publishing it, provided he can get the use of the original plates.

An answer to the query respecting the right and left hand Castes (p. 214) will be found in the edition of the Kural by F. W. Ellis. The distinction arises primarily from the landowners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmanas, artizans, and other interlopers forming the other. But the constituent castes of either party vary.

CASTES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

(Castes of the Bombay Presidency.

Kabbar:—A caste of low rank in Southern India; in Dharwād they are numerous, and, like the village Kolis, act as ferrymen: in Kanara they are few, and are engaged like Bhuis in fishing and carrying palanquins: their habits are those of their class. Buchanan describes the 'Cubbaru' as a branch of the Bhuis, some being cultivators and others lime-burners. Morals and habits rude. Kabalgāri is the name of a similar caste in Dharwād.

Chavadriá:—A Bhill tribe in Gujarat, chiefly in the Surat collectorate, numerous; small cultivators, labourers, or fishermen in the Tàpi river. Their condition is hardly raised above the lowest level; they are one of the classes included in the Kālā Prajā, or the black race.

Paitharwat:-A caste of middle rank, in the Dukhan, stone-masons and artificers in stone.

Kandri—A caste in Gujarat who are confectioners, &c.

Jangars:—Singers and bards; holding middle rank, and often in public or private employ.
Clay head, found in Râllivör Cairn.
Vol. II. page 278

FIVE-CELLED OPEN-FRONTED DOLMEN, FORMERLY EXISTING NEAR NIDI MAND, NILGIRIS.
(FROM A ROUGH SKETCH MADE ON THE SPOT).
Vol. II. page 275.
ON SOME FORMERLY EXISTING ANTiquITIES ON THE NILGIRIS.

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

Although the antiquities of the Nilgiri Hills were thoroughly investigated by the late Commissioner of the Nilgiris, Mr. J. Brecks, under the direction and with the aid of the Madras Government, and although it is understood his account of them was completed before his lamented and untimely death, and will be published, it will not, I hope, be regarded as superfluous to record the original features of some of the antiquities which have long ago been destroyed, and are not mentioned in Colonel Congreve's account.

I.

In April 1849, when at Kun (Coonoor) and inquiring amongst the natives about the ancient remains, I was told by a Toda that there were some to be seen beyond the Nidi Mänd. So, starting early one morning, and crossing the great ravine which lies between Kun fir and the Hālikāl ridge, then clothed with deep magnificent forest, where now the eye meets nothing save productive—but, alas! ugly—coffee-clearings, I wound upwards through the picturesque foldings of the hills to the Nidi Mánd, where my informant met me. All Toda mãnds, i.e. villages, are beautifully placed, and this (whether still existing or improved into a coffee-garden, I cannot say) was nestled in a cleft between two peaks, at the edge of a thick grove, the trees of which stretched their great moss-hung arms over the wild-looking primitive huts, by which stood the tall men wrapt classic-wise in their cloths, whilst the handsome black-ringleted women sat chattering in a row, and the boys—their thick shocks of hair cut quaintly thatch-fashion across their foreheads—came running over the close fresh green-sward which lies before every Mánd.

Passing through the high secluded cleft, round the base of one of the sheltering peaks, I decended for fully 1000 feet on the other side of the ridge, by an excessively steep and difficult track, to a hollow, where on three sides the slopes ran very precipitously down, enclosing at the bottom a small platform, open on the fourth or south side, whence the mountain-side fell steeply down to the Bhavāni valley at the foot of the range. On a knoll in the middle of the platform stood a cromlech of very large size, or rather a row of connected cromlechs, forming five partitions, three large ones of equal height in the centre, and a smaller and lower one at each end. They stood in a line, the three central compartments being covered with three huge capstones, the edge of one overlapping the edge of the next; the supporting stones, four in number, being great slabs, set up end-wise, with slabs enclosing the back or north side—the front or south side of all was open; the smaller structure at each end was formed in like manner. Unfortunately I omitted to take the exact dimensions, but a man could sit easily in any of the three central cells; within them lay the skeleton of a fawn, and part of an elephant's tooth much hacked with a knife. The supporting slabs were sculptured all over on their sides with figures in the Hindu style, processional or warlike, but there were none on the under-sides of the capstones. The figures were evidently ancient, as, though covered from the weather, their outlines were much worn. Whether these sculptures were coeval with the stones and wrought by the men who first placed them, or whether they were subsequent additions, is a controversy still sub judice. They have been found on cromlechs and kistvaens in other parts of the hills, and if regarded as contemporary with the stones would at once mark the age of these structures, as emblems, such as the Basava bull, of known date, occur amongst them. They appear always to have struck observers as later additions cut upon the previously existing cromlechs; such was my impression and also that of Col. Congreve, and others, but the point is by no means settled yet. I may observe that a man sitting inside the cells could easily have cut the sculptures in the cromlech now described by me.

On visiting the spot again in 1856 this curious monument had been entirely destroyed, every stone overthrown and lying scattered around; the work evidently of some barbarians—not, I fear, dark-skinned. Though hitherto calling it *cromlech,* I hardly know how to class it. It was indeed rather a succession of open-sided connected kistvaens. Single dolmens or kistvaens, consisting of upright side and back slabs sup-

porting a covering stone, the front side remaining open, are not unfrequent, especially in the eastern region of the Nilgiris, several of them also sculptured within; but I know of no structures of connected cells, like the one described, occurring either in India or any other country. It differs essentially from the allées couvertes and chambered barrows of Europe. Colonel Congreve describes no such monument in his Antiquities of the Nilgiris, and I know of but one other example, on the hills, namely, at Mēher, some miles westward at the foot of the Kunḍā Range, where there appear to have been four connected cells, also with sculptured stones, but I am uncertain whether with appended lesser cells. This monument also, I understand, has been partially destroyed.

Though the intention of kistvaens, chambered barrows, and what are generally called cromlechs, was undoubtedly sepulchral, I am on the whole not sure that it was so with respect to this and the other sculptured dolmens of the Nilgiris. Nothing was found on digging up the floor of the cells in the Nidi Mānd Dolmen,—which may further be said with confidence to have been always free-standing, and never covered with a tumulus,—an assertion further strengthened by the sculptures within. With respect to the last-mentioned feature, I may observe that these sculptured stones when occurring near their villages are worshipped as gods by the Bādas, the most numerous race on the hills. This, however, I believe, is only an instance of the Hindu propensity to venerate anything that appears mysterious or sacred, and argues no other connection with the remains. The Kūrāmbās—the wild jungle-tribe that haunt the densest jungles of the mountain slopes, and whose remote ancestry may have had more to do with megalithic monuments, also pay worship to some of the cairns and cromlechs on the plateau, in which they believe their old gods reside. They and their forest-kindred the Irlas, “the children of darkness,” still after every funeral bring a devva koṭṭa kalī, i.e. a long water-worn pebble, and put it in a cromlech to represent the deceased. Cromlechs have sometimes been found filled with such pebbles. Free-standing dolmens—or, as I should prefer to call them, hat-temples—closed on three sides, with a fourth open, and containing lingam stones or rude images, are frequent in the Maisur country and on the Shivarāi Hills in Salem, and are but rough extempore shrines, made and used to-day, but suggesting what the use of some of the ancient cromlechs may have been. In Central India both closed and open-sided kistvaens abound, but it has been observed that, though the former contain sepulchral remains, urns, &c. in profusion, the latter never do. I am therefore inclined to regard the five-celled open-sided Nidi Mānd Dolmen as not sepulchral, but intended for a rude temple or shrine; and the cut piece of an elephant’s tusk found in it had probably been laid there by some wandering Kurambū, to represent one of the primordial gods worshipped by his ancestors before the advent of Indra and Vishṇu. The grey weather-worn structure had an aspect of quaint mysterious antiquity as it stood in that spot of wild and utter seclusion, backed by steep converging slopes rough with rocks and trees, and overlooking in front a wide jungle-country stretching far below in a labyrinth of ridges and valleys. The very peculiar feature of a small chamber being attached to each end of the great central triple chamber must not be overlooked. Analogous side-chambers are attached to the magnificent cromlech in Guernsey known as “L’Aute du Déhus,” and these are spoken of as “unique;” they however contained curious forms of interment. Finally I may add that, when returning, a small cairn was observed near the Tōḍāmand, on opening which a curious flattened chatti was found, its mouth covered with a flat dish, and filled with red sand, like none in the neighbourhood. This peculiarity, of vessels being filled with sand or mould that must have been brought from a distance, occurs in cairn-interments both on the Indian plains and in England.

II.

A few years after the discovery of the above-described cromlech, a number of weapons were found in a stone-circle between Kunūr and Kartārī, on the Nilgiris. The circle was by no means remarkable, about six feet in diameter, and the stones of moderate size, only just appearing above the ground. It occupied no distinguished site, being on the slope of a hill of ordinary appearance, and might easily have escaped notice unless actually walked over. On digging into it, however, a number of weapons and implements were discovered embedded in a thick layer of charcoal, which appears to have had the
IRON WEAPONS FOUND BURIED IN A STONE-CIRCLE BETWEEN KUNÜR AND KARTĀRI, NILGIRI HILLS.

HALF-SIZE
October, 1873.

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NILGIRI REMAINS.

Effect of keeping them in remarkable preservation, for they were nearly as clean and perfect as if fresh from the smith, and several of them remarkable both for shape and workmanship, and an elaborateness of ornament that seems hard to reconcile with the rude age commonly ascribed to such remains. They are now in the British Museum; a description of some of the more remarkable is subjoined:

1. A short very broad-bladed sword or dagger, 14 inches in total length, the blade 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) and 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) in breadth at the widest part—for it is leaf-shaped, like swords of the Bronze period in Europe, being broadest at the middle, narrowing to the point, and to the bottom, and again widening as it joins the hilt; it is double-edged: there is a cross-guard at each end of the handle (in this differing from European examples), and the handle is decorated with a minute double wavy beading running down it on each of the four sides, the spaces between each line of beading being filled with an incised arabesque pattern of lines and curves very neatly executed. The inner faces of the guards are also ornamented with a pattern of similar character but different design. The guards and handle—which is perforated, all form separate pieces, held together by a tong secured by a knob, formed of two pieces on the outer side of the lower guard. Another dagger was also found in the deposit, differing chiefly in the blade being narrow and of uniform breadth, and the handle much less elaborate.

2. The head of a spear or javelin, the blade 8 inches long, and 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) wide at bottom, narrowing gradually to the point. Several other smaller heads, of the same character, were found.

3. A javelin-head, 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches long in blade, which is an inch wide at the bottom, tapering to the point, and distinguished by an incised pattern of curves running in double diminishing lines along three-fifths of its length.

4. A leaf-shaped javelin, 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches long in the blade, which is 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) inch wide in its broadest part, narrowing thence to the point and to the tong, the upper blade double-edged.

5. A remarkable javelin-head, the blade, 5\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches long, widening upwards to a curved convex edge, an inch wide across; the bottom decorated with a raised rib 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) inch long, studded with minute curved lines, and the sides for the same distance ornamented with beading and curved lines in pairs.

6. A plain javelin-head, the blade 3 inches long, but ending in an obtuse angle rather than a point.

7. A long spike-shaped arrowhead, four-sided but ending in a point, the bottom square, edged with straight and wavy lines, and fixed to a hollow socket, 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches long, the arrow-spike itself being 5 inches long and half an inch broad at base. Three other arrow-heads of this peculiar type were also found in the deposit, singularly perfect and well made. Arrow-heads of long triangular shape are also found in Nilgiri cairns, much of the same kind as are now used by the jungle tribes, but I have not heard of this spiky type being now in use.

Two pairs of twisted bronze or copper bangles were found in this deposit, and several other less noteworthy weapons and objects, the whole much better preserved than any others I have met with.

III.

In 1848 when at Kunur I received information of a large unopened cairn—an undisturbed example had even then become scarce,—and, on proceeding to examine it, was guided to an exceedingly high and steep hill over the Rāliyar, just above where the three roads from Utkāmanid, Kunur, and Kotāgiri meet. It was a very stiff pull up, especially towards the end, where the hill rose into an abrupt sugar-loaf peak. On the top there was a very large and massive cairn of the peculiar Nilgiri type—an immense heap of stones with a circular well in the centre; the sides of the well—built of large blocks carefully and accurately adjusted, the well—about five feet in diameter and six in depth; the wall enclosing it—nearly seven feet thick, and the same height above the ground outside. In fact the word "heap" applied to the structure is misleading; the stones were not loosely piled, but fitted so that the whole structure rather resembled a section of a truncated round-tower;—and none but those who have attempted it can appreciate the difficulty and skill required to build a wall of loose uncemented stones that will stand firm for even a short period, much more for ages. The central well was entirely filled with comparatively small loose stones rising into a pile. This, though conveying an assurance that the cairn was undisturbed, threatened a long and hard piece of work before it could be explored. And so it proved;
for though shikāris, coolies, and guides mustered a dozen men, it took them from tolerably early in the morning till much past midday before the centre of the cairn was cleared. In accomplishing this, one remarkable feature was observed: in the middle of the well there was a long large stone nearly four feet in length, of considerable thickness and tapering upwards, placed upright, filled in, and covered with the stones which filled the well. Whether this had any lingam, or other significance, I cannot say. After the circular central opening was at last cleared, nothing was found to reward the toil but some pieces of a large urn; a miniature buffalo's-head of hard-baked clay; a human head the size of a lime, of the same—the hair being represented by little dotted rings; and a small sickle-shaped iron-knife: the whole cairn had been built on the rock, and there were only two or three inches of soil at the bottom of the well. Considering the number of objects frequently yielded by cairns, I was much disappointed at this result. The hill-top was the most commanding of the many around, on almost every one of which a cairn was visible, and there was a magnificent prospect from it over Kotagiri and the low country beyond, extending to the distant Salem and Trichināpalli hills. Hence one was led to conclude the cairn must be the burial-place of a great chieftain; and the enormous labour expended in carrying such multitudes of stones up a hill that was trying to ascend empty-handed, raised the expectation they would cover a rich and various funeral deposit.

9, Randolph Crescent, London, June 1873.

MUSALMĀN REMAINS IN THE SOUTH KONKAN.

BY A. K. NAIRNE, Esq., Bo. C.S., BANDORA.

I.—Dābhol.

The Southern Konkan is a district which up to the time of the Marāthās possessed little importance, and is but seldom mentioned in the earlier histories. The Musalmāns, who spread so gradually over India, would perhaps never have thought so barren and uncivilized a country worth conquering at all, if it had not been that its seaports gave travellers from Persia and Arabia easier access to the great cities of the Dekhan than could be had by any land-journey, and it must have been necessary also to keep open certain routes from these ports to the Dekhan, without which the command of the coast would have been of little value. It is probable that these ports and routes were but few, and from the fact of nearly all the Konkan forts having been rebuilt and enlarged by Śivāji, the traces of the Musalmān occupation are even less than they otherwise would be. Yet it is possible, by searching books of old history and travel, and at the same time examining the few remaining ruins, to get some idea of what this district was in the days of Musalmān ascendency, and to make out a few of the routes by which merchants and travellers from Persia, Arabia, and Europe found their way to the capital cities of Bidar, Gulbargā, Bijāpur, and Golkondā. What I have collected I now give with tolerable confidence that, as far as it goes, it is correct, but it is no more than an outline which may perhaps help others to prepare a complete local history.

In his translation of Ferishtah, Briggs, speaking of the Muhammadan invasion of the Konkan in 1429, says: "It seems very doubtful if the whole of the Konkan had ever been attacked before this period, and this exploit seems to have been rather a marauding expedition than a conquest. The ports of Dābul and Chaul are spoken of at a very early period as in the hands of the Muhammadans: but whether they occupied much of the interior of the country appears very doubtful." As I have no acquaintance with the district in which Chaull lies, I shall confine myself to that part of the Southern Konkan between Bāṅkōt and Goa—that is, the Rutnāgirī collectorate and a small part of the Sāvantvādi State, and on all accounts it will be proper to begin with the history of Dābul, as it is always spelt by the Musalmān and early English writers, though it is written in Marāthī Dābhōl.

This ancient port is situated above 85 miles lat. 45°30'. Chivīl (Chivīl) or Chaull, he places in long. 88°, and lat. 36°, and Bidar (Bidar) in long. 109°, lat. 47°.—Er,
S. of Bombay on the N. bank of the river Va-
sishtī, just at the point where it opens out into
a noble estuary, and about two miles higher up
than the Marāṭhā fort of Anjanvel, which guards
the entrance on the southern side. Though
exceedingly picturesque, no one would ever
have chosen this as a situation for a large town :
for the strip of land intervening between the
river and the very high and steep hills is so
narrow, that if Dābul was ever as populous as is
stated, the town must have extended three or
four miles up the river. It is now like any other
insignificant Konkan town, with no trade to
speak of, and the houses entirely hidden among
cocanut trees. The only objects worthy of re-
mark are a fine mosque, with dome and minarets,
standing almost at the water's edge close to the
present landing-place, a few tombs standing by
themselves nearer to the sea, and a conical hill
three or four miles further up the river, crowned
by a mosque which from its position has a good
deal the appearance of a Rhine castle. The
earliest mention I have found of the place is in
Dow's History, which professes to be a translation
of Ferishtah, but is said to contain much that is
not found in that author. He mentions Dābul as
one of the countries ravaged by Malik Naib Kaff-
ur in 1312, along with Mahrāt, Raichor, Mud-
kal, and others whose names I do not identify :
all except the first evidently meaning the districts
of which the places named were the chief towns.
As it was scarcely twenty years before this that the
Musalmāns had made their first great raid into
the Dekhan, it may be concluded that this was
their first acquaintance with the Southern Kon-
kan, and there can be no doubt that they entered
it by passing down the Ghāts, for it was not
till several generations after this that they
either took to the sea, or ventured on the very
difficult land journey from Gujarāt through the
Northern Konkan.

In 1357, the then undivided kingdom of the
Dekhan was made into four governments, and
Dābul is mentioned as the western limit of the
first government, which included Guľbargā it-
self. Chaul is also mentioned at this time, but
no port south of Dābul. Again, towards the
end of the century, both towns are mentioned
by Ferishtah as among the chief ones in the
empire, and as having had orphan schools, with
ample foundations for their support, established
by king Muhammad Shāh Bahmani.

In 1429, and again in 1436, two considerable
expeditions were sent into the Konkan, and
the country is said to have been subjugated and
well plundered. No mention is made of Dābul
in connection with either of these, but of the
second it is recorded that a beautiful daughter
of the Rāja of Rairi (Raiyāgho) was sent to
court, where she became the queen of Ahmad
Shāh Wali Bāhmani, and was long celebrated
under the name of Perichehra, or Fairy-face.
The next events recorded of Dābul are of a
different sort, but not less calculated to show its
importance in the 15th century. Mahāmūd
Khiān Goward, who afterwards became the cele-
brated minister of the Bidar kingdom, came
from Persia as a merchant and landed at Dā-
bul in 1447. And about 1459 Yūnsūf Adil Khān,
the founder of the Bijāpur dynasty, also entered
India at Dābul. His romantic story is given
in full detail by Ferishtah, but it is sufficient
here to mention that he was taken from Dābul
to Bidar as a slave by a Georgian merchant.
Shortly after this, Dābul is first mentioned by
a European traveller, as neither Marco Polo nor
Ibn Batuta mention any ports of the Konkan,
and Marco Polo gives but a few lines to the
whole of the coast of this Presidency, speaking
of it under the name of the kingdom of Thaya.
But Nikitin, a Russian, who about the year
1470 spent three or four years in the south of
India, landed at Chaul, and, from what he
heard there, wrote as follows:—"Dābul is a very
extensive seaport where many horses are brought
from Mysore, Rabast (Arabia), Khorassan, Tur-
kestan, &c. It takes a month to walk by land
from this place to Beder and Kulburga. It is
the last seaport in Hindostan belonging to the
Musalmāns." Three years later he made Dā-
bul his port of embarkation, and from here
took ship to Hormuz, paying two pieces of gold
for his passage, and spending a month at sea.
He then wrote: "Dābul, a port of the vast
Indian Sea ... it is a very large town, the great
meeting-place of all nations living on the coast
of India."

About 1482, Bahādur Khān Gīlānī attempted
to make himself independent of the then declin-
ing kingdom of Bīdar, and, among other towns,
had for a long time possession of Dābul and
Goa, and command of the whole coast. He
was at last, however, defeated by Muhammad
Shāh Bāhmani II. in a battle which took place
somewhere near Kolhapur, and after this the king and a few of his principal nobles marched down to Dābul and enjoyed the (to them) novel amusement of sailing about up and down the coast. Within three or four years of this, however, the Bijapur kingdom was established, and the whole Konkan passed to it.

In 1508 the misfortunes of Dābul began, when it was bombarded by Almeida, the Portuguese Viceroy, who did not, however, succeed in taking the fort. Ferishtah says that in 1510 Goa was ceded by the king of Bijapur to the Portuguese as the condition of their not molesting the other towns on the coast, and that they kept this treaty. The Portuguese historians, however, give a very different account; for according to themselves they were constantly marauding, and in 1522 landed and levied a contribution at Dābul. Before this, in 1515, a Persian ambassador had embarked at Dābul on his way back from Bijapur, and this is the last event of the sort I have read of in connection with the place. The Portuguese claim to have burnt every town on the coast between Srīvardhan and Goa in 1548, and again in 1569, but they are discreetly silent about an event which Ferishtah records of 1571.*

A Portuguese force then landed at Dābul with the intention of burning it as usual, though one would suppose that, as only two years had elapsed since the last occasion, there would not be much worth burning. But the governor, Khwāja Ali Shirāzi, having heard of their intentions, laid an ambush and put to death 150 of them. Not many years after this, when the Portuguese had begun to be inconvenienced by the advances of the Dutch, they made peace with Bijapur, and we then hear no more of Dābul.

It is not difficult to understand why it was that Dābul declined in the later days of the Musalmān kingdom, and still more subsequently. So long as the Musalmān capital was at Bidar or Gulbargā, Dābul was the nearest port, and there was no need to look for another. But when independent kingdoms were established at Bijapur and Golkonda, it would be natural to look for ports further south than Dābul; and Rājāpur, and especially the splendid harbour and creek of Gheria, would soon obtain the preference. And in Marāthā days Dābul was entirely eclipsed by the neighbouring town and fortress of Anjanvel, and thus, between near and distant rivals, fell into utter obscurity, as also did Chaul. Grant Duff says that in 1697 Dābul was granted in inām to the Sirkē family, and a greater proof of its decay is that some of the present Hindu inhabitants are said to have grants dated in the last century, of some of the best sites in the town, described as waste ground.

As showing the obscurity it has now fallen into, I may mention that Thornton's *Gazetteer of India* does not even contain the name of Dābul, though, as not a single word is said about the ancient greatness or the ruins of Gulbargā, this is, perhaps, not surprising. On the other hand, in a map of India published with Orme's *Historical Fragments* in 1782, Dābul is marked conspicuously, while I find several lines given to it in a small *Gazetteer of the Eastern Hemisphere* published at Boston, U. S. in 1808.

So much for history, and from that we pass into the region of tradition and conjecture. The Muhammadan inhabitants of the present day are so poor that there is not very much to be got from them, but they say that there were formerly 360 mosques in the town—a purely mythical number of course—and profess to be able to show the sites of nearly a hundred: and wherever foundations for new houses are dug, remains of Muhammadan buildings are pretty sure to be turned up. The following account of the large mosque on the shore, was given by Ghulām Čāheb Badar, one of the chief Muhammadan inhabitants, to Mr. G. Vidal, C.S.:

"The mosque at Dābhol, in the Dāpalī tālūqa of the Ratnāgiri Zilla, dates from the reign of Mahmūd Adil Shāh of Bijāpur, and was built in A. Hej. 1070 (A.D. 1659-60) by the king's daughter—the princess 'Ā'ishah Bībī, or, as she was commonly called, the Má Čāhebā.

"The princess had conceived a wish to visit the holy shrine at Mekkah before she came of age, translation),—vol. I. p. 379; vol. II. pp. 295, 350, 413, 483-4, 511, 542-3; vol. III. pp. 7, 45, 285, 507, 513; vol. IV. pp. 71, 86, 206, 230.—Ed.,
and, her father's consent having been obtained for the pilgrimage, she set out from Bijapur with a retinue of 20,000 horse under the command of the king's private minister, Bahirá Khákán, a native of Mekkah. The princess and her party, having crossed the Western Ghâts, arrived at Dábhol, which was at that time one of the principal ports of the Konkan and held by a Subadár of the Bijâpur Government named Ibrâhîm Khán, who bore the title of Vezirul Mulk. The princess intended to have embarked here on her voyage to Mekkah. While here, however, the news of many piracies committed on the coast reached her, and after much consideration it was deemed unsafe for her to proceed. So the pilgrimage was given up, and it only remained for the princess to determine in what manner she should spend the money she had brought with her for her expedition. The Maulavis and Qázis, who were summoned to advise her, suggested the building of a masjid at Dábhol for the glory of Islám, and to this she consented. The work was then undertaken, and completed in four years. The name of the builder was Kâmel Khân, and the cost of the building was fifteen lakhs. It is currently reported that the dome was richly gilded, and that the crescent was of pure gold. The gold and the gilthave long since disappeared, but much of the beautiful carving and tracery remains.

Eight villages—Bhopan, Širol, Visapur, Bhosté, Shaveli, Mundhar, Bhudavle, and Pangári—were granted in indin for the maintenance of the masjid. The grants were resumed on the overthrow of the Bijâpur kingdom by Śivaji. The masjid still bears the name of its founder, the Mâ (;āheba, but it is no longer used for worship. Nothing is ever done for its maintenance or repair, and it is tenanted solely by pigeons and bats. The Musalmâns of Dábhol are too poor to afford the cost of its preservation, and thus what is probably the only fine specimen of Muhammadan architecture in the Konkan will crumble away year by year till nothing is left but a heap of ruins.†

The date A.H. 1070 corresponds to A.D. 1660. Mahmúd Adil Shâh had died in 1656, which would not of course make it possible that his daughter should in that year have visited Dábhol and built the mosque. But between 1656 and 1660 Ānâr-Shâh and Śivaji were in alliance against the young king of Bijapur, and it seems scarcely possible that the kingdom could have at that time afforded either the 15 lakhs or the cavalry force for a mere sentimental expedition and building at Dábhol. Besides this, it was just about this time that Śivaji plundered Dábul, and putting all this together it seems scarcely possible that the mosque could have been built at this time.

The figures given in the account are also apparently quite mythical. It is scarcely credible that the mosque could in those days have cost fifteen lakhs, and it is certain that 20,000 cavalry would have eaten up the whole Konkan in a week.

I am not aware whether there is a Persian inscription on the mosque or not. I think not, but it is said that the súruh and other documents referring to the Musalmân villages on this coast are chiefly among the records of the Habshat at Jinnírâ, so it is possible that a search there may settle this question. It is at all events certain that the mosque cannot have been built later than 1660, nor earlier than 1508, as if it had been before that time it would certainly have been destroyed by the zealous Roman Catholics under Almeida.

In the names of two small parganâs in this neighbourhood, one on each side of the creek, we find further traces of the Musalmân power. They are called Haveli Almânâbâd and Haveli Jâfarâbâd, and I believe that the term Haveli signifies that they belonged to a city which was the capital of a kingdom or government. It is probable that the villages forming these parganâs were attached to Dábhol for the maintenance of the Government establishments, just as in 1756 eleven villages on the Bânkoç creek were ceded to our government for the support of Fort Victoria. No villages or towns called Almânâbâd or Jâfarâbâd exist in this neighbourhood, that I ever heard of. The traditions of the mosque already mentioned as standing at the top of a high hill in the neighbourhood, and known by the name of Bâlâ Pir (from the Arabic bâla, a hill) are vague and rather commonplace. The mosque is a small one, divided into two compartments, in one of which are the tombs of the Pir, his wife and son. He is said to have been named Abdul Qâdr, and to have lived from 230 to 300 years ago. The mosque or tomb has a cash allowance from Government of Rs. 25-8 a year, and up to fifteen or twenty years ago it used to receive from every field in the village of Wanosâ pâyal of grain. The inhabitants, however, appear now to have grown too...
intelligent to continue such an act of piety. But vows are still made to the Pir by those in distress, and especially by seafaring people, the mosque being a very conspicuous landmark; and, as in most places in the South Konkan, and probably elsewhere, Hindus make vows of this sort to Musalmân Pirs without any exclusive bigotry. There is an assembly of villagers every year in the month of Rajab, and then it is said to be safe to pass the night near the mosque, madness being the penalty of doing so at other times. Only one miracle is remembered as having been worked by the Pir, and that not more twenty years ago, when Musalmân having vowed a rupee and a quarter to the Pir, basely paid only eight annas. As soon as he left the place he fell down senseless, and only recovered when the custodian of the tomb laid hands on him and uttered the Pir's name. It is rather sad to have to announce that after this he paid no more than the twelve annas which he had previously defrauded the Pir of.

I must close this long account with a little speculation as to the route taken in old times by travellers landing at Dâbul, or embarking there: for I am sorry to say I cannot trace this with such apparent certainty as is possible in the case of some of the more southern routes. Two of the oldest quotations I have given above speak of Dābul in connection with Bidar, and the latitude of the two places is almost identical, Dābul being about one minute south of Bidar. The main river is navigable from Dābul to Chipalun, and a northerly branch of it to Khed. The great prevalence of Musalmân remains. I have not, however, sufficient acquaintance with the country above the Ghâts to say anything with confidence about these routes, nor is it necessary for my purpose to do more than indicate the ultimate point to which travellers would tend.

Note.

Accompanying Mr. Vidal's paper was the following document, being a copy of a Persian paper in possession of Ghulâm Čâheb Badar.—Ed.

Crowds* arrived with the Shâhzâdî 'Aayshah, the daughter of the Pâdeshah Sultán Mahmûd, on a visit to the house of God [at Mekkah] from the city of Bijâpur — several courtiers, Vezir-ul-mulk Sultanat, Bañrâ Khâkhân, twenty thousand cavalry and other troops; in the year one thousand seventy after the prophetic emigration. The Subahdârī Ebrâhîm Khán Nawâb Vezir-ul-mulk, finished the edifice of the mosk, the Ka'bah of God, in four years, and the expense of building the mosk amounted to fifteen lakhs of rupees.

* This is not a good specimen of composition, containing, besides the Hindustani expressions panâha ("fifteen") and Mâ Čâheb, two orthographical errors: thus 33 does not occur in any dictionary, and must therefore be spelt 33, i.e. "crowds," and Musalmân ought to be spelt Musalmân.

"contiguous." The word "cavalry" stands for "Ebrâhîm a'brâhîm" and the spelling a'brâhîm is barbarous. Here the word "a'brâhîm" appears to mean "foundation," but is also explained "a place where the whole day food is given to the people."—E. R.
By the decree of God, in the city of Bejápúr, [the mausoleum of?] the Mā Çāheb Shāhzādi is contiguous to the mosk. In the city of Bejápúr and Nāmūjpartmenthe expenses of the mosk, the foundation of the edifice, and the building, were defrayed by the Sirkārof the Pādeshāh 'Aly 'Adil Shāh.

TRACES IN THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTA OF CHRISTIAN WRITINGS AND IDEAS.

To prove that in the manifold and often surprising coincidence of thoughts and expressions in the Bhagavad-Gīta, as well with single passages in the New Testament, as with the common Christian ideas and principles, we have no accidental similarities, but that an actual borrowing has taken place, it may not be superfluous to exhibit in a collective form the results already won, and from them to draw some further conclusions which give such a high degree of probability to the opinion that the doctrines of the Bhagavad-Gīta are not only an eclectic mixture of different Indian philosophies, but have also a strong infusion at least of ideas and sayings taken over from Christianity, that it may almost lay claim to certainty.

Up to the present time the means for an accurate chronology of Indian Antiquity are entirely wanting, and in judging of the age of the literary monuments we can only speak of relative dates. Our aim here then must be to establish that the Bhagavad-Gīta may be attributed to a period in which it is not impossible that its composer may have been acquainted with Christianity and its sacred writings, that is to say, with different books of the New Testament.

And here we do not need to depart from the results of modern criticism of the age of the Bhagavad-Gīta. On the one hand it is certain that it dates after Buddha, and on the other hand there is the strongest reason to believe that its composition must be attributed to a period terminating several centuries after the commencement of the Christian era.

The date after which it could not have been composed must, however, be left an open question till we are certain when Ṣāṅkara, the renowned philosopher of the Vedānta school, lived. According to the usual hypothesis, resting, it must be confessed, on weighty reasons, which however can make no claim to irrefragable certainty, Ṣāṅkara lived in the 8th century after Christ. Hence Lassen infers that the Bhagavad-Gīta must have been composed some five centuries earlier, i.e. in the third century after Christ. If this supposition is correct (and it must not be forgotten that it only professes to give the earliest date at which the Bhagavad-Gīta could have been composed), it is clear that the composer of the poem might have had some acquaintance with the doctrines and sacred records of Christianity. For we know that there were already at that time Christian communities in India, in which from Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. lib. V. cap. 10) we learn that Pantaenus, a missionary who had penetrated to India as early as the second century, found, and brought to Alexandria on his return, a copy of the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, which had apparently been taken there by the apostle Bartholomew. Further, and this is of peculiar importance in the present discussion, there already existed an Indian translation of the New Testament, of which we have positive proof in the writings of St. Chrysostom, which seems to have been till now overlooked by Indian antiquarians. The place in question is Evang. Joan., Homil. I. cap. 1, and runs as follows:—

"The Syrians, too, and Egyptians, and Indians, and Persians, and Ethiopians, and innumerable other nations, translating into their own tongues the doctrines derived from this man, barbarians though they were, learnt to philosophise."

We might be tempted to regard the importance  

* Die Bhagavad Gīta webersetzt und erläutert von Dr. F. Lorinser (Breslau, 1869).
† 'Αλλά καὶ Σύρου, καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ Ἑβραίων, καὶ Πύρσων, καὶ Αἰδίσων, καὶ μυρία ἑτερα ἑνη, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν.
of this testimony as weakened by the addition of the words "and innumerable other nations." But such a consideration loses its force when we remember that all the translations mentioned by name in this passage, with the single exception of the Indian, are known to us from other sources and are still extant. We may be certain that Chrysostom would not have expressly mentioned the Indian if he had not had positive knowledge of a translation in their tongue. Now Chrysostom died in the year 407 A.D. The Indian translation of which he knew must have existed for at least a hundred years before information about it could in those times have reached him. But probably Pantaenus, the teacher of Clements Alexandrinus, who we know was himself in India, had brought this information to the West. The date of this translation then may possibly reach to the first or second century A.D. It would be difficult to ascertain whether it was composed in Sanskrit, the learned speech of the Brahmans, which had already died out in the mouths of the common people, or in one of the Indian popular dialects. This, however, is not of importance, since we must of course presume that the learned and highly-gifted Brahman who wrote the Bhagavad-Gita knew the popular dialect also.

But even if we shut our eyes to the existence of an Indian translation of the New Testament, it would still be possible that a Brahman acquainted with the Greek language may have known and used the original text. And such a supposition may perhaps find confirmation in the circumstance that, besides the New Testament, there are traces of the use of the Book of Wisdom, which was originally written in Greek.

In this way the possibility that the composer of the Bhagavad-Gita may have been acquainted not merely with the general teaching of Christianity, but also with the very writings of the New Testament, might be shown in a very natural way, without the necessity of having recourse to rash hypotheses.

But is it conceivable that a Brahman, who holds fast to the traditional wisdom of his caste and puts it above everything, as the author of the Bhagavad-Gita does, should have condescended to take such special knowledge of Christianity, and even to use some of its doctrines, and maxims from its holy writings, in order to suit them to, and incorporate them with, his own system? Here too we must first show the possibility of such a thing before we can proceed to demonstrate the actual fact from the evident traces we can adduce.

The composer of the Bhagavad-Gita belongs to the sect of the Vaishnavas; for he transfers to Vishnu all the attributes of supreme deity—of Brahma in the philosophical sense of that word—and sees in the hero Krishna an incarnation of this supreme nature. Now this incarnation of Krishna, which is perhaps more sharply defined in the Bhagavad-Gita than in any of the other similar episodes of the Mahabharata, was, as Weber among others has shown in his Indische Studien, greatly influenced by contact with Christianity. Misled by the similarity of the name, they recognised in Christ the hero Krishna, and transferred to Krishna much of what the Christians related and believed of Christ.

In reference to this connection between the legend of Krishna and the doctrines of Christianity, Professor Weber, whose authority in the sphere of Indian philology and antiquities is recognised even in India, says (Indische Studien, I. 400) :—"A supposition of a different nature here involuntarily occurs to me, namely, that Brahmans may have come across the sea to Alexandria, or even to Asia Minor, at the beginning of the Christian era, and that they, on their return to India, may have transferred the monotheistic doctrine and some of its legends to their own sage or hero, Krishna Devakiputra (son of Devaki, Divine*), whose very name reminded them of Christ, the son of the divine (?!) maiden, and to whom divine honours may already have been granted, replacing in other particulars the Christian doctrines by those of the Sankhya and Yoga philosophies, as these in their turn may perhaps have had an influence in the formation of Gnostic sects. The legends of the birth of Krishna, and his persecution by Kausha, remind us too strikingly of the corresponding Christian narratives to leave room for the supposition that the similarity is quite accidental. Nor does chronology oppose us in the

* This derivation of Devaki is, however, only apparently correct, as Weber shows in his recent treatise on Krishna's Geburtsefest (Berlin, 1868), which only reached me when this was in the press. The word should rather be translated 'player' (root div).
matter. According to Lassen (I. 623), the passages in the Mahābhārata in which Krishna has divine honours attributed to him are of later origin (belong in fact, as I think, to the Purāṇa epoch), and the Krishna-cultus proper is not found before the fifth or sixth century." Again (ibid. II. 398, &c.): "Individual Christian teachers, if they had an imposing personality, such as I believe I trace in the legend of Śveta, would not be without influence in the early time, even if after their death, without any pressure from outside, their doctrine became more and more indefinite, losing its originality and suiting itself to the Indian conception. Still greater however, as has been the case in all lands and at all times, must have been the influence exerted by natives of India, who filled up in their own way what they had learned in foreign countries. Not that such were themselves Christians. But in their hearts, sufficiently prepared by the current tendency of Indian philosophy towards a concrete unity, the doctrine of faith (bhakti) in the incarnate Christ found fruitful soil. In him they may have at once recognised Krishna as a hero—and he seems to have been originally a clearly defined human personality—the fact that in a strange land they found a god of the same name so highly honoured would of itself be proof of his divinity. The whole question, I think, turns on the following points:—(1) The reciprocal action and mutual influence of Gnostic and Indian conceptions in the first centuries of the Christian era are evident, however difficult it may be at present to say what in each is peculiar to it or borrowed from the other. (2) The worship of Krishna as sole god is one of the latest phases of Indian religious systems, of which there is no trace in Vṛthāmanihira, who mentions Krishna, but only in passing. (3) This worship of Krishna as sole god has no intelligible connection with his earlier position in the Brahmanical legends. There is a gap between the two, which apparently nothing but the supposed of an external influence can account for. (4) The legend in the Mahābhārata of Śvetaḍeva, and the revelation which is made there to Narada by Bhagavat himself, shows that Indian tradition bore testimony to such an influence. (5) The legends of Krishna’s birth, the solemn celebration of his birthday, in the honours of which his mother, Devaki, participates, and finally his life as a herdsman, a phase the furthest removed from the original representation, can only be explained by the influence of Christian legends, which, received one after the other by individual Indians in Christian lands, were modified to suit their own ways of thought, and may also have been affected by the labours of individual Christian teachers down to the latest times."

Nor does Weber stand alone in his view concerning the influence of Christianity on the legends of Krishna. The English writer Talboys Wheeler, in his History of India, calls some of these legends (pp. 470, 471) "a travesty of Christianity," and asserts of others that they have been borrowed directly from the Gospel. "The healing of the woman who had been bowed down for eighteen years, and who was made straight by Christ on the sabbath day, and the incident of the woman who broke an alabaster box of spikenard and poured it upon his head, seem to have been thrown together in the legend of Kubja."† Noteworthy also are the words of the anonymous reviewer of Wheeler’s book in the Athenaeum (No. 2076, 10th Aug. 1867), who says expressly: "It must be admitted, then, that there are most remarkable coincidences between the history of Krishna and that of Christ. This being the case, and there being proof positive that Christianity was introduced into India at an epoch when there is good reason to suppose the episodes which refer to Krishna were inserted in the Mahābhārata, the obvious inference is that the Brahmans took from the Gospel such things as suited them."

From these quotations it is clear that the influence of Christian doctrines and "legends" (as Weber calls the relations in the Gospel) on the development of later Brahmanical wisdom has already been recognised by Indian anti-

* Weber does not seem to me to lay sufficient stress on this last point. A somewhat trustworthy tradition carries the labours of Christian teachers to introduce their religion into India back to the apostles Thomas and Bartholomew. We know for certain that there were numerous Christian communities in India in the first century of the Christian era, which continued under the name of Thomas Christians, and were found by the Portuguese. And the Brahmans would much more readily become acquainted with the writings of the New Testament through native Indian Christians than by journeys of Brahmans to Alexandria and Asia Minor.

† Conf. Luke, xiii. 10-17; Mark, xiv. 3; Matthew, xxvi. 6, 7; John, xii. 3.—Ed. I. A.
quarrians. In particular it cannot be denied that this influence was of great importance in the worship of Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and that much of what is related of Christ in the Gospels was transferred to Kṛṣṇa. We cannot longer doubt, therefore, the possibility of the hypothesis that the composer of the Bhagavad-Gītā also, in which this deification of Kṛṣṇa reaches, in a measure, its climax, used Christian ideas and expressions, and transferred sayings of Christ related in the Gospels to Kṛṣṇa, from the same motive and by the same right by which the story of the life of Kṛṣṇa was adorned with incidents which the Christians narrated of Christ. If now we can find in the Bhagavad-Gītā passages, and these not single and obscure, but numerous and clear, which present a surprising similarity to passages in the New Testament, we shall be justified in concluding that these coincidences are not play of chance, but that, taken all together, they afford conclusive proof that the composer was acquainted with the writings of the New Testament, used them as he thought fit, and has woven into his own work numerous passages, if not word for word, yet preserving the meaning, and shaping it according to his Indian mode of thought, a fact which till now no one has noticed. To put this assertion beyond doubt, I shall place side by side the most important of these passages in the Bhagavad-Gītā, and the corresponding texts of the New Testament. I distinguish three different kinds of passages to which parallels can be adduced from the New Testament: first, such as, with more or less of verbal difference, agree in sense, so that a thought which is clearly Christian appears in an Indian form of expression—these are far the most numerous, and indicate the way in which the original was used in general; secondly, passages in which a peculiar and characteristic expression of the New Testament is borrowed word for word, though the meaning is sometimes quite changed; thirdly, passages in which thought and expression agree, though the former receives from the context a meaning suited to Indian conceptions.

I.—Passages which differ in expression but agree in meaning.

Bhagavad-Gītā.

He who has brought his members under subjection, but sits with foolish mind thinking in his heart of the things of sense, is called a hypocrite. (iii. 6.)

But know they who, scorning it, do not keep my decree, are bereft of all understanding, senseless, lost. (iii. 32.)

In every object of sense, desire and inclination are inherent. Let a man not subject himself to them, they are his foes. (iii. 34.)

Thy birth is later, that of Vivasat was earlier; how am I to understand that thou didst declare it in the beginning? (iv. 4.)

Many are my births that are past, many are that these ideas are not originally Indian representations (as they are not found anywhere else in heathendom), but that they have been taken over from Christianity, as Dr. A. Weber among others (Indische Studien, II. 388 ff.) supposes, and has partly demonstrated.

A man that is an heretic . . . reject; knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself. (Tit. iii. 10, 11.)

Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. (Rom. vi. 12.) Because the carnal mind is enmity against God. (Rom. viii. 7.)

Then said the Jews unto him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? (John viii. 57.)

I know whence I came, and whither I go: but

§ The avatāras all belong to the time of the Purānas (hence to a post-Christian age), and Thomson believes also that many of them owe their origin 'to the Land of the Bible,' but whether before or after the Christian era is a question he does not venture to decide, 'though doubtless many points of resemblance exist between Krishna and our Saviour; the tenth avatāra (Kalki) is said strongly to
thine too, Arjuna! I know them all, but thou knowest them not. (iv. 5.)

For the establishing of righteousness am I born from time to time.* (iv. 8.)

The ignorant, the faithless, and he of a doubting mind is lost. (iv. 40.)

"I do nothing, let the absorbed think, who knows the truth, whether he sees, hears, touches, smells, eats, goes, sleeps, or breathes. . . . He who, performing his actions in Brahma, acts free from inclination, is not stained by sin. (v. 8, 10.)†

Knowledge is enveloped in ignorance, therefore the creatures err. (v. 15.)

Yet the knowledge of those in whose minds this ignorance has been destroyed by it, illuminates like the sun the highest. (v. 16.)

He who can bear in this world, before he is forced from the body, the pressure of desire and anger, he is absorbed, a happy man. (v. 23.)§

Let the Yogi always exercise himself in secret. (vi. 10.)

Absorption is not his who eats too much, nor his who eats not at all. (vi. 16.)

Besides thee there is no one who can resolve this doubt. (vi. 39.)

Hear, now, how thou mayst know me wholly, Partha! That knowledge ... I shall declare to thee.

savoir of the prophecies of the Revelation. In my opinion there can, at present, be no doubt whatever that the incarnation of Vishnu as Krishna—the only one represented as a truly human incarnation of the person of the god—is an imitation of the Christian dogma regarding the person of Christ, pointed to, not only by the similarity of the name Krishna to Christ, and the many coincidences in the legends about Krishna with the life of the Saviour, as has also already been supposed by Fr. Paulino à S. Bartolomeo in his Systema Brahmanicum (Roma, 1791), by H. Windschman and others, and lastly also by Weber (Ind. Studien, I. 400, II. 38 ff., and by Wheeler, Hist. of India, I. 464 ff.), but also, as may be specially shown, by the Bhagavad-Gita itself.

* Conf. Svet4; ratara Upanishad, vi. 6 (Biblioth. Ind. vol. XV. p. 65, 6. 4): "Whoever after he has performed works endowed with qualities, places them and all his fondness upon God—for if they do not exist, the effects also cease—obtains, by the cessation of work, that which is different from the principles (of nature), (that is to say, he becomes like Brahma)." One should notice also the specification of individual actions ('εν λογω, 'επιστ. 'ετειρική, 'ετειρικόν) in the passages cited, and the enumeration of corporal functions in the 8th and 9th slokas which stand in the closest connection with the 10th.

† Compare also Clemens Alexandrinus, Protrept. § 114 (ed. Syllburg, p. 31) cap. xi.—"Let us put away, then, let us put away oblivion of the truth, viz. ignorance; and remoring the darkness which obstructs, as darkness of sight, let us contemplate the only true God. For in us light has shone forth from heaven, . . . purer than the sun, sweeter than life here below."§

§ Sukta mara,—conf. also the expression of Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 40. The idea enunciated in this sloka bears an entirely Christian stamp, and reminds us of the words of Chrysostom (de Virginitate, cap. xi.), ed. Montfaucon, tom. viii. p. 537: "Do you understand then the glory of virginity of those who live on the earth, strive after a life like that of the celestials, clothed in the body, suffer not the incorporeal to excel them in virtue, and render mortals the rivals of angels."
... which when thou hast learnt there remains nothing else to learn here. (vii. 1, 2).*

Only they who come to me will overcome illusion. (vii. 14).

Evil-doers, fools, and the lowest of men come not to me...following their demoniacal nature. (vii. 15.).

The oppressed and they who hunger for knowledge, they who desire wealth, and the wise (honour me). (vii. 16.).

And then he receives from me the good he wishes. (vii. 22.).

I know the beings who have passed, those who are, and those who are to come. (vii. 26.).

Iy the double illusion arising out of desire and aversion, ... all beings in the world fall into error. (vii. 27.). (Kena-Upanishad, i. 3 in Bibl. Ind. vol. XV. p. 78.).

Who honour me, firm in their devotion. (vii. 28.).

Who, seeking to be freed from oldage and death, have fled unto me. (vii. 29.).

With heart and mind set upon me, thou wilt come to me without doubt. (viii. 7.).

He is far from darkness. (viii. 9.).

In whom are all beings, by whom this universe was spread out. (viii. 22.).

The most hidden knowledge will I teach them with understanding. (ix. 1.).

Fools despise me in a human form. (ix. 11.).

Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. (Matt. xi. 28.).

Light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hatheth the light. (John, iii. 19, 20.). Ye are of your father the devil. (John, viii. 44.; see also ver. 23.).

Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden. (Matt. xi. 28.). Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. (John, xviii. 37.). The poor have the gospel preached to them. (Matt. ix. 5.).

Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights. (James, i. 17.).

Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight: but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of Him. (Heb. iv. 13.).

Who honour me, firm in their devotion. (Col. i. 23; see also 1 Cor. xv. 58.).

If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death. (John, xviii. 51.).

All that the Father giveth me shall come to me, and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out. (John, vi. 37.).

God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. (1 John, i. 5.).

In Him we live, and move, and have our being. (Acts, xvii. 28.).

Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God; but to others in parables. (Luke, viii. 10. Conf. also Matt. vii. 6.).

He was in the world...and the world knew him not. (John, i. 10.). Who, being in the form of God...took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men. (Phil. ii. 6, 7.).

Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. (John, viii. 43.). He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God. (ib. v. 47.).

Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye
They who, honouring other gods, sacrifice to them in faith, sacrifice to me also, Partha, though not in the right way. (ix.23.)

With me there is neither friend nor foe. (ix.29.)

If a very wicked man honours me, and me only, he is to be thought good. (ix.30.)

In this fleeting and joyless world honour me, ... so shalt thou come to me, being absorbed in me. (ix.23.)

Listen still to the glorious words I shall say from a desire for your good. (x.1.)

He who knows me without birth or beginning, the great soul of the world, ... is free from all sin. (x.3.) (See Svetiśvara-Upanishad, iv.21.)

From compassion for them I dispel the darkness of ignorance, ... by the shining light of knowledge. (x.11.)

Thy manifestation neither gods nor demons know; thou thyself alone knowest thyself. (x.14,15.)

At the sight of thy wondrous and awful form the three worlds tremble. Those troops of the gods come to thee; some in fear fold their hands and murmur. 'Hail,' say the troops of the blessed Rishis, praising thee in glorious songs. (xi.20,21.)

Demons and blessed ones see thee, and wonder seizest them all. (xi.22.)

The gods themselves ever desire to see that form of mine, hard to be seen, which thou hast seen. (xi.62.)

Soon shall I lead those whose minds are fixed on me out of the ocean of the world of mortality. (xii.7.)

Give thine heart to me; fix thy mind on me; so shalt thou live with me on high. (xii.8.)

Giving heart and understanding to me. (xii.14.)

Light of lights, far from darkness is his name. (xiii.17.) (See also Mandala-Upanishad, II. ii. 9 in Bibl. Ind. vol. XV. p. 160.)

Dwelling in the heart of every man. (xiii.17.)

shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. (Matt. v.20; also ver. 17.)

Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. (Acts xvii.28.)

There is no respect of persons with God. (Rom. ii.11.)

I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. (Matt. ix.13.)

In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world. (John, xvi.33.)

When I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation. (Jude, 3; also Acts, xiii.26.)

And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent. (John, xvii.3.)

I have compassion on the multitude. (Mark viii.2.)

God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. (2 Cor. iv.6.)

No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him. (John, i.18.)

That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth. (Phil. ii.10.) And the four and twenty elders shall fall down before him that sitteth upon the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and shall cast down their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, Lord our God, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasures they are and were created. (Rev. iv.10–11.)

The devils believe and tremble. (James, ii.19.)

Unto whom (the glory of Christ) was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you ... which things the angels desire to look into. (1 Pet. i.12.)

Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? Thanks be to God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. (Rom. vii.24–25.)

Seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. (Col. iii.1–2.)

Bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. (2 Cor. x.5.)

God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. (1 John, i.5.)

Sanctify the Lord God in your hearts. (1 Pet. iii.15.)

* Conf. iv. s. 36, and both with Isā-Upan., i. 18.
† Conf. xiv. sl. 15; also 2 Cor. iv. 6; 2 Pet. i. 19; and on sl. 13-17, Īśā-Upanishad, 8 (Bibl. Ind. vol. XV. p. 72).
Adhering to what they hear. (xiii. 25.)*

By this (highest knowledge) they become like me; in a new creation they are not born again; when all things perish they tremble not. (xiv. 2.)

When, after his nature is fully grown, man goes to dissolution, he obtains the pure seats of those who know the highest. (xiv. 14.)

In all the Vedas I am to be known. (xv. 15.)

(Conf. also Svet.-Upan. v. 6 in Bibl. Ind. vol. XV. p. 63.)

The man who, delivered from error, knows me in this way as the highest spirit, he, knowing everything, honours me in every way. (xv. 19.)

Sorrow not! for a divine lot art thou born, son of Pāṇḍu. (xvi. 5.)

S senseless and of small understanding are evildoers,... given up to thoughts that end in death. (xvi. 9–11.)

Caught in the myriad snares of hope,... they seek to pile up riches by unrighteousness to satisfy their lusts. "This I got to-day, that desire I shall obtain to-morrow; I am lord, I shall sacrifice, give gifts, and make merry." So speak these blind fools. (xvi. 12, 15.)

Therefore let the law be thy rule.... If thou knowest that a work is commanded by the law, do it. (xvi. 24.)

That is called a true gift which is given to him who cannot return it. (xvii. 20.)

The sacrifice-gift, penance done without faith,... is called non-existence. (xvii. 28.)

Man attains perfection by honouring, each in his own work, him from whom are all, by whom this universe was spread out. (xviii. 46.)

In serving me he learns how great I am, and who I am in reality. (xviii. 55.)

This you must tell to no one who is without penance and reverence, is disobedient, nor to the blasphemer. (xviii. 67.)§

Faith cometh by hearing. (Rom. x. 17.)

Where I am, there shall also my servant be. (John xii. 26.) Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years. (Rev. xx. 6.)

We know that, if our house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. (2 Cor. v. 1.)

Search the scriptures.... they are they which testify of me. (John, v. 39.)

That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that ye... may be able... to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God. (Eph. iii. 17-18.)†

Let not your heart be troubled!... In my Father's house are many mansions... I go to prepare a place for you. (John, xiv. 1, 2.)

Neither were (they) thankful... therefore God also gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts. (Rom. i. 21, 24.)

And he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do? because I have no room where to bestow my fruits. And he said, This will I do; I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thin case, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said unto him, Thou fool! this night thy soul shall be required of thee. (Luke, xii. 17-20.)

Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. (Matt. v. 17.)

And thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee. (Luke, xiv. 14.)

Whatsoever is not of faith is sin. (Rom. xiv. 23.)

Do all to the glory of God. (1 Cor. x. 31.)

He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me... and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him. (John, xiv. 21.) If any man will do his (the Father's) will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself. (John, vii. 17.) Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine. (Matt. vii. 6.)

* Conf. also iii. 6; iv. 5, 40; ix. 3.
† Also 1 Cor. ii. 2.
§ Conf. also Wisdom. i. 4: "For into the malicious soul wisdom shall not enter; nor dwell in the body that is subject to sin;" and Svetášvatara-Upanishad, vi. 22.
Although these passages, to which several more might easily be added, do not perhaps (with the exception of some, where, as, e.g. Bhagavad-Gita xvi. 12-15 compared with Luke, xii. 16-20, this agreement is striking), taken separately, exclude the possibility of an accidental similarity, yet the frequent occurrence of such coincidences on the one hand, and the specially Christian character of the thoughts we find in them on the other, must appear suspicious. When to this we add the fact that, independently of the contents of the Bhagavad-Gita, we can prove from other sources the influence of Christian traditions on the development of the Krishna-cultus, we cannot consider the hypothesis of an external connection of these passages with the similar or almost identical expressions of the New Testament a very far-fetched one. There are, however, other passages in the Bhagavad-Gita where it is much more difficult, if not impossible, to think of a simply accidental coincidence, and which make what till now seemed only a likely hypothesis almost certain. To this class belong passages in which an expression almost peculiar to the New Testament is repeated word for word. On such an agreement in expression we must, as I think, lay still greater weight than on a similarity of meaning, even where such an expression is used in a sense which is quite different from the Christian one. If the sense is the same, or at least similar, the proof is so much stronger. Of course we cannot demand that the sense be completely adequate to that of the expression in the New Testament, since the composer of the Bhagavad-Gita was very far from being a Christian, or understanding rightly the doctrines of Christianity, since he only used Christian maxims to illustrate his Indian Sankhya and Yoga doctrines, which are quite distinct from Christianity. The following passages will justify these assertions:—

II.—Passages which contain a characteristic expression of the New Testament with a different application.

**Bhagavad-Gita.**

But if I were not constantly engaged in work, unwearyed . . . these worlds would perish if I did not work my work. (iii. 23, 24.)

In everything men follow in my way. (iii. 23.)

Only they who in faith ever follow my doctrine, and blaspheme not, will be delivered. (iii. 31.)

He who truly knows my birth, and my divine work, goes, when he leaves the body, not to a new birth; he goes to me. (iv. 9.)

Leaving every possession, ... he takes to himself no sin. (iv. 21.)

As the kindling of fire burns wood into ashes, so the fire of knowledge turns all works into ashes. (iv. 37.)

They who eat the nectar of the leavings of the sacrifice pass into the eternal Brahma. (iv. 31.)

There is no purifier like knowledge. (iv. 38.)

Dividing with the sword of knowledge. (iv. 42.)

Who conquers himself, is quiet, and fixes his mind on the highest, in cold, heat, pleasure and sorrow, honour and dishonour. (vi. 7.)

I who am the highest way. (vii. 18.)

Whose sin is destroyed. (vii. 28.)

I will teach thee, if thou revilest not, this royal learning, royal secret. (ix. 1, 2.)

**New Testament.**

My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. (John, v. 17.)

If any man will come after me. (Matt. xvi. 24.)†

If a man keep my saying. (John, viii. 51.) That the word of God be not blasphemed. (Tit. ii. 5.)

I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do. (John, xvii. 4.) This is the work of God. (John, vi. 29.) All that the Father giveth me shall come to me. (John, vi. 37.)

Whosoever he be of you that forsaeth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. (Luke, xiv. 33.)

The fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is . . . If any man's work shall be燃烧. (I. Cor. iii. 13, 15.)

If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever. (John, vi. 51.)

Purifying their hearts by faith. (Acts, xv. 9.)

Take . . . the sword of the Spirit. (Eph. vi. 17.)†

In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in tribulations, in necessities, in distresses . . . through honour and dishonour. (2 Cor. iv. 4, 8, and conf. Rom. viii. 35.)

I am the way. No man cometh unto the Father but by me. (John, xiv. 6.)

That the body of sin might be destroyed. (Rom. vi. 6; conf. also Eph. ii. 5.)

Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by which ye are called? If ye fulfil the royal law, &c. (James, ii. 7, 8.)

* Conf. also John, viii. 12; and Luke, ix. 57.
† Also Heb. iv. 12.
‡ Vide at sup. iii. 31; also 1 Cor. ii. 2.
They who follow a divine nature honour me with their whole heart. (ix. 13.)

They who honour me go to me. (ix. 25; also v. 37.)

They who come to me, though they come from a sinful womb—women, Vaisyas, and Sudras even—obtain the highest happiness. (ix. 32.)

They who forget all he has undertaken, and is devoted to me, is dear to me....Houseless, firm of purpose, full of reverence, he is dear. (xii. 16, 19.)

To be free from inclination, and from love for children, wife, and house...this is called knowledge. (xiii. 9, 11.)

It (the highest Brahma) is far and yet near. (xiii. 15.)*

Neither sun, nor moon, nor fire is the light of the place, and from it there is no return; this is my highest home. (xv. 6.):

Threefold is this gate of hell that destroys the mind,—lusts, anger, and avarice. (xvi. 21.)

But the borrowing appears most clearly in the following places, which agree in expression and in meaning with the corresponding passages in the New Testament, and in the most of which

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart. (Matt. xxi. 37.)

Every man...that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me. (John, vi. 45.)

I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy...and on my servants, and on my handmaidens, I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy. (Acts, ii. 17, 18; also Joel, ii. 28.)

Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. (Col. iii. 3.)

All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life. (John, i. 3, 4.)

They forsook all, and followed him. (Luke, v. 11.)

There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more, &c. (Luke, xviii. 29; conf. also Matt. v. 3-10.)

If any man come to 'me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children... he cannot be my disciple. (Luke, xiv. 26.)

Though he (God) be not far from every one of us. (Acts, xvii. 27.)

And the city hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. (Rev. xxi. 23.)

Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction. (Matt. vii. 13.) For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the vainglory of life... is of the world. (I John, ii. 16.)

it is impossible to think upon accidental coincidence, because the contrast of the parallel sentences and thoughts is the same.


And he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him. (John, xiv. 21.) If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be: if any man serve me, him will the Father honour. (John, xii. 26.)

If any man desire to come after me, let him deny himself... For whosoever desireth to save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his soul for my sake shall find it. (Matt. xvi. 24-25.) He that loveth his soul shall lose it; and he that hateth his soul in this world shall keep it unto life eternal. (John, xii. 25, also Rom. vii. 23.)

He that loveth me shall be loved by my Father, and I will love him. John, xiv. 21. Luke, xiv. 33.)

* Conf. Thomas à Kempis, de Imit. Christi, i. xx.
† Conf. also Mundaka-Upanishad, iii. 1. 7 (Bibl. Ind. vol. XV. p. 120), so also Isa-Upanishad, 5 (ibid. p. 72).
‡ Conf. Katha-Upanishad 5, valli 15; also Svetāvatara-Upanishad, vi. 14, and Mundaka-Upanishad, ii. 2, 10.
CHRISTIAN TRACES IN THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTA.

No one knows me. (vii. 26.)

Easy to understand, sweet to do. (ix. 2.)

I am the way, beginning, end. (ix. 18.) *

I make warm, I hold back and let loose the rain. (ix. 19.)

I never pass away from him, nor he from me. (vi. 30.) (Conf. Isā-Ūpanishad 6 in Bibl. Ind. vol. XV. p. 73.)

They who honour me are in me, and I in them. (xix. 29.)

None who honour me shall perish. (ix. 31.)

Gentleness, equanimity, contentment, penance, almsgiving, honour and dishonour, these are the characteristics of beings, and are all of them from me. (x. 5.)†

I am the origin of all, from me everything proceeds. (x. 8.)

Thinking of me . . . . instructing one another, ever speaking with me, they rejoice and are glad. (x. 9.)

I am the beginning, the middle, and the end of beings. (x. 20.)

Among letters I am A. (x. 33.)

From all sins will I free thee: be not sorrowful! (xviii. 66.)

That the composer of the Bhagavad-Gīta knew and used the New Testament, the coincidences which have been pointed out between single thoughts and expressions have been sufficient, as I believe, to prove. In confirmation, however, of the results already won, I make the further observation that some larger sections of the Gospel narrative have been imitated in the Bhagavad-Gīta. Among these imitations I reckon first and chiefly that of the transfiguration of Christ, further that of Peter's confession of the divinity of Christ, and also of his own unworthiness to be in the company of the Lord after the miracle of the fishes. To these may also perhaps be added that of the so-called eight beatitudes.

Bhagavad Gīta.

If light were suddenly to rise from a thousand suns in heaven, that would be like the light of this great Lord. (xi. 12.) Having on (ibid. ii.) heavenly garments and garlands.

No man hath seen God at any time. (John, i. 18.)

Dwelling in light unapproachable; whom never man saw, nor can see. (1 Tim. vi. 16.)

My yoke is easy, and my burden is light. (Matt. xi. 30; see also Psalm cx. 10.)

I am the way. (John, xiv. 6.) I am the first and the last. (Rev. i. 17.)

He maketh his sun to rise . . . and sendeth rain . . . (Matt. v. 45.)

He dwelleth in me, and I in him. (John, vi. 57.)

I am in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one. (John, xvii. 23; also John, vi. 56.)

That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life. (John, iii. 15.)

The fruit of the Spirit is—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance. (Gal. v. 22-23.)

Of him, and through him, and unto him, are all things. (Rom. xi. 36.)

Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly; in all wisdom teaching and admonishing each other with psalms, hymns, spiritual songs, in grace singing in your hearts to God. (Col. iii. 16.)

I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending. (Rev. i. 17.)

I am the first and the last. (Rev. i. 17.)

I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending. (Rev. i. 8.)

Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven (Matt. ix. 2.)

That the 11th chapter, in which, at Arjuna's request, Krishna shows himself in his infinite divine glory, in which he comprehends the universe in himself, is a copy of the Gospel narrative of the transfiguration of Christ, is on the one hand probable, because, as has been mentioned above, other characteristic and prominent incidents in the life of the Saviour (as, for example, his persecution by Herod, and the washing of the feet at the last supper, etc.) have been transferred to Krishna, and is confirmed by the expression borrowed from the Gospel with which this glorification of Krishna is related in the Bhagavad-Gīta. Compare the following passages:—


And he was transfigured before them; and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light. (Matt. xvii. 2; and conf. Mark, ix. 3.)
Full of astonishment, and with hair erect, he bent his head before the god, and, folding his hands, spoke. (xi. 14.)

When I see thy countenance, I know no place, I feel no joy. (xi. 25.)

Then he comforted again that astonished one, for the great spirit was merciful. (xi. 50.)

The speech of Arjuna in the tenth song (śl. 12) has a striking resemblance to Peter's confession of the divinity of Christ in connection with his answer in John, vi. 68:

Arjuna said, Thou art the highest Brahma . . . all the sages call thee the eternal divine spirit, the highest God. All that thou sayest to me I believe to be true. (x. 12-14.)

And Simon Peter answered and said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' (Matt. xvi. 16.) Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. (John, vi. 68.)

As unmistakable is the similarity between the apology of Arjuna for having held familiar intercourse with Krishna without knowing his divine glory, and the exclamation of Peter when he has witnessed the miracle of the fishes. Although the words are different, the situation is exactly the same:

"Forgive me, O immeasurable one, for the eager words I spoke when I thought you my friend: Ho Krishna, Jādava, my friend; for the honour I withheld from you." (xi. 41, 42.)

When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord. (Luke, v. 8.)

Finally there seems a certain similarity, which may be accounted for by an intentional imitation, between the conclusion of the twelfth chapter (śl. 13–20) and the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount. The repetition of the words "Blessed are" are paralleled by "Such a one is dear to me," and in both places there is an enumeration of virtues and perfections which men are exhorted to attain.

If we look for a moment in conclusion at the single parts of the New Testament of whose use there are traces in the Bhagavad-Gītā, we find that it is the Gospel of John in particular from which the composer has taken the most important and the greatest majority of phrases. But he has also taken a good deal from the other three gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelations. The Epistles of St. Paul, too, with the exception of those to the Thessalonians and to Philémon, as well as the letters of Peter, and when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, and were sore afraid. (Matt. xvii. 6.)

He wist not what to answer; for they were sore afraid. (Mark ix. 6.) Conf. Mark, ix. 3.

And Jesus came and touched them, and said, Arise, and be not afraid. (Matt. xvii. 7.)

John, James, and Jude, have been used. Of the Old Testament (apart from some curious coincidences with passages in the Proverbs and Psalms which scarcely justify the hypothesis of a direct borrowing), only the Book of Wisdom was probably known to the composer. Compare the following passages:

Infinitely strong and of great power, thou comprehendest everything. (B. G. xi. 40.)

She (Eternal Wisdom) reacheth from one end to another mightily: and sweetly doth she order all things. (Book of Wisdom, viii. 1.)

It is hard for those in the body to obtain the invisible way. (B. G. xii. 5.)

For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things. (Wisdom, ix. 15.)

Before concluding this investigation, we must answer two objections which may be raised. My commentary has indicated that several passages which bear a Christian stamp, and even some of those which agree in expression with passages of the New Testament, are to be found in some Upanishads, sometimes word for word, sometimes with insignificant discrepancies. As the Upanishads which are considered parts of the Vedas have a relatively high antiquity ascribed to them, and are regarded as older than the oldest Christian records, the supposition that those expressions and thoughts were borrowed from Christianity seems to be excluded. A thorough discussion of the age of those Upanishads, and their relation to Christian doctrines and ideas, would overstep the limits of these observations. I content myself with a short statement of my view of the Upanishads in question, and their relation to Christianity and the Bhagavad-Gītā, and leave the further investigation to others. The Upanishads which are chiefly in question are the Śvetásūtra-, Katha-, Mundaka- and Prāṇa-Upanishads. All these Upanishads, as far as their contents are concerned, stand in close connection with themselves and the Bhagavad-Gītā; they have several passages in common; they all reverence
CHRISTIAN TRACES IN THE BHAGAVAD-GITA.

(as Dr. Roer, Bibl. Ind. vol. XV. pp. 37 and 97, asserts of the Śvetāśvatara and Katha Upanishads) a system which, like the Bhagavad-Gītā, seeks to unite the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya, Vedānta, and Yoga schools; they belong to the latest of the Vedas—the Atharva-Veda—and in the case of none of them is there any convincing reason for looking on the hypothesis of their post-Christian origin as impossible. On the contrary, with regard to the most important, and, as I believe, the oldest, of them—the Śvetāśvatara-Upanishad—there are external indications of Christian influence. On this point Dr. Weber says, in his Indische Studien (I. p. 421f.): "With regard to the name of this Upanishad, we read at the conclusion of the sixth chapter, 'By the power of his penance and the grace of God, the wise Śvetāśvatara, who knew Brahma, communicated this excellent means of purification to the neighbouring hermits. This highest secret in the Vedānta, coming from the times of old, is not to be communicated to an unconsecrated person, or to an unlearned man, for he who consecrates the highest humility to God, and to his teacher as to God, he is illuminated by the things related here.' The name of this sage, Śvetāśvatara, I have nowhere else met with. It may be the honorary title of some priest whose proper name has not come down to us." And in the note, "According to Wilson (As. Res. XVII. 187) Śvetāśva is a scholar of Śiva in his appearance as Śveta (white), in which he is to appear at the commencement of the Kaliyuga in order to instruct the Brahmanas. He dwelt on the Himalaya, and taught the Yoga. Besides Śvetāśva, he and three scholars, of whom the one was called Śveta (white), the other two Śvetāśikha (white hairs) and Śvetalohita (white blood). Perhaps we have here a mission of Syrian Christians. That their doctrines would be put by their Indian scholars into a Brahmanical dress, and that of Christianity only the monotheism would remain, is natural. In the Mahābhārata, XII. 5743, the example of a Śvetāśya rājārājeh (white king), who, because he was dharmānirūttha, raised his son to life again, is adduced to prove the possibility of the resurrection of the dead. Here too perhaps we have traces of a Christian legend."

The Grantha-Upanishad is regarded by Weber as older, yet the mention of Vishnu (iii. 9), and the expression Śvetāśva (faith, iii. 4), as well as the whole contents, seem to point to the conclusion that this Upanishad also dates from the time at which the Vishnu-cultus began to develop itself under the modification of Christian ideas.

As to the relation of the Bhagavad-Gītā to the Upanishad, I look on the former as later, principally because in the Bhagavad-Gītā the use of Christian ideas and expressions is much more common and evident than in those Upanishads in which, as I think, we have only the first weak traces of such a borrowing.

A second objection which might be raised rests on the similarity, pointed out in the commentary, of several passages in the Bhagavad-Gītā with sayings of Thomas à Kempis's theological doctrines† which emerge in Christianity only in later times as the results of theological science. We might be confronted with the maxim "He who proves too much proves nothing." If we are to look upon the passages that remind us of the New Testament as borrowed, those that remind us of Thomas à Kempis must also have been borrowed, and so the date of the Bhagavad-Gītā must be put later than according to probability it can be.

To this I answer (1) that between the parallels cited in the commentary from Thomas à Kempis and those from the New Testament a careful comparison will show an important difference in the kind and degree of coincidence, which is much more distinct and significant in the latter than in the former. (2) That Christian asceticism and Indian Yoga have in many things internal points of contact, which of themselves would lead to similarity of expression, so that we need not assume any external influence to account for this similarity. (3) That even in the first centuries asceticism was already so far developed that we need not be surprised if


* That the author of the Śvetāśvatara-Upanishad calls the highest divine being Rudra (Śiva), and therefore does not, like the author of the Bhagavad-Gītā, belong to the Vaisnavas, but to the followers of Śiva, does not alter the contents of his doctrine. That agrees in all important points with the Bhagavad-Gītā, and the mention of Rudra has not prevented the author of the latter book from making copious use of this Upanishad.
thoughts and sayings found in Thomas à Kempis were current among the old Indian Christians.

Of much greater importance, in my mind, are the coincidences with later Christian theological doctrines—as, for example, the doctrine of the *lumen gloriae* (xi. śl. 8*), the *credo ut intelligam* (iv. śl. 39†); and with Christian formulas, as, for example, the well-known division of moral acts into thoughts, words, and deeds, and of good works, into prayer, fasting, and almsgiving (xvii. śl. 28%). Yet here it must be observed that all these expressions and ideas† existed in Christianity long before they can be pointed out in Christian writers, although I do not think it impossible that in case Sankara's date, which future investigations may perhaps give us, be later than the 8th century, the date of the Bhagavad-Gita also may be later than we are warranted by the data we have at present in putting it.

NOTES ON INSCRIPTIONS AT GADDAK, IN THE DAMBAL TĀLUKĀ OF THE DHARWĀD DISTRICT.

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

Situated in the neighbourhood of Dambaḷ and Lakkundī, a part of the Dharwād District that contains many most interesting relics of former times, Gaddak itself possesses in its inscriptions antiquities that will well repay an investigation of them.

There are two large and somewhat famous temples in the town; one of Nārāyanadēva in the modern bazaar, and one of Trikātēśvara dēva in the old fort. The former is not remarkable from an architectural point of view, and probably is not of any great age: the chief object of interest about it is a large gateway in the eastern wall of the courtyard, in the construction of which some curious carvings, evidently the remains of some former building, have been built. The temple of Trikātēśvara dēva, however, is manifestly of considerable antiquity, and, though it is now a linga or Śāiva shrine, the style of its architecture proves it to have been, as is the case with most of the old linga temples of these parts, originally a Jain temple. Tradition ascribes the construction of it, as of nearly all the temples in this part of the country, to the half-mythical architect Jakkāchārya.†

The two temples mentioned above contain between them eleven old Sanskrit and Canarese inscriptions, all more or less of interest. My stay at Gaddak was not sufficiently long to enable me to copy more than one of them, but a brief notice of the rest and of the contents of each, so far as I had leisure to make them out, may prove of use to others who may visit the place.

Two of the inscriptions are in the courtyard of the temple of Nārāyanadēva. No. 1 leans up against the western wall. It consists of seventy-two or seventy-three lines, each line containing about sixty-three letters. The characters, which are Old Canarese, are somewhat small. The surface of the stone has been so much worn away that the inscription can hardly be traced at all in some places, and it would require much time and patience to decipher any portion of it. The emblems over it represent Vira bhadra, Nārāyan, Gānapati, Sarasvatī, a cow and calf, and the Sun and Moon. It is probably about four hundred years old. No. 2, which also is in the Old Canarese characters, stands up against the eastern wall of the courtyard. It consists of sixty-nine lines, each line Christianity, and doubt if ṣraddhā is used in this sense in the earlier Indian works in which a Christian influence cannot yet be pointed out. The sentence expressed here: ṣraddhā vallabhate jñānam (Schlegel: qui fidem habet, adipsicator scientiam) is nothing else than the well-known Credo, ut intelligam, a fundamental formula which can only have arisen upon Christian ground, and which, where it again recurs in the original works of Indian Brahmanism, plainly bears its Christian origin on its forehead.

† The words,—"It avails not after death nor here," forcibly remind us of the Christian doctrine of the dead meritless works which are performed without the habitus caritatis.

§ The juxtaposition of prayer, almsgiving, and fasting, occurs in the book of Tobit, xi. 8: "Prayer is good with fasting and alms and righteousness." See vol. 1. p. 44.
GADDAK INSCRIPTIONS.

Containing about forty-two letters. This inscription, which is probably of about the same age as the preceding, is rather more legible; in the centre portion the letters are somewhat indistinct, but at the sides and on the upper part of the stone they may be read with tolerable ease. I, however, had no time to read any portion of this inscription, or even to search for its exact date. I have not met elsewhere with emblems similar to those on the top of this tablet; they are very well carved, and represent Krishna playing on a pipe in the centre and many figures of human beings and animals dancing on each side of him.

The remaining inscriptions are in and about the courtyard of the temple of Trikūṭēśvaradēva. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 stand up against the back wall of the temple. No. 1, the characters of which are Old Canarese, and the substance of which is partly Sanskrit and partly Old Canarese, consists of fifty lines, each line containing about thirty-seven letters. The inscription is in a state of good preservation, except in one or two places where the surface of the tablet has been chipped. It commences with a description of the Agrahāra village of Kratuka (Gaddak) in the Belvola Three-hundred,† and finally records a grant made in Śaka 1135, the Angira Saṁsvatsara, to the god Trikūṭēśvaradēva, while the Yādava prince Singhaṅadēva was governing the country. The emblems over it are:—In the centre, a linga and a priest within a shrine; to the right, a cow and calf with the sun above them; and to the left, a figure of Basava with the moon above it. No. 2 is the inscription of which a transliterated version and a translation are given below. It will be noticed in detail further on. No. 3 is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language. It consists of forty-five lines, each line containing about fifty-one letters. The inscription is not altogether in bad order, but there are many flaws in the tablet, and it is rather hard to read. It mentions the names of the Chālukya kings Jayasimha, Āhavaṅalla, and Vikramaṅita II. or Tribhuvanamalla, and also gives the name of a princess, Bāchalaṅdevi, who would appear to be the wife of Āhavaṅalla. The inscription records a grant made in the Vikrama Saṁsvatsara, the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva, i.e. Śaka 1023, by some chieftain subordinate to him. The

* Agraḥāra, lands or villages conferred upon Brāhmaṇas for religious purposes.
† t. i.e. the Belvola district consisting of three hundred villages. Belvola or belpola, an Old Canarese word, means literally 'a field of standing corn'; the name was given to the fertile district in about the centre of which are Gaddak, Dambale, and Lakkundi.

the Śubhakrit Saṁsvatsara, to Trikūṭēśvaradēva, while the great chieftain king Sābhana, or perhaps, Sōbhana, was governing the Belvola Three-hundred, and some other districts, under Āhavaṅalla. Some doubt is thrown upon the date of this inscription by the opening portion, which is:—“While the victorious reign of Irivibhujangaṅadēva, the favourite of the whole earth, the ornament of the Chālukyas, the forehead-ornament of the Satyāśrayakula, &c., was continuing,” and by expressions which represent the chieftain Sābhana as being the subordinate of both Irivibhujangaṅadēva and Āhavaṅalla. Irivibhujangaṅadēva, or the Chālukya king Satyaṅiri, flourished, according to Elliot, from Śaka 919 to Śaka 930 (?); while Āhavaṅalla, or the Chālukya king Sōmāṅvaradēva, flourished, according to the same authority, from Śaka 962 (?) to Śaka 991 (?). The portion of this inscription containing the date is somewhat indistinct, but I could not read it otherwise than as I have given it above. The emblems at the top of this inscription are:—In the centre, a shrine containing a linga with a priest on the right and a figure of Basava on the left of it; to the right, two figures seated,—one of them is a man holding a Viṣṇu or lute, the other is a woman; to the left, a cow and calf; and above the central shrine, the Sun and Moon. No. 4, which is the most eastern of this row of inscriptions, is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language. It consists of forty-five lines, each line containing about forty-one letters. The inscription is not altogether in bad order, but there are many flaws in the tablet, and it is rather hard to read. It mentions the names of the Chālukya kings Jayasimha, Āhavaṅalla, and Vikramaṅita II. or Tribhuvanamulla, and also gives the name of a princess, Bāchalaṅdevi, who would appear to be the wife of Āhavaṅalla. The inscription records a grant made in the Vikrama Saṁsvatsara, the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva, i.e. Śaka 1023, by some chieftain subordinate to him. The

† Basava, the founder of the Lingāyat religion in its present form, is looked upon as an incarnation of Nandī, the bull of Śiva. The story of his birth and life is to be found in a Canarese work called the Basavapurāṇa. Basava, though in his incarnation he assumed the form of a man, is always represented in Lingāyat temples by the figure of a bull, and the name itself is a corruption of the Sanskrit virabhadra, bull.
emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; to the right, a cow and calf; and to the left, Basava.

No. 5, which is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language, is contained on a stone tablet which I found lying on the edge of a small tank just outside the temple enclosure. For the sake of better security I had it removed and placed up against the outer side of the south wall of the courtyard of the temple; the stone was too large and heavy for it to be safe to attempt to carry it inside the courtyard and place it by the other inscriptions there. This inscription consists of fifty-seven lines, each line containing about thirty-eight letters. It records a grant in Saka 1121, the Siddhārthi Samvatsara, by the great chief-tain Rāyadēva, the supreme lord of Āsati-mayurapura, the prime minister of the Hoysala king Viraballālādēva, the son of Bāmmidēva, who was the son of Rāya-dēva, and the governor of the Belvola Three hundred. The emblems at the top of this tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; to the right, a figure of Basava with the moon above it; and to the left, a cow and calf with the sun above them.

Inscriptions Nos. 6, 7, and 8 are half-buried in the back wall of a house that adjoins the southern or back wall of the courtyard of the temple. No. 6, which is in the Old Canarese characters and language, has about fifteen lines visible above the ground; each line contains about thirty-seven letters. The inscription is in a tolerably good state of preservation. It refers to the time of San kam adēva (Saka 1008-1104) of the Kala churi family, the supreme lord of the city of Kalanjara pura, who is spoken of in terms that are usually applied to great monarchs such as the Chālukya kings. The emblems at the top of this tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; to the right, a cow and calf with the sun above them; and to the left, a figure of Basava with the moon above it. No. 7 is an inscription in the Nagāri or Grantha characters and in the Sanskrit language. There are eleven lines above the ground; each line contains about thirty-one letters. The inscription is in good order, but the portion of it above the ground is not sufficient to indicate its contents. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; to the right, a cow and calf with the sun or moon above them; and to the left, a figure of Basava with the moon or sun above it. No. 8 is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language. It refers to the time of Trībhu vāna malla dēva. There are eighteen lines above the ground; each line contains about twenty-five letters. The first seven or eight lines of the inscription are in good order; after that, the letters are rather faint, and a large portion of the surface has been chipped off in the centre of the tablet. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; to the right, a cow and calf with the sun above them; and to the left, a figure of Basava with the moon above it. These three inscriptions are worth removing, cleaning, and reading, but to remove them would be an operation of some difficulty and would be attended by great risk to the safety of the building into the wall of which they have been sunk.

No. 9 is an inscription in the Canarese characters and language on a tablet standing just inside the western gateway of the courtyard. It consists of fourteen lines, each line containing about thirty-five letters. It is dated Saka 1461, the Vikāri Samvatsara, and records a grant made by, or at the order of, one of the kings of Vijayānagara. The letters of the inscription are not at all well cut, and, being rather hurried when I examined it, I am not quite certain about the name of the king; it appeared, however, to be Avyayaramahārāya, though this name is not included in the list of the kings of Vijaya-nagara (Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, vol. II. p. 281, Thomas' ed. 1858). The emblems at the top of this tablet, which are very coarsely cut, are:—In the centre, a linga; to the right of it, a figure of Basava with the sun above it; and to the left of it, a cow and calf with the moon above them.

It remains to notice in detail inscription No. 2 and its contents. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a man worshipping three heads on an altar; to the right a figure of Gaṇapati, beyond which is a figure of Basava; and to the left, a Śakti or female deity, beyond which are a cow and calf and a crooked knife. The meaning of the name Trīkūṭēvara dēva is by no means clear, and certainly
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GADDACK INSCRIPTIONS.

is not elucidated by the fanciful explanation of it given in line 35 of the inscription. The word kāta has a variety of meanings; trikāta may denote a mountain with three peaks, or a temple with three cupolas; but Trikātāśvara, as a name of Siva, can have no allusion to mountains, and, I think, has no particular allusion to temples; 'trikāta' in this compound appears to be probably a symbolisation of the three powers of creation, preservation, and destruction, as personified by the well-known triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; the three heads on the altar among the emblems will then denote Siva as representing, in the eyes of the worshippers of the linga, this triad, the Śakti to the left of the altar being his goddess or female principle, Pārvatī.

The inscription, which has been extremely well preserved, consists of fifty-six lines of about fifty-four letters each. Though the characters are Old Canarese, the language is Sanskrit. A copy of it will probably be found in the Elliot collection, as it is apparently the one alluded to by Elliot in his essay on inscriptions at Gaddak No. 2. The substance of it also has been given by Dr. Bhāu Dāji.†

As, however, it is always desirable for purposes of comparison to obtain copies of inscriptions by different hands, and as Dr. Bhāu Dāji's version is anything but correct in some of its details, a transliteration and a translation of this inscription are appended.

The inscription relates to the Hoysala dynasty of Dvāravati pura, an offshoot of the Yādava race, and gives the following genealogy:—

Yadu.

Hari (Krishna).

Saḷa or Hoysala.

Vinayaditya.

Ereyanga.


Narasimha m. to Ėchalařēvī.

Viraballāla.

The meaning of lines 8 and 9, in which the sons of Ereyanga are mentioned, is not very certain. It seems pretty clear that he had three sons, but Udayāditya may be the eldest or the youngest of the three, according as we take the word udāyāditya-paschimau as a Tatpurusha or as a Bahuvrihi compound. I have followed Elliot in making him the youngest of the three, and I think that this view is borne out by the context. I am also aware that Narasimha and his successors are given by Elliot as the descendants of Udayāditya; but this is certainly not supported by the present inscription, which is clear enough on the point of Narasimha being the son of Vishnuvardhana.

The grant recorded in the inscription is made to the god Trikātāśvaradºvain Saka 1115† (A.D.1193), the Paridhāvi Samvatsara, by Viraballāla, who, having wrested the country of Kuntala from the Yādava dynasty of Ďevagiri, had fixed upon Lokki-guṇḍi, the modern Lakkuṇḍi, as his capital.

TRANSLITERATION OF GADDACK INSCRIPTION No. 2.

Svasti||Trailokyanpályatéyénasadayathsatva
(ttva)writtinäSadévo Yaduśârddulah
Sripatih
2gréyasé& stu vall Dēyah samastasāmantama
stakanyastāsāsanah||Achaindrárkkainnripah
• 3pāyādbhuvamambhôdhimékhalām ||Asitkshitau
kshatriyapungavånäſmillsirómalih
Sriyadunā
madhéyah Yadanvavāyā sa Harirdhdha(rddha)-
ritribhāratārātthamajópi jātah||Tadanvavāyū
bahavō babhûvurbbhukrbhûn(rbbhu)j̐õdbhavā visru-
takrittibbālahaj | Adyāpi lōke charitādbhûdâni
yōshān purânesha paṭhanati saṅtaṭah || Kālakra-
mēlātha babhûva kâścinmahā-patistatra Saḷā-
bhidhánhah | Kulasya kritvâ vyapadēsāmanayān
vismāriti yēna Yadustahdtyān || Kēnāpi bra(vra)-
tipatā na svadērākaryyā śārdūldah graśitusmāpa-
gataṁ nihantum | Ādīstāṣa Śaṇakapuruśa Hoysalēti
prāpatteṇa kila vinhitah Hoysalākhāyām
|| Tataḥ prabrûti tavadnāś pravṛttair Hoysalā-
khūyāyā | Śārddūlaśa dhvaṇa-syaśādinaḥ śārtra-
blhāyānākāraḥ | Aparēsah eha tadākhyam bhuktah
vatsvatiḥ rájasu | Vinayaditya ityāsikitramāsah prithivipatiḥ | Ereyangābhidhânō 4 bhûnniṇḍatā
stasya chātmajah | Gūñārmanasāṃśayān prakhyātah prithivītāḥ | Atha tasyāpi Ballālavī-vishnuvardhananāmakau | Abhātaṁ atmanāmānąmānu-


† According to the original, "eleven hundred and fourteen of the years of the era of the Saka king having elapsed."
pravrittaulūkapūjitau Yāvabhāsayatārinviswarin
(vadayāditya-paschimau
ya Jagaddévainsaptărăgantasyachâpahritain||
Sūryyā(ryya)charindramasáviva||
Ralaśirasiyéna balinágajapatimákramyanijaturalingéna
Tatrāgrajënijah rājyamupabhuktavatikramāt
AnujöpichiramrājyailbubhujéVishnuvardhdha
(rddha)nah||
Yö bhritinanyāndvishaddésàn||
Nijanisvarājyārttham |
yāna belvolaparyyamtamakhilamahivishayam
Yah smäryyaté mahādānānishôdaša Anyányapi cha pullyānipau
stasyātmajó shvasādhyatayÅ Paramardidévanripaterhoysa
nahpunyénachakriré||
Narasilinhaitikhyātūjāta yante mádišairgguiäh ||
Tasya lamavadháryºti kulödgatà||
MahibhritāmagraririjagatiSimätikramabhirórati
véna vibudhasévyatayå| Yö jaringamaivaMérurm
(rbbalahchakravarttiSriviraballālaiti
(ddhah)||Mádhyasthyānānnatyākāhºana-vibha.
[| |]Mádhyasthyānānnatyākāhºana-vibha.

(Yafterna)
Hail! May that deity (Vishnu),—the most excellent of the race of Yadu; the husband of Fortune; he who, being the abode of the quality of goodness, tenderly preserves the three worlds,—confer supreme happiness upon you! May the deity, as a King, imposing his commands upon the heads of all chieftains, protect, as long as the sun and moon may last, the earth encircled by the ocean!

In former times there was in this world he who bore the name of Śrī-Yadu; in his family was born even the Unborn, Hari,* for the purpose of sustaining the barrier of the earth. In his lineage there were many heroes, possessing well-known reputations; good people still read in the Purāṇas of their wonderful achievements.

In course of time there was born in that race a certain King named Sala, who, having gained a title for his family, caused even Yadu, the first of it, to be forgotten. For when, in the city of Śāsakapura, with the words "Slay, O Sala," he was commanded by a certain ascetic to destroy a tiger that had come to devour him in the periphery of the earth, he slew it and acquired the name of Hoysala. From that time forth the name of Hoysala was attached to his race, and the emblem on its banner, causing fear to its foes, was a tiger.

Other kings (of his race) having ruled his kingdom, at length there was a king named Sala, who, having gained a title for his family, caused even Yadu, the first of it, to be forgotten. For when, in the city of Śāsakapura, with the words "Slay, O Sala," he was commanded by a certain ascetic to destroy a tiger that had come to devour him in the periphery of the earth, he slew it and acquired the name of Hoysala. From that time forth the name of Hoysala was attached to his race, and the emblem on its banner, causing fear to its foes, was a tiger.

To him there were born two sons, Ballāla and Vishnuruddha, whose younger brother was Udayālitya. Glorious, intent upon the welfare of created things, worshipped by mankind, like the sun and moon they cast a lustre over everything.

He (Ballāla),† the mighty one, charging with the words "Slay, O Sala," he was commanded by a certain ascetic to destroy a tiger that had come to devour him in the periphery of the earth, overturned Jagaddēva and despoiled him of his sovereignty.

The elder of the two having ruled the kingdom, after him his younger brother also, Vishnuruddha, reigned for a long time. For the sake of (ensuring the continuance of) his power, he gave the construction here is very obscure. In the preceding verse we have the relative pronoun in the dual, referring to the two brothers: here the relative is in the singular and is without an antecedent. From the following verse, however, the elder brother, Ballāla, appears to be referred to.

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* Vishnu, who became incarnate, as Krishna, in the race of Yadu.
† Hōy, imperative of hōy or pōy (Canarese), to beat, kill. The name is also spelt Pōysa, Hōysa, and Pōysa.
away the whole of his own territory in religious gifts, and then invaded Uchchangí and other countries belonging to his enemies. Commencing from his own abode, and invading the whole earth as far as Belvola, he washed his horse in the Kríshñavíra.† Again and again, with the words "Reflect upon Hoysala," he was reminded by his servants of the necessity for ingratiating himself with king Paramardídévarā who was unassailable among kings. Again and again lands were given by him for religious purposes, and sacrifices, the sixteen great gifts, and other holy actions were performed by him.

His son was the celebrated king Narasimha, whose virtues cannot be described by men like me. As Śrī was the wife of the Foe of the demons (Visñu), and as Paññati was the wife of Śanaka (Śiva), so Echaladévi, born in a noble race, was his consort.

A son was born to him from her, renowned under the name of Śri-Viraballāla, who was of unrivalled dignity, who acquired his kingdom through worshipping the lord of thunderbolts (Indra), and who was a very universal emperor in respect of his prowess. Through his occupying ever a central position, (or, the position of an arbitrator,) through his loftiness, and through his golden wealth, and through his being done homage to by wise men, (or, by gods,) he was as it were a moving Méruš and so was précéminent among kings. Fearing to transgress the boundaries (of good behaviour), of a very profound nature, and abounding in the quality of mildness, there was no difference between him and the Possessor of Lakshmi (the Ocean), which hesitates to overflow its bounds, which is very deep, and which abounds in living creatures. The achievements of Bharata and others are to be recognised only up to the time when the superhuman qualities of this man were first beheld. In the present day, when men regard his faith in Visñu, which was implanted in his nature, even the legends of Práhráda and others fail to excite astonishment. There is no penance or sacrifice, no offering and no gift, that was not performed or given by him repeatedly when the proper time or place or object presented itself. While he was ruling, there was none who committed sin among women or children, or even Súdras or any others. He was well versed in poesies, in the drama, in the writings on regal polity of Vátsyáyana and Bharata, and in all other divisions of literature. In all the systems of logic he was a very universal emperor in the science of reasoning; and there was no one to oppose him, for he was a very lion towards the infuriated elephants that were disputants. Précéminent amongst all whose profession is that of arms, the favourite of all learned people, both weapons and the sacred writings at length found in him a master (who know how to use them properly). His very name was as potent as a magic charm in captivating all lovely women; who is able to describe the good fortune of him who was a very Kámadéva to women inclined to flirting? When, at the approach of battle and of twilight, the regions are darkened by night and by the clouds of dust rising up from the earth which is pulverised by the blows of the hoofs of his prancing horses, his sword, like a swift-footed procuress, causes his brave foes to keep assignations with the nymphs of heaven. When the musical instruments that always announce his setting forth to fight are sounded, the wives of his enemies, anticipating the slaughter of their husbands, tremble, and the women of the gods, taking garlands of the flowers of the Mandúra tree in their hands, prepare themselves for the purpose of choosing lovers from among the warriors (about to die). When for the purpose of going to war he leaves the throne of the universal sovereignty of the Hoysala kings and takes the chief seat upon an infuriated royal elephant, straightway each hostile king also descends from the throne of universal empire that has come down to him by the succession of his race and takes his stand upon a molehill. When he prepares himself for conquering the regions, and the deep-voiced drum that announces his marching forth is sounded clear, afar off Anga, Kálinga, Vanga and Magadhá, Chóla and Mála, Pălyá, Kérála, Gúrjara and the rest straightway lose their courage; then how can other kings endure? At the contempluous command of his father, (or, perhaps, because his father had been treated with contumely,) he despoiled the warrior race of Kalachuri and with one elephant . . . . . . slew sixty elephants; and conquered, through his violent onset with cavalry only, the famous general Brahma,* whose army was strengthened with numbers of elephants, and

*Dvárāvatipura or Dvárāsamudra, now Halabidu in Mysore.—Eliot.
† The Kríshñá at its junction with the Vényá or Véná near Sítard.
‡ The Chálukya king Vikramáditya II. or Pramádídévarā, Ráma 968-1049.
§ The epithets apply equally to the king and to Méru, the mountain in the centre of the seven continents, and the play on words is in the expression mahābhritáṃ apráśth, as mahābhrit, supporter of the earth, means either a king or a mountain.||Lakshmi or Śrī sprang from the ocean when it was churned by the gods for the purpose of obtaining nectar. The epithets in this verse apply equally to the king and to the ocean, and the use of the word Lakshmi indicates his regal splendour.
* 'Pábara'; this word is unintelligible, unless Pítūbara was the name of Viraballāla’s war-elephant.
* The leader of the Kalachuri army.
scen his kingdom. Having destroyed Jaitra-
simha, who was as it were the right arm of
Bhillama, he, the brave one, acquired the supremacy
over the country of Kuntala.

And he, the fortunate and mighty universal emperor, Sri-Viraballāladēva,—who is adorned with all the glorious titles commencing with "The refuge of the whole earth, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the excellent ruler of the city of Dvārāvatipura, the sun of the sky of the Yādavakula, having property of conduct for his crest-jewel, Malaparolganda,† he who is fierce in war, who is a hero even without any to help him, who is brave even when alone, Śanīvārasidīhi, the conqueror of hill-forts, a very Rāma in war,"—established his victorious capital at Lokkigundli.

In the village named Kratuka there is, under the name of Trikāṭāśvara, the god Śiva, the self-born, whose charming seat is adorned with the lustre of the jewels of all rulers of the earth. The high-priest of his shrine is the saint Śidhāntichandrābhūshanapanditādēva, born in the lineage of Kālamukhāchārya. They have named the god Trikāṭāśvara (the lord of three abodes, pinnacles, or, perhaps, temples), because of his three stationary lingas; and they call him Chaṭūhkūṭāśvara (the lord of four, &c.,) because of one more which is capable of motion (or, perhaps, which is his priest). That priest is glorious as a chaste ascetic, ever restraining his passions, though, like Śiva, who is possessed of a wife through his perpetual contact with Gauri who always constitutes half of his priest, who is the destroyer of the Malavārās,§ who was as it were the right arm of Śiva, whose other name was Satyavākya, who was the disciple of Vālācharnadēva, the disciple of Kālāmukhaśāyasaomēsvaramadēva, having made it a grant to be respected by all and not to be even pointed at with the finger by the king or any of the king's people, gave, in his devotion, with oblations of water, the village of Hombālalu, which was included in the Belvola Three-hundred, with its boundaries that were known from of old, with the right to treasure-trove, water, stone, pastureage, &c., with the proprietorship over the eight objects of enjoyment, and with the right of appropriating all taxes, fines, &c., for the sake of the angabhōga and ran-bhōga of the god Śri-Svayambhūtrikāṭēsvaramadēva, the holy one, the object of veneration of all moving and immovable things, for the purpose of repairing anything that might be broken, torn, or worn out through age, for the purpose of providing instruction, and for the purpose of providing food for ascetics, Brāhmans, and others.

(The remainder of the inscription is taken up with the usual moral verses on the result of continuing or reappropriating religious grants, which need not be translated here. It ends with the words—)

The writing of this tablet has been composed by Agniśarmā Sārasvata Sārvaṭhāma at the command of the king Ballālaḍēva.

* Probably Jaitrāsimha the son of Bhillama, who was the first of the Yadava chiefs of Dévagiri, Saka 1110-1115.
† The meaning of this title is not clear; it may be Malavārās, "the destroyer of the Malavārās," in which case it is exactly equivalent to Malamukh, which is apparently a title of the Kālamukha chief Jayakṛi III. (See Journal Bomb. Br. R. A. Soc. vol. ix. page 266.)

† § "He whose wishes are accomplished on a Saturday,"
§ Sa cha, &c., in line 31, is the nominative in apposition with dattaṁ, in line 46.
|| "Tribhūgyābhyantaram;" this is a term the explanation of which I have not been able to ascertain; I shall be glad if any one will define it accurately.
DR. BÜHLER'S REPORT ON SANSKRIT MSS.
IN GUJARAT.

We extract the following from Dr. Bühlcr's Report for 1872-73 to the Director of Public Instruction:—

Two new fascicles, Nos. III. and IV., of this work have been published during the past year. The materials collected in 1868-69 have now been exhausted. The issue of a supplementary number, giving addenda, indices, etc. is still required. This part, as well as a fascicle of the catalogue of Jaina works, is still in preparation.

Several large collections of Jaina books in Cambay, Limdi, and Ahmadābād have been partly catalogued. The extent and the condition of these libraries prevent me, however, from causing complete lists of their contents to be made. Several of them contain upwards of 10,000 manuscripts, and sometimes hundreds of copies of one and the same work are found in one library. Thus a library at Ahmadābād contains, according to the statement of the cataloguing Shastri, four hundred copies of the Ávaśyakasūtra. This assertion will appear neither astonishing nor incredible if it is borne in mind that devout Jainas frequently give or bequeath large sums of money to the superintendents of monasteries for copying books, and that the multiplication of the sacred writings is held to be highly meritorious. To make complete catalogues of such libraries is out of the question.

In the course of 1873-74 I hope to finish the exploration of two out of the three large Jaina libraries at Ahmadābād and of those at Vadālvān, and to begin with the Bhandhārs at Siddhapur Pāthan. But I despair of finishing my task during either the current or the next following year.

During the period under report I have bought or procured copies of 200 manuscripts, out of which number 75 belong to Brahmanical literature and 123 to the Jainas, while 2 contain famous Gujarātiprose-works. Among the Brahmanical works there are several novels and rare works, to which I beg to call special attention. Thus No. 2, the Bhāshya on the Mantras, quoted in the Pāraskara-grīhya-sūtra (I. II. 3) of the White Yajurveda, attempts a task which is usually neglected by the writers on Vedic ceremonies, and it is, at all events, highly interesting to see what meaning a Brahminical writer attributed to the prayers which the Bhaṭṭas usually mutter without understanding or caring to understand them. Among the Purāṇas the Vahnipurāṇa is new to me. It is not identical with the Agnipurāṇa. The Sarasvatipurāṇa is a complete copy of the fragment noticed in last year's report.

The list of manuscripts of poetical works contains several original compositions and commentaries, which I have not seen mentioned elsewhere. The most important among them are the Vrihatkathā of Kshemendra and the Parthaparākrama. The honour of the first discovery of the former work belongs to A. Burnell, Esq., M.C.S., not to myself (as stated in the Indian Antiquary). But the copy in my list appears to be the only other known manuscript besides that of Mr. Burnell, and, though incomplete, it contains very important portions of the original, which are wanting in that gentleman's manuscript. In an article in the Indian Antiquary I have pointed out how great the importance of the Vrihatkathā is for the history of the Indian collections of apólogues. I may add that further researches have convinced me that it settles completely the question whether the many versions of the Panchatantra is the original one, and that it allows us to ascertain the form of that work as it stood in the 4th century a.d. The Panchatantra, at that period, closely resembled the so-called Southern redaction.

The second work mentioned above, the Pārthaparākrama, is a drama of the class called Vyāyoga, a military piece celebrating the deeds of Arjuna. Its author, the Yuvarāja or heir-apparent Prahādana, who lived under a king of the name of Dvāravārsha, is quoted by Sarangadharā, the author of a large collection of elegant extracts made in the 14th century.

King Dvāravārsha, from whose unnamed capital the mountain Nandivardhana could be seen, lived probably in the 10th century a.d. The play is important, as only one other Vyāyoga was hitherto known. The manuscript was found in a Jaina library.

Among the works pertaining to the Shāstras, the Agnivesasamhitā, one of the oldest works on medicine, written in the Sūtra style, and the Viśrāntavidyāvinoda, a work on veterinary surgery attributed to King Bhoja, deserve to be noted specially. The latter work is different from the short popular treatise usually called Śālihotra, and attributed likewise to the famous king of Mālwa.

As regards the Jaina books, I stated already in last year's report that the purchases of 1872-73 promised to become highly important. My hopes in this respect have been completely fulfilled. I have obtained some very old palm-leaf manuscripts, Nos. 78-80, 113-114, 128-132, which are all between five and six hundred years old. The
older, containing the Vṛihatkalpasūtra with its commentaries, is dated 1334 Vikrama, or 1278 a.d. It was written in Cambay, where it had been preserved until it came into my hands.

The other manuscripts likewise came from that town.

Copies of all the forty-five sacred works of the Jaina, with the exception of three very small treatises, have now been obtained, and Sanskrit commentaries on most of them. Among this year's purchases the complete collection of the Pāññu or Prakīrṇas (No. 141), the Pannāvara with a commentary, the Nandi adhyāyana with two commentaries, the commentary on the Jñātādharmakathā, deserve to be noticed. These commentaries, as well as several others, are particularly valuable, as their authors belong to the oldest and most esteemed exponents of Jaina doctrines. Haribhadra, the son of Yākini (vide Nos. 104, 110, 114, and 150), is stated to have lived in the first half of the 6th century A.D.; Abhaya dēva (vide Nos. 91, 103, 121) wrote, according to his own statement, in the 11th century at Pāthan the Navāngī vṛitti, i.e. commentaries on nine Aṅgas (copies of five have been acquired for Government); Malayagiri, the most voluminous of all Jaina commentators, lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Special notice deserve also the copies of the Niruykta, the oldest exposition of the Aṅgas, which are attributed to Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Kalpasūtra, and reputed contemporary of Aśoka. The Sanskrit commentary on the large collection called Oghaniruykta by Dronāchārya goes back considerably beyond the time of Hemachandra. The Māgadhī Bhāṣyās and Avachūrris (Nos. 103, 114, 129, 130), which are considerably older than the Sanskrit glosses, are important for the history of the sacred books.

Of more general interest and higher importance than any of the acquisitions already enumerated are the Deśiśabdasamgraha of Hemachandra, No. 184 and the Pāññchali nāmaṃli, No. 155. These two works are dictionaries of the ancient Prākrit language, and contain several thousands of hitherto unknown words, which, in more or less modified forms, occur in the modern Prākrits. They are indispensable for the correct interpretation of the Jaina and all other true Prākrit works, and promise important results for the history of the living Aryan languages of India. I may add that I have now succeeded in obtaining the loan of a second copy of the Deśiśabdasamgraha, and that it will be possible to prepare an edition of it.

**Persian Stanzas on Attraction and Repulsion.**

Selected and translated by E. R. Hasteck, Esq., M.C.E.

No. V. From the Manusary of Jellal-al-dyn Ramy.--3rd Duftur.

**Persian Text**

ملت تی در سریذ و اپ رویان
زان برد کر امل او اپ ازان
ملت جان اندر حیات و روحي است
زانکر جان لامان اصل و یبت
ملت جان در حکمت و در علوم
ملت ن در نیگ و راغ و در کروما
ملت جان اندر تری و شری
ملت ن در کسب حاضر و علی
ملت و مشقین ای شری م سوی جای
زین لطیب و لطیعون را بدان
کر بکیر شری این ای بدخ شور
ملتی بخت م گاه شود
زمین حیوان نیایی و جهاد
بر مراد میاشق بر بیمیراد
بر مرادان جذب ایشان میکنند
کریا میاشق. مبیش م نیاز
که میکوشد در این راه دراز
این راکن عشق ان بستر دوان
نافن ایت سبیع مرد جمان
رختش صفتاق ان مصور شده
سالتمگ زین لطف منبع آمد
مثل حیران کاین عید اورا کشید
یا تکش زانیو بد انجبان رسید

Fine brooks and meadows do the body lure. Because they both the body did produce. *

All life and souls the spirit doth attract—
The universal Spirit gave it birth!

Science and wisdom fascination the soul,
Vineyards and gardens please the body much;
The soul aspires to virtue and to worth.
The body groans for wealth and earthly pelf;
And virtue to the soul inclines with worth:

Good men by God are loved and cherish him.†

Here explanation boundless would become,
This book to many minds would swell in weight:

---

* Water and meadows produce nourishment for animals and men: part of this vegetable and animal food becomes sperm, from which the body of man is produced.

† Qur'an, V. 39.
Man is a brute, a plant, a mineral:
Each hopeful part must love each hopeless one;*
The hopeless ones around the hopeful spin,
Just as the hopeful ones these do attract.
The Lover, straw-attractor,† needs no shape—
The straw contends on that far distant way.
Abandon this.—Mute adoration's love
Into the heart of God most brightly shines;
His mercy pities human creatures all,
His glory from this perfect grace will shrink.
Man's reason is astonished to know:
Is this attraction human or divine?

CHAND'S MENTION OF ŚRĪ HARSHA AND KĀLIDĀSA.
It may safely be said that there is not a single date in Sanskrit chronology which is not, or has not been, disputed. Not many years ago, if the question had been asked, When did the famous poet Kālidāsa live? the unhesitating answer would have been, 'At the time when Viśkramāditya established his era, about 50 years before Christ.' and probably this is still the Hindu belief. But all modern scholars are unanimous in concluding that he must be referred to a much later period, and that the king Bhoja, at whose court he flourished, was the second of that name, whose reign is fixed as commencing in 483 and terminating in 538 A.D. This shows how desirable it is to abstain from any positive assertion in matters of the kind until every particle of evidence has been carefully collected and weighed. It is decidedly premature for Bābū Rām Dās Sen to state the most moderate computation preceded Rāmaṇand by a full century. There remain only the two names of Śrī Harsha and Kālidāsa: the latter, as observed above, flourished at the beginning of the 6th century after Christ; he therefore preceded the two last names in the catalogue and came after the first four, and is so far unquestionably placed in his proper chronological rank. Thus the sole exception—if it is an exception—to the correct sequence is in the case of Śrī Harsha, whose precise date is the very matter in dispute.

The most natural conclusion to be drawn from the passage is that in Chand's opinion Śrī Harsha was a writer of considerable antiquity. It is possible that he may have been in error in placing him before Kālidāsa; but he clearly indicates that he was by no means a contemporary writer, and this is a point about which he could not possibly be mistaken. His attribution of the Bhoja-prabandha to Kālidāsa is of course not strictly correct. The work, as we have it, is known to have been compiled by Ballāla Mīśra, who at least supplied the prose framework. But a great part of the poetical extracts which form the bulk of the work, may with considerable probability be ascribed to Kālidāsa.

Mr. Beames' letter scarcely needs a reply; and he admits that I have succeeded in explaining the allusion in both the passages I quote, which is the matter of most importance. And until some reasonable explanation can be given of the two forms naramrūpa and shaddha—a contingency which I do not regard as imminent—I shall continue to look upon both as mere clerical errors, and read for the one naramrūpa, and for the other shaddha. The literal translation of the couplet is: 'Fifth, the excellent Śrī Harsha, paragon of men, who dropped the ennobling wreath on king Nala's neck.' This is identical with my metrical version, since the excellence intended is clearly excellence as a poet. In the line referring to Kālidāsa, the phrase shabandhyan—literally, 'built up the pile'—means nothing more than 'constructed.' It was selected by Chand solely on account of its similarity in sound to the name of the book, Bhoja-prabandha. A similar alliterative phrase in English would be, 'composed a posy of sweet song.' The only difficulty in the line is the word ti, which I take to be a mere expletive.

* Hopeful = immortal, hopeless = mortal; i.e. spiritual and material.
† This is the literal translation of the Persian word for amber, which, together with Lover in the simile, stands even took him to be a disciple of Rāmaṇand—an extreme theory which cannot now be maintained, since we find him mentioned by Chand, who on the most moderate computation preceded Rāmaṇand by a full century. There remain only the two names of Śrī Harsha and Kālidāsa: the latter, as observed above, flourished at the beginning of the 6th century after Christ; he therefore preceded the two last names in the catalogue and came after the first four, and is so far unquestionably placed in his proper chronological rank. Thus the sole exception—if it is an exception—to the correct sequence is in the case of Śrī Harsha, whose precise date is the very matter in dispute.

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F. S. GROWSE.

Mathura, N. W. P., July 31, 1873.

for God, and straws for man, to express the attraction exerted by the Creator on the creature. There occur instances of speech still more strange and incongruous to our nature; the translator has accordingly omitted four lines here.
ON THE KARNĀTAKA VAISHṆAVA DĀSAS.

BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

In connection with the interesting articles on the early Vaishnava Poets of Bengal that are appearing in the Indian Antiquary, it may not be out of place to offer a few remarks on the Karnātaka Vaishṇava Dāsa literature.*

In doing so, I confine myself to a collection of 402 Dása padas (servant-songs) that appears to have been made chiefly by Dr. Moegling. A selection of 174 of them was printed at Mangalūr twenty years ago, and reprinted at Bangalūr in 1871.

The Karnātaka Dása Padas are composed in the Raghata or Raghalā metre, a subdivision of the Mātrā Chhandas, that is expressly stated to be used for poems that are to be sung. Each of the songs has a refrain (pallava or palla) which, in the manuscripts, is put at the head; the number of verses (stanzas) in the different songs varies much—some consisting of only two, others of more than fifty. Each song has also a more or less clear mudrikā or signature, as it is called. This is a final verse that contains the name of the author combined with a homage, or an exhortation not to neglect the homage, due to his dear deity, or rather idol. For instance, one Dása's name is Kanaka, and a signature of his runs thus: "Hear ye all Kanaka's words! Understand ye all, and repeat! If ye do not understand what has been said in pure Kanarese, Å di Keśava (a Krishna idol at a place called Kāgī nēlé) himself doubtless knows (it)." If he does not put down his own name (frequently: Kanaka's Å di Keśava), he signs with "Kāgī nēlō (i.e. crow-ground) in the Chittaldurg division of MAisūr, others that it was the small grāna of Bāda in the Kōda Tāluk of the Dārayāda (Dārwād) Zilla. Both traditions place his death at Kāgī nēlō, the first locating this village also in the Dārayāda Zilla. There is a Bāda (or Bāda?) not far from Bañkāpura; and one song that has the refrain: "What is good, O god? Thy āñga, O god, Lakshmi's Nārsāga of Bañkāpura!" and indicates Ådi Keśava in its mudrikā, points to that direction, as would also the not unfrequently occurring mudrikā: "The Ådi Keśava of Bāda," if Bāda and Bāda meant the same. But Bāda, i.e. North (scil. Tirupati or Vēnīkata,) might mean Bāda Vēkaka, i.e. Tīrūpāti of the north,† there being another one to the south near Madhurā; or

* The first mention of a Hari Dāsa in a Śaiva work, that I remember, occurs in the Kanarese Channa Bhava Purāṇa (of A.D. 1550), where it is stated that the Hari (or Vaishnava) Dāsa, called Kāti Nāyaka of Suggalāru, became a Ligūṣita, and that is the name of Mahā Lūnga Deveya. This happened towards the end of the rule of the Ballālas. By the way, regarding the extent of the Ballālā dominions, I remark that not far from the private sanatorium of Mangalūr gentlemen, on the Ghats, to the east of that town, on the Kudure mukha (horse-face) mountain, there are the ruins of a Ballālā Rāja Durgā. The Ballālas have been alluded to in Ind. Ant. vol. I. pp. 40 seqq., p. 158, p. 590; and vol. II. p. 131.

† This personage possibly is Kabīr, the disciple of Rāmānanda, 1550 A.D.; see Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 180. The Kanarese write also "Vēmūga" instead of "Vīmūga."

‡ This place of pilgrimage is in the ÅrkÅdu (Arcot) district. "Tīrū" is the Sanskrit "Śrī." Tīrūpāti (Śrīpāti, Vishnu) means the idol and the place itself. See Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 192. A common name for the whole Karē Malē (black hill) range of ghats from Tīrūpāti to Śrī-
Badada (genitive) "Adi Keśava" simply is the Adi Keśava of the north, in opposition to his southern places in general. Kanaka know and adored also the idol of Chamniga at Bōlāru, sanskritised Vēlāpura, and the idol of Krishṇa at (Baḷa) Tirupati, which he once calls also the Vēkātā of Shesagiri, the specific name of the idol there. There is no song in the collection in which he mentions Udupu (Udapi) on the western coast; but in a series of his songs in one of the manuscripts there is one that, in its mudrīkā, has: "Krishṇa, the lord of Madhva," and "Keśava" (not "Adi Keśava"); and another that has: "Madhva deśīs," people of the country of Madhva, and "Adi Keśava." Madhva (or Anandaṭṭha) is the well-known guru of Udupu, who died A.D. 1273.

Purandara Dāsa is said to have been born at Purandaragada, and to have changed from a Śmārta to a Vaishāvē. One tradition connects him with Krishṇa Rāja of Vidyānagara on the Tuigaḥadra. The saying that he spent many days in Panḍāripūra, is confirmed by one of his songs in which he calls his deity "the lord of Panḍari." According to other songs, he knew also the idol-places of Bōlāru, Tirupati or Tirumalā, a Hurukāla, Alagiri, Udupu, and Kārkala to the southeast of Udupu. It is significant that he often calls Tirupati "Mūḍal giri," i.e. the hill of the East, or "Mōḷ giri," i.e. the hill above (the Ghats), thus indicating the position of his usual residence.

The Dāsa whom I have called Varāha may perhaps be as properly called Varāha Timmaṇṇa, as this signature of his may mean either "the Timmaṇṇa of Varāha" or "the deity that is Varāha Timmappa." His beloved place was Tirupati’s or Timmappa’s hill, to which he gives also the names of Ahirajā giri, Uraga giri, Nāga giri, Phani giri, Śeshādri, Kaṇḍal giri, Baṅgarādri (gold-hill), Aṇjanādri, Vedāhalā, Śriśaila, Śripati giri, Vēṅkaṭāhalā, Aṭiśrēṣṭhā giri, and sometimes only Giri, or Bēṭta (hill). Like Purandara he calls the hill also Mūḍal giri and Mēḷ giri, occasionally Mūḍal Kaḍgīrī, i.e. the hill towards the East. He thought also very highly of Udupu, saying, for instance: "The feet that ascend the hill on which Varāha Timmappa is, are the feet that remain firmly standing in Udupu." Timmaṇṇa, as another name for the idol Tirupati or Vēṅkaṭa Ramaṇa, was also used by Purandara.

Vēṅkaṭa Dāsa’s songs exclusively refer to Vēṅkaṭa Ramaṇa on the Śesādri. Vithala Dāsa, Vijaya Dāsa, and Madhva Dāsa belonged, it seems, to the establishment at Udupu. Vithala may have lived after Purandara, for one of his mudrīkās runs thus: "Having said: ‘O Vithala, Vithala (Krishṇa)! Victory, victory! O new (abhinava) Purandara Vithala (i.e. O Vithala of the new Purandara)!’ take refuge with Hari!” This supposition may derive a little support from the Dāsa song Vithala (Vithāba) Charita, in which the deity is Śrī Vithala, who says to the unfortunate child of the story: "Ha, child! listen well! Ha! They call me Śrī Vithala in the three worlds. My place is Panḍari nagara. I have come to save thee." Śrī Vithala may point to Vithala Dāsa being the author of the song, and Panḍari nagara, where superior kind of mango which comes from the grafted trees of that Portuguese locality.

* Of this place he sings: "On the earth in the town called Kārkala, opposite to a good Śrī Vēṅkaṭa, firmly stands a Hanuma, by the grace of Panḍara Vithala.” There was once a large Jaina establishment at Kārkala; the huge Hanuma (a stone image of Jaina worship) there was, according to Mr. A. C. Burnell, erected a.p. 1131. A similar image, that, according to tradition, was executed somewhat later and as a rival, is at Yēṇūru, not very far from Kārkala.

* The Timmain Timmaṇṇa appa (father Timma) in this case, I take to be "Tīra," i.e. Śrī, and "ava" i.e. he; Tīra-ava = glorious one.
Purandara lived, to his being posterior to Purandara. That Madhva Dása was later than (or contemporaneous with) Purandara appears certain from his Abhimanyu Kālāgā, a song which he composed "having remembered the feet of the excellent Purandara Dása."

There are seven songs more or less connected with Udupu, the author of which I am inclined to call Hayavadana, as this is the constantly recurring epithet of Krīṣṇa in the nuḍrikās. The songs of Vaiṣṇuṭha Dása in the collection all state that his idol, the Vaiṣṇuṭha Kēśava or Vaiṣṇuṭha Chanhīga (i.e. Raiga), was in Veḷāpura; in one he speaks of a Śrī Raiga Yātra (pilgrimage to a town Śrī raiga? or generally pilgrimage connected with Krīṣṇa?), calling, however, his deity Veḷāpuraḍhīśa. Another place referred to by one song is Kēra vaśī pura, where Śrī Subrahmaṇya (Saṅkara) resides, who in another one is entitled Subba Rāya, and in the nuḍrikā of this is spoken of as follows: "On earth in Kuṅkū pura who has seated himself, he, Iśa, is, and no other." At the renowned place of pilgrimage, I may remark, at the north-western foot of the Coorg mountains, called Subrahmāṇya, the general cry is: "Govinda, Govinda!"

I do not know who were the originators of the Vaiṣṇava Dása movement in the south; but it seems to have been only a new effort for the development of what had been begun already in Rāmānuja's and Madhva's time, in opposition to the Śrāddhās or Advaitas, Saṅkarāchārya's followers. Let us see.

Madhva Dása says: "From love to man in the Kali age Vishnu came down. He, the best of all, took care of the Urdhva Pandhra* doctrino (mata) that had become unstable (ekalita), and remembered Madhva muni. Remember ye our Madhva muni, who is the slave (kiṅkara) of the feet of the Narahari Gopāla that is very firm on the coast of the excellent (pārva) sea which is great in the world!" And in a song of 66 verses he goes on: "Bow to the lord of the guru Madhva-chārīya! Say with praise that Hari is truly the supreme deity! Except Hari there is no perceptible supreme deity. You must read Hari's tale, you must read the velā that says there is Duality (āleya) in the One. Have continual intercourse with the Vīra Vaiśnavaś†! Do not adore all the deities you see! Join the Hari Dásaś, saying: 'They are my relations!' Burn thy bad deeds in the fire of Hari's tale! The name of Govinda is the orb of the sun for all darkness. Go to emancipation (āleya) by steadily following the Madhva doctrine! Say the world is the imperishable Vīthala (Krīṣṇa)! Continually remember the thousand names of Hari! Perform Madhva's pūja with devotion! Say, that of all which is going on, Raiga's pilgrimage is the best! As Rādhā put her desire on Raiga, quickly place your love in Mukunda (Veṣṇu)! To overcome the fear of death, daily think of and bow to him who is one with the eternal spirit! Love Narasiṅha, and thus burn the germ-body (līṅgāṅga), and thus burn the dreaded births connected with Advaita! Look upon Madhva's doctrine as the true Hari doctrine! See the Hari Dásaś in this Kali age, and thus get rid of your sins you have committed from want of (Hari) knowledge! Observe the doctrine of the Guru that favours the Tuḷu Brahmans! He who knows the sweetness of Hari's name knows indeed; to him who knows it, sugar and honey do not match it. Come and eat the dainties of Hari's tale! The charm (mantra) that raises the unknowing ignorant is the charm that the Hari Dása is kind enough to give." And in other places he says: "In a ship our Raiga came, he came to Uḍūpū and remained there. See, O mother!" "Say: Hari, Govinda, thou who, in the world, tookest thy seat in Uḍūpū, didst find the Madhva doctrine in the world, didst fulfill the wishes of devotees, Krīṣṇa, lord of Madhva, who art with thy followers (karaṇa)!" "Treating with contempt the twenty-one (?) doctrines, telling people the going on still later. For their service to Jagannāmas the Līṅgāṭas (Saṅkas) accepted the term dāśāham, using it as a declinable substantive. Instead of dāśa the Līṅgāṭa generally use sarana; the Vaishnavas, as far as I know, do not make so much use of this term, at least in the Dása Padas. Vīra Vaiśnavas or Śuddha Vaiśnavas are Brahmans predominantly or wholly devoted to Vishnu.

* The perpendicular sectarian mark; the Smārtas put horizontal marks on their forehead.
† Compare the Vīra Saivas! According to the Kannare Basava Purāṇa, the struggles between Saivas and Vaiśnavas existed under the Chola kings; and later, under the Bājitajas of Kāḷanā, they were still fighting against each other. According to the Uşanas (=Uṣanas) बाजसुर पुराण (of A.D. 1583), the fight was also continually.
Madhvasastra, and being a full servant of the great Hayavadana, the strong Madhva-charya shone on earth. "Believe in the good master of the best guru, Madhva muni!"

On the orbit (of the earth), in the great Kudumapura (Udupu), excessively shines and appears to devotees the love of Krishña, who is the lord of Madhva."

(Madhva—) Hayavadana sings: "Quickly kill the wicked people, O good (nalla) lord of Madhva! If thou dost not kill, the wicked people of the Kali age will remain. All were throwing stones at thy pujá, yes! Beautiful Hayavadana, kill, kill them Make us victorious!" "Madhva’s doctrine is necessary; the difference (bheda) regarding Hari is necessary; to dispute with the wicked people is necessary."

Vithala, in describing Udupu, says: "The Yatis (or Sudāsī) of Udupu’s eight residences (matha) are performing, for Krishña, the pujá which the most excellent Śrīmadāchārya, Guru of the Vīra Vaishnavas, commenced. If ye adore Vithala, who stowed away the untruth of the Advaita Śāstras, and who is the most excellent and the chief life-lord of the Suddha Vaishnavas, he, being in Udupu, will support you all."

Some of Varaha’s expressions are: "Where the lord of Madhva sits, is Kási." "People, seeing (him), say with a sneer: ‘Pray near Varaha Timmappa who is on the eastern hill, eats jungle fruit, and plays on the summit!’ (Wait only!) The Kali king has come!’" (i.e. probably Kalki.) "Varaha Timmappa, as the son of Nanda Gopa, saw the austerities of Anandatirtha (Madhvachārya), and seated himself in Chandrapura (i.e. Udupu)."

"The glorious Madhva Rāya became a Suddha Vaishnava, raised the world, brought the dear idol of Krishña (to Udupu), and put it up. Bow down all to Madhva Rāya! All the doctrines of all the Rishis hid themselves; the doctrine of Madhva Rishi became apparent.’ “Thou, O Krishña, placést thy foot and seatèst thyself in Udupu, that is the best place in the world.” "On the throne, called Siddhânta Vaishnava, he (Krishña) appears in his lovely form. Accepting the pleasing pujá with the sounds of musical instruments, Madhva’s Krishña came to Chandrapura. No doubt, as if one had brought and put up Vārāha Timmappa, well dost thou stand (there, O Krishña!)." Speaking somewhat allegorically about the ashes used for the marks on the forehead, Varaha Dāsa observes: "That Śmārtas put on the name (the sectarian mark on the forehead of Vaishnavas) and largely spread the name of Hari, is a right thing! Put on ashes! Suddha Vaishnavas have heard and know the root of them."

Vijaya Dāsa utters the following: "He who joins the feet of the glorious Anandatirtha, and remembers the lotus-feet of Śrī Vījaya Vithala, gets rid of the fetters of hell.” "The good luck of all the Dāsas is to be born as Brahmans, to be instructed in the doctrine of Madhva, and with distinction to perform the aversion (to the world, virakti) connected with devotion (bhakti)."

Puranādara says: "Remembering Purandara Vithala is sufficient; why should one go to Vāraṇāsi?" "He who sees and does not worship Purandara Vithala is a great fool." "May Purandara Vithala have compassion, he who came to Udupu, took a firm seat there, and from love gives the true devotees what they wish for,” "he the beautiful (chālva = Ranga) Krishña of Udupu." "In this country, since old times, there were no knowers of the Veda (vedajña), they saw (i.e. used to study), the Vedānta Śāstras; in the places of the Adī mūrti was only the name of Śrīdhara (Vishnū), and pujá in abundance. O Vishnū, who art to be known by the Vedānta!" "The stupid Pandita ought not to say: I am the Brahma. Ha, ha, O man! Why didst thou become ruined? Ha, ha, thou left’st Hari’s worship!” "In the Kali age Madhvachārya came down to the earth, did away with the ‘I am He,’ broke Śaṅkara’s doctrines into pieces, reviled the Mâyás (the doctrines concerning the mâyā), and did away with the meshwork of the Mōha śāstras (heresies). Without delay have it proclaimed by beat of drum: ‘Among the gurus there is none like guru Madhvachārya! In the whole world none are like the Vaishnavas!’ In the whole world I see not any who had the same power as guru Madhvachārya.” "To do service to Hari is the highest state (parama pada)." "He who does not adore Purandara Vithala is indeed a thorough low-caste fellow (hōlēya)!" As a specimen of one of..."
There is one song without a mudrikā, of which I adduce two verses as referring to Rāmānuja and Vyāsa’s Tīḍha (the arm of Vyāsa; see Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 133):

Refrain:—
“Supporter of Rāmānuja’s doctrine! (or, Rāmānuja! Doctrine-supporter!)
Rod for the great mountain of dark heretics!”

Song:—
“They say the Chōla put up a post (or pillar, kamba), saying:
‘He with the eye on his forehead (Śiva), and no other godhead there is!’
The master of the Yatis (śli pati) seized and flayed him,
And made a Chōla shed (chappara, a shed of the Chōla’s skin?). See, my brother!” (v. 1.)
“Saying: ‘It is a Vyāsa Tīḍha!’ they (the Liṅgāitas), not minding,
Fasten a bull (nandi) to a standard (dhvaja),
and worship it.† Hear!
For one (or, for that one) Vyāsa Tīḍha our master (aṭhya)
Stripped off a thousand arms of Śiva’s followers (Śaraṇa).” (v. 2.)

Thus Sectarianism has been a great, probably the great, agent in the Karnātaka Dāsa movement; but the devotion of Sectarianism has not remained alone. In several songs underlies a deep disgust with the short, and at the same time so troublesome, human existence, and they plainly express the desire of the authors somehow to be comforted by their cherished idols, and also their real love for them. Varāha says of Vēṅkaṭa Ramaṇa: “My riches are shining in thee; precious pearls are hidden in thee; thou art the seed and root for meat and drink. Can people who forget thee, afterwards have any joy!” Purandara asks at the end of a song: “Why did I fall into a frenzy for the Purandara Viṭṭhaḷa, who has taken a firm seat in Rajatapurā; much renowned in the world?” and remarks in another place: “The heart is blank paper, the mouth the ink.

Krishna,” where it certainly means “Udupu Krishna.” Rajatagiri (silver mountain) is Kaḷiṣa, but Kaḷiṣa is also in Udupu. As in the Mahābhārata Śiva and Krishna worship sometimes appears as being curiously blended, it does so also in the Bēlipura song of Purandara. Here follow two verses: “In the spot (śākhana) where he with the hatchet is, the place called Udupu that appears in West and East as two, is even one body, one Mrida (Śiva). Because Krishna with the churning-stick stands (there), it is the best (place) in the world; when the poverty of the poor sees Udupu, it is quickly got rid of. As is the general custom (rūḍhi), I will pay to him who appears equal to Bēlipura’s lord Anantesa Varāha Tim-

Purandara’s entire songs, I adduce the following one:

Refrain:—
“All the gods are behind (i.e. beneath) Vishnu;
In charming devotion all are behind the Snake-lord (phaṇīpa, i.e. ṛṣiśeṣha)!”

Song:—
“All the stream-pilgrimages (Tīrtha) are behind the Vishnu-ammonite (silagṛāma);
All the published books (prakata grantha) are behind the Bhārata;
All trees are behind the sacred Tulasi;
All vitality (chaitanya) is behind the wind (vāya). (v. 1.)
All the vows are behind Madhwa’s doctrine;
All the various castes (varṇa) are behind the Brahmins (vipra);
All the excellent gifts are behind the gift of food.
Regarding (literally, among) the Rishis—they are behind Aryama devatā (v. 2.)
Regarding the good—they are behind Amba risha;
And the practices (dharma) are behind bathing (majjana);
In the whole world all are behind the badges of honour
That are in being called a fond devotee of Purandara Withala.” (v. 3.)

Let us now hear Kanaka Dāsa, the fowler. He says: “One ought not to perform pūjā to the stones of this earth (i.e. to Liṅgas).” One should not go to hell by the way of reviling Hari and extolling Hara.” “Who else are in great darkness but the ruined wicked ones, who at each word revile Hari, call Śiva the best of all, bow to him, show forth (or point out) all song-books (jitagrantha, regarding him), have proofs (for their assertions) adduced from the Vedānta, make vows, shake off their (mental) agony, think of murder, and are wanting in good manners?” “What good deed or what bad deed there is in Adi Keśava’s Dāsas? Theirs is true grace and absorption!”

† In front of many Liṅgāita temples there is a stone bull on a pillar.

I in another song he has translated Rajatā into Kanarese, so that the place is Bēlipura, silver town. Another song has the mudrikā: “Nikshish Rajatapura

* Compare the expression of Madhva Dēsa already quoted: “Do not adore all the deities (dītē) you see!” Purandara once attacks the Nīru dārus (śādhī dītē), each as V. śaunu, Niṟṟapu, Eḷḷiynna, Jōgavva, Kāikā, all of which are connected with Śiva. When Kanaka, in another song, says: “The temple (Judda) in which there is no god is like a deserted shop,” he no doubt thinks that a Vishnu idol ought to be there.

† In front of many Liṅgāita temples there is a stone bull on a pillar.
Regarding the service (sevā) of the Dāsas, Varāha prays: “Through Vyaśa is the Veda service, through Pārāśara the Smrīti service, the wholesome Vṛata (vow) service through Rukmāṇīgadā; make thou the service to become a Dāsa rise in me! I will become a servant (sevaka)’’. “Thy service (sevā), thy worship (pūjā), thy name are on my tongue, O Varāha Timmappa!” “If Hari’s thought (dhyāna), Hari’s worship (pūjā), the praise (kirtana) of Hari’s name, the dance (nartana) of Hari’s devotion (bhakti), Hari’s services (sevā) do not appear (to thee) severally, with perseverance call Varāha Timmappa, O mind!” And, in a refrain, Vijaya sings: “This is the Dāsas’ lot: they fill all countries.”

Some of the songs are didactic, reminding of the sure approach of death or of hell, and thus exhorting to worship Krishna; or inculcating some sort of judicious (sometimes quaint) or moral conduct. Others refer to the feats of Bāla Krishna; others enjoin the pūjā of the Tulasi or that at Daśamī, Ekādaśī, Dwādaśī, &c.; others contain an enumeration of the ten incarnations (daśāratāra); others relate how Krishna helped the Pāṇḍavas and killed the Kauravas (as the partisans of Śiva); others are rather impatient prayers under difficulties; one or two are morning songs to awaken the idol to receive the offerings brought; others describe the dress of the idol; others recommend a pilgrimage to Tirupati or give a description of such a one, &c. Purandara, in three songs, containing together 237 verses, paints the different pūjās connected with the Uḍupu establishment, as they take place under ordinary circumstances or at festivals. Idolatry has, to a large extent, been promoted by the Karnatakā Dāsa movement.

A reference to Čhaitanya, the Baṅgali. I have found nowhere in the Karnātaka Dāsa, paddas; Chāintanya as an epithet of Krishnā, however, occurs a few times.

Merckara, 22d July 1873.

LEGENDS OF THE EARLIER CHUDĀSAMĀ RĀS OF JUNĀGADH.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PAHLANPUR.

The bards relate that Vālā Rāma Rājā, son of Vāḷa Warsingji, reigned at Junāgadh and Vanthali. He was famed for his munificence, and it is told of him that when his beard was shaved for the first time, he gave in charity twenty-one villages and distributed fifty lakhs of rupees as alms to the poor. Rāma Rājā was of the Vāḷa race. It is said in Saurashṭra that previous to the rise of the kingdom of Junāgadh-Vanthali, Valabhinagar was the capital of Gujarat. The rise of Valabhi is thus told by the bards. The Gupta kings reigned between the Ganges and Jamnā rivers. One of these kings sent his son Kumāra Pāl Gupta to conquer Saurāshtra, and placed his Viceroy Chakrapāṇi, son of Prāṇdat, one of his Amirs, to reign as a provincial Governor in the city of Wāmanasthalī (the modern Vanthali). Kumārā Pāl now returned to his father’s kingdom. His father reigned 23 years after the conquest of Saurāshtra and then died, and Kumārā Pāl ascended the throne. Kumārs Pāl Gupta reigned 20 years and then died, and was succeeded by Skanda Gupta, but this king was of a weak intellect. His Senāpati, Bhāṭāraka, who was of the Gehlotī race, taking a strong army, came into Saurāshtra and made his rule firm there. Two years after this Skanda Gupta died. The Senāpati now assumed the title of King of Saurāshtra, and, having placed a Governor at Wāmanasthalī, founded the city of Valabhinagar. At this time the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign invaders. The Senāpati was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayodhyā Nagarī until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhi he established his rule in Saurāshtra, Kachh, Lat-desh, and Mālīwā. The Vāḷās were a branch of the Gehlots. After the fall of Valabhi the Vāḷā governor of Wāmanasthalī became independent. Rāma Rājā had no son, but his sister was married to the Rājā of...
Nagur Thaṭhā, who was of the Samma tribe. This sister's son was named Rā Gário, and Rām Rāja bequeathed to his nephew Rā Gário the kingdom of Junāgadh-Wanthali, and Rā Gário was the first of the Chudāsama Rās of Junāgadh. Rā Gário collected an army and attacked the Rāja of Kanauj, Devgar by name, and after a great battle defeated Devgar and took Kanauj, Devgar fleeing to the banks of the Ganges. The following poetry commemorates this conquest:

King Devgar was proud and happy as Kal-Indra in his abode.

Gário Rāo of Girnār conquered Kanauj, the principality of thirty-seven forts.

He, the exalter of his family, easily defeated this happy lord of innumerable forces; And thus extirpating his enemies, drank the water of the Eastern Ocean (Jamna or Ganges).

Gário, grandson of Rai Chuḍa, a descendant of Vairāt, and destroyer of the best of kings, He having called all kings of that country who had been deprived of their kingdoms, replaced them on their thrones, And subjugating the city of Parbatgadh, he occupied all the eastern country from the cities of Parbatgadh and Gwalior up to the banks of the Ganges, And thus became the lord of horses, elephants, and men, both of Girnār and Kanauj.

After the subjugation of Kanauj, Rā Gário took the city of Dohad in Mālwā, and caused himself to be proclaimed king there. At this time Rā Gário married a daughter of a Rāthod Rājput. His descendants by this wife are called Rāṇās, and are still to be found in Mālwā.

Kanauj and Dohad being conquered, Rā Gário returned to Junāgadh, where he reigned till his death.

The third from Rā Gário was Rā Dyās, or Dyāch, as he is also called. His favourite wife was Sorath Rāṇī. Rā Dyās was famed for his munificence, and the bards declare that he gave away his head in charity to a Chāran. This story is probably invented to conceal or account for the conquest of Junāgadh by a king of Paṭṭan. If Anhilwāḍa Paṭṭan is meant, this king can have been none other than Wan Rāj Chaura, as Rā Dyās is said to have died in 860-61. The story runs as follows:

The daughter of the king of Paṭṭan had come on a visit to Somnāth. Rā Dyās saw her, and, becoming enamoured of her, endeavoured to compel her to marry him. The king of Paṭṭan, hearing of this, sent a large army against Rā Dyās and defeated him in the field. Rā Dyās, however, shut himself up in the impregnable fort of Girnār, and laughed to scorn the efforts of the Paṭṭan army. The king of Paṭṭan, after a long siege, despaired of reducing the fort. He was about to return to his own country, when a Chāran named Bijal offered to put him in possession of the place, on condition of being given a large reward. The king offered him an enormous reward, and Bijal agreed to give him the head of Rā Dyās, and it was agreed that when the garrison were occupied with the funeral ceremonies the Paṭṭan army should attack the fort. The Chāran, knowing the munificent character of the Rā, determined to ask of him his head as a gift, and in his capacity of a Chāran easily obtained admission into the citadel. The night before this plot was formed, Sorath Rāṇī dreamed that she saw a headless man. On consulting the astrologers they told her that her husband would shortly cut off his head and give it away in alms. As Sorath Rāṇī had much influence in Junāgadh, she ordered her husband into captivity and imprisoned him in a bastion until the fated time should be past. During this time no one was allowed to have access to him except they who supplied him with food. The Chāran therefore went outside the bastion and there began to chant verses in praise of Rā Dyās, and to play on a musical instrument called a jantra. Rā Dyās hearing him looked out, and, seeing the Gadvi, threw out of the window a lodh or rope with a stout stick at the end, on which to sit. The Gadvi sat on the stick and held the rope with his hands, and thus Rā Dyās drew him up.
into the bastion. The following duho is said regarding this:—

If thou give not, O Dyás, thy head to the beggar.

How will the Bháts and Kinnaras be able to praise thee hereafter?

After this Rá Dyás caused his head to be cut off and given to the Cháran. The Cháran received the Rá's head and was carrying it off, when Sorath Rání demanded it of him as a gift. As sati had come upon her, the Cháran dared not refuse, and accordingly gave her the Rá's head. Sorath Rání took the head, and coming to the Dámodar Kund caused a pile to be constructed, and there became a sati. The King of Pattan after the death of Rá Dyás easily became master of the city. The King of Pattn now placed a Thánadar in Junágaḍh and returned to Pattn. The second Queen of Rá Dyás was of the Wajr tribe, who are still to be found at Jhánjmir. She and her son Noghan were residing at Wanthal, as it was held ominous for Rá Dyás to see the face of his son until he were twelve years of age.

After the conquest of Junágaḍh by the Rája of Pattn, Rajbáj, for that was the name of the Wajr, concealed her son Noghan at the house of Devait Bodar, an Áhir of Alidar Bódhar. The brother of Devait was at enmity with him, and informed the King of Pattn's Thánadar at Junágaḍh that Noghan was concealed in Devait's house. The Thánadar at once sent for Devait and demanded the surrender of Noghan. Devait replied that he knew nothing of Noghan, but in case he might have come to his house he would send a note directing him to be sent. He then wrote this couplet and gave it to the messenger:—

The cart has sunk. The driver must be protected at all hazards.

O grandson of Uda! give your shoulder and raise it up.

When this couplet was read, the Áhirs collected together at Devait Bodar's house and prepared to fight. The Thánadar, however, becoming impatient as Noghan did not come, went
with a force to Alidar Bodidhar and took with him Devait Bodar. Devait, seeing that resistance
would be useless, brought his own son Uga, who was of Noghan's age, to the Thañadār.
The Thañadār at once put him to death and returned to Junāgadh. After the departure of the
Thañadār, Devait Bodar sent for his son-in-law Sanstio, an inhabitant of Alidar, and confided to
him the fact of Noghan being concealed at his house, and requested his advice as to the best
mode of seating him on the throne of Junāgadh. Sanstio replied, “Let us collect Āhirs on the
occasion of my marriage to your daughter, and let us then invite the Thañadār to the wedding,
and at that time proclaim Noghān king with the aid of our army.” This being determined on,
a day was fixed for the nuptials, and the Thañadār was invited. He came with his army to
Alidar Bodidhar. His men were placed separately in a large enclosure, and pretended prepara-
tions for the feast were made. Suddenly the Āhirs fell upon them and put them all to the
sword. Rā Noghan was now proclaimed king, and seated on the throne of Junāgadh. The
following dūḥo is said in praise of Devait:

When none could give even a dokra in alms,
Devait Bodar gave his son Ugo the grandson of
Ugamati.
May fame always attend on all the Bodardas,
Who giving Ugā as a substitute saved Rae Nog-
ghan.
Rā Noghan ascended the gādī in Samvat 874.
In Samvat 875 there was a terrible famine in
Sorath, and the Āhirs went to Sindh to obtain
food, and Jāsal daughter of Devait accompanied
them. Hamir Sumro, the king of Sindh, seeing
her beauty, was enamoured of her, and carried her
off by force. Having this, Rā Noghan collected
an army and went to Sindh and defeated Hamir
and rescued Jāsal. He then returned to Junā-
gadh and reigned there till his death, in Samvat
916. Rā Noghan had four sons: 1, Bhim; 2,
Sodo; 3, Kuvāt; and 4, Khengār. Khengār, the
youngest son, succeeded him, and it is this Khengār
whose queen, the beautiful Ranik Devi,
became a satī at Wadhwan after her husband’s
defeat and subsequent death.

In this bardic account of the rise of the Chu-
dāsamās the principal feature of interest is the
extremely old Gujarāt of the poetry. The
translations are perhaps liable to correction,—
indeed it is very difficult to make anything out
of the first set of verses. I may here mention
that the legend of Rā Dyās under different
forms is extremely common throughout Gujarāt,
Kāthiāwād, Kachh, and Sindh. The Sindhi ver-
sion of the legend will be found in Captain G.
Stack’s Sindhi Grammar.

There is considerable difficulty in assigning
a correct date to Rā Gario. In one version
of the verses regarding Rā Gario’s conquest
of Kanauj the word Jayachandra occurs in
stead of Rāj-Indra. Now if this were the Jaya-
chandra whose daughter was carried off by
Prithirāja Chohān, Rā Gario’s date would be
about the end of the 12th century of the Chris-
tian era. Again, if the ballad quoted by Mr.
Kinloch Forbes in the Rās Mālā be accepted as
correct, and as the year of the accession of
Siddhrāja was A.D. 1094, and as only Rā Noghan
intervened between Rā Dyās and Rā Khengār,
it would be impossible to accept the date of Sam.
860-61 (A.D. 803-4) as the date of Rā Dyās.
The following explanation may perhaps throw
some light on the question. In the Sindhi version
the king (of Pāṭṭan) is called Anerāi. It is
well known to all who have consulted bards
that though almost always correct in their main
facts, they are almost always incorrect in details.
Especially regarding the kingdom of Anhilwādā
Pāṭṭan the greatest confusion prevails. To the
kings of this capital are assigned almost all the
famous deeds performed in Gujarāt, and among
these kings Kumār Pāla and Siddhrāja Jesingh
are the ones most frequently quoted. They are
assigned by one legend to the 9th, by others to
the 10th, 11th, even 12th centuries. If then in
the case of Rā Dyās, his foe be simply made
some mighty Rāja—possibly Anerāi of Somnāth
Pāṭṭan or of Dhank, known also as Preh Pāṭṭan
and Rehewās Pāṭṭan—the difficulty vanishes,
especially if in the case of Mr. Forbes’s legend
Siddhrāja’s name be considered merely as a
synonym of some mighty king,—and numerous
instances might be given of Siddhrāja’s name
being used in this way. An instance occurs to me
in the Jethvā chronicles where the name of
Kumār Pāla is thus used. The Jethvā chronicles say that the title of Rāṇā was derived from a defeat by Jethva Sangji of the Wāghelā Rāṇā of Anhilwādā Patṭan, Kumār Pāla’s son Karsanji or Krishnaji. The Jethvā is said to have defeated Karsanji and taken him prisoner, but to have released him at the intercession of the neighbouring chieftains, among whom was Akhērājji of Sirohi. A condition of the release was that the Wāghelā should resign the title of Rāṇā, which has from that day been held by the Jethvā Chief of Porbandar. The bardic couplet regarding this battle is as follows:

Saigaji, with a body like the sun, founded a (new) title;
While the Rāṇā who descended into the Rāṇā burned to ashes.

Now as Akhērāj ascended the gāḍī in Saṅvat 1580 (A.D. 1524), it is clear that this could not be Kumār Pāla of Anhilwādā Patṭan, and it is highly probable that the Wāghelā Rāṇā in question was Rāṇā Manḍanji of Gedi in Waghar, or possibly Rāṇā Visal Dē of Morwādā, both of whom were Wāghelā Rāṇās and contemporaries, being both of them sons of Rāṇā Vanoji of Gedi. Rāṇā Visal Dē’s date is known from the inscription on the Rāmā Wāv near Morwādā, to have been Saṅ. 1516, or A.D. 1560. His younger brother Manḍanji succeeded to the gāḍī, and is in all probability the Rāṇā in question, if it be not Visal Dē himself, who may have essayed to conquer Morbā after his establishment at Morwādā. If this slight alteration then be made in the names of the sovereigns of Pattan in the legends in question, the dates given in Ranchojī Devān’s history may be accepted as the approximately correct ones. The legend about Rā Gārio styles him grandson of Rāe Chuda, who was probably Chudachand Yādav, and who is well known in the contemporary annals of the Rājput houses. Tod assigns to Rāo Chudachand the date Saṅ. 960 (A.D. 904), whereas if he were grandfather of Rā Gārio, Saṅ. 760 (A.D. 704) would be nearer the mark. This discrepancy is difficult to reconcile, but as in the main features of the legend respecting Rā Gārio there is no striking improbability, I would be inclined to assign to Rāo Chudachand the older date. Rāo Chudachand is said to have originated the name Chudāsamā, his descendants being called Chudā-Sammās. Rā Gārio would thus be the second Chudāsamā. Looking also at the antiquity of the Chudāsamā dynasty, its introduction into Kāthiawād at about the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era seems also probable, and this account fits in with the Vālā and Gehlot chronicles. However it may be, these legends may, in abler hands than mine, form a connecting link between the era of the Valabhi kings and the consolidation of the Chudāsamā rule in Saurashtra. A better translation also of the Gujarāti verses might throw more light on the subject, and this I doubt not might be furnished by many of the readers of the Antiquary. Possibly, however, the king of Patṭan who fought with Rā Khengār was Mula Rāja Solanki. In the account by Kinloch Forbes of Mula Rāja’s warfare in Saurashtra (see Rās Mālā, vol. I. pp. 53 etc. and 154 etc.), quoting from both the Dvārāshrāya and the Prabandh Chintāmanī, the Lord of Wāmanasthāli is described as a Shepherd King, or Āhir Rāṇā. Now both Noghaṇ and Khengār might fairly be called by such a name, as Noghaṇ was placed on the throne by the aid of the Āhirs. It will be seen by referring to the Sindhī version of the legend of Rā Dvās that the account given therein of the cause of quarrel between Anerāi and the Rā is almost exactly the same as the one in the Turi’s version quoted by Mr. Forbes. Mr. Forbes represents Lākhā Phulāni to have been slain by Mularāja, but he also mentions that the honour of slaying Lākhā has been also claimed by Siñhoji Rāthod. It will, I think, be easy to prove that Lākhā Phulāni did not live for upwards of four centuries after Mularāja, and as the descendants of Siñhoji Rathod still enjoy lands in Gujarāt, and as the Wāghelā chronicles show Muluji, the conqueror of Sirdargadh in Kāthiawād, and founder of the Sirdhāra Wāghelās, to have been a contemporary of Lākhā, and that it was Muluji who with Siñhoji Rathod defeated Lākhā at Adkot, where Lākhā fell by the hand of Siñhoji, it may fairly be inferred that Lākhā was a contemporary of Wāghelā Muluji. Professor Wilson has pointed out (in Bombay Government Records No. XV. New Series) that the era of Lākhā Ghurārā has been antedated by 621 years. This would make the death of Lākhā, if the Jhādejī chronicles be
followed, to have taken place in Samvat 1522, the Jhâdejā chronicles assigning Samvat 901 as the date of Lākhā's death. Now if a corresponding deduction be made from this date to that proposed to be added to the date given by Ranchodji Devān, a date might be found for Lākhā that would perhaps fulfil all the conditions required. At present if Sam. 901 be doubtless too early, so also is Saṁ. 1522 too late for Lākhā's death. Still there can, I think, be no doubt that the dates assigned by Professor Wilson are very much more correct than any that have hitherto been allowed, except perhaps that assigned by Col. Tod; and if it be admitted that one chronicle is incorrect in dates to a certain extent, there seems no valid reason to doubt why the dates of the Jhâdejā chronicles should be accepted without question. It is only, however, by tracing the contemporary Wâghelâ Rânis, as well as the Chudâsamâ Râs, that a final decision can be arrived at on this point. These rough speculations may perhaps be useful to other and more advanced historical students.

In conclusion I may state that the date of Wâghelâ Muluji must be about Samvat 1400 to 1420. This date is founded on an inscription on a well near Morwâdâ of Rânâ Visal Dé of Saṁ. 1516, mentioned above. Now Visal Dé was the son of Wanoji; Wanoji was the son of Surkhâjî; Surkhâjî was the son of Lunoji; Lunoji was the son of Unujî; and Unujî was the son of Muluji:—in all five generations. The date therefore assigned to Muluji cannot possibly be far wrong if the inscription be admitted to be correct.

MUSALMÂN REMAINS IN THE SOUTH KONKAN.

BY A. K. NAIRNE, Esq., Bo. C.S.

II.—Portssouth of Ratnâgirî.

There is no other port in the Southern Konkan so prominent in history as Dābhol, about which I have already written, and which one of the earliest European travellers spoke of as the most southerly port belonging to the Musalmâns. But though the other ports are not so distinguished, I shall be able to show much more clearly than in the case of Dâbhôl the routes which travellers took from them to the Musalmân capitals of Bija pur and Golkonde.

Little more than twenty miles south of Dâbhôl is the fine river Sâstrî, with the fort of Jâyagadh at its mouth, and the town of Sângamesvar thirty miles up. I am not aware of the Musalmâns ever having had any considerable station on this river, and, though it is quite possible they may have had, it does not seem that they can ever have required a second port so near Dâbhôl, while at the same time this river would be too far north for a short route to either of the southern capitals. Ratnâgirî, about 20 miles south of Jâtagadh, has never been a port or a place of trade, although the fort is one of the finest on the coast. About 18 miles south of this, however, is the small river Muckhkundl, with the fort of Pûranganâ at its mouth: a little way up is the white tomb of a pîr visible from the sea, to which Musalmân sailors in passing make offerings. The scenery of this river is particularly fine, and about 12 miles up is the town of Sâtavalli, which, though now entirely decayed, is said to have been a place of some importance in the time of the Musalmâns, and to have had a considerable trade. Not only has it still a large Musalmân population, with remains of mosques, a small fort and other buildings, but there are also to be traced roads leading in almost every direction up the very steep hills by which the town is surrounded, though no single one of them appears to have been repaired for several generations. One of these roads leads through Lânjê and Prabhânvalî to Višâlgadh. Lânjê stands in a fine open plain, and is said to have been formerly a large town, and there is a tomb which is believed to be that of a princess who died here on a journey. Prabhânvalî also is known to have been formerly a large place and a chief station of the Musalmâns, but it is more decayed even than Sâtavalli or Lânjê. I have only seen it from a distance, but am told that it contains no more signs of its former importance than the remains of some mosques, one of which is known to have been the Jamma Masjid, and the foundations of large houses. This village lies immediately under the fortress of Višâlgadh, and the ghât is still passable for bullocks. The distance from
Sātavāli to Viśālgaḍh is well under 30 miles, and, from the comparative levelness of the road over the greater part of the distance, there can be no doubt that when Viśālgaḍh and Prabhānvali were held by the Musalmāns, Sātavāli would have been the most convenient port for their inhabitants. The ghāts of Viśālgaḍh, Anuskūrā, and Baurā are said by Graham to have been constructed by the Musalmāns about 1600 A.D., and though no doubt this date is a mere guess, yet it corresponds sufficiently with the flourishing days of the Bijāpur kingdom.

Viśālgaḍh itself, as it was one of the strongest of the ghāt fortresses, so it is also one of the most celebrated in history, and is said by Graham to have been in the 12th century the seat of government of the western portion of the country. From the Konkan it is by no means a prominent object, as the hill of Māchāl, connected with it only by a narrow ledge 200 feet or so below the brow of each hill, projects further out into the Konkan. A similar narrow ledge and equally depressed connects Viśālgaḍh with the main line of the ghāts, so that when fortified the approach was equally difficult to invaders either from the Konkan or the Dekhan. The fort was dismantled about thirty years ago by our Government, the inner walls and works being entirely demolished, and even of the outer walls only a very small portion remains. Its present inhabitants are a few servants of the Pant Prītinidhī, to whom it belongs, and one old Musalmān who looks after the two mosques. These are intact, and there are also two large gateways of Muhammadan architecture. In one of these mosques is hanging a gigantic pair of iron fetters, the tradition concerning which is that they would of themselves fall off the arms of an innocent person, so that any one accused of an offence might claim to be tried by this ordeal. Close to where they hang is a Persian inscription let into the wall. Graham, in his Report on the Principality of Kolhāpur, states that the earliest Persian inscriptions in the fort are of A.D. 1234 and 1247, the first commemorating "the capture of the fort by the Muhammadans under Malik Rahim, who, from another inscription dated sixty years later, appears to have enjoyed during life a high odour of sanctity and was canonized after death, miracles being wrought through invocation of his name at the shrine." The tablet and fetters mentioned above are therefore probably both connected with this saint. But there is a difficulty about the two inscriptions mentioned by Graham. Not only is the earliest date fully fifty years earlier than the first recorded expedition of the Musalmāns into the Dekhan, but Ferishtah distinctly states that Viśālgaḍh (then called Khelnā) was first taken by the Musalmāns in 1469. Nor is it likely that a place in so retired a situation should have been attacked by them in any of their very early expeditions, while the authority of Ferishtah is particularly reliable as to that part of the country, owing to his having resided for many years at Bijāpur.

The circumstances which preceded this capture of Viśālgaḍh are interesting. There had been expeditions into the Konkan by the troops of Gulbar gā in 1429 and 1436 under Malik-ul-Tujār, and various of the Hindu Rājās had been subdued and made to pay tribute. In 1453 the same leader commanded another expedition, and after reducing several Rājas, one of the Sirkē family agreed to become a Musalmān and a faithful servant of the king, on the condition that the general should first reduce his rival Shankar Rāi, Rāja of Khelnā, and he undertook himself to guide the army through the difficult country that lay between his own fort and Khelnā. This offer was accepted, and during the first two days of the march Rāja Sirkē led the troops along a broad road. But on the third day they entered a very different sort of country, and the following literal translation, by Briggs, of Ferishtah's description is worth giving: "The paths were so intricate that the male tiger from apprehension might change his sex, and the passes more tortuous than the curly locks of the fair, and more difficult to escape from than the mazes of love. Demons even might start at the precipices and caverns in those wilds, and ghosts might be panic-struck at the awful view of the mountains. Here the sun never enlivened with its splendour the valleys: nor had Providence designed that it should penetrate their depths. The very grass was tough and sharp as the tongues of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters, and poison impregnated the..."
breeze. After winding, weary and alarmed, through these dreadful labyrinths, the army entered a darker forest, a passage through which was difficult even to the winds of heaven. It was bounded on three sides by mountains whose heads towered above the clouds, and on the other side was an inlet of the ocean, so that there was no path by which to advance in retreat but that by which they had entered."

The troops were by nightfall of course excessively fatigued, and then Rāja Sīrkē sent for Shān kar Rāi, who came with a great force and fell on the Musalmāns. The general, five hundred noble Sayids, and nearly seven thousand Musalmān soldiers, besides Abyssinians and Dekhanis, were killed on this occasion, the few survivors escaping above the ghâts.

The exact place where this massacre took place has never been ascertained, but Grant Duff thinks that it was not very far from Viśālgādh, which is so probable, not only from the Rāja of that place being so particularly mentioned, but also from the nature of the country described. Even now, with all the improvement of the country, there are very few parts of the Southern Konkan where an army of 10,000 men could march without the greatest difficulty; and the tract of country lying beneath and a little to the north of Viśālgādh, between the towns of Sangamēśvar and Lānjē is almost the only open plain of any extent in the collectorate. This an army might easily have marched for two days, but it would need but a slight deviation either to the west towards Sātalā, or to the east towards Viśālgādh itself, to get into hills and gorges which in those days must almost have come up to the description given by Ferishtah. If it be a fact that an inlet of the ocean was on one side, then the immediate neighbourhood of Sātalā would answer the description: otherwise, as to the closeness of the valleys and the height of the hills, Prabhānavāli seems the most likely place. At all events it is most probable that the massacre took place somewhere in the country which lies beneath and in front of the most projecting point of Viśālgādh.

This misfortune to the Musalmān arms was not avenged till 1469, when Khwāja Mahmūd Gawan, the prime minister, collected a large force, and by constant hard labour and with many precautions cut his way through the jungles, and at last after an unsuccessful siege of Khelnā for five months, interrupted by the monsoon, succeeded, partly by stratagem and partly by bribery, in getting possession of this fortress. He spent the rest of this season and the whole of the next in ravaging the country, and so, apparently, reduced the whole of the Rājas to subjection, finishing up by taking Goa from the Vidyanagra troops. As this is stated as the period of the reduction of the whole of the Konkan, we may reasonably suppose that the establishment of the Musalmāns at Prabhānavāli and Sātalā took place soon after this. Two hundred years later, after being captured by Sīvājī, Viśālgādh was twice unsuccessfully besieged by the whole force of Aurangābī, and on one of these occasions the loss of the garrison was so great that on the retreat of the Musalmāns seven hundred satīs are said to have taken place among the widows of the defenders who had fallen.

The road from Viśālgādh to Bijāpur would probably lie through Malkāpur and Kolhāpur,—for this is a very slight deviation from a straight line, and Kolhāpur, or rather the neighbouring fortress of Panālā, was almost as famous in Muhammadan as in Marāṭhā days.

The next place to be mentioned is the creek on which Rājāpur stands. This is one of the oldest towns in the district, and was formerly a place of great trade, which is proved by the English, French, and Dutch all having had factories here in very early days. It had also a great trade with Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and even now two or three Arab bagalos come there every year. There is good a deal of interest in the way of Hindu temples and traditions, but I am sorry to say I know very little of its Musalmān history, though the Musalmāns are still so strong there as to be divided into two very bitter parties and to have several mosks. Though plundered by Sīvājī, it appears never to have been much damaged,—owing its security probably to its being so far from the sea; and it has therefore all the appearance of an ancient town, which Dābhōl, though undoubtedly much older, has lost. A hill behind the town still preserves the name of Tālimkhānā, or gymnasium, and I am told that, though it is not used for the purpose now, the Musalmāns of Rājāpur still keep...
up the education of their young men in gymnastics. Orme says that in 1670 it was a very frequented port belonging immediately to the king of Bijapur; but this was only shortly before the Konkan fell into Sivaji's hands. And Hamilton, writing of the same period, says that this district produced the finest battelass and muslins in India. In 1686, after the unsuccessful expedition of Sultan Muazzim, son of Aurungzeb, in the Konkan, his brother, Sultan Akbar, who had long been in rebellion against his father, hired a ship commanded by an Englishman at Raja-pur, and embarking there sailed to Muscat, and from thence proceeded to Persia.

The creek on which Raja-pur stands was guarded about two miles up by the fort of Jaitapur. This also was held by the Musalmans, but I have heard nothing of its history except that in 1676 it was burnt by the Sidi; but it was then, I think, in the possession of the Marathas. It is a place with nothing to recommend it, and has the appearance of having been at best a very second-rate fortress.

The route from Jaitapur and Raja-pur to Bijapur would have been through Baurâ (to be mentioned later) and Kolhâpur. The Kajerdâ Ghât gives a considerably nearer route to Kolhâpur, but I have never found it mentioned in any history, and there is, I believe, no fort to protect it, as there is above the Prabhânvâli and Baurâ Ghâts.

The creek at the mouth of which Gheria or Vijjadurg stands, which is the last port I have to mention, is only about five miles south of the Raja-pur creek. Horsburgh speaks of Vijjadurg as "an excellent harbour, the anchorage being land-locked and protected from all winds. There is no bar at the entrance, the depths being from five to seven fathoms." Hamilton speaks of Raja-pur as having "the conveniency of one of the best harbours in the world;" but he had not himself been there, and must evidently refer to Vijjadurg,—since Raja-pur can no more be said to have a harbour than Greenwich or Blackwall, and Jaitapur cannot be meant, as the harbour is both dangerous of access and not well protected. I have been disappointed in not finding any mention of Vijjadurg in the older Musalmân historians, and am unable to account for it, as there is no doubt that it was held by the Musalmans—firstly, because the older English historians always mention Gheria as the Musalmân name of it, and secondly, because some of the older parts of the fort are distinctly Muhammadan, and quite different from what is found in purely Marithâ forts. Thus there are Saracen doors and windows in the three-storied towers, which are themselves uncommon features, and in the inner gateway; and there are also a mosque and the tomb of a pir, the first being in the centre of the fortress, very near the flagstaff mound. The fort also is said to have been only rebuilt, and not built, by Sivaji.

There is no doubt, however, that it is to Sivaji that it owes its finest features,—the triple line of walls, the numerous towers, and the massive buildings in the interior,—all of which, with its situation, make it by far the grandest fortress I have ever seen. There is a considerable Musalmân population outside the fort, and in many of the villages all up this creek, which is still navigable up to Khârepâtan, although it, like most of the other creeks, has much silted up. The present town of Kharepattan has a small trade, but is quite insignificant, and its situation hot and confined. But passing through the Musalmân quarter a very rough road leads to a fine open site, lying along the bank of the river and extending a considerable distance, with Musalmân tombs in every direction. Here was the old Musalmân town, and though there is not a house now standing, nor anything except the tombs and the walls of three or four mosques, it is easy to believe that there was once a large town, for there is a fine level space lying above a long reach of the river, and the hills behind this slope very gently upwards. It is said that the sites of twelve or thirteen mosques can be shown, and the one which still remains among the Musalmân houses in the town was the Jammâ Masjid, and evidently a building of considerable pretensions. Well outside the present limits of the town is a very large brick tank, nearly dry and quite ruinous, an inscription on which states that it was built by a Brahman in 1659. Why a Hindu should have built a tank in the middle of the Musalmân part of the town just at the time when the Musalmans were losing their hold on this part of the country, I certainly cannot explain. Near the middle of the present town is a half-buried stone, which is believed to have been the boundary between the Hindu and the Musalmân
ports south of Ratnagiri.

There can be no doubt which was the ruling power at the time this division was made, for while the Musalmāns had the whole of the fine site on the river-bank west of the stone, the Hindus were confined to the steep and narrow valley in which the present town stands. This stone is, of course, the residence of a bhūt, as is also a large rock which stands out above the water close to the present landing-place, and which must have been a serious inconvenience when Kārēpātān had a large trade.

Among the many tombs on the hill-side there are a few not otherwise distinguishable from the rest except by lying east and west, instead of north and south as the Musalmān tombs do, and which from this fact and old tradition are said to cover the graves of Jews. And in the middle of the present town there is a colony of Carnatic Jainas and a Jaina temple, the only one, I believe, in the Southern Koukan. In this temple is a small idol of black marble, found in the bed of the river only three or four years ago. The absence of garments and the curly hair are even to ordinary observers proof of its being a Jaina or Buddhist idol, and the deity is identified as Parśvanātha from the seven-headed snake which surrounds the head of the god like a canopy. The proportions are peculiar, but the carving is elaborate, and the image altogether in perfect preservation.

The fact of Jews and Jains having lived in Kārēpātān at a distant period would, even without the evidence of the Musalmān ruins, show that it was a much larger place than at present. The Musalmāns, who are so poor as most of their race in this district, say that the old city contained 18,000 houses, and, looking at the tombs and the extent of the ruins, there is no difficulty in believing this. Ferishtah mentions that in 1471 the Portuguese landed and burnt the towns of Aḍīlābād (a place I have never heard of) and Carāpātām, on the shores of the Bijāpur empire,"* and this is the only reference to the place I have found. There is no doubt that the site of the old town is as superior to that of Rājāpur as the harbour of Gheria is to Jāitāpur: but whether the fact is due to the Portuguese having burnt the town, as mentioned above, or to some other forgotten accident, it is certain that Rājāpur has retained much more wealth and trade than Kārēpātān. But as a slight testimony to the former predominance of Musalmāns in both these places, Professor Bhāndārkar told me the other day, as one of his early recollections, that when he first left Mālwan as a boy he was struck on arriving at Kārēpātān by finding the Musalmāns making use of the same wells as the Hindus, which, in most parts of the collectorate they are not allowed to do.

From Kārēpātān to the fort of Baurā there is an easy road of about seven kos, and the ghāṭi is an old one and easy for bullocks. Colonel Graham, as I have before mentioned, says that it was made by the Musalmāns about 1600. The fort of Baurā stands on a narrow ridge projecting out from the general line of the ghāṭi, but at a slightly lower level, and is an imposing object both from above and below. But, probably from being easily commanded from above, it seems never to have been of nearly so much importance as Višālgadh, Punālā, &c. It is said to have been built by Yusuf Adil Shāh, the first king of Bijāpur, in A.D. 1489. While he was building it, a venerable Musalmān, who gave himself the name of Gebi Pir, visited him in a dream and claimed the site of the fort as his own. The king therefore dedicated the Fort to the Pir, and built in it three tombs, for the Pir himself, his sister, and her son, and over them erected the domed building which still stands as the most prominent feature of the fort. After Sivāji had once taken the fort and once lost it to the Musalmāns, he again took it and gave it to the first Pant Amatya. The latter believes that he owed victory on a certain occasion to the Pir, and accordingly paid his devotion to the tomb and endowed it with Rs. 350 a year. Since then all the Pants of Baurā have paid divine honours to the Pir, and the common people; Hindu as well as Musalmān, have followed the example of their chiefs, and to this day worship at his tomb on Thursdays. The fort was dismantled in 1845, and the then Pant abandoned it as a residence, and built a new town in a most delightful situation on the edge of the ghāṭi overlooking the fort. From Baurā to Kolhāpur the road is remarkably level and open. This route, then—by Gheria, Kārēpātān, Baurā, and Kolhāpur—must

* Briggs, Tr. vol. IV. p. 540.
certainly have been one of the easiest ways of getting from the coast to Bijãpur, and though perhaps not quite so short as that by Sãtavali, yet it was probably much more easily guarded, and safer for unprotected travellers.

I can give no particulars of any old route to the south of this. G o a was always a much-coveted port, but I have only seen the Fon dâ Ghât mentioned in connection with it, which is a long way north. I have no doubt, however, that any one having a better acquaintance than I possess with the district lying between G o a and the Ghâts would be able to find traces of the Musalmâns along some more direct route.

I must end this by acknowledging that there are many points of interest regarding even the places I have written about which require further elucidation, as I have now only been able to put into shape some rough notes made at different times. And I must particularly mention that the villages on the Bânkot creek, about which I have said nothing, contain a larger and more prosperous Musalmân population than any of the places I have mentioned. But I have never found any reference to any of these towns or villages in history previous to the time of the Marâthâs; and I am inclined to think that the Musalmâns of this part (known in Bombay by the too general name of Konkani Musalmâns), who differ so strongly from others of their religion in physical appearance, in dress, and in some of their customs, must be descended from seafaring Arabs who settled on this coast, and not from the Musalmân conquerors of India. I know no evidence, however, in favour of this theory, and must leave it as a mere hint to any one who may be able to investigate the subject properly.

JAIN INSCRIPTIONS AT ŚRAVĀṆA BELGOLA.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALORE.

(Continued from p. 266.)

II.

A long series of the rock inscriptions at Śra- vaṇā Belgola, in the same old characters, consist of what may be termed epitaphs to Jain saints and ascetics, both male and female, or memorialsof their emancipation from the body. Specimens are given below, with literal renderings and translations. It is painful to imagine the pangs of slow starvation by which these pitiable beings gave themselves up to death and put an end to their own existence, that by virtue of such extreme penance they might acquire merit for the life to come. The bitterest satirist of human delusions could hardly depict a scene of sterner irony than the naked summit of this bare rock dotted with emaciated devotees, both men and women, in silent torture awaiting the hour of self-imposed death, in haste to be quit of the human form, which yet from the opposite hill the gigantic granite image displayed in colossal proportions as that of the deity for whom they made such a sacrifice looking forth unmoved upon them with its impassive features. The irony is complete when we remember that avoidance of the destruction of life in whatever form is a fundamental doctrine of the sect. All the more striking must the picture have been from the absence of the surrounding buildings, which were most probably not erected at the time to which the inscriptions refer.

The vow which these unhappy ascetics underwent appears to be known by the singular name of sallekhana. Regarding this penance a work called the Râtvâ Karânḍakâ gives the following directions:—

Upasarge durbhikshe jâraj u jârayâm cha nish-
prânikâre
Dharmâyatanuvimochanamahuh sallekhanâny
âryâh.||
Antahkriyâdhikaranam tâpahsalam sakala-
darśinastu gate,
Tasmãd yâvadvibhavam samâdhimarane pra-
yatitavyam.||
Sneham vai râm sangam parâgraññam châpahâya
suddhamananâh,
Svâjanam parijanam apicha kshântvâ kshama-
yet priyair vachanaâh.||
Alochya sarvam inâh kritakāritamanumatam,
Aropayen mahârâtmatam âmaranasthâyinihSh-
sham.||
Which may be freely translated as follows:—
When overtaken by portentous calamity, by
JAIN INSCRIPTIONS AT ŚRĀVĀNA BELGOLA.

Now EMBER, 1873.]

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There is no cure, to obtain liberation from the body for the sake of merit the Āryūs call sallekhaṇa. He who is perfect in knowledge possesses the fruit of all penance, which is the source of power; therefore should one seek for death by the performance of some meritorious vow, so far as his means will permit. Having purified his mind by renunciation of friendship, hatred, ties and acquisitions; having forgiven his relations and dependants; and with kind words sought forgiveness from them; viewing with a strong mind impartially (or with indifference) all that he does, causes to be done, or desires; should a man enter upon the performance of a great vow, not to be completed save by his death.

It goes on further to say:—

Āhāram parihāpya kramašah snigdham nivar
Snigdham cha varjayitvakarapānampārayet
Kramaśah ||

Karapānahāpanam apikritväkritvopavāsamapi Śaktya
Panchanamaskāramanás tanum tyajetsarva
yatnema.

Jivitamaranāśamsabhayamitrasmritividhānāmā-
mānah
SallekhanātichārāhpanchaJinchdrailsamud
dishtāh. I

He should by degrees diminish his food, and take only rice seasoned with oil (or clarified butter). Then, giving up the oily seasoning, he should gradually reduce himself to only a handful of drink. Then, abandoning even the handful of liquid, he should, according to his strength, remain entirely fasting; and thus, with his mind intent upon the five kinds of reverence, should by every effort quit his body. Desire of life or of death, remembrance of fear or friendship, action, these five are transgressions of Jñāna—thus say the Jīnendras.

The inscriptions before us are in the oldest dialect of Kanarese. The expression mudippidār, with which most of them terminate, is one which seems peculiar to the Jains. Mudī also becomes mudu, as in the following quotation from the section on Nompi, or religious vows, in the Śrītī Śāskṛt:—

Tapaśecharanam geđu samādhi vidhibhim mudupi
Achyuta kalpadel Achyutendraśrīgirādālam.

ī noppiyam ondu bhavadojadi muntavar ananta
sukhaṃnānānāyāvara.

Regarding the names of places mentioned in these inscriptions, reasons will be given in a future paper for supposing that Chittāra and Kittār may be Chittor the capital of Mewār in Rājputāna.

Before concluding, however, the question may well be asked whether the vow of sallekhaṇa is ever now put into practice. On this point it is not easy to obtain information, but it is admitted to be resorted to in the case of persons whose death seems near. Their end is hastened by withholding nourishment, just as in other sects persons born to the banks of the Ganges to die are sometimes suffocated with the holy soil. It may be doubted whether in any other circumstances the custom is enforced. But a Jain Brāhmaṇ informed me that if he were committed to prison, for instance, he should feel himself under the necessity of performing this penance.

TRANSLITERATION.

II. Adeyarenāda Chittārā mauni guravadigaḷa śi-
shittiyar
Nāgama Tigantiyār māru tingal nōntu mudippidār.

III. Svasti śrī Jambā nāygir tingal nōntu mudippidār.

IV. Śrī Nedubōrya hanada
Bhāṭārāṃ nōntu mudippidār.

* I understand that this should be milk.
† said a Muni Darpayum, Kittel's edition, p. 311, No. 208.
V.
Sri Kittar veilmadadha Dharmma Sena guravadigal ariippaar
Bala Deva guravadigal sanyasana nontu mudippidair.

VI.
Sri Malenura Paattiini guravadigala sishyar Ugra Sena
guravadigal ondu tingal sanyasana nontu mudippidair.

VII.
Sri Agaliya mauni
guravara sishya Kotianda Guna Sena
guravar nontu mudippidair.

VIII.
Sri Puruma da
guravadigal sishya mantra
ekartta Kechi gura . . . . dippidair.

IX.
Sri Ullakkal guravadigal nontu . . . dari.

X.
Sri Kalovi
guravadigala
sishyar Talekada peljediya
edeya kalapakada
guravadigal ippattuon divasa
sanyasana nontu mudippidair.

XI.
Sri Rishabba Sena
guravadigal sishyar Naga Sena
guravadigal
sanyasan vidhi intu mudippidair,—Naga Sena
anagham gunadhikami,
Naga Naya jitar manjalam, Raja pujyam
amala sriyachpadam,
Kamadam hata madam namayaham.

XII.
Sri Dimmadigal nontu kamalam keydair.

TRANSLATION.

II.
Nagama and Tiganti the (female) disciples of
the gift-bestowing Silent guru of Chittur,
having kept the vow three months, expired.

III.
May it be well! The fortunate lady Jambha,
having kept the vow a month, expired.

IV.
The wealthy Bhadra (or chief) of Nedubur,
having kept the vow, expired.

V.
Bala Deva guru, a dependant of the immaculate Dharmma Sena guru, of Kittur, having kept the vow of a sanyasi, expired.

VI.
Ugra Sena guru, the disciple of Paattiiniguru, of Malenur, having kept the vow of a sanyasi one month, expired.

VII.
Gunja Sena guru, of Kittur, the disciple of the
Silent guru of Agali, having kept the vow, expired.

VIII.
Kechi guru, the performer of incantations, disciple of Puruma da guru, . . . . expired.

IX.
The guru of Ullakkal, having kept the vow, expired.

X.
The guru of Talekada, with the great mass of matted hair and a bunch of peacocks' feathers bound with a bowstring, the disciple of the guru of Kalovi, having kept the vow of a sanyasi twenty-one days, expired.

XI.
Naga Sena guru, the disciple of Rishabha Sena
 guru, thus expired, in the manner of a sanyasi:—
To Naga Sena the sinless, possessor of the highest good qualities,
To Naga Nayaka by whom the world of enemies hath been conquered,
The worshipped of kings, the pure, the source of fortune,
The giver of one's wishes, the destroyer of pride,
do I bow myself in reverence.

XII.
The fortunate Great One,† having kept the vow, ended his days.

THE NALADIYAR.

BY THE REV. F. J. LEEPER, TRANQUEBAR.
(Continued from page 271.)

CHAPTER 14.—Learning.

1. The beauty of the hair, and the beauty of the encircling garment, and the beauty of sa-

* Cf. Account of Jain Yatis, As. Res. IX. Art. iv.
† Dimmidaru, ancient Kanares for Brahmans or those who are considered great persons.
will be beneficial, since when it is imparted to others it is not diminished, since it renders its possessors illustrious, since they who have it during life suffer no loss, we see no medicine like it which destroys delusion. 3. Wise people take the salt produced in a barren soil to be more valuable than the rice of a fertile soil. Though they be of the lowest station, people who have acquired learning will be put in the chief place. 4. From the place in which it is stored up it cannot be stolen. It can suffer no harm, though to that place fire should come. Though very glorious kings rage, they cannot bear it. Therefore wisdom, and nothing else, is what one who intends to lay up an inheritance for his children should acquire. 5. Learning has no bounds; the students' days are few. Would they calmly reflect, diseases are many. Let them carefully investigate and make themselves acquainted with those things which are essential, making a good choice like the swan, which drinks the milk and leaves the water. 6. They will not despise the boatman because he is at the lower end among the old castes. Lo, by his assistance they pass the river! And like this is getting advantage through the help of a man who has learned books. 7. Let me see whether the joy of associating with those who possess the qualities which are derived from indestructible ancient learning, who are without hatred and also very acute, be not as sweet as dwelling in Amravutí, the city of the gods, in the wide expanse of heaven. 8. Lord of the cool shore of the roaring ocean the friend ship of those who have acquired learning is like eating sugar-cane from the top (downwards). Attachment to those who are graceless and destitute of good qualities is like eating it from the root (upwards), having rejected the top. 9. Though unlearned, if they walk in the society of the learned they will daily acquire good understanding, as a new (earthen) vessel by contact with the bright-coloured Padiri flower gives (its scent) to the water itself. 10. If a man learn ever so much, instead of studying the books of wisdom, the reading of worldly books is all of the nature of mere noise: there are none who can discover from them the way to rid themselves of sorrow.

Chapter 15.—High Birth.

1. A noble family will not decrease in (good) qualities, even when their clothes are torn and their body wasted. Even when trouble comes upon him, will the lion devour the long grass? 2. Manliness, goodness, right conduct, these three belong to those who are born in a sky-touching family. But, O lord of the hill-country covered by the clouds which touch the sky! they fall not to the share of others, even though they have acquired great riches. 3. Rising from their seat and going to meet (a stranger), leaving others, these the high-born have assumed as their unflinching rule of conduct. It is not their nature to be reckoned one with the mean. 4. If he do good things, it is conformable to (his) nature; if bad, it will be a fault despicable in the eyes of many: and in this case what is the profit to him of being born in a family known to all? 5. (To those born in a good family) there is fear of ignorance, fear of doing the deeds of the base, fear that anything which ought not to be spoken may escape from them, fear of not giving anything to those who beg for all. British are they who are born in a family destitute of these graces. 6. Goodness of relatives, pleasant words, liberality, and every other good quality of the mind, all these, O lord of the cool shore of the roaring ocean, where the large gems and pearls shed their lustre! meet in those who are born in a good family. 7. Though the building be decayed, and the white ants have collected together, a large house may nevertheless have a wing not fallen. So those who are born in a high family, even when they suffer distress, will do the things they ought to do. 8. Like the moon, which enlightens the beautiful wide and extended earth on one side, though the serpent (athíscáha) hold it in the other, those who are born in a good family will not slacken in well-doing, though poverty be against them. 9. The things which even in poverty those will do who are born in a high family, the vulgar will not do, even though they be rich. The deer, though it should be harnessed (for war), is not strong enough to fight like the charger. 10. The high-born, even when they have not anything, will approach those who are in want, and be a prop when they totter. When the broad river (bed) is dug up, though it be dry, yet clear water will soon appear.

Chapter 16.—The Good.

1. The moon, which sheds its beams abroad over the beautiful and wide-spread sky, and the good, are like each other. But the moon
bears spots, the good bear them not. They would be confused and waste away should a blemish befall them. 2. Whether successful or otherwise, the good will be held blameless. Is the dart which glanced from the lion inferior to the arrow that pierced the heart of the jackal? 3. The good, though they be poor and emaciated, will not guiltily ascend and rise over the bounds (of duty); binding their courage, as much as in them lies, with the cords of a mind free from anxiety, they will do the things that ought to be done. 4. The good, though they should meet with a person in the way, only for one day, will cleave to him with affection, as if (there subsisted between them) an ancient friendship. O lord of the goodly hills! a path will be made even upon a rock if one walk upon it for a few days. 5. If an unlearned person in the assembly speak what is destitute of meaning, like unconnected letters, the good will listen kindly, though with pain, even feeling pity that he should be put to shame before a multitude. 6. Though you bite the sugar-cane, or take its juice by beating and bruising it till the joints be broken, it will only be pleasant as far as it is tasted. Though people abuse them injuriously, the hightborn will not speak faultily with the mouth. 7. The faultless virtuous steal not, drink not spirits; these things the good reject and leave altogether. Neither do they mock or reproach others; though confused in speech they will not lie with their mouths; and though in declining circumstances, they grieve not about it. 8. If one be deaf to the secrets of others, blind to the wife of his neighbour though well acquainted with her excellencies, and dumb in exalating others, to him it is not necessary to inculeate virtue. 9. When people go day after day to those who are destitute of good qualities, they will despise them as beggars. The excellent, whenever they see (such), will say (if they want anything), Well, and will do them honour. 10. The base will live in obsequious attendance on the rich. Is it not like falling in a cave full of everything, when thou hast fallen upon a good family?

Chapter 17.—Against reproaching the great.

1. O lord of the fair hill-land resounding with streams! we should not, thinking they will forgive us, do what is hateful to the guiltless, for none can remove their anger when once they are provoked. 2. What though those who know not good and right feelings obtain the privilege of associating without expense with those who cannot be approached though gold be offered to them, yet they do but vainly waste their time. 3. These two things, the esteeming of any person, or the depreciation of any person, fall within the province of the excellent (alone). Deeply learned sages regard as nothing the contempt or praise of those who know not how to conduct themselves aright. 4. Like as the golden-coloured serpent trembles, though in Patala, if he hear the sound of the fierce anger of the thunder in the heavens, so enemies, though they have shut themselves up in a fort difficult of access, will not be able to escape when the great are angry. 5. The estimation which they form (of others) who say, Ye know us not, there are none like us, is no true estimation. But the estimation formed by the excellent, who know what virtue is, and consider themselves as not to be at any one’s beck and call, is a correct estimation. 6. O lord of the shore of the cool broad ocean! friendship with the mean, like the shadow of the morning, will continually decrease, while friendship with those who have long been famous will increase more and more, like the shadow of the afternoon. 7. Like as the cool budding umbrageous trees afford shelter alike to all who approach them, so the wealth of kings and the excellence of the beauty of women may be enjoyed by all who may venture to approach them, no worthiness being required at their hands. 8. Since separation even from those who possess not the power of investigating what they have, causes great and uneasing pain, O lord of the wide spread, mighty, and exhaustless backwaters: the not contracting friendship with any one is a how of times the best. 9. When the matter is spoken of, (it will be found) that with the excellent such days as these are not, viz. days which have not been spent in study, days in which the great have not been visited, or days in which alms have not been given according to ability. 10. The glory of the great consists in humility; the requirements of the learned appear in his self-control. The rich are rich indeed if they remove the affections of their dependants when acquainted with them.

Chapter 18.—Good Society.

1. The habitual sins which they, contrary
to right conduct, commit, associating in the time of ignorance with those who know the way of virtue, vanish as the dewdrops do from the blades of grass as soon as the sun has become hot. 2. Know ye the way of virtue. Fear ye death. Bear with the harsh words of others. Restrain deceitfulness. Hate ye the friendship of the wicked. Ever obtain instruction at the mouth of the great. 3. Since separations from friends, grievous disease, and death are close at hand to all who possess a body, let my soul unite with the truly learned, who are convinced that the metempsychosis, which commenced ages ago, is a great evil. 4. If one can obtain the privilege of living always with men of good disposition in friendship, who constantly perform acts of virtue through a succession of births, though that succession is affliction, no one will despise it when they have considered the matter. 5. The water that runs from the sink when it reaches great waters will become a Tirtha, even its name being changed. Thinking of this, even those who have not family greatness will stand as a rock associating with the good, who have virtue and greatness. 6. Even the hare in the wide, beauteous, and sublime heavens, since it is seen in the moon with refulgent beams, will be adored (by men). And in like manner even those who are without any dignity (of their own), if they obtain the love of the good, who are as mountains of virtue, will have dignity. 7. Water when mixed with milk will become milk, not remaining water. Will it exhibit the appearance of water? In like manner, if you consider it, the meanness of the mean when united with the dignity of the excellent will utterly vanish. 8. The grass near the stump of the tree will not shake with the plough of the ploughman. Feeble though they be, the anger of enemies will not come on those who have joined the society of the good. 9. Like paddy multiplied through the goodness of the soil, persons will become good through the goodness of their respective families. Like the destruction of a good ship on the approach of a strong gale, goodness will be destroyed by bad company. 10. Though innocent in intention, persons will be despised on account of the (bad) company they have joined. In the forest both the scent-giving sandal and the teak tree will be burned when the brushwood, which has been cut, has caught fire.

Chapter 19.—Greatness.

1. It is no longer in our power to give alms. Youth for ever has fled away. Those damsels who before loved us care no more for us; (therefore,) no longer desiring (to continue in) the domestic state, and renouncing the arbitrary desire of becoming great, this is now the one thing needful. 2. In the household state we have enjoyed pleasure, here we are rich. Fools so thinking, will behave inconsiderately. Those who understand the household state, that it, though seeming to last, lasts not, will never have sorrow. 3. Lay up seed for heaven without delusion of mind; and, void of all distress, enjoy life like the wise, maintaining your proper station, remembering always that there are various things that change their nature without efficient cause. 4. They say that in the time of drought the well of spring-water will preserve the inhabitants, though by drawing its water they subsist. So the duty of liberality is found with the great, even when in declining circumstances; with others, even when they are rich, it is rare. 5. As the river which springs up in the place where they dug for a spring, even when it is dry, yielding much water supports the people, (the great) even when exhausted and wasted by giving of their riches to many, will do the things they ought to do, giving to a few. 6. O lord of the mighty mountains! a crime committed by the worthy will appear like a brand-mark on a white ox. Though the base commit sins as heinous as that of killing an ox, no blot will appear upon those base ones, their guilt will be wholly invisible (being wholly guilt, and nothing else). 7. Connexion with those who are destitute of a disposition fitted to their mean condition, as far as it extends, will produce sorrow; while even enmity on the part of the excellent wise, who will not do what is wrong even in sport, will bring with it greatness. 8. Desire ye that honour should accrue to the good and merciful in disposition; alarm your enemies with terror, enough to alarm Yama himself. Decide then who endeavour to deceive you, and render unto the good their just measure of beneficence. 9. Those who are imperturbable and without any change of mind, even though they be confused by any one hastening and uttering evil calumny, are truly pure-minded, like the bright light in a lamp.
10. The excellent expend the food first prepared in charity (or a first portion of food), and eat what food is left. That food will deliver the eater from these three crimes—lust, anger, and delusion, and will serve him in all his affliations even to the end.

Chapter 20.—Perseverance.
1. Let those branches of a family who subsist on what their relations give them, like the rice-plants nourished beneath the bank of a tank which holds but little water, perish. Is want known by those persevering people who (constantly) change their position, like the eye of the juggler watching the motion of the sword?
2. Even that which stood a trembling stick by the wayside, when it has acquired strength, may become fit for a post to tie an elephant to.
3. The strong tiger, if it be without prey for a single day, will even catch a small frog and eat it. Do not despise small things; even great matters will become greater by exertion.
4. Lord of the cool shore of the breakwaters, where the waves dash against the calderia bushes! though a person think within himself that the matter will not succeed, yet, if he still go on with it, and unswervingly labour, this is perseverance. When all things around them are prosperous, will not even women succeed in their undertakings?
5. There is neither limit nor use in talking thus. He is of low caste, and He is of good caste. Good caste is constituted by those things alone, viz. ancient, glorious, and resplendent wealth; penance; learning and perseverance.
6. The wise, who know their own ability (to complete a work), until it is completed keep their knowledge to themselves, and speak not of it to others. The world lies at the beck of those men, illustrious in wisdom, who can ascertain by the expression (of their faces) the ability of others.
7. The hanging root supports the banyan-tree like a son, when it is eaten away by white ants. Even so, if imbecillity appear in the father, it will not be apparent when the son he begat conceals it.
8. Though they should die meanly, not having anything in their house, will they do things fitted to bring down disgrace upon their own heads who have the strength of the lion possessed of powerful paw and sharp claws, which make sore the livid face of the elephant?
9. The hair-like, round-stalked flower produced by the sugar-cane is destitute of sweet honey and fragrant odour. Even so, what will be the good of being born in a high and lofty family, if there be no manly courage to carve out for one's self a name?
10. The base will eat the curry and boiled rice given with much pleasure by the great and rich. Even water procured by the earnest perseverance of those who do not know the name of curry will be as ambrosia.

Chapter 21.—The Union of Relations.
1. As a mother forgets the pain and trouble she suffered during pregnancy and childbirth when she sees her infant in her lap, so the distress a man suffers from poverty and other misfortune disappears when he sees his relatives inquiring for him.
2. Supporting his relatives without partiality (like a tree which gives shade to all those who approach it at the time when the hot season is nigh), taking pains himself that many may eat the fruit of these exertions, is like a tree whose fruit is ripe. So to live is the duty of a good man.
3. Lord of the piled-up hills! the great will not say of their relatives, We cannot bear them. Though very many large unripe fruits be produced (upon a tree) very closely, there is not one branch which does not bear its (share of the) fruit.
4. Though they contract very close friendship in the sight of the world, yet the friendship of the base will not endure; (while) the amity of the stable-minded will be as enduring as the perseverance of the unswerving great, (which endures) till they have realized their hopes of heaven.
5. Those who, making no distinctions between persons and conditions, relatives and strangers, actuated by their natural feelings alone, seek all who are in poverty or affliction and relieve their distress, will be regarded by every one as preeminently worthy.
6. It is sweeter to take a heap of grass-seed without salt, and in any kind of dish, in the house of a relative dear as life, than to eat on a golden dish rice white as the tiger's claws, and mixed with sugar and milk from the hands of an enemy.
7. The desirable fried curry of politeness, though had at due time in the house of those who are not one's friends, will be (bitter) as margosa-seed. Hear. A curry of vegetables, though served up at sunset, by those who are relatives, is pleasant.
8. Even those who have been pleasantly entertained by another as frequently as a hammer strikes the
anvil, will forsake him, just as the tongs leave the iron in the forge; but those who are truly worthy of being called friends will adhere to him in distress, as the rod by which it is turned adheres to the metal in the furnace. 9. O thou who are adorned by a cool and fragrant garland! when relations have partaken of the prosperity of their relatives, if they partake not also of their adversity until death, is there anything they can do for them in the other world? 10. Delicious curry (yellow as the cat’s eye), when eaten alone in the house of those who love us not, will be as the nypesa. When living in the house of those who are like us and love us, cold water and grass-seed will be as nectar.

Chapter 22.—The choice of friends.

1. Friendship with the wise, whose intelligence divines our thoughts, is like eating a sugar-cane from the top (as its sweetness increases more and more); connexion with persons without sweetness of disposition is like eating it from the opposite end (the flavour decreasing by degrees). 2. Some accept (the highborn as friends) merely on the ground that such, remembering their high birth, will not act inconsistently—not, O lord of the fair hills, from which the birds flee on the approach of the gold-coloured torrent! because the minds of such are known. 3. Avoiding the friendship of those who resemble elephants, seek the friendship of those who resemble dogs; for an elephant will kill his driver whom he has known for a long time, but a dog will wag his tail while the spear thrown at him is still in his body. 4. Men cleave not to those to whom their hearts cleave not, within a short space of time; but will the friendship which cherishes the memory of those who are intertwined with one’s heart be abandoned, though they are absent from us for a long time? 5. When affection continues affection, then is friendship preserved, like the flower on the stalk, which, being full-blown, closes not again. Those who resemble the lotus, which, having once blown, closes again its petals, know neither affection nor friendship. 6. Those who are at the bottom in (the scale of) friendship are like the areca-tree; those others who are in the middle are like the coconu-tree. The friendship of those who have experience of the past is like the palmyra-tree, (whose uses are) difficult to reckon. Such are at the top (in the scale). 7. Even vegetable curry served in the water that rice has been boiled in will be as nectar if a man accept it kindly. To eat the abundance of the unfriendly, though it be white rice flavoured with meat and rich seasoning, is (to eat) the kanjina-fruit. 8. Though they adhere to one in friendship as closely as the small toes of a dog to one another, yet of what benefit is the love of those who do not help one even to the extent of the leg of a fly? Therefore, though the friendship of those who, like the channel which fructifies the rice-field, be ever so far away, we must nevertheless go to obtain it. 9. It is better to be without the love of those who are without sincerity. Death is preferable to an incurable disease. To kill him at once is more desirable than to vex a man so that he becomes sore at heart, and to abuse is better than to praise one for that which we do not possess. 10. To join oneself to many, and strive many days and examine dispositions, and take (for friends) those who are worthy, is proper. Even with a deadly serpent, to associate and afterwards to part from it will be painful.

Chapter 23.—The bearing with the faults of others.

When those we love greatly, and esteem as virtuous, prove otherwise, this ought carefully to be concealed, for rice in the grain has a husk, water, foam, and flowers some unseemly leaves. 2. Though it burst the bank whenever they would stop it, they will not be angry with good water. Those who live desiring good water will repeatedly draw it up. Men will not be angry, but be patient concerning the friendship of those whom they themselves have courted, though these persons act towards them with constant hate. 3. Though they do evil exceedingly, is it not fitting to be patient with one’s friend? O lord of the lofty hills where the beautiful winged insects hum over the variegated konja-flowers! the forbearance of one is the friendship of both. 4. O lord of the wave-resounding shore where bright-velved pearls are thrown up by the rolling billows, and where float swift-sailing ships! if friends, from whom it is difficult to separate, possess not virtuous dispositions, they are as a fire kindled to burn our hearts. 5. Even though they do what is disagreeable, one should preserve as gold those who ought not to be forsaken. Daily do men seek for fire and keep it in their house, though it has consumed both their good house and gold. 6. Is it right utterly to abandon friends, who ought
not to be forsaken though guilty of evil deeds?  
O lord of the renowned mountains, which, covered by the long-stemmed bamboo, pierce the sky! will men cut off their hand because it has struck the eye?  
7. Lord of the cool land where the waters brightly shine! the good will not look upon the faults of others after mixing with them (in friendship), though they act disagreeably. Persons destitute of strength of mind who take up evil things and speak of them after mixing (in friendship), are themselves inferior to those of whom they speak.  
8. In a thing done by strangers, though in itself exceeding bad, what is there fitted to give pain? Considered rightly, it is the acts of those who are affectionately attached, which, O lord of the land where the waterfalls murmur! will be esteemed excellent, abiding in the mind.  
9. If persons become aware that those whom they have taken into friendship, supposing them to be their friends, are not their friends, let them nevertheless esteem them better than their friends, and conceal the discovery in their own breasts.  
10. If after contracting a firm friendship with any one, I set myself to note his good and bad qualities, may I be cast into the hell where the traitor who discovers the secrets of his friend is punished, and may I be scoffed at by the whole world!  

Chapter 24.—Improper Friendship.  
1. O lord of the fair and well-watered mountains, where abundance of cascades fall down from the black crags! men will remain until they have done their work in an old house the thatch of which is untied, keeping out the water by a dam, and being drenched with the rainfall falling down upon them. Thus will friends remain with one until their business is finished.  
2. The friendship of illustrious men is eminently valuable, and is productive of benefit as timely rain. But the friendship of the mean, even in the time of their prosperity, resembles, O lord of the land of clear water! the failure of rain in its due season.  
3. The enjoyment of the friendship of men of acute understanding is desirable as the joys of heaven. But connexion with unprofitable men uninstructed in science and literature is a very hell.  
4. Our intimacy with those to whom we are not bound by the chain of friendship, O king of the hills, the sides of which are covered with groves of tall sandal-trees! though it seem day by day to increase, will be dissolved as instantaneously as fire catches straw.  
5. The presumptuously saying, We are those who will do what should not be done, and the deferring and putting aside that which ought to be done at once, verily these two things will cause affliction instantly, even to ascetics, who have renounced the pleasures of the domestic state.  
6. Though born in the same pool and grown up together, the ambel-flower will never be like the expanded kweerle. The actions of those who are destitute of excellence, though they obtain the friendship of people of high excellence, will never attain the actions of such persons.  
7. A little monkey breaking into a fruit with its finger, will strike and seize its own father, though coming to meet it. Lord of the hills! the friendship of those who are without unity (of mind) is not pleasant.  
8. If I stretch not out my hand and deliver my whole soul without hesitation to my friend who is in distress, may I be cast into the hell where the wretch is punished who has violated the chaste wife of his friend, and may I be scoffed at throughout the far-famed earth!  
9. Like pouring margosa-oil into a pot into which ghee has been poured and taken out again, O lord of the fragrant and goodly mountains! is the acquisition of the favour of those who are acquainted with evil, after the renunciation of the favour of those who are acquainted with good.  
10. The absence of benevolence of disposition in him whose form is beautiful is like water mixed with milk, that is pleasant to drink. For those who are wise, to become companions of the wicked is like the nágy playing with the female cobra.  

Chapter 25.—The possession of understanding.  
1. When the excellent behold their enemies in adverse circumstances, being themselves confused on that account, they will not come near to invade them. In like manner the invincible and mighty serpent (Ilhagu) will not draw near to afflict the moon in her first quarter.  
2. Lord of the cool shore of the broad ocean! self-control is the ornament of the poor. Should they behave without respect and without any measure of propriety, their lineage will be published by (the inhabitants of) the village they live in.  
3. Let the seed of the wormwood be sown in the best of soils, it will never become a cocoanut-tree. So even the Southerns (Yama's subjects) have, by performing acts of virtue, attained heaven: while the Northerna, having derived no advantage
from their privileges, very many of them have perished. A happy new birth depends upon a person's virtuous conduct. 4. Though the fruit of the plantain be ripened in the bitter season of the marjosa, it will not lose its sweetness. Thus, although those who are naturally good, associate with the bad, their friendship with them will not corrupt their minds. 5. Sweet water may be produced even on the brink of the sea-shore, and salt water on the side of a mountain. O lord of the cool shore washed by the waves of the ocean! it is truly said that sensible men will not imitate those with whom they consort, but will preserve their own minds. 6. O lord of the cool shore of the ocean where the thick-boughed punnei-trees flourish! will those who are virtuous and impartial towards all, first contract and then dissolve friendship? (Sooner) than this, it is better that friendship should never be contracted. 7. To be united in friendship with the prudent, who think of that of which they ought to think, is productive of the highest felicity, and affliction is avoided by separating from fools, who know not what belongs to friendship. 8. Whether an individual establish himself in a good situation, or whether, spoiling that condition, he debase himself, or whether he exalt himself to a much higher condition, or whether he make himself superior to all, he does so entirely by his own exertions. 9. In the way of business, even for the great to follow after the ignorant is not folly, but wisdom, O nobly-born king of the cool shore resounding with ocean-waves! 10. Having undertaken a profitable business, having experienced enjoyment, having performed acts of charity to the excellent, if any one in any one birth is able to do all this, such a consummation may well be compared to a merchant-ship that has reached her port.

CHAPTER 26.—The want of understanding.

1. Poverty consists in the being destitute of accurate learning. Great wealth, which has been accumulated by acquisition, consists in the possession of that learning. Will not the hermaphrodite, who is destitute of manliness, adorn itself with every jewel which is desirable in its eyes? 2. Would you know why affliction and loss of dignity befall those who know the benefits of knowledge derived from many books? It is this: when Sarswati, of ancient renown, takes up her abode with them, Lakshmi, being coy, will flee away. 3. He that receives not, but despies as mere talk the command of his father to study, on a letter being gently held out to him in the presence of many, calls out to the person who presented it and seizes the rod of offence. 4. If one who has grown up in ignorance enter the assembly of the excellent in learning, in the earth, and sits down, it will be like the sitting down of a dog; and though, not remaining quiet, he should say anything, it will be like the barking of a dog. 5. The vulgar will repair to the learned and speak of what they know nothing of; the good, though asked of all they know, display it not, knowing that it will be thrown away. 6. Those whose tongues are adorned with learning and knowledge fear the disgrace of evil speaking. The unwise indulge therein. Thus on the palm-tree the dry leaves maintain a perpetual rustling, whilst the green leaves make no noise. 7. When speaking of the way of virtue to those who comprehend not what is good, it is like pressing the sweet mango into a bowl of hogwash. Like a stick driven against a rock,—the point is broken, it will not enter in at the ear. 8. Though they wash it with milk and put it to dry many days, charcoal has not the property of becoming white. Though they strike with a stick, and thrust too, understanding will not enter into the body void of virtue. 9. Like the fly, which battens on filth, instead of feasting on the sweet-smelling and (honey) dropping flower, so to those whose minds are inherently base, what pleasure is there in words that come from the mouth of the worthy, though clean and sweet as honey? 10. The acute and faultless instruction uttered by the wise, strikes on the mind of the mean without laying hold of it. A mean man will look on the face of one like himself, and with him hold converse.

(To be continued.)
has hitherto taken the trouble to make a collection of phrases; this has now been done, and it will appear that this so-called language is a mere gibberish, the chief component of which is Persian uttered in a peculiar way. As Deri is spoken only by Zoroastrians, it may reasonably be presumed that it very often serves to prevent Muhammadan Persians from understanding them, just as in some parts of Europe some Jews still use a peculiar German gibberish intelligible to themselves alone, which may have been more useful in old times of persecution, but now serves only to disguise paltry commercial transactions.

After all, however, the Deri is not an artificial language. All the words are taken in their natural sense, not as in the Argót or thief-language of Paris, where they obtain different meanings; and the change of certain Persian consonants and vowels takes place, as philologists will observe, according to well-fixed phonetic laws.

The orthography here followed is that recommended by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, i.e. the letters have always the same value, e.g. g = η, i = η, &c. The total absence of the letter f, as in some Indian languages, may also be noticed.

Nouns.
The servant of a merchant, Nükerti bőjer.
An hour too soon, Gá sat khâili zi.
I am the man, Me odeme.
The son of the king. } Pôre pûshô.
A son of a king, A hûs tân ês. 
A husband and wife, Mira va zuna.
The child and the father, Wôchá va pezér.

Possessive Case of Nouns.
My brother’s book, Daftaribzuzerem.
His father’s horse, Aspipezérosh.
The light of the sun, Rushnohi horshir.
One of the gentleman’s daughters, Yaki dôte mûre hûb.

This was my father, mother, and uncle’s advice, Moe naiteo pezérom, móserem o khulim bo.

Adjectives and Nouns.
A happy man, Mûre khâshul.
The blue sky, Osmone osmoni.
The man is happy, Merdekhâshul on.
It is a sad occurrence, Mokure dêlîri on.
The meeting was large, One khâili udeem jem bûn.
It has been a rainy day, Oraje vûrûmî bo.
That man is lame, O ademe shûl on.
It was a blind woman, O yânoge kur bo.

White, black, red, and green colours, Sûvi, siôh, sûr va péstai réng.

Degrees of Comparison.
Rustum is taller than Jamshid, Rustum master (or blunder) Jenâshir on.
My brother is better to-day, Brûzeri me, emru wâder on.
Solomon was the wisest of men, Solom on dunûteter odemhû bo.

This is a very fine day. } Emru khailli kib rûjî on.
{ Moreje khâili kib on.

He was more polite to-day than yesterday, In emru orunûteter heze bo.
He is prettier than his sister, In juwunûteter kha-

khorosh hû.

Verbs.

I am me ké We are mó him.
Thou art toe ké You are ñmô ké.
He is in hâ They are iekhun hen.
I was me boe We were mun boim.
Thou wast tau boe You were ñmô boit.
He was in bo They were iekhun boen.
I shall be mê bê We shall be mœ bim.
Thou wilt be too bê Ye will be ñmoe bit.
He will be iê bê They will be iekhun ben.
I teach me zemete We teach mû zemeltim.
Thou teachest too zemete You teach ñmô zem elit.
He teaches iê zemete They teach iekhun zemeltim.
I am very glad. Me khailli khâshul hê.
They are lazy. Iekhun kâkel hen.
Thou art the man. To o odeme hê.
Is she handsome? O yanoge khiba áret on?
He is my brother. In brûzere me hen.
I was sick. Me kâsta bohe.
We are rich. Mu alkidur him.
We were not present. Mo hûzer nê bohim.
You are poor. Shmû gripi (or nuhri).
You were dumb. Shmû gôn bôi.
He will not eat. In nähra.
We shall be sleepy. Mo hãrlûllo bim.
You will be tired. Shmô mâna bi.
They will be awake. Iekhun bizar ê ben.
I shall be here again this evening. Me emru pàin 
do bore mone hê.

Present Tense.

I love good children, Me watzugun kib, me pàsend hû.
Thou lovest fine horses, To aspe kib hê pàsend hû.
He loves his father, In pezére kô pàsend dûra.
We love him, Mu in dûse dôrim.
You love her, Shmû yanoge dûste dôrit.
They love their books, Iekhun dàșter sho pàsend dûren.

He walks out every morning, In har ru sôbi bore shun.

Birds fly through the air, Pàrenda tê hovô pàren.
They are always talking, Ishun homishá gápe kuzne
She is playing with her sister, Yánoge háre khá-
hereh osí.
Before he comes I shall have finished my dinner,
Pish as in gé mé chome nim ru ry ehré.
When you come, shut the door, Her vaht geta to
he bare pishko.
They are looking at the ship, Ishun trapejóz
e lºne.?.
Do you expect him? Shmó omide in hi?

 Imperfect Tense.
I was walking when I met him, Vaht í ké mé in
omé de me durté rá rejte.
Was he sitting on the chair? In ri khorei nash abó?
He was working at that time, In o vahté dört kór
sheka.
She finished her tale yesterday, Yánoge hëse máte-
losh sketunanka (Woman yesterday tale her
finished).
Were you not standing at the door? Shmó piše
bare ní kituhsa bokí?
For how much did you sell your horse? Shmó ásp
do, do chen herát?
They drove the boy away, Ishun o pároge sha, bár ká,
They saw not his sorrow, Ishun dilgíri in sho, nádi.
I did not expect such a reply, Me omi ci mose
japwí nábooe.
Did you sing? Shmo dokhén.
You did sing.

Why did you shout for aid? Chera bru maded shmó
vóch do durt.
He is the sillistest boy I ever saw, In watche nápa-
mion gene eahbor me ne didah.
The house is very high, Kéá khaili blend on.
It is better to be poor and happy than to be rich
and miserable, Garb bë o khoshil bë wáter on
ge aldìnavula (albidor) bë o no khosh bë.
Of all jewels the diamond is the most precious,
Almos geruntëre hená jauveré on.
He is the eldest brother, In bzúzer móshster on.
She is the youngest sister, In khahere kástér on.
I came later to-day, Me emru dirter one he.
The wind is much stronger to-day than it was
yesterday, Emru wàz hailli zur weshler héz
sho.
Lead is heavier than iron, Kloi sengintere óhen on.
This is the highest mountain of this country, Mo
dósho másho ma die hon.
It is nobler to forgive an injury than to revenge it,
Aziét vedakhihi wáter on ko dushmanmá wêkre.
My horse runs faster than yours, Aspi me shákhtëre
asep tó dôi.
He is the politest gentleman I ever met with, Mase
odeme nujihí o khibi me isbur né díza.
You have come sooner than I expected, Shmó séter
omáde me one hi.

This is some of the finest fruit I have ever
seen, Moe mivas khibtor on ko me eahbur me ne
díza.
This is the longest way, Moe rae dréste on.
That is the nearest road to our house, Tukze mo
morai názikste on.

To have.
I have pens, ink, and paper, Me klem, morakabo,
káyez dóré.
He has a good pen-knife, In chágo klemtrushkí khibi
dórá.
You had many friends, Shmó khaili dást dushti.
They had many enemies, Ishún khaili dúsman
dóštén.
He had this disease yesterday, In hezé khátsí bó.
I shall have dinner to-day at four o’clock, Me emru
sóch chórm chámé khré.
They shall have their reward, Ishun enhum shó
gúren.
He shall not have my bread, In núne mësh nárse.
She shall not have my book, In yánoge dofarí mé
shnáte.

We may have rain to-day, Emru wórom wé wore.
Let me have my own knife, Chágo mé mátí.
Let her have her desire, Yet khohashek wêká.
Have patience, Sávr ko.

Have you any flowers? Shmó echi gú dórí.
I shall have some to-morrow, Mé héró chenimi
türe.

Have they money? Ishún aldi dåró?
They have none, Ishun echi ná duren.

Dialogue I.

Good morning, Sir! Sabo kheire Séheb!
I hope you are well, Omide ma ke shmo khí bí.
Very well, I thank you, Khaili khí bón, merabuní
bó.

I hope all the members of your family are in good
health, Omid dores ko heme odame wabilaró
tendrest hen.

I am glad to say they are quite well, Me kháshule
ko vëco je kemáshu khí bón.

Do you think it will rain? Shmó pámí ge vëromme
tá?
Shmo khíuldo rasan ko vërom me tá.

I do not think it will rain, Me khol melasa ko
vëromma né tá.
The weather has been very hot the last two weeks,
Më do haptai ko sho horvé khaili gúrm bó.

Farewell! Khodáfez shmó.

Good evening! How do you do? Rushku yáka!
Khib o khásh hi?

As usual, Ráve homishék.

How is your brother? Bészerdó che tour on?

He is not very well, In pori khí bén.

Give him my compliments, Dwoelume me ushve-
rusné.

Thank you, Merabuni bó.
Dialogue II.

It is time to go to bed ..................................
At what time do you go to bed? .................
At ten o'clock........................................
Do you keep a light burning all night? .........
No; I keep a box of matches ready at hand....
It is time for breakfast............................
Everything is ready ..............................
Will you take a boiled egg? ......................
Do you sell good knives and spoons? ..........
What do you charge per dozen? ............... 
Only ten rupees; the price is very moderate, Sir.
You astonish me; that is very dear ..............
Can you tell me of a good shoemaker? .......
The best shoemaker in the town is my next neighbour.

Dialogue III.

At what o'clock do you dine? ....................
My dinner-hour is four o'clock............... 
Our dinner will soon be on the table...........
Stop and take dinner with us....................
You are very kind; I accept your invitation...
How long have you been in Bombay? .......... 
Not more than three years ......................
Do you intend to remain here? ...............  
No, I mean to go to London ....................
I have heard much about that town; it is the largest in the world.
Has England an extensive commerce? ...........
What is the chief export of England? .........
Cutlery, glass, cloth, books, cabinet-work, jewellery, watches, and other fine goods.

Dialogue IV.

Are you learning English? .....................
I am learning it ..................................
I am glad you are learning it, because it will be very useful to you.
Is the English language difficult? ..............
In the beginning it is very difficult, but if a person studies diligently every day, he can soon learn it.
As the Government of this country is English, every person who wishes to obtain service under it, ought to learn this language.
There are also many books written in the English language on all kinds of sciences.
It is my intention to make a voyage to England, in order to see all the wonders of that country.

Dialogue V.

Can you tell me if there is any ship going to London?
There are several in the harbour which will set sail soon.
Have you money enough to pay your passage? ...
I think I have.................................
How long will you remain in England? .......... That is not certain. If I am pleased and can obtain good service I may remain several years. I think it is very dangerous for a young man who has no friends and little money, to go to a foreign country. That may be true enough, but my desire to see the world is so strong that I am ready to suffer almost anything to satisfy it. I admire your boldness, and wish you a happy voyage.

These phrases and dialogues, short though they are, will be quite sufficient to dispel any supposition that there is much analogy between the Deri and the Zand, and it would scarcely be worth while to give more than is here offered. According to Dr. Pietraszewski, there appear, however, to be dialects in Persia which still bear some relation to the Zand, as he states in the Preface to his Zand Grammar:—"During my travels in Persia as first dragoman of the Prussian Embassy I have been convinced that this language is not a dead one. If we lend an attentive ear to the various dialects in which the country abounds to this day, we find some, so to say, still breathing the pronunciation of Zand words. I have felt this venerable breath of the remotest antiquity principally in the forms of the Turcoman language spoken in the vicinity of the town of Roomya, where the tomb of Zoroaster is still shown, and extending as far as the town of Bayezyd, on the frontiers of Russia. This language is not dead, I say; for the priests of the nomadic people called Lashy Leshy, inhabiting the inaccessible mountains from Ekbatana, the present Hamadan, as far as Isfahan, She raz, and further to the west, still preserve in their sacred rites the traces of this tongue amidst the Persian jargon of their flock. After having spent a month with them at Abaday, a village situated between Isfahan and She raz—where I was obliged to sojourn on account of sickness—I could no longer doubt of the fact."*

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**KARI DASTUR IN JESHT PÚRNIMÁ.**

**BY CAPT. E. W. WEST, SÁVANTVÁDÍ.**

In his interesting account of the life of Basava, given in the *Journal of the Bombay Br. R. Asiatic Society* (No. xxiv.), Mr. Würth alludes incidentally to a mode of divining how the crops will turn out, which he says is practised by the agricultural classes throughout the Dakhan. Some time ago, when reading over the depositions recorded in the matter of an affray between the inhabitants of two villages under different chiefs which took place in 1826, I found a full account of the ceremonies observed on this occasion in the Navilgund (Naul gund) district, near Dhārwād, which I here transcribe for the benefit of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary.* It would be interesting to ascertain in what districts this custom obtains. I remember when in the Mahi Kāštā hearing of a similar practice, which in like manner led to an affray between the followers of two rival chiefs.

Q.—"What is the Kari Dastur in Jesht Pūrnimá?

A.—"On the 14th, the day before the Pūrnimá, all the bullocks of the village are bathed, after which they are taken to the houses of their owners, where pūja is performed. Then follows the honkugi, which is as follows:—A hān is placed at the foot of the bullocks, javāri and dhāl are boiled together, to which oil and salt are added. This huggi is given to the animals to eat. On the Pūrnimá day the horns of all the bullocks are coloured with a kind of red earth (hurmunj), then the kōdabali (cakes made of flour) are put on the horns. Bells are tied round their necks, and poured into a gotta, a vessel made of a joint of a large bamboo, some turmeric and salt is added, and this drink is given to the bullocks. After this another potion is made of kusubī oil, one or two raw eggs, and a little turmeric, and administered to the bullocks by means of the gotta, whereupon the tongue of the bullocks is rubbed with salt to clean it."—Enj

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then the kari töran takes place, as follows:—
Two bamboos, the height of three men, are fixed at some distance from each other in front of the most ancient gate of the old petá near the Kusáchauri, to which a rope is tied across, and leaves of the kadá and mfn, cakes of dried cowdung, cobaři, dried dates and coconuts, are suspended therefrom by the Dhedš of the village. This is called the kari töran. About 4 p. m. the Pâtil, Kulkarni, and all the principal inhabitants walk in procession, preceded by music, to the Desāi’s house, and select one red and one grey bullock. They are taken to some distance from the place where the kari is, and brought thence to the kari töran. One man holds each bullock. Each has a small piece of steel tied to some twine, which he throws against the kari töran to break it. The man who breaks the charm is taken to the Sarkār chauri, where he receives a pagli and some other present. After this the two bullocks are taken, preceded by music, to the Desái’s house. If the man in charge of the grey bullock break the charm, it is said that the white javdri will yield abundantly: if the man in charge of the red bullock does it, then the mun-grī javdri crop. Before the Desái’s bullocks are brought out in this manner, all the villagers take their bullocks outside the kari and exercise them till the evening. Should any of them escape, from fear or any other cause, and enter the boundary of any village not within the tāluka to which it belongs, the rāyat of the village to which it belongs pursue it closely; but should they not succeed in catching it, and the rāyat of another village take it, the latter do not restore it, and there is no longer any kari ceremony in the village if the bullock is not caught.”

**MISCELLANEA.**

**THE GĀROS.**

The most interesting information with which we have yet met regarding the Gāro tribes, among whom a punitive expedition is still at work, is to be found in the second Report of the American Baptist Mission there, issued by the Rev. I. J. Stoddard.

The Gāro Hills are in the south-west corner of Assám, the valleys of Assám and Mainensing bounding them on the north-west and south, the Khasia Hills lying east, with the Brahmaputra on the north and west.

They build large and substantial houses on piles. The bamboo floor is from four to ten feet from the ground. The houses are from fifteen to twenty-five feet wide, and from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet long. These are covered with grass and enclosed with a firm bamboo wall. In one corner a small room is enclosed as a bedroom for the parents and girls. The remaining portion of the house is one long hall. Here they cook and eat, and store their year’s supply of rice and fish. Here we find their farming utensils, their spears and swords, and everything that is valuable to them. Every village has its “Bachelors’ Hall,”—a building sufficiently large to lodge all the unmarried men and boys of the place. Only the daughters stop at home at night with their parents.

As compared with the people of the plains, the Gāros have a high sense of honour. They do not lie, they do not steal. They leave their houses open and unprotected all day, while they are far away on the hills at work. They expect to find everything on their return as they left it. They are not often mistaken. Adultery is punished with death. The unmarried guilty of immoralities must marry, or be held as outcasts from village and friends.

At the proper age the young people fall in love, court and marry, very much like sensible civilized folks. The young man in love can propose direct or through his father. The young woman in love has also the privilege of making known her feelings through the medium of a near relative. In the case where the proposal comes from the young woman the young man is not at liberty to refuse! The bride always brings her husband to her father’s house. The favourite daughter (she may or may not be the eldest) inherits the estate personal and real, and takes care of her parents in their old age. The other married daughters with their husbands usually live at home for a time, all sharing the common labours and profits. Finally they must strike out and shift for themselves. In no case is a son allowed to bring home a wife and live with his parents.

In the event of the death of a husband or wife, the surviving party cannot make a second choice. His or her friends must choose the second companion. This is not always easily done. Those of the proper age and lineage cannot be found. Hence in this second marriage we frequently meet with the widower of fifty years with his young wife of ten years, and the widow of forty with her young husband of eight years! In these domestic arrangements the Gāro customs seem as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

The Gāros burn their dead. A few ashes are
saved as a memento. They sometimes mourn long for the departed, especially for the wife. I know the headman of a village who mourned three years the death of his wife. He could not work. He feasted his friends and neighbours for consolation. Thus he continued till his property was expended. Nearly all the village turn out and assist at funerals. The young men cut and bring wood for the pile. This is built near the house, and the dead placed upon it at sundown. The elder men and women collect the native-made rum from the village, and make more if necessary. Early in the afternoon all begin to drink. The bereaved are brought under the influence of liquor as soon as possible, to drown their sorrows. At dusk the fire is kindled. Now men, women, and children drink until all are drunken.

They have no knowledge of the Maker of all things—not even a name for God. They have no temples, or images, or forms of religious worship—unless sacrificing to demons be regarded in this light. They say they worship nothing—that there is no future after death—that they desire simply to be let alone. The demons are evil and disturbing spirits. They believe in these—believe them to be numberless—to live under trees, rocks, and to fill the mountains—to be the cause of famine and pestilence, all diseases of mind and body—in short, the cause of whatever disturbs the happiness of man, and of death itself. Of these they live in perpetual dread!

Hence, to induce these demons to depart from their country, the Gáros sacrifice under every green tree, near rocks, at the base of hills, and in every street leading to their villages. This is done by individuals, families, or the entire village, as circumstances seem to indicate. They sacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, bullocks, and young dogs. The latter, because of superior sagacity, are supposed to be most acceptable to the demons. As no time, place, or individual is exempt from trouble and sorrow, so the Gáros, in their fear, are most incessant in shedding of blood. The wealthy become poor, and the poor remain thus, by these fruitless and endless attempts to drive away these imaginary demons.

They say there is no hereafter—that when a man dies, that is the end of him. Still every Gáro confesses himself to be a sinner and to be worthy of punishment. They firmly believe that notoriously bad persons will live again, and perhaps for ages, in the bodies of tigers, snakes, or other vile forms, as a punishment for evil deeds in the present life.

Ignorance and superstition go hand in hand. Two Christian Gáros were on a preaching tour. Soon after they had spent a night in a certain village the headman was very ill for several days. In due time these men returned that way and called for lodgings as before. It was late. The next village was at a distance and the road dangerous. But they were driven from the place. The demons, said they, are not pleased with Christians, or those who give them shelter, therefore “no person of this new faith can ever lodge in our village again!”

Some Gáro Christians cut a few bamboos supposed to be the dwelling-place of demons. About this time there was a great drought. Crops were suffering. The heathen Gáros divined that the demons had been offended, and armed themselves with knives and spears to cut up the Christians who had given the offence. Meantime Providence sent rain, and the bloody raid was abandoned.

A people thus ignorant and superstitious are liable to move suddenly and to great extremes. Filled with fear and dread uncertainty, they descend upon the nearest village and cut off a dozen heads of inoffensive men, women, and children. They hastily drive Christians from their village, or as quickly turn from demon-sacrificing to the worship of the Christians’ God.

In customs, language, and religion (if they have any) this people are quite different from those of the plains. They are entirely free from caste influences.

The Gáros do not object to the education of their girls and women. Several married women, wives of preachers and teachers, have learned to read. Gáro women are held in respect, and have a voice in all domestic matters, and they are not ignored even in the village councils. There is hope for such a people.

PERSIAN STANZAS ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION.
Selected and Translated by E. Rehbein, Esq., M.C.E.

VI. —From Shyryn Forhâd.

Persian text follows...
Obey this great governing pow'r divine.
Besides this impulse nothing is all else:
From this attraction ev'ry motion seen
On earth or in the heavens is derived.
The puny straw obeys the same attraction,
And clings to the electrum willingly;
Implanted in each nature is its bent
Compelling ev'ry man to his pursuit.
Distracted Mejnum this impulse obeys,
It hands to La-i-ly his chain to draw,
Compels Forhâd for Shyryn to lament,
Commanding him Mount Bistûn to dig;
From heat the lamp will be a burning flame
Which draws the moth its proper doom to seek;
The bulbâl sighing for the rose obeys
This bent when stung by brambles in his foot.
When this attraction strength and power gets
To love it turns, the body permeates.
Abundance of this feeling so prevails
That universal love the world maintains;
At first you nothing see but La-i-ly
If love's origin you investigate;
Although a flame a hundred thousand is,
It is derived from a single spark
From which the greatest conflagrations rise;
It is its prevalence that fans the flame.
O let this fiery ardour be in us,
Its many sparks illuminate our hearts!

__Plurality of Village Headmen__.

In the little Principality of Sâwant Wâdi in many of the villages the office of Pâtil is held conjointly by several families. The several shares are termed wakala, and a representative of each wakal signs the village kabûlîyat and other papers. I have seen the signatures of as many as eight wakal dârs on a kabûliyat. Sometimes one wakal bâr is a Brahman, another a Prabhû, and another a Ma'râthâ. In other parts of the country where I have been, such a watan is often held by many shareholders, but then they hold as descendants of a common ancestor, who acquired the watan, and but one of the family signs the papers. Can any correspondent of the Indian Antiquary give instances of a practice similar to that in Sâwant Wâdi obtaining elsewhere?

E. W. W.

__QUERY."

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—I have a number of old silver and copper coins with the inscriptions very much obscured by dirt and verdigris. Will one of your readers kindly tell me the best way of cleaning, without injuring, first, the silver, secondly, the copper coins?

I am, &c.,

Denzil Ibbetson.
LEGEND OF THE RANI TUNK.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PALANPUR.

THE Surbaki Hills are a subordinate portion of the great Aribalvi range, and at their western extremity is a conical peak called the Rani Tunk. This peak is a conspicuous feature in the landscape from Disa, and the peak itself is only about a mile and a half from the town of Dantiwara, under Palanpur. This small peak can be seen by the traveller between Disa and Abu (lying to the right of the road) as far as Reodar, and it can be discerned on a clear day from Abu itself. Near the foot of the peak is the site of the ruined city of Dharpura and the Dharasar tank. The legend regarding this tunk or peak is as follows:

Chandan Sodā, Chief of Nagar Pārkar, went one day to one of his villages bordering the Ran, for shikár. One morning he roused a noble boar in the village fields. As he was mounted on his good steed and had his trusty lance in his hand, he gave chase; the boar went straight across the Ran, and Chandan Sodā followed it. At length evening drew near, but, as the moon was full, Chandan Sodā did not draw rein, and at last the boar reached the Wāgar side of the Ran. Chandan Sodā still urged on his panting steed, and as the dawn broke he overtook the now exhausted boar and laid him dead at his feet with one thrust of his spear: this happened close to the walls of Kelakot, where reigned the celebrated Lākhā Phulāni. The following dāho describes the magnificence and pomp of Lākhā:

Lākhā, the son of Ocean, took an incarnation at the house of Phul.
O Lākhā, in thy darbār the pigeons feed on pearls,
On the saddles of thy steeds diamonds, O thou of surpassing wisdom,
Lākhā Phulāni, Hindu King of the West!

On seeing the boar speared by Chandan Sodā, a villager informed Lākhā Phulāni that a stranger had ventured to spear a boar close to his castle walls. Lākhā Phulāni, indignant that any one should venture to hunt without permission in his domains, at once mounted, and taking with him a troop of horsemen soon overtook Chandan Sodā. Observing their hostile intentions, Chandan Sodā appealed to Lākhā in person and asked him why he was following him to slay him without cause. Lākhā reproached him with having slain his boar. Chandan Sodā replied: "The boar is not yours, but one of mine I chased from my fields on the other shore of the Ran." Lākhā refused to believe this, as the distance was so great, and threatened Chandan Sodā with instant death.

In this extremity Chandan Sodā proposed that the stomach of the boar should be ripped open, and that if bájri-ears and water-melons were found in it, then it would be clear that the boar came from his (Chandan Sodā's) country, whereas if its stomach contained sugarcane or pulse, that he would agree that the boar belonged to Lākhā Phulāni. Lākhā Phulāni then said: "And if the boar be mine, what then?"

Chandan Sodā replied: "And if the boar be mine, what then?"

Eventually they agreed that if the boar should turn out to be Lākhā Phulāni's, Chandan Sodā should submit to imprisonment at that Chief's pleasure and pay a heavy ransom for his release, but that if the boar should be Chandan Sodā's, then Lākhā agreed to give Chandan Sodā his daughter Phulmati in marriage. The boar was now ripped open, and bájri-ears and water-melons were found in its stomach, as Chandan Sodā had said. Chandan now claimed the performance of Lākhā's promise. Lākhājī held a kacheri and solemnly betrothed Phulmati to Chandan Sodā. He then dismissed Chandan Sodā with honour, and told him to return to celebrate his nuptials as soon as he should receive an invitation. Chandan now returned to Pārkar. After Chandan's departure, Phulmati's mother and all Lākhā's court declared that he would be disgraced if he married his daughter to Chandan Sodā, who was but a small Chief comparatively with Lākhā the King of the West. To all their remonstrances Lākhā replied: "I will never go back from my plighted word." One of his ministers suggested that there was a mode of
action whereby he should not forfeit his word and yet that it should not be necessary to give his daughter, namely, to fix the wedding day for a certain day and so arrange that the invitation should reach Chandan Sodā only the day before the day fixed for the wedding. As the distance was too great for Chandan Sodā to traverse in twenty-four hours, Likhâ would thus be freed from his promise. This plan was eventually determined on, and a day was fixed, namely, Sâhat 1116 Vaishák Sudh 13th, and the Brâhman who delivered the kankotri (or invitation) was instructed to deliver it on the 12th. The Brâhman accordingly delivered the kankotri to Chandan Sodā on the 12th Vaishák Sudh. Chandan Sodā at once perceived the trick and was deeply grieved; he determined, however, to reach Kelâkot, in time, if it were possible for man and horse to do it. He then inquired at once if any one in Nagar Pârkar possessed a horse or camel capable of doing the distance in the time, but none could be found. Just as Chandan was giving up in despair, a sutâr named Dhârâ said: “I have two tame nylghai bulls which will travel three hundred miles in one day, and I will lend you them.” Chandan, after thanking the sutâr, directed them to be harnessed in the drângâ (a two-wheeled car). The sutâr harnessed the bulls in the drângâ, and Chandan, after putting on the marriage-crown (mod), sat in the drângâ, which was driven by the sutâr. They drove so fast that they reached Kelâkot before dawn, and sent word to Lakhâ Phulâni that Chandan Sodî had come to be married. As Chandan Sodâ had arrived in time, Likhiji determined to give him his daughter, and male preparations for the marriage. The nuptial ceremonies were then performed with great pomp, and a separate palace was allotted to Chandan Sodî and Phulmati. Likhâ also provided a lodging for Dhârâ Sutîr, and a stable for his nylghai. After a few days, Likhâ paid a visit to Chandan Sodî and in the course of conversation asked him how he had managed to arrive so quickly. Chandan Sodâ then told him that his sutâr had lent him his nylghai balls, and that the sutâr had yoked them in his drângâ, and thus conveyed him so quickly to Kelâkot. Likhâ Phulâni considered within himself that he must obtain possession of these nylghai; Dhârâ, however, refused to sell them. Now it so happened that the sutâr's lodging was beneath the palace of Râni Jalku, stepmother of Likhâ Phulâni; Likhâ accused the sutâr of a criminal intimacy with Jalku, who was still young and beautiful, as she had married Jhâreji Phulji, father of Likhâ, when she was quite a child, and but a few years before Phulji's death. The sutâr being now in prison, Likhâ determined in about a month to seize on the nylghai, when every one would have forgotten to whom they belonged. Râni Jalku, however, was extremely indignant at this false accusation, and considered that although the accusation was false, still people would believe it, and she would be eternally disgraced: she therefore determined to avoid false reproaches by actually running away with the sutâr. Now she had a favourite slave-girl named Muli; she sent Muli accordingly on some pretext to Dhârâ Sutîr, and said to him: “Take me away, I am willing to follow your fortunes, and as I will bring with me much wealth you will not be a sufferer by doing so.” Dhârâ Sutîr replied: “How can I carry you off when I am herein prison?” Râni Jalku then represented that she would free him from prison provided he would agree to carry her off from Kelâkot. To this Dhârâ Sutîr agreed. Râni Jalku then bribed the guard to release Dhârâ Sutîr, and she herself putting on armour, and taking with her her daughter Mâru, an infant of three years of age, and slave-girl Muli, she waited for Dhârâ Sutîr outside the city gate. Dhârâ Sutîr after harnessing his nylghai went out by a side gate unobserved and joined Râni Jalku. The Râni now dismissed her slave-girl Muli, and she and her daughter Mâru sat in the drângâ, which was driven by Dhârâ Sutîr. They left Kelâkot at dusk, and the nylghai went so fast that they made their first halt at Shiiagîn, a village then belonging to the Solankhi tribe, and under the Dhânera Pargâna. They halted near the village well, under the shade of some trees. Some boys were playing near the well, and they induced two of them to accompany them. The name of one of these boys was Viramji, son of Jetmâlji Solankhi. The other boy was a Rabâri by caste and was named Devrij. On leaving Shiiagîn they took the two boys with them in the drângâ. They next alighted near the Jhâsor (or Jyerij) hill, and there Dhârâ Sutîr founded a village and dug a tank, and named the village Dhârîpura, and the tank Dhârâsar. With
Râni Jalku’s wealth beautiful buildings were constructed, and good cultivators were attracted to Dhirâpura. Here they lived undisturbed for ten years, and the village grew rich and populous. Mâru, Jalku’s daughter, grew up during these years to womanhood, and was supremely beautiful. Both Viramji and Devrij were desperately enamoured of her, but Mâru’s heart inclined to Viramji. Although Mâru was a queen’s daughter, still as Râni Jalku had run away with a sutâr she feared that they would be unable to contract an alliance for her with any kingly house: Râni Jalku therefore married Mâru to Viramji Solankhi. But Devrij Rabiri was deeply grieved at this, for he too loved Mâru passionately, and on the day when she was married to Viramji Solankhi he left Dhirâpura in anger, and travelled until he reached Amarkot (Omerkote), where Sodi Sumri reigned. When Sumri held a darbâr Devrij made obeisance, and said that he knew of a most beautiful damsel fit only to be Sumrå’s queen. He then recited this duho:

The mould in which Mïru was framed is such that none other in the whole world has been framed in it. Either that mould has been broken, or the artificer thereof hath forgotten how to so fashion another.

Thus Devrij acted, out of jealousy to Viramji Solankhi. Râjâ Sumrå on hearing this praise of Mâru said to the Rabiri: “Search through my town and see if there be in it any damsel fit only to be Sumrå’s queen.” The Rabiri after much search discovered a beautiful lohâran, and presenting himself before Râjâ Sumrå recited this duho:

Sodi in thy city is a lohâr of graceful form, Her bracelet* hangs loosely on her arm, she is perhaps something like Mâru. Sodi Sumri now directed the lohâran to be brought before him, and was so impressed with her charms that he determined to espouse her; he, however, perceived from what Devrij said that Mûru must be still more beautiful, and accordingly sent his brother Hamir Sodi with

five hundred horse to Dhirâpura together with Devrij to carry off Mâru. They marched night and day until they reached Dhirâpura, and concealed themselves in the jungle near the Dhirâsar tank. Devrij said to Hamir: “Mâru comes hither daily to draw water; when she comes we will seize her and carry her off.” That night, however, heavy rain fell, and every one had their water-vessels filled by the rain. No one therefore came to the tank. Mâru also did not come. Hamir then recited this duho:

Rain, do not act (to others) as thou hast done to me;

Mâru has not come to the tank, but has gone and filled (her vessel) at the waterfall.

Hamir then said to Devrij: “What shall we do?” Devrij replied: Râni Jalku and her daughter Mûru are churning milk in their chok and no attendants are near them.” Hamir and Devrij taking two horses and a camel went there. Whilst the two were churning, Mûru’s scarf fell on her shoulder, disclosing her beautiful face. She, however, continued churning, and with her foot restored her scarf to its position. Devrij on seeing this feat of agility uttered the following duho:

Mûru was standing erect holding the churn-rope;

With the agility of her foot she picked up and restored to its place the woollen scarf.

Hamir, from seeing her face and from witnessing this act of agility as well as from Devrij’s emplet, recognized that this could be no other than Mûru; he accordingly seized her and tied her behind him on his horse; afterwards alighting he placed her on the camel, and he and Devrij fled with Mûru to Amarkot. On their arrival there, a palace was assigned for her use, and Sumrå Sodi sent her a message to say that next day he would visit her at the palace. In reply Mûru sent a message that she had taken the nûtia rât, or camel-vow, viz. that for six months she must stay in the palace without seeing a man; that when the six months were over, she would sit on a camel and go for a ride, and that then her vow would be

* The bracelet hanging loosely is supposed to show she was of graceful form, i.e. not fat.
performed and she would accept his visits. Of these six months, one month she said had already expired. Sumrâ Sodâ agreed not to molest her, and did not press his visit. Râni Mâru now wrote a note to Viramji Solankhi and secretly sent it to Dhirâpura. The note contained these words: "I am protected for five months by my vrât or vow; come quickly with a good camel and alight within the town of Amarokit, and I will contrive to join you, and we will flee together. If you do not come within the time, I will die, but I will never receive the Râjî as my lover." Viramji on receiving this letter purchased a magnificent camel from Jati Bhemda of Khemat for Rs. 200. The following duho describes the camel:—

Its head like a waterpot, its forearms strong as poles,
Bhemda, disciple of Nāda, gave it,*

Viramji mounted on his camel and came to Amarkot, and alighted in the bazaar, and remained there for a month, and managed to carry on a correspondence with her secretly. One day Sohni Râni, one of Sumrâ Soda's queens, came to visit Mâru, and said to her: "Let us give an entertainment and drink wine." Mâru replied: "I have left my husband behind at Dhirâpura, how then should I drink wine! " Sohni replied in the following couplet:—

Having come away from Dhirâpura, thou hast come to a king's palace:
O Mâru, wherefore dost thou grieve after a husband dearer but of woollen clothing?
Mâru replied to her in the following couplet:—

A putola (silk scarf) can be purchased for five rupees,
A lodhi (shawl) may be worth a lâkh;
Thy heart is for Sodâ Sumrâ,
But my heart is for Viram Rai.
Mâru therefore refused to drink wine. At last the six months of her vow were accomplished. Mâru then sent a message to Sodâ Sumrâ that the period prescribed by her vow was accomplished, and requested that the best camel procurable might be sent to her, that she might ride on it and be absolved from her vow. The Râjî accordingly caused all the camels in the town to be sent before Mâru: Mâru approved of Viram's camel, and kept Virâm and his camel, dismissing the others. At this time no man but Viram was present; only the other Rînis were present. Mâru then ordered Virâm to make his camel kneel, and after veiling her face she mounted. Viram then mounted also, and Mâru bade adieu to the other Rînis, saying that she would ride within the fort. Thus saying she directed Viram to start, and as soon as they were out of sight they took the Dhirâpura road. On the way they met a Charan who asked alms. As they had no money, Mâru gave him her gold necklace and said to him: "Go to Sumrâ Sodâ and say to him poetry in praise of my camel." On hearing of the escape of Mâru, Sumrâ Soda mounted with a large body of horse in pursuit. On the road they met the Charan. The Charan, on learning who they were, recited the following couplet to Sumrâ Soda as a message from Mâru—

The camel has already passed over many (sandy) thals and difficult and mighty passes:
Having come to Sumrâ, say to him, Why dost thou fatigue (lit. beat) thy horse?
Sumrâ Soda, hearing from the Charan that the camel could not be overtaken, returned to Amarkot and collected an army, and after a few months marched to Dhirâpura. On the arrival of the army, Dhirâ Sutîr, Viram Solankhi, and the two Rînis, Jaku and Mâru, went into the Sarbakri hills. A great battle was fought. After performing prodigies of valour, Dhirâ Sutîr and Viram Solankhi with all their followers were slain. Jaku and Mâru being desperate, and preferring death to dishonour, hurled themselves from the peak at the extremity of the Sarbakri range, and were dashed to pieces. In commemoration of this sacrifice the peak has ever since been called the Râni Tunk, or Queens' Peak.

* Saw of the World alludes to his cutting the road: rastikāpwoo. He is called House-Rebuilder as he was the means of Viramji recovering his wife.
NOTES ON THE ŚAIVA-SIDDHĀNTA.

BY THE REV. C. EGEBERT KENNET, VEPERY, MADRAS.

In a brief review of F. Bonteloup's manual, *Philosophie Indica Expositio*, which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. I. pp. 224-5), it was remarked that, "in treating of the Paśupatas, whom Colebrooke describes under the northern appellation of the sect, it was of importance that notice should have been taken of their existence and their tenets as found in South India." It is intended in the present paper to put together a few notes, made at different times, illustrative of this subject.

Independently of the exoteric and popular worship connected with the great temples of Madurā, there is at that place a well-organized school of esoteric religious teaching in full vigour and operation, representing the Śaiva-Siddhānta system, the most popular system of philosophy and religion among the Tamil people. It is based on the eight-and-twenty Śaiva books, or Āgamas as they are termed, whence its adherents are called Āgamists. The Rev. W. Taylor in his *Catalogue Raisonné* (Vol. II. p. lxxxix.) confounds this sect with the Vira-Saivas, who are not Śaiva-Siddhāntas or Āgamists, but the Jānagamas or Lingadhārīs—a sect which did not exist when the Siddhānta books were written, and whose use of the male symbol only, to the exclusion of the female, is sufficient to distinguish them from the other Śaiva worshipers among the Tamils.

As already observed, Colebrooke describes the Āgama school of religious philosophy under its northern appellation and characteristics, as that of the 'Maheśwaras' and 'Paśupatās' (*Essays*, vol. I. pp. 406-413), but the Tamil development of its tenets is marked by very peculiar features which lead me to hazard an opinion that it owes them, in some degree, to contact with the teaching of the Madurā missionaries of the Church of Rome at the close of the sixteenth century. The late Rev. H. R. Hoisington, of the Jaffna American Mission, translated from the Tamil three of the treatises on which the Āgamists base their system, but most, if not all, of the other treatises are as yet little known, existing, as it is supposed, only in Sanskrit. Mr. Hoisington's work was printed in America in 1854, and made the teaching of this school accessible to English scholars for the first time, with the advantage of having the obscure text of the original elucidated by the best native assistance that he was able at the time to procure. The Āgama philosophy, or, as it may be more properly termed, the Śaiva-Siddhānta, is essentially antagonistic to Vedantism. The monotheism of the Vedas, such as it was, made it impossible to distinguish the object worshipped from the mind of the worshipper, and while therefore it implicitly contained the later polytheism which contended the vulgar mind, it fostered in more aspiring intellects the most extravagant pantheism. The essence of the Vedantic doctrine consists in the individual soul considering itself the same as God, or as resolvable into God, and the whole visible world an illusion. In opposition to this, Śaiva teachers most strongly insist upon the real, and not merely apparent or illusory, distinctness of God from all other spirits and from matter. While the Vedantists maintain that there is but one, only and secondless Being, and that all visible forms of creation are only an ideal development of him, having no real existence whatever, the Āgamists teach the existence of three distinct eternal entities, God, soul, and matter (pāti, pāśu, pāsam), the Deity being a Person and not a mere abstraction, and distinct from the human soul and matter, both which derive their existence from him as their efficient cause. They repudiate the Vedantic doctrine of the creation of the universe by the Deity out of his own essence, and maintain the distinct and separate existence of the efficient and material causes of the creation—the first, active, moving; the second, passive, moved: the one effective, the other yielding itself to be acted on by it. "Matter cannot proceed from spirit, therefore the world was not developed from God," is a maxim of this school. That which knows is the soul, and that which is known is the Deity, and hence it follows, "When it is said one exists, he who says it must also exist," which is another maxim. And these two express the distinguishing principles of the system it represents. Yet God cannot be comprehended but by grace or divine illumination,
as "all wisdom," it is taught, "comes from grace (arul)." According to this system, God himself appears as the Teacher of the soul in human form, and leads men to himself, even as men take wild animals by means of animals of their own kind trained for the purpose. This he does by means of the seven Sacraments, which are—ocular, manipulative, oral, scriptural, mental, disciplinary, and formal instruction, this last being of two kinds, symbolic and spiritual; the symbolic including the ceremony of initiation and confirmation, and the spiritual being that which effects communion with the Deity. (See Hoisington's Translations, pp. 117-119).

Iśu ra n—God—is subject to no change, and souls are from eternity pure; like an unlighted lamp, the soul shows nothing, but, like a magnet which attracts iron, it causes the body in its presence to act. When the body is active, the perceptive organs grasp each its own rudimental element (the medium of sensation), just as the parts of a moving machine perform each its own office; or, in other words, the sensations are at work, from which, kṣrañas, the result of action, is produced, and by this, malam, defilement (sin), is introduced. When the malam in which the soul has been enshrouded is removed by tidchei, instruction or illumination of disciples through the Sacramental process above mentioned, then the divine wisdom becomes transferred to the soul as the face is transferred to the mirror. (Hoisington, pp. 171-172).

One cannot help being reminded by this figure, of the language in the Christian Scriptures, where we find it said that "we all, with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory."

In the last particular, pāsam (matter) is declared never to perish, but malam (evil) its development, which obscures the soul so that its understanding cannot apprehend things fully or aright, will be destroyed. Except this, there is no destruction of the eternal-essential nature of pāsam or matter. The darkness which cannot exist before the lamp, is not destroyed, nor can it exist before the light; just so pāsam cannot exist with the soul that is united with Deity, but of its eternal essential nature there is no destruction. (Hoisington, p. 206). The earnest asseveration of the eternal existence and non-destruction of the matter in which the soul dwelt, after the emancipation of the soul itself, sounds like a faint note of hope of something yet reserved for the body also.

The words occurring in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (ch. viii. 20) have been strikingly applied to illustrate these speculations: "The creature was made subject to vanity (māya), not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage (pāsam) of corruption (malam) into the liberty of glory (motcham) of the children of God." The coincidence of thought and language, at any rate, is remarkable, and suggests the possibility of these speculations of an extraordinary school of Hindu religious philosophy being made meeting-places for higher truths, which can alone supply what is lacking in them, and satisfy the deep natural yearnings which gave them birth.

THE NALADIYAR.

BY THE REV. F. J. LEEPER, TRANQUEBAR.

(Continued from page 331.)

CHAPTER 27.—Riches without goodness.

The bat will not go to the rough-stemmed wood-apple tree, though near and fruitful. So the riches of those who, though they be very near to one, have no greatness of soul, have not the excellence of being considered as profitable.

2. Though there be handfuls of small buds on the milk-hedge, men will not put out their hand to gather them, for its flowers are not fit for wearing. (Even so,) the wise will not form friendship with the mean, though they have much wealth. 3. Though they live on the shore of the rolling ocean, they repair to the saltless well of a running spring and drink. Though wealthy men be nigh, they will go afar off and fix their desire upon the liberal. 4. In the seagirt earth merit is various. The sensible should be great. Those who are foolish, and are like unbeaten steel and the thorny brinjāl, will flourish in silk and gay apparel. 5. If you ask what is the reason why, while the good and just are in poverty, the unjust and unlearned
are wealthy, O thou who hast eyes elongated like a lance! when one investigates the matter, it is nothing else but the effect of deeds done in a former birth. 6. (O Lakshmi,) who like a golden image sits upon that fair flower whose leaves are like scentless plates of gold, die and become ashes upon the ground! you connect yourself with the mean of all sorts, leaving the good who resemble gold. 7. O thou who hast eyes like a lance! is not shame attached to the poverty of the just? Is not the wealth of the miser like painters' green? (i.e. it so cleaves to him that he will not give alms.) When thou hast investigated these two states thou wilt not approve or desire either of them. 8. Those who are honest (when they become poor), going to distant lands, and eating various kinds of food, will spend their days; while those who are dishonest (when they become poor) will sit in their houses and eat curvy and rice while the perspiration streams from their bodies, and will not go to distant lands. 9. When the ear of the golden-red paddy is scorched, the heaven bright with lightning will vomit and pour forth (rain) into the sea. The liberality of those who are simple, even when they are possessed of riches, is of like character. 10. Those are the senseless who, though they read, understand not. The sensible, though they read not, resemble the learned. Those who, though utterly poor, will not beg, are the truly rich. Even the rich are poor if they give not.

Chapter 28.—Illiberality.

1. To give a part of their meal to the extent of their ability, both to the friendly and unfriendly, and after that to eat, is truly to eat a meal. Those who refuse to give to the needy, and so live and eat and pass on, the door of heaven will be closed. 2. Those who have, to the best of their ability, practised to any extent trifling acts of charity, will in another birth become great; while those who, when they have become wealthy, say, We will give alms some time or other, shall be punished and shall perish from all the sea-surrounded earth. 3. He who employs not his time in enjoying his property, or gives not of it to ascetics, but lays it up (like a miser)—at him, the foolish one, about to perish, his hoarded wealth shall mock, and the favour of the world shall mock. 4. The great wealth which the miserly-minded have attained, who neither know how to give it away nor to use it themselves, shall be like the bounteous damsels of a family, who when they have arrived at puberty are enjoyed by others; i.e. others than its owner shall enjoy it. 5. Though they live near the mighty ocean whose waters overflow, men look on the spring of a small well whose water is almost dried up and live. The poverty of the great is better than the riches of those who know not of the next birth. 6. If you ask why I say, It is mine, It is mine, concerning the property of that ignorant man who gives not to others, saying, It is mine, It is mine,—while it belongs to that wretched man he gives it not in alms, neither does he himself enjoy it, neither do I give it away in alms or enjoy it myself. 7. The poor are more exempt from trouble than the niggardly rich. They are exempt from the labour of guarding that wealth. They are exempt from the trouble of bringing it. They are exempt from the pain of having their hands bound. In many ways are they exempt from trouble. 8. While the property is his own, he gives it not away; when it becomes the property of his partners, they also give it not away in alms. If he gives it away before his death, the partners will find no fault with him; if after death they give it away, he will not find fault with them. 9. Comparing beggars to a calf, and benefactors to a cow, such a spontaneous benevolence is true benevolence. Forced charity is as when a cow will only give its milk when coerced by strong men, who push it about and apply various instruments to its limbs. Such benevolence is the mark of a base mind. 10. The seeking to accumulate wealth is a cause of vexation. The guarding that collected shining wealth causes vexation. Again, if any of that wealth which is so guarded be diminished, there is vexation. If it be lost, how great the vexation! Truly this said wealth is the very abode of vexation.

Chapter 29.—Poverty.

1. Although a man live wearing a patched cloth round his loins, yet the possession of eight or ten pieces of money will gain him great honour among many persons. Those who have nothing at all, though born of a respectable family, are considered (by such) as more despicable than a dead carcace. 2. It is said that ghee is more subtle than water, and all know that smoke is more subtle than ghee. If you inquire, you will find that the afflicted mendicants will creep
in through crevices through which even smoke cannot permeate. 3. O king of the woodlands where they chase the parent from the cultivated field with stones, where the Kantharla (November-flower plant) growing upon the mountains lofty and abounding with rocks, is out of flower! the swarms of red-spotted winged insects will not even approach near it (to extract its honey): thus the destitute have no relations. 4. In the day of prosperity thousands are very slaves, as crows will collect together at the mangled carcase (i.e. the dead crow); but in the day when this is changed, like the insect (which wanders about for food), there is not one single person in the world who will ask you, Are you well? 5. O lord of the fair hills crowded together, where the streams fall upon the rocks and wash them the high birth of those who are environed by poverty will disappear, their great dignity will disappear, and their illustrious learning will also disappear. 6. Scorn those who, though they live in the same town, give no alms to those who come to them tormented in mind by sharp hunger, and asking for something with great desire. It would be far better to go away to some distant place and live as guests in other houses, than to remain fruitlessly spending their days in that place. 7. O thou who hast sharp teeth causing envy to the buds of the jessamine! those who are mendicants (or those who have the affliction of begging) will lose, together with their right-mindedness, abundant accurate learning, and all other good qualities which they may have at any time possessed. 8. It is better for him who once was charitable, i.e. who stood in the way of giving, but who now cannot give aught to beggars, to spend his life in the afflicting way of stretching out his hands for alms in every house in the far land to which he has gone, than to remain in his own land,— than living in his native town, standing in the way of poverty, trying to mend his circumstances. 9. When wealth has gone, in the time of adversity, the poor, with those arms once adorned with bracelets, bend the branches of trees, pluck off the leaves and eat them, using as a dish an earthen pot, and live on with discontented minds eating leaf-curry (or that which is cooked) without salt. 10. O lord of the hill-country, cool and very beautiful and lofty, where the streams of water fall down (from the rocks) ! the swarms of shining and beautiful winged beetles crowded with red spots crawl not on the branch which has ceased to blossom; in like manner the unfortunate have no friends.

**Chapter 30.—Innocence.**

1. The minds of the honourable, when they see the disgraceful things or excesses perpetrated by the ignorant who rely upon their wealth, will burn in one compact flame as the fire burns the jungle on which it has seized. 2. The honourable, though they become through destitution mere bones and skin, will they follow those who are destitute of proper dispositions, to make known their afflictions to them? Or will they refrain from telling the trouble which they endure to the great (or wise), who are beforehand intuitively acquainted with them? 3. If it be that they are like those who say, as soon as others see their wives, Alas, the chastity of our wives is in danger! being afraid, place us outside and give us rice,— on this account forsake associating with the rich. 4. The estimation of the excellent will bestow on us good in this life. It will stand unswervingly in the way of goodness, and it will afford benefits to be enjoyed in the next birth. That estimation is good indeed, O thou who sheddest a delicious scent from thy hair! 5. The excellent will not do the things which will bring upon them the effects of sin in another birth, or disgrace in this birth, though it should cost them their lives. Death will cause trouble for only a moment in one day; there is nothing like sin, which will cause grievous and long-onduring misery. 6. Among all those who live in this fertile and wide world, those who give not alms to others, amongst the rich, though exceeding rich, are poor indeed; while those who go not to beg alms of the rich, though they have become exceedingly poor, are indeed illustrious. 7. All who are in the lowest grade of virtue dread pinching hunger; all who are in the middle grade will fear affliction. O thou with long lance-shaped eyes, whose brows are spread like a bow on each side! the highest grade of all will fear the reproach uttered against them by others. 8. These are the good, these are the liberal givers, but they are now become poor. When the rich, thus reviling them, cast upon them a contemptuous smile, the minds of the eminently excellent will burn, like the fire in the smith's forge when excited by the bellows. 9. The shame which is caused by not
giving alms to those who desire of us, is not modesty. Nor is the shame which one feels every day who flees from battle, modesty. But true modesty is that shame which will not suffer us to declare the wrongs inflicted on us by our enemies in the day of our distress. 10. The tiger of the forest having slain an elk, will not eat it, but will leave it if it fall on the left side. In like manner, could the excellent by a sacrifice of principle obtain all the wealth that exists under the wide-extended heavens, they would not even desire it.

Chapter 31.—Dread of mendicity.

Will those who possess clear understanding follow after such men as constantly revile them, saying, These poor men will become rich through our means; they cannot acquire wealth of themselves? 2. Does not a man's death and his birth take place (frequently) in the twinkling of an eye? Is it, therefore, a reproach to a man if he starve and keep his integrity inviolate, rather than fill his stomach by the disgraceful practice of mendicity? 3. There are none who, using poverty as a pretext, venturing on beggary, do not go to others for assistance in the way of meanness. Will the excellent then go for alms to any others but to those who will embrace them and say, Come to my house and eat? 4. Though Lakshmi withdraw from them and God be angry, the excellent will not stand with bended neck before the ignorant who burry their money in the earth, and who contemplate not heavenly things with constant minds. 5. Living without begging from friends, strong in affection and who are like the apple of our eyes, who withhold not their assistance from us, is life indeed. Since one's mind melts with anguish when one reflects on a life of mendicity, what must their feelings be who receive alms? 6. Since it is a means of removing the affliction of poverty for one to beg for himself, then let affliction be my portion, and let precious wealth depart from me. Of what use is it for him to ask alms of his neighbour with a mind racked with covetous desires and eyes dimmed with tears? 7. O lord of the mountains from whose sides fall streams which throw up gold! though a person be born again and again in the world who will not allow himself to reproach beggars, yet (so few are such persons) it must be said he belongs not to this world. 8. If a person being torment-ed with poverty, rejecting true wisdom and allowing ignorance to abide in his mind, goes to a person and says, Give me alms, and if the person so asked refuse to give, will he not die from very shame at that moment? 9. Is the gently walking in the way of asceticism more grievous than the saying to others, Give me at least something, thus debasing one's dignity of the custom of doing homage to others, to whom he has attached himself by making their acquaintance? 10. Let a person, on the ground of old acquaintance, do that benevolence which is fitting in the way of affection to others if they be unworthy of that benevolence. A fire unquenchable pressed down in their minds will consume them (till they perish).

Chapter 32.—Experience in (conducting of) assemblies.

1. Before the learned men who are confused in mind, who conduct themselves according to their so-called wisdom, smiting with their hands, reiterating again and again their foolish observations, and who disturb the proper order of the assembly, gently desist from uttering words of wisdom. 2. The eminently wise will not consort with the evil poet who comes into the assembly as if he were a learned man, reciting some poem of another's which he has learned; that evil poet entering into the assembly will reproach the people who are there, or if not, to disgrace them, will smite his own shoulder and rise up to commence strife. 5. There are many men who speak many words, who love to commence strife with others, esteeming their own words unanswerable (or overpowering in speech), who understand not how to argue convincingly with their opponents, and who know not (how to acknowledge themselves) beaten. 4. The simpleton, not being able to acquire any learning for himself, goes into the assembly of the learned, and reciting as his own a stanza which he has learned from some schoolboy, exposes thereby his own ignorance. 5. Those who rise up to show the wisdom or the power of their words, and consort with angry persons who, opposing others with wrathful minds, receive not what is truth, but contend alone for victory, like wild beasts, shall see their own teeth, like the seeds of the gourd, in their hands. 6. When the ignorant recite a poem without understanding its meaning, speak anger-exciting words, the excellent of imperishable renown, being greatly ashamed of...
them, will stand grieving much for her who bare them. 7. Science is easily acquired by all obedient students, like the shoulders of courtezans who take all they can get. But the substance of acquired learning is as difficult to be understood as are the inward instructions of those courtezans beauteous in body as flower-bounds. 8. Those learned men who collect plenty of books bring them and fill up every room in their houses, and yet understand them not, are of one kind, while those learned men who both understand their purport and are able to explain them to others are of another kind. 9. O lord of the extended hills where the wild oxen resort in herds! can the works of these persons be called excellent and faultless commentaries who construct them not in these four methods —concisely, copiously, catechetically, and paraphrastically? 10. Will those who are not born of a good family, no matter how much learning they have acquired, will they become sufficiently wise to pass over, without censuring, the faults which occur in the speech of others? The truly learned make as if they knew not the despicable learning of those who understand not their exposition of science.

Chapter 33.—Defective knowledge.

1. The learned will esteem as precious the speech of those friends who declare to them the gracious way of wisdom. The base, who are esteemed as worthless, will abuse and revile them. The ladle appreciates not the flavour of the milk-porridge. 2. Though men destitute of rectitude listen to those who are destitute of envy, when they declare the way of virtue, yet they give no heed, just as the chacker's dog, which seizes and devours leather, knows not how to appreciate the taste of rice and milk. 3. Although they see by numerous examples the way by which their precious life may depart in the twinkling of an eye, yet they do not good even to the extent of a grain of millet. What does it matter whether such stupid, shameless (persons) live, or whether they die? 4. Since the days of life are few, and to our life there is no continuing stay, and since it is reviled (or contemned) by many, why should any one nourish fierce hatred in his heart in secret, and not be friendly with those he may meet. 6. If a person going before a public assembly abusively reproach another, and the reproached reviles not in turn but remains quiet, if the reviler thereafter live on and prosper, he will indeed be an object of astonishment to all (who see him). 6. The hard words, Get out and go away, will be uttered by the female slave in his own house, while she pushes him out, to him who, before old age comes upon him, perseveres not in performing deeds of virtue. 7. Men of small understanding fruitlessly spend their day of life; since they themselves enjoy not their wealth, they bestow no benefit on the good. They attain not the excellent way of life, which would be a strong fortress for them, and with confused minds do they rely on their wealth. 8. The foolish man who in the time of youth binds not up as a viaticum the rice needful for the road on which he travels, but binds up his money (like an orange) and says, Hereafter we will do the requisite acts of charity,—when with the hand he makes a sign that he wishes a bag of gold to be brought, the relations will say he wants a sour wood-apple. 9. Men of small understanding who in time of adversity and dangerous sickness anxiously think of another world, in the time of prosperity think not of another birth, even to the extent of a grain of mustard-seed. 10. Alas! though men of defective understanding see Yama surrounding with his rope to take away those precious ones, immeasurably beloved, dear as their own lives, what is it? Though they have acquired these children, they think not of virtue, but fruitlessly waste their days of life.

Chapter 34.—Ignorance.

1. The quality of those who greatly rejoice in the act of domestic joy in this life, while they continually behold Yama slaughtering their lives, even Yama the great and mighty in slaughter, is like that of a tortoise which its captors have put in a pot of water, while they kindle a fire (to boil it), which sports in the water, being ignorant of its real condition. 2. The ignorance of the customs of the world anciently renowned, faultless and full of excellence, in one who has obtained without let or hindrance these five things,—caste, penance, learning, high birth, and preeminence,
—is like rice-milk destitute of butter (therefore tasteless). 4. Though great stones do not understand the speech of men, yet since they do what is required of them, as standing, sitting, lying down, or moving, they are far more useful than a fool (as it is impossible to induce a fool to act as we wish him). 5. If a fool, when angry with others, with any cause for anger,—like one who supposes he has made an acquisition, without having really obtained anything—bewildered by passion, cannot crowd together abusive words, his tongue tinges all over. 6. The worthless friendships of those who say, We will make them our own, while they follow those who have no friendship for them, O lord of the sea-shore where the punnei with fair blossoms grows is as it were losing one’s arm in striking another with a stone. 7. As the ants without intermission walk round and round the outside of the pot in which there is butter, though it be impossible to get at it, so men of the world will never learn, but cleave to those rich men who never give them anything. 8. Will they not abhor the days of life who daily enjoy not good, who practis not virtue, who give not to the destitute, who enjoy not their own wives (but seek to dishonour others’), and who live not a life commended by others? 9. Friendship with those who say, We care not for their commendation, when those who love them praise them, and who are destitute of all tried good qualities, although by it one should be able to obtain the whole earth surrounded by the sea with rolling harsh-resounding waves, will be only affliction. 10. When a man’s neighbours commend one on account of his learning, wide extended fame, and high birth, he shall obtain glory. But if he himself speak of these things, his brother-in-law will mock him, saying, He is a lunatic who cannot be cured by any medicine.

Chapter 35.—Meanness.

1. Though one every morning, as a necessary duty, put bruised grain into the mouth of the fowl, it desists not from turning up the dunghill; so though one explain books of science of great importance, yet the mean man will the more follow the path most agreeable to his mind. 2. When one proposes, saying, Let us go at once to the abode of the perfect, who have acquired learning which establishes the mind, the base will rise up and say, Let us go to sleep, or if not, they will say something else equally foolish and refuse to go altogether. 3. Though the excellent obtain great honour, they swear not from their former disposition, but follow one line of conduct. O lord of the fair land of copious streams! though the base obtain great honour, they too alter not their line of conduct. 4. If one confer a benefit upon them even as small as a grain of millet, the excellent will consider it to be as large as a palmyra-tree. O lord of the fair land of sparkling steams! though a benefit as large as a palmyra be daily conferred upon him, the ignorant mean man has no gratitude (it is considered as no benefit at all by those who are ungrateful for the good done to them). 5. Though the dog be delicately nourished and fed from a golden dish, yet it will ever be earnestly looking for the leavings of others. Thus the acts of the base-minded, though they are esteemed as honourable persons, will not correspond with their rank in life. 6. The worthy, though they have attained the wealth of the world, will at no time indulge in haughty speech, but if the mean have acquired the wealth of one cani (⅙ part) added to one muntheri (⅐ part) they will regard themselves as great as Indra king of heaven. 7. Though the shoe be wrought with excellent gems set in the purest gold, yet it is intended for the foot of its owner. In like manner, though the mean-minded be very rich, yet he will be found out by his deeds. 8. O lord of the fair and victorious land of mighty hills! the base man is mighty in speaking harsh words. He regards no one, laughs at the misery of others, grows more and more enraged and will continually reproach others. 9. O lord of the cool shores of the sea where the honey-producing Nay (a water-flower) grows, resounding with waves! if persons remain with them many days, the excellent will say, These are old friends, and will show kindness to them, whereas the base-minded will hate and revile them. 10. Though men take away the plucked-up grass from the bullock and give it to the heifer, and thus feed it up for many days, yet it will never be strong enough to be yoked to a cart. O king, hear! Though the base are very rich, yet their deeds will betray them.

Chapter 36.—Baseness or Envy.

1. Those who have knowledge bound up in their minds, though young in years, watch over, keep, and restrain themselves. The ignorant, though old in years, go on obstinately practising...
evil deeds, and, like the reed, never lose their hollowness. 2. Though the frog dwells always in the beauteous and wide pool it never divests itself of its slime; and though those who have no sound knowledge learn faultless and illustrious sciences, yet they have not ability to understand them. 3. O good lord of the heaped-up mountain land! while it is indecorous to extol the good qualities of persons before their faces, what are those wretches’ tongues made of, who, standing in the presence of those persons, declare their faults, for the purpose of destroying their reputation? 4. O beauteous and fair matron! women of high birth will not set off their beauty by ornaments as slave-girls. Courtesans who thus pride themselves on their dress will pass away (fruitlessly) or despised by all, just like the sudden swelling of a river, which soon passes off altogether. 5. Those mean persons are of the nature of the chisel, which without being struck will not even penetrate a tender leaf, though resting upon it; they will give nothing to the kind-hearted, but will give anything to those who employ force, if they meet them. 6. The mountaineer thinks of his mountains, the husbandman of his productive lands, the wise think of the special benefits they have received from others, and the fool thinks only of the abuse he has received. 7. For one good turn they have received from another the wise will endure a hundred evils afterwards inflicted. But if they have received a hundred good turns and have suffered only one evil turn, fools will consider the hundred good turns as evil. 8. The base in prosperity will not do these things which those who are of high birth will do even in adversity. Though one place rings (of gold) upon the tusks of a hog, O thou who hast eyes like a lance! it will never become a warlike elephant. 9. Many persons fade away like the lotus-leaf (having been obliged to alter their tone of speech) after they exultingly boasted of their intention to others, saying, To-day we will grow rich; yea, this very day we will grow rich; after a time we will grow rich. 10. The serdei-plant, though growing in water and green in colour, has no moisture in it. So the world has in it persons who are as useless as the great stony rocks, though they abound in great wealth.

Chapter 37.—Miscellanies.

1. Though it be a building on which the clouds creep, a fort exceeding strong, shining resplendent with the gems stored up in it, of what benefit is it? The house of him who has no beloved and excellent wife is to the view a dreadful forest. 2. Though they be guarded (as it were) with naked swords, with unrelaxing vigilance, should there be the smallest possible relaxation of that vigilance, the period will be short indeed before they begin to act ignominiously. And long indeed will that period last during which softly speaking females will not desire to return to proper conduct. 3. The woman who in opposition threatens blows is as death. She who resorts not to her kitchen betimes in the morning is an incurable disease, and she who gives grudgingly the food she has prepared is a household devil. Women of these three kinds are a destroying weapon to their husbands. 4. Though he is advised to eschew marriage, he eschews it not; though the sound of the dead-drum pierces his ear he heeds it not. Moreover the wise say that the delusion which leads him to think that matrimony is indeed a pleasant state is a crime worthy to be punished by stoning. 5. The highest grade of virtue is living in persevering austerities. The middle grade of virtue is living in marriage with wives who are dear to us. The lowest grade of all is, thinking that money does not come in fast enough, covetously to follow after and abide with those persons who know us not. 6. The chiefest of the learned are those who spend their time in learning many sciences. The next in rank are those who give to the worthy the goods acquired by merit in a former birth, and thus pass their time. The lowest of all are those who cannot sleep for envy, arising from the feeling that they have not fared luxuriously or obtained sufficient wealth. 7. As the fruitful shoot of the red-grained rice becomes afterwards itself red rice and flourishes, O lord of the city (Indra) surrounded by fruitful fields which are covered by red rice! in the same manner the learning of the father becomes the learning of the son. 8. The wealthy and the excellent perish, while the sons of concubines and the base wax great, the lower place becoming the upper place. Thus the world subsists, the lower part becoming the upper part of an umbrella. 9. O good lord of the victorious mountain-land where the falling streams sweep along gems! it were better that
those who when they hear their dear friends declaring the affliction of their minds, have no desire to alleviate their sorrows, should die by casting themselves down from a mountain top than that they should live. 10. If we impartially examine the two things, it will be found that the inundation of the river and the love of beauteous and desirable courtesans are alike. If the rains fail, the inundation will cease; and if their lovers' money is expended, those courtesans' love for them will fail also.

Chapter 38.—Courtesans.

1. If you impartially investigate the two things, it will be found that there is no difference between the shining light of a lamp and the love of courtesans. When the oil is exhausted, the light of the lamp vanishes, and when the money of their lovers is gone, their love also evaporates. 2. The fair and beautiful matron who is adorned with chosen jewels (a courtesan) said, I will go with you to the top of the mountain and cast myself down from it for your sake. But when he said, My money is gone, she came weeping, stating that her foot was painfully swollen and she could not go up the mountain, and left altogether. 3. Let them (i.e. their lovers) be even as fair as Indra, the red-eyed, who is worshipped by the gods in the beauteous and wide-spread heavens,—courtesans, like freshly plucked mango-leaves, will politely dismiss them, and send them away as soon as their money is exhausted. 4. Those who have no property are as poison to the lotus-eyed beautiful courtesans, who are destitute of all goodness of mind; while those who in the sight of all have acquired their wealth by working the oil-mill will be as delicious as sugar. 5. (Only) those fools who like wild beasts will come near courtesans, who act as the vīlānga-fish, which shows its one end to the shark and its other end to the fish in the clear pool, filled with honey-producing flowers. 6. If the golden-braceleted one who has affirmed, saying, As the perforated bead leaves not the thread on which it is strung, and as the andril-bird which never leaves its mate, I will never separate from you,—if she becomes, like the horn of the ram, turned away from its fellow, O my poor heart! will you still remain with her, or will you come away with me? 7. They shall be derided by many who are delighted with the love of courtesans (thinking that they are their friends), who, like the wild cow, lick the hands of men, at the same time poisoning them, and who are like the ghyāl in jumping and running away when they have spoiled their lovers of their property, and yet imagine that they are their friends! 8. Courtesans rejoice and appear as friends while their lovers have aught to give; but when they have exhausted their wealth, then they show themselves as enemies and become (estranged from them), as the horn of a ram twisted from its fellow. Those who come not near the full-breasted courtesans whose eyes roll like the deer, yet leave not off their way of sin, may well say, We have attained the right way. 9. Those who imagine the beauteous courtesans who hide within them the disposition that will afterwards injure them, even when they speak lowly words in order to create confidence, and who, believing these words to be true, imagine them to be their friends, possess their own bodies for themselves alone, and not for any benefit to be done to others. 10. Even at the time when those who have bodies laden with sin have by inquiry found out all the crafty intentions which beauteous-browed courtesans whose minds are fixed upon others have conceived against them, they walk as though they knew them not.

Chapter 39.—Chaste Women.

1. Though women be high in reputation and equal to the goddess Ayānī in conjugal fidelity, they must carefully avoid those who love them and follow them in hopes of gratification, for such caution is the safeguard of the virtue of matrons with perfumed foreheads. 2. If in time of distress, when the meal of the whole family is cooked by the water of a small pot, if a host of relatives sufficient to consume the water of the sea should come all at once, the softly-speaking woman, who shows herself as bounteous as the ocean, is the glory of her house. 3. Though her house be open on the four quarters, though it be exceedingly small, and though the rain pour in on every side, a chaste and virtuous woman will be honoured in the place where she resides, and her habitation respected. 4. She who is pleasing to the eye, who in all things gratifies her husband according to his desire, and at all times stands in awe of him, whose modesty is so conspicuous as to shame her sex, and in all her love-quarrels with him acts with such prudence that reconciliation affords him increased delight, this mildly-speaking matron is truly a woman. 5. Whenever our husbands
embrace our shoulders, we feel ashamed as if we saw them for the first time. What pleasure, then, can these women enjoy who from the desire of money endure daily the embraces of many? 6. Riches in the possession of a generous man resemble in their effects the learning acquired by a man of great natural ability. The chastity of a modest woman is like a sharp sabre in the hands of a courageous man. 7. As if when we had by us red and black gram at the same rate of six measures for a fanam, his breast, which is like a hill, after having embraced many fair women altogether inferior to me, comes unwashed to embrace me also. My husband comes to embrace me with his unwashed breast like a hill, after having embraced the bosoms of fair-browed ones who are not like me. 8. O poet, speak not harshly to me! for if you so speak I shall be to my husband like the left side of the tambour, which gives no sound. Wherefore lift up thy feet and gently retire from me; speak to those (strange women) who are to him like the right side of the tambour, which gives forth sound. 9. I am she who was afflicted when flies flew around my husband, who possesses the cool field, where the reeds being plucked up, the waters shine. I am she who when sparks of fire fly about him and (courtesans) fight against it with their opposing breasts, still endure life, though I look upon his wide bosom adorned with sandal-powder. 10. O singer, utter not that gross falsehood, saying, He who wears a garland of buds loosely strung together will be kind to me. I am not dear to him, but am like the flower of the sugarcane (which is destitute of sweetness). Speak these words to them who are like the middle joints of the cane and sweet to him.

Chapter 40.—De Amore.

1. O lord of the cool shore of the wide-extended backwaters, whose pellucid waves dash along with unceasing noise! if one live not in matrimony the body will suffer in health. If there are no love-quarrels between man and wife, marriage will be tame indeed. 2. The sound of the approaching monsoon booming in every quarter of the heavens from the rainfraught clouds is like that of the death-drum to a wife separated from her husband, for he promised to return before the rains set in. They are setting in, and therefore she fears that he is no more, or else he would have returned. 3. At eventide, when darkness prevents mechanics from distinguishing their tools, the wife will select blooming flowers, and after having strung them on a thread, will cast away the garland from her weeping, and will say, Of what use will this garland be to me, whose husband is absent? 4. Does not my wife, while reclining on her couch and counting with her taper fingers the days I had appointed for my absence, reproach me for my absence, while she wipes away one by one the tears which fall from her eyes, red with weeping as she beholds the setting sun? 5. The kingfisher, mistaking my wife's eyes for a gyali-fish, will fly after her, but when it sees her beautiful eyebrow it will forbear to strike, afraid and supposing it a bow. 6. When the henna-dyed cotton was applied to the foot of my daughter of beauteous form, and whose mouth is perfumed like the red lotus, she would say, Gently, gently, and withdraw her foot lest it should be hurt by the cotton. How then will that foot be able to travel the gravelly paths of the forest? 7. In the golden and ruddy-tinted eventide, when the sound of the stylus on the palm-leaves is hushed, the wife separated from her husband, while she thinks of his absence, will tear off her garland and cast it from her, wiping off the sandal paste which adorns her beauteous form. 8. O thou with shining bracelets! you asked me saying, Will you be able to follow him through the paths of the forest difficult to be traversed? As a person who has bought a horse immediately learns to ride, if I did not previously know how to do so, so will I learn to follow him. 9. I understood not yesterday what she meant when she so closely embraced me [the mother is speaking]. Now I do understand what she meant, viz. that to-day she would leave me and follow her husband through the forest-paths by which the timid deer flees away from the tiger. 10. I upbraid not the three-eyed Siva, nor the crow, nor the hooded serpent,—they have not sinned against me. Nor do I upbraid my mother who bore me—O thou who hast breasts like the buds of the golden-coloured congon-flower! But I do complain of the path which has taken away my husband from me,—who has left me for the sake of gain.
THE JAINA STATUE AT KĀRKALA.
ON THE COLOSSAL JAIN STATUE AT KĀRKALA, IN THE SOUTH KANARA DISTRICT.


There is every reason to believe that the Jains were for long the most numerous and most influential sect in the Madras Presidency, but there are now few traces of them except in the Muisur and Kanara Country; and in the South Kanara district, though still numerous, they are fast becoming extinct. Their shrines are still kept up in South Kanara, and the priesthood, members of which are distinguished by the title 'Indra,' are numerous if not well informed.

The accompanying plate is from a photograph of one of the most famous colossal Jain statues in Southern India, which is at Kārkala, in South Kanara. It is on the top of a hill, a rounded mass of gneiss of some elevation, and is visible from several miles' distance. The block from which it has been cut was evidently taken from the southern slope of the hill, and, as the figure is 41 feet 5 inches high and weighs about 80 tons, it almost rivals the Egyptian statues in size, though its artistic merit is not nearly so great. The date is given in an inscription near the right foot of the statue, and the native is (in the plate) represented leaning against it. It is in Sanskrit but in the Halakannada character, and is only partly legible, owing to the exfoliation to which gneiss is peculiarly subject when exposed to the weather. It runs: *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Sanskrit Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Śri................... ikhyā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yo ’bhāLalitaki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>rtyākhyas tanmūndropade-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>śataḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>trīśaravahni(n)dau virodhyā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>dīkṛśvarhe phālguṇasa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>myavārdhavalāśrīvā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>daśitaḥau Śrīsomā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>nvaśhayairavendratanau-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>jaśrīvīrapāndyeśānā ni(ya)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>māryapratimā 'tra bā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>hubalino jyāṭ pra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>tishṭhāpitā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1353 Śrīpāndyāraśya.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My corrections and additions are marked by ( ).

The purpose of these colossal statues has been questioned, but I am not aware of any explanation having been given. I would suggest the following. The Jain saints are said to have been giants in size according to the fabulous stature of men in the ages in which they lived, but which has been, the Jains say, gradually decreasing. Bāhubalina son of Vrishabhānātha,§ the first Tīrthaṅkara, is thus assumed to be of enormous height. Now in Southern India the statues of the Jain saints vary in size,|| corresponding with the height assigned in the Purāṇas, and thus where temples are dedicated to an earlier saint the statue is necessarily left exposed; as to enclose it in a cell, as is done in the Hindu and most Jain temples, would involve a greater expense than a small sect could afford, especially as the Jains are not very

§ The legend says that he was so absorbed in meditation in a forest that climbing plants grew over him. (See the plate.)

|| There was, some years ago, a complete set of statues of the Tīrthaṅkara thus marked by gradation in size, at the Jain temple of Tīrupsīkunram, near Conjeeveram.
zealous about mere ceremonies. The cloisters and entrance to the enclosures round these colossal Jain statues are precisely like those in other temples, and there is a pītha for offerings in front of the statue.

The dedication of a temple to a saint not a Tirthankara is remarkable. The Digambara Jains of Southern India differ, however, entirely from their fellows of the North, in doctrine, books, and customs.

PAPERS ON ŚATRUṆJAYA AND THE JAINS.

BY THE EDITOR.

V.—Śatruñjaya Hill.

Like other sects, the Jainas have their Tirthas or holy places, which they visit for worship at stated periods, in vast pilgrim-bands called Saṅghas, numbering many thousands, from Gujarāt, Marwād, Gangetic India, and elsewhere. They enumerate five great tirthas:
—Śatruñjaya, Saṃset Śikhar or Mount Pārvanātha in Bhār, Arbudār or Abu in Sirohi, Girnār in Surāshtra, and Chandragiri in the Himalayas. At these places we naturally expect the oldest Jaina remains, and, according to the Tapā Jaina Patāvali, Jaina temples were first built in the year 882 Wirāta, or Samvat 412, A.D. 355. At Girnār we have probably their oldest existing remains, but none of them approach to this antiquity, and few anywhere date earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century of our era.

Śatruñjaya or Śatruñji is a solitary mountain lying to the south of the town of Pālitāṇa, and rising to nearly 2000 feet above the sea-level. Its summit is covered with temples, and, from their extent and celebrity, they are perhaps second in interest to none elsewhere. Like other tirthas it has its māhātmya or legend; and the Śatruñjaya Māhātmya, in glorification of the hill as a place of pilgrimage, claims to be the oldest Jaina document we possess,—dating as far back as A.D. 420 according to some, and according to Weber, in A.D. 598. It professes to have been composed by Dhānesvara at Vaḷabhi, by command of Śilāditya, king of Surāshṭra. But the author would have us believe his authorities were of the remotest antiquity, for he begins by telling that, at the request of Rishabhpanātha, Puṇḍarīka, the leader of this gana (Ganadhipa) had long ago composed a māhātmya of Śatruñjaya in 100,000 pada; and that Sudharmā, the leader of Vira’s gana, by his master’s direction, made an abstract of it in 24,000 verses, from which Dhānesvara, “the humilator of the Buddhists, composed the present work.”† It is a long panegyric in Sanskrit verse, extending to about 8700 lines, put into the mouth of Mahāvīra, the last Tirthaṅkara, who, on his visiting Śatruñjaya, is requested by Indra to relate the legend of the mountain sacred to Ādinātha.‡ Accordingly he proceeds not only to tell the strictly Jaina legends of the hill, but interweaves with them long episodes of Brāhmaṇic mythology, such as the history of Rāma, the war of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas, and stories of Kṛṣṇa, altering them as he pleases.

According to the Māhātmya, the hill boasts no less than a hundred and eight names, and as many distinct śikharas or peaks, uniting it with the sister-tirthas of Abu and Girnār,—many of them very low, if not quite invisible. Of its names, the following is a selection:—Śatruñjaya—the etymology of which is thus given in the Māhātmya: “Formerly there lived in Chandrapura a cruel king named Kaṇḍu. Aroused by a voice from heaven, he went into the forest, and was there overcome by the cow Surabhi, bound by a Yākṣa, and exposed in a cave in the forest. Thereby he attained the knowledge of his guilt. His gotradevī or family goddess, Ambikā, then appeared to him and advised him to go on pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya; and on the way he met a Mahāmuni, who taught him fully. Through

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* Of course this date must depend on that of Mahāvīra’s death, to which it professes to be 947 years subsequent, or 477 after the era of Vikramāśkara.

† Weber, Catr. Māhāt, p. 15.

‡ There is also a prose version of it.
ascending the hill he obtained the victory (jaya) over his enemy (stru)—sin." Tod, professing to have extracted it from the Māhātmya also, gives the following legend: "In distant ages Sukha Rāja ruled in Pālitānā. By the aid of magic, his younger brother assumed his appearance and took possession of the royal cushion. The dispossessed prince wandered about the forests, and during twelve years daily ‘poured fresh water from the stream on the image of Sidnāth,’ who, pleased with his devotion, gave him victory (jaya) over his foe (stru), and in gratitude he enshrined the god upon the mount, hence called Satruñāya. The hill must therefore have been originally dedicated to Śiva, one of whose chief epithets is Sidnātha, as lord of the ascetics,—a title never given, I believe, to Adinātha, the first of the Jainas."†

Vimaḷādri,—height of purification; Puṇḍarika-parvata, or Hill of Puṇḍarika, the principal disciple of Rishabhanātha; Siddhikshotra, Siddhādri, and Siddhābhūhṛit,—Hill of the Holy land; Sura Śaila, Rock of the gods; Puṇḍarāśi,—bestower of virtue; Mutkgeha, place of beatitude; Mahātirtha, the great place of pilgrimage; Sūrva Kāmada, realizing all desires; Prithvīpīṭha, the crown of the earth; and Pātalāmāla, having its foundation in the lower regions.‡

“Whatever purity,” says the Māhātmya, “may be acquired by prayers, penances, vows, charity, and study, in other artificial tīkha, cities, groves, hills, &c., tenfold more is acquired in Jaina tīkha, a hundred-fold more at the chaitya of the Jambū-tree, a thousand-fold more at the everlasting Dhatuki-tree, at the lovely chaitya of Pushkarāḍvīpa, at the mountain Anjana. Yet ten-fold more still is obtained at the Nandīśvara, Kuṇḍalāḍri, Māṅghottara-parvata. § In proportion, ten thousand times more at the Vaibhāra,|| Sametāḍra, Vaătādhya, Merū, Raivata,§ and Ashtāpada. ★

† Travels in Western India, pp. 277, 278.
‡ To these the Māhātmya adds Mahāala, Šriyashpadu, Parvatendra, Subhanda, Dridhashakti, Akarmaka, Śivasvata, Pushpadanta, Mahāpadma, Prabhōpada, Kaṭālaśa, and Keshimandana-mandana (I.331–334).
§ Colebrooke, Essays, vol. II. p. 222; Asiatic Res. vol. IX. p. 329; Wilson, Vishnu Purāna, p. 200.

Infinitely more, however, is already obtained by the mere sight of Satruñāya. Last, it cannot be told how much is acquired by devoting oneself to the worship of it.” † Elsewhere the author explains, “I have heard, O ye gods! from the mouth of Śrimat Simandharā Śāmī, when once I went to the Kshetra Mahāvideha: Any, and ever so great a sinner, by worshipping Śrī Satruñāya, is absolved from sin and becomes a partaker of perfection.”

From Pālitānā to the foot of the hill there is a very straight and level stretch of broad clean road, lined on either side with banian or bār trees, and other species of the ficus tribe. It has at intervals kuṇḍūs and bātis, reservoirs and wells, of pure water, excavated by Jaina votaries. At the foot of the hill the ascent begins with a wide flight of steps, guarded on either side by a statue of an elephant. At this place there are many little canopies or cells, a foot and a half to three feet square, open only in front, and each having in its floor a marble slab carved with the representation, in bas-relief, of the soles of two feet (charanā)—very flat ones—and generally with the toes all of one length. A little behind where the ball of the great toe ought to be, there is a diamond-shaped mark, divided into four smaller figures by two cross-lines, from the end of one of which a waved line is drawn to the front of the foot. Round the edges of the slab there is usually an inscription in Devanāgarī characters. These cells are numerous all the way up the hill, and a large group of them is found on the south-west corner of it, behind the temple of Adīśvara Bhagavāna:—they are the temples erected by poorer Sravakas or Jainas, who—unable to afford the expense of a complete temple, with its hall and sanctuary enshrining a marble murti or image—manifest their devotion to their creed by erecting these miniature temples over the charana of their Jinas or Arhats.

The hill is in many places excessively steep.
and—except the doli, a seat 18 inches square, slung from two poles and carried by four Kolis—no mode of conveyance would be even tolerably comfortable either for ascent or descent. The winding path is paved with rough stones all the way up,—only interrupted here and there by regular flights of steps. At frequent intervals also are the rest-houses already mentioned, more pretty at a distance than convenient for actual use, but still deserving of attention.

High up, when near the top, we come to a small temple of Hanuman,—the image of course bedaubed with red lead in ultra-barbaric style; at this point the path bifurcates—to the right leading to the northern peak, and to the left to the valley between, and through it to the southern summit. Ascending by the first of these, we enter through a narrow door into an outer enclosure, at the left corner of which, under a tree, is the shrine or dargah of Hengar, a Musalmán pir; so that Hindu and Muslim alike contend for the representation of their creeds on this sacred hill of the Jainas. This Hengar or Angar Pir, they say, when living, "could control the elements," but he was foolish enough to try his mace on Adinatha, and the Jaina, though unable to protect himself from the blow, struck his enemy dead. His ghost, however, was malicious enough to annoy the pujâris at their prayers, and in a solemn council they summoned him to state his wishes: "Lay my bones on that corner of the hill," said the ghost, and the matter was settled.

Our endeavours to discover who this saint was, and when he flourished, were equally fruitless with those of Colonel Tod; there seems to be no information respecting him "beyond the tradition that it was in the time of Ghori Belam, nephew of the king of Delhi, who resided in Pâlitâna, and by whom the mosks and idâras, both inside and outside, were erected." "At present, however," he adds, "the dervesh attendants on the tomb of their saint have found it requisite to conform to the rules of the place, and never touch food on the rock, nor partake of animal food below."

The view that presents itself from this point may well arrest the attention. It is magnificent in extent; a splendid setting for the unique picture—this work of human toil we have reached. Just under the brow of the hill to the north, surrounded by clumps of trees, is the town of Pâlitâna, and in all directions the eye wanders over a vast plain, with gentle undulations here and there, and declining away to the east and south-east; generally it is cultivated, though not nearly to the extent it admits of. At intervals the eye falls on groups of umbrageous trees, from beside which peep out the temples and huts of many a village. To the east the prospect extends to the Golf of Khambhat about Ghogo and Bhaunagar; to the north it is bounded by the granite range of Sihor and the Chamardi peak; to the north-west and west the plain extends as far as the eye can reach, except where broken, in the far distance due west, by the summits of Mount Girnar—revered alike by Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina; the latter of whom claim it as sacred to Nemântâ, their twenty-second Tirthankara, whom they represent as having, after seven hundred years' austerities, become fit to leave this and all worlds on yonder six-peaked mountain, at some date in the far past that would astonish even a geologist. From west to east, like a silver ribbon, across the foreground to the south, winds the Sâtrujâya* river, which the eye follows until it is lost between the Tañâjâ and Khokara hills in the south-west.

The nearer scene on the hill itself is thus described by the author of the Râs Mâla:—"Street after street, and square after square," he says, "extend these shrines of the Jaina faith, with their stately enclosures, half palaces, half fortresses, raised in marble magnificence upon the lonely and majestic mountain, and, like the mansions of another world, far removed in upper air from the ordinary tread of mortals. In the dark recesses of each temple, one image or more of Adinâtha, of Ajita, or of some other of the Tirthankaras, is seated, whose alabaster features, wearing an expression of listless repose, are rendered dimly visible by the faint light shed from silver lamps; incense perfumes the air, and barefooted, with noiseless tread, upon the polished floors, the female votaries, glittering in scarlet and gold, move round and round in circles, chanting forth their monotonous, but not unmelodious, hymns. Sâtrujâya indeed might fitly represent one of the fancied hills of Eastern

* Dr. Wilson thinks this is the river mentioned by Ptolemy under the designation of Codrana or Sodrana.
The Kołamba era here mentioned is evidently the Kollam era, which is adopted throughout the Malabar coast now. It commenced in the year 824 A.D. Hence the bell must have been hung up in 1468-69. King Adityavarnā was therefore a contemporary of Edward IV of England, and the bell was hung up when the fortunes of York and Lancaster were oscillating, and when Warwick was at the height of his career. It was also 30 years before Vasco de Gama set foot on Indian soil. Kołamba is the Sanskrit, and Kollam the Malayalam name for Quilon. The diocese of the Roman Catholic Bishop who was stationed in this part of the Malabar coast when the power of Portugal was in the ascendant was known as 'Columba'.

The word Bhavatī (मष), which gives the year 644 of the Kołamba era, follows the system of alphabetical numeration, which, by converting large numbers into familiar words, so greatly facilitates their being stored in memory by Hindu mathematicians and astronomers. The first letter of a word thus formed stands in the units' place, the next in that of tens, the next of hundreds, and so on. \( \text{H} = 4 \), \( \text{H} = 4 \), and \( \text{H} = 6 \), making 644.

The configuration of the kingdom of Travancore of those days, it is hardly necessary to point out, was widely different from what it is now. While the greater portion of what now constitutes North Travancore was not integral part of the kingdom, a large portion of the present district of Tinneville was included in it. The kingdom was called Tripappūr Sarasvām. The boundaries of it are given in an inscription on stone in the Suchindram pagoda. The inscription dates in the reign of Adityavarnā, the same Rāja as put up the Tirukurangudi bell. The boundaries are: 'east Pannivāyākāl—an old water course near Varkala—south Vaipār, in the Tinneveli District—north and west the sea.' We must make allowance for the geography of those days, in judging of the correctness of the cardinal points here described. However, there is little room to doubt that Tirukurangudi, now situated in the Nānguneri Tāluka of the Tinneveli District, was then a part of Travancore. The whole tract of country, again gathering from the stone inscription, was divided into 18 parts or 'nāds.' Of these, the king of Travancore made Jayatunganād, or Jayasinhānād, the seat of his court and government. I have not been able to identify the situation of this division. In all probability it was on the eastern side of the Ghāths. The heir-apparent occupied Chivāyā and held it in possession. Chivāyā may be identified with the present village of Chirynināl, about 18 miles to the north of Truvandram. The word Chivāyā is composed of the two Malayalam words Chira (lake) and vaýa (mouth), the village being situated where the Bhavanippuram river makes its debouchure into a lagoon.

Rāja Adityavarnā was only heir-apparent and chief of Chivāyā when he put up the bell. This is evident from the phrase श्रीसयानःराजामण्डलः: The word Manḍapam, in Sanskrit, is applied only to a feudatory or dependent state, and not to suzerainty. Adityavarnā became ruler of Travancore only three years after the date of the bell. His elder brother Mārtāṇḍavarmā was on the throne at the time.

The word 'Jayasinhānayā' in the stanza inscribed on the bell is suggestive. A European friend, who has devoted much time and attention to the study of Indian antiquities, once told me that the Jayasīnha dynasty could be traced to the rulers of the Vaivara empire in the Dekhan, and through them to the solar and lunar races.

The following two verses are inscribed on stone in two different parts of the Siva Pagoda of Suchindram, about 10 miles N.N.W. of Cape Comorin (Kumārī):--

1. राष्ट्राजीकेराजाका चन्द्रानी चन्द्रानी माणिक्यानी कन्हाराजाणी तिकाराजाणी
2. कुंवर चवसाहित भ्रातानिनी चन्द्रानी तिकाराजाणी
3. श्रीमान श्रीमान श्रीमान श्रीमान श्रीमान
4. कुंवर चवसाहित भ्रातानिनी चन्द्रानी तिकाराजाणी

The first of the above two is inscribed in an outer shrine called Chitrassabhā, dedicated to the Chidambaram form of Śiva; and the second on the front Manḍapam of the chief shrine. They may be thus translated:

1. "In the year 1312 (रण=2, क=1 क=3, क=1) of the Śakābla era, the minister of Indra
(Brihaspati) being in Leo, the Lord of lotuses (the Siva) being in Libra, in the asterism of Punarvasu (the 7th), and on Sunday, Martanda-varma, the king of Kerala, desirous of extensive prosperity, fame, and long life, built the Sabha of Sambhu (Sica) at Suchindram.

2. "In the year 654 (a = 4, ð = 5, ñ = 6) of the Kolamba era, Jupiter being in Taurus, the Sun at the end of Libra, in the asterism of Hasta (the 13th), on Monday on Pratipat (the first day after new or full moon) and in the sign of Virgo (rising), Rama varma, the crowning gem of the Vañchi sovereigns, constructed the front Mandapam of the moon-crested (Sica) at Suchindram, equalling Kailasa in splendour, and full of the purest qualities."

This Sakaba year 1312 (A.D. 1390-1), given in the first stanza, corresponds with the year 64 of the Kolamba or Kollam era. Hence this inscription is eighty years older than that on the Tirukurangudi bell. This Raja, whose full title, as given in the Travancore Almanac, is "Chera Udaya Martanda varma Kulasekara, Perumal," reigned 62 years, from 1382-83 to 1444-45 A.D. This was not the Martanda-varma, who was reigning when his brother Adityavarman put up the bell.

The second inscription is later than the first by 90 years, and than the bell inscription by 10 years, its date being 654 Kollam era, or 1478-79 A.D. This was the last year of the reign of Adityavarman of the Tirukurangudi inscription, and the first of Ravivarman, his successor. But the name given in the inscriptions is Ravivarman. This discrepancy might be explained—either that Ravavarman never became sovereign, or that the name Ravivarman or Ravivarman, given in the Almanac, is an error, and ought to have been Ravavarman. But that in the construction of two different parts of the same pagoda 90 years should intervene is somewhat unaccountable.

PUSHPAMITRA OR PUSHYAMITRA?

BY G. BüHLER, Ph.D.

In several letters on the Patanjali controversy, Professor A. Weber has quoted me as an authority both for the authenticity of the form Pushpanmitra and for that of Pushyamitra. I feel it, therefore, incumbent on me to state what I know regarding them, and to explain how I came to waver in my opinion on the subject.

On first reading Prof. Weber's discussion on the name of the king, who probably was a patron of Patanjali's, I remembered that I had read the form Pupphamitta in Merutunga's Vicharaśreni, or "Calena of Enquiries." I mentioned this to Prof. Weber in a letter, without, however, being then able to verify my reminiscence by a reference to the original. When I later had an opportunity of re-examining the Vicharaśreni, I found that it contained both the form Pupphamitta and Pitsamitta; that the latter occurred in the text of the Prakrit Gāthās, on which the Vichāraśreni is a commentary, while the former is used once or twice in the commentary, which is written in Sanskrit, and that, probably, it is nothing but a misspelling for Pushpanmitra. On collating two other Theravālīs, which also give the Prakrit Gāthās in question, I found that both give the form Pāsamitta. Now it seemed to me undeniable that Pāsamitta can be the representative of Pushyamitra only, not of Pushpanmitra. I consequently had to acknowledge the correctness of Professor Weber's rendering of the commonly misspelt name, which has also been adopted by Professor Wassiliev, in his work on Buddhism.

In order to give Sanskritists an opportunity to judge for themselves of the value of these statements, I subjoin the text of the Prakrit Gāthās above referred to, according to Merutunga, Dharmasāgara, and Jayavijayagaṇi.

jaṁ maṇiṁ kālago arihā titthaṁ karomaha-viro

tam maṇiṁ avantaiva ahiṣto pālago rāyā || 1 || *

saṭṭhi pālagaṁ paṇavaṇṇasayam tu hoī nan-dāna ||

aṭṭhasayam muriyānaṁ tīsāṁ chia pūsamittasa || 2 || +

balaṁṭimbhānumittā saṭṭhī varisāṁ chatta na-havahane ||

taha gaddabhillajjaṁ terasa varisā sagassa chaũ || 3 || +

* Var. lec.—avantivī, Dh., J.; ahiṣito, M.; pālago, Dh., J.
† Var. lec.—pālago, Dh., J.; naṇḍūna, M.; naṇḍūna, Dh., J.; tīsachchā, M.
‡ Var. lec.—bhānumittā saṭṭhī, M.; naḥabāna, Dh., J.
1. Pālaka, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which the Arhat and Tirthankara Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa.

2. Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pānamiṭṭha.

3. Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhovahana. Thirteen years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are (the years) of Saka.

These verses, which are quoted in a very large number of Jaina commentaries and chronological works, but the origin of which is by no means clear, give the adjustment between the eras of Vira and Vikrama, and form the basis of the earlier Jaina chronology. Dr. Bhāū Dāji, when giving an abstract of Merutunga's Vichāraśreni in the J. B. B. R. A. S. ix. 147 seqq., failed to make out how the detailed figures given for each reign make up the total of 470 years which are said to lie between Vira's death and Vikrama's accession. But his difficulty arose from the fact that he left out of account the four years of king Saka.

The position of Pānamiṭṭha immediately after the Mauryas leaves it not doubtful that Patanjali's Pushyamitra is intended—the same whose misdeeds against his master Brihadratha are mentioned in the Purāṇas and elsewhere.

In conclusion I may add that Bāna too, in the long list of kings killed treacherously by servants or relations, which occurs in the sixth Uchchhvāsa of the Harshacharita, mentions Pushyamitra. His words are—

Pratijñādurbalamcha baladarśanavyapadeśa
darśitāšeshasainyahsenānīranáryomauryam
brihadrathampipeshapushyamitrah svāmi

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

THE LUSHAI S.

From a Narrative Report by Capt. W. F. Badgley,
B. S. C. Topographical Survey.

The Lushais, of whom we met men of four different tribes, are fairer than the Bengalis, of a very uniform height of about five feet six inches well made, active, intelligent, and energetic. Of their figures we had one or two opportunities of judging, especially on one occasion when some iron hoops of burnt barrels were in the fire, to get which, and to save their clothes from accident, they stripped,—an easy operation with men whose only covering is a large square of cloth. The figures they displayed were splendid, full, and finely muscular, especially about the shoulders and calves, though in the latter they showed a more graceful shape than the large-legged Kukis and Nāgas who were with us as coolies. That they were intelligent we had, not knowing their language, less chance of forming an opinion; but from what we could judge from a few who understood some words of Hindustani, and from their quick recognition of sketches, even in outline, and from their looks, which otherwise belied them, they were so. Of their energy and activity their raids are sufficient proof.

Their heads are well formed, with good foreheads, oblique eyes, heavy eyebrows, high cheekbones, depressed noses, large but not thick lips, and scanty beards, a few straggling hairs in some being the only representatives of chin-tuft or moustache, beyond which none of them can boast. Their hair is straight and black or brownish, eyes brown or black, and t...a invariably good; their expression open, bold, and generally pleasing, and their voice loud and sonorous, partly probably from practice and education, the children having the same deep far-sounding tones when calling loudly.

Their dress is admirable in its ease; no boots, nor breeches, nor other tight clothing confine the freedom of their limbs; a large square cloth or two put on together, according to the temperature, is their only covering, which is worn passed under the right arm and with two corners thrown in opposite directions over the left shoulder, and managed for modesty with the most easy dexterity. To confine the cloth upon the left shoulder, they carry, when anywhere from home, a bag slung so as to rest behind the right hip, the shoulder-strap being of skin, tiger's apparently by preference, and the bag, which is of fine and strong net, covered with a large skin flap somewhat like a sporran, and often made of long white goat's hair, with three black streaks. In the bag they carry their smoking apparatus, flint and steel, a dhao or large chopping-knife, and occasionally a bundle of pangiś, which are small hardened bamboo skewers, and which stuck in the ground are very efficient...
We saw, as I said, men of four separate tribes, three of them distinguished by their mode of wearing their hair, and the southern tribes rather smaller and handsomer than the northern. Those we first met, who had come from Kulel, and are now living on Banbong, called themselves How-longs, and are governed by an old woman, Impum, the mother of their former chief, Vonipilal, whose grave is on Kulel. The name of the next tribe, those under Poiboi and Lāl Bur, I quite forgot to ascertain. The remaining two were Pois and Paites. The former were inhabitants of the country south of Lāl Bur's, who had apparently hired themselves out as soldiers; and the latter, probably a very small tribe, living on and about Narklang. Of these the two first wore their hair drawn smoothly back, and fastened in a knot behind by a thin bit of iron bent into a double prong. The Pois parted theirs across the head behind, and letting the lower part hang loose drew the upper forward, twisting it with the front hair, tied it in a knot over their foreheads, where it was secured by an iron skewer or with a comb of ivory; round this knob those who wore turbans tied one end in, putting them on after the manner of the Sikhs, which was remarked by some Lushais, who called the 22nd Poi; about a fourth of the Pois wore turbans, the other tribes, as a rule, going bareheaded. The Paites wore their hair frizzed up from their head, and cut about four inches long. Chiefs and headmen wear feathers in their hair-knots on great occasions, that is, those who have them; how the Paites wear them, or whether they use any, I do not know. Of the Suktis, who live to the eastward, we saw next to nothing; they are at enmity with these other tribes, and, thinking to take them at a disadvantage, had, just before we reached the Champhai, made an attack on Lāl Bur's village of Chouchim, whence they had been repulsed with loss, leaving one body behind. This unfortunate's head and some limbs had been placed as ornaments to Vonolel's tomb in Lungvel, but as it had been scalped, gouged, and the skull smashed in, little could be made out from it.

There are two things remarkable about these people—one, their indifference to ornaments; excepting two, which are very simple, they wear none: these are a tiger's tooth or tuft of goat's hair tied with a string round the neck, and a small tuft of scarlet feathers stuck in, or an amber bead hung by a string to the ear. Some of the children wore strings of beads, but very few of the men; and coloured chintz was scooted at as a barter, though anything might be got for plain red or white; silver and gold have they none, and care little for, a few pice re-purchasing a rupee; but these are at a premium merely because they can be beaten into bullets or used to line pipes. The second is that, though not particularly cleanly, they are entirely free from any of those noisome skin diseases which are so common in Kachar, and only one man did we see marked with small-pox.

We saw no dwarfs or cripples; probably they are made away with early, after the Spartan fashion.

Of the mental and other qualities of the Lushais, as far as one could judge, they are quick-tempered, unstable in mind, loose in allegiance, thieving, and occasionally given to drunkenness, violence, and barbarity; inquisitive, taciturn in conversation, patriotic, and too bold to be liars; their bump of locality must be strongly marked; they are great hunters and athletic, walking long distances, and climbing with remarkable ease. From the smallest children they all smoke,—men and women,—and so much are they given to it that any of their recent camps can always be detected by their stale tobacco smell. Their pipes are neatly made of bamboo lined with iron or copper, and of the ordinary pipe shape for the men, those used by the women having a receptacle for water, after the fashion of a hubble-bubble, which water—disgusting practice!—is carried about by the men in little gourd bottles to take occasional nips from.

They have some sort of religious belief, but I heard no mention of priest, nor were there any temples or images. Occasionally, in the field we met with a little cleared space on which were arranged rows of clay pallets of various shapes, with a yard-long flagstaff and coloured pendent waving over them, but it was in their tombs that we saw the greatest evidences of their religion. These were always in their villages and ornamented with trophies of skulls of animals and feathers. At burials they discharge firearms over the graves, and I believe they all do. At their decoration, and whose spirits are intended for the delection of the grave's occupant in the happy hunting-ground. The greater the man the more animals are sent with him, and it is said that slaves are sometimes sacrificed and buried with a chief. Vonolel's and Vonipilal's tombs had the heads of many beasts over them (indeed one got a knowledge of the larger fauna of the country at a glance); the skulls of the most dangerous were muzzled, and there were hobbles to restrain the feet.

Beyond what can be gathered from what I have mentioned,—that they must believe in a future state, and that there is some invisible power for evil, against whom they make their incantations to
to come against them in the jungle like men. For
weapons they have flint-locks, some wonderfully
old, dating back to Culloden, spears and dhaos;
we saw a few leather shields, but no bows and
arrows. For defence, though their villages are
lightly palisaded, they prefer the employment of
stockades in difficult passes defended by entangle-
ments, a specimen of which, which was quite a
lesson in military engineering, we met with, for-
tunately undefended, a mile or so from Poiboi's
village of Tulcheng. I have been told, by the way,
that the village of the chief is never palisaded, his
outlying villages being guardians against attack,
or least unprepared for attack.

They carry on feuds and make raids among
themselves as well as on Manipur and the eastern
provinces for arms, ammunition, women, and
heads. When on raids they travel with remark-
able celerity, carrying nothing but their arms and
enough of rice for the journey, a fresh joint of
bamboo at each camp serving every purpose
of water-jar or cooking-pot. About to make an
attack, they are told off in three parties, gunmen,
spear-men, and men to carry off the wounded on
retreat; if they have been successful and have
made prisoners, the men are made to carry the
provisions, and though they sometimes retain a
few as slaves, specially Manipuris and Kukis,
the carrier is, as a rule, relieved of his head when
he has been relieved of his burden. I think it
was after the raid on Monir Khal that a body was
found—a garden cooly’s— which appeared as if an
incantation had been practised by it; the head was
not removed, and the chest was cut open and filled
with boiled rice: why so I could not find out.

Notwithstanding their cruelty, they are fine fel-
lows, taking pride in a fight, dressing themselves
in their best and neatest for the occasion, and
boiled rice: why so I could not find out.
Notwithstanding their cruelty, they are fine fel-
lows, dressing themselves
in their best and neatest for the occasion, and
boiled rice: why so I could not find out.
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lows, dressing themselves
in their best and neatest for the occasion, and
boiled rice: why so I could not find out.
slightly fenced, and the approaches guarded at
difficult points by palisading, loop-holed and
strengthened by heavy stones, and on command-
ing view-points there are out-looks. The conserv-
ancy is admirable, and the houses, though
smoke-begrimed from having their fire-places
inside, are clean. Each house usually has its own
enclosed patch of fenced kitchen-garden to one
side, and, though not built perfectly symmetrical,
they are ranged to form streets. In the middle
of the town is a large house used as a town-hall.
The frame-work of a house is of wood for the
posts and beams, and bamboo for the roof; the
floor is raised a few feet above the ground, and is
laid with bamboo split and beaten flat, the walls
being of the same material, woven in a large che-
quar pattern with very neat effect; the roof is a
thatch of grass and palm leaves. The average
dimensions are 30 by 12 (Poiboi’s was 40 yards
long), of which the first third is left open; a ramp
of logs leads up to them, and on one side of the
ramp is a platform for sitting out in fine weather;
under the eaves are the fowl-houses, and hung
over the house-front are the skull and horns of
animals captured in the chase. The interior,
which is closed by a neatly-made sliding door, is
usually undivided; in some a half-partition por-
tions off a part as a granary; a door at the back
leads to a small platform behind. In the middle
of one side an open fireplace is made of slabs of
stone, above which hangs a frame for smoking
meat and fish, and beyond it is usually a raised
place for sleeping on. In the open front of the
house is the pig-trough and the mortar for cleaning
rice—a work done by the women daily. This rice,
which is of large white grain and very nutritious,
forms their principal food, and is grown by dry
cultivation on cleared spots on the hillsides.

The products of the country are India-rubber,
wa, and ivory, usually bartered for salt. The
traders are mostly Manipuris.—Report of the Topo-
graph. Survey of India, 1871-72.

ON PROF. HOERNLE’S THEORY OF THE
GENITIVE POSTPOSITIONS.

Sir,—The question of the origin of the genitive
postpositions in the modern vernaculars of India

They manufacture everything necessary to their
simple mode of living—cooking and liquor pots,
wooden platters, baskets, salt, saltpetre, cotton
cloth, dhaos, and axes. The carthenware is mould-
ed. The baskets are of every shape and size, from
the store basket, which will hold 50 maunds, to
the little thing which holds the woman’s needles
and thread: they are woven of shreds of bamboo
with great neatness. Gourds and bamboos are
used for water.

Their apparatus for cleaning, carding, spinning,
and weaving the cotton is similar to that in use in
Bengal. The cloth is very strong and close-
gained, in breadths of three feet, unbleached, with
a narrow blue border, or dyed entirely blue. Some
of the cloth used by them, resembling a dark
tartan, is said to come from Manipur. Salt they
manufacture from the ashes of bamboo leaves, and
saltpetrefrom cowdung urinated on. Their forges
are not in any way remarkable, a pair of large
bamboo cylinders being the bellows: but they turn
out remarkably good arms, working up the iron
which they get from elsewhere to suit their own
tastes as to shape. The axes are of that peculiar
construction used among most of these tribes—a
flat-ended peg tied in a socket in a bamboo handle.

There are no archaeological remains, excepting
the rough slabs, with rough outlines of figures
cut on them, which cover old graves; and there
are no roads, communication being by footpaths,
which in the more populated parts are broad and
easy.

I had almost forgotten to mention the women,
but we saw so little of them; they are pleasant,
round, flat-faced creatures, continually smoking,
and lively among themselves; their dress is a
scanty blue kilt, and cloth thrown over the should-
ers, with the head usually uncovered, and the hair
loose or neatly braided. They wear no ornaments.
They vary in colour, some being quite fair with rosy
cheeks. Their children are carried on their backs.

The products of the country are India-rubber,
wax, and ivory, usually bartered for salt. The
traders are mostly Manipuris.—Report of the Topo-
graph. Survey of India, 1871-72.
is so important and interesting that I trust you will allow me space for a few remarks on the reply of Prof. Hoernle, published in the July number of your valuable periodical. As regards my view on the different kinds of Prākrit, I agree with Mr. Beames, that none of the Prākrits was ever a spoken language, and that in order to learn what was the spoken language of the Aryans we must turn principally to the modern vernaculars. I have never had any other opinion on this subject, and in this respect there is no controversy at all between Prof. Hoernle and myself. But I am sorry to see that Prof. Hoernle still adheres to the error which I had already pointed out in my review of his essays. It is perfectly erroneous to say that Vararuchi’s śātras are founded upon the plays, or that the plays are founded upon Vararuchi’s śātras. The language of the plays is Sauraseni, and the language taught by Vararuchi in the first nine sections is Mahārāṣṭri, of which dialect comparatively few instances occur in the plays. Now it is clear that a man who teaches the Mahārāṣṭri will not derive the rules for that language from the Sauraseni. It is true that Vararuchi, XII. 32, distinctly says śekham Maḥārāṣṭri vrat, and that on the whole he does not make many exceptions from the principal Prākrit. But this is only one of his numerous blunders. Later Prākrit grammarians, especially Rāmatarakaśa and Mārkandeya Raviṇḍra, who treat more carefully of the lower dialects, have a good many more rules, which are confirmed throughout by the plays. Vararuchi’s rules in the first nine sections are derived from works like the Saptāśṭhāni and the Setubandha, which were written in Mahārāṣṭri and composed in verse. This is clearly proved by the corresponding rules of Hemachandra, who adds numerous examples which are exactly like the poems of the Saptāśṭāni, and several of them already to be found in Prof. Weber’s edition. Hence it is ridiculous to affirm that the Prākrit of the plays has been grammaticalized by Vararuchi and his successors.

The imaginary participle kunno can by no means be used to explain the Gujarāti postpositions. That the colloquial has many forms which in the literary language are restricted to poetry is an old story, but those words are then of frequent occurrence in either the colloquial or the poetry; kunno, however, is not yet found, and I have not met with it, though I am in possession of extensive materials drawn from manuscripts. Prof. Hoernle is very partial to words formed according to analogy; but such words never prove anything; if the participle kunno had given rise to the Gujarāti postpositions, it ought to be found very often. The principal question, however, is that concerning the genitive postpositions in Bāngāli and Oriya. I think still that it is very easy to prove that Prof. Hoernle is in error. In fact there are no postpositions at all in Bāngāli and Oriya, and these two languages must be separated at once from all the rest. Prof. Hoernle remarks that my statements as to the use of keraka have no particular bearing on the question whether the Bāngāli is a curtailment of keraka or not. My arguments already intimated in my review, where I have tried to state them as briefly as possible, are as follows:—Firstly, the word kero is the original of the word keraka, and hence it follows that kero has not been curtailed, but, on the contrary, has been lengthened. The word kero or keraka is found in the Mahārāṣṭri, the Sauraseni, and the Māgadhini; it is found in the various Apabhraṃśas as well as in the vernaculars. In the Śūhāsene language, as Prof. Childers informs me, it is used to form the locative of a certain class of words. Prof. Kern has lately called attention to the very common use of this word in the language of the gipsies; but even there kero has not been changed in the least, but has remained unaltered to the present day, as stated by Prof. Pott, Pas-pati, and other authorities. The word, though not noticed by Vararuchi, is well known to the later Prākrit grammarians. Hemachandra, VIII. 2, 147, has a special śātra running thus:

|| idamarthasya kero ||

idamarthasya pratyayasya kero ity ādeśo bhavati | yushmadhyāṣa tumhakero | asmadiyaḥ amaḥkero | na cha bhavati | maiakskkilo | pāṇiṇī. Since Hemachandra in the following śātra: || paraśabahyāḥ kkaḍikkka cha || expressly mentions the two words para and rījan, I am inclined to suppose that the use of kero was originally restricted to the same words which, according to Pāṇini, may assume in Sanskrit the suffix kiya. This question I shall discuss at full length in my edition of Hemachandra’s Grammar. A śātra corresponding to that of Hemachandra occurs in Mārkandeyas, fol. 28 b; and in the Trivikrama-vṛtti II. 1, 8, we have: || kero idamarte || idamarte vihitasya chaḥpratyayasya kero ity ādeśo bhavati | and now Trivikrama, as usual, gives the same examples as Hemachandra. Siparāja, fol. 43 a, has the same śātra. Hemachandra mentions the word again in the section on the Apabhraṃśa, VIII. 4, 422: || sambandhināḥ keratācau || gaaśi su kesari pihaḥ jālu niśchintai haridāpina|| jasu keroḥ huṣkāradṛuḥ mahuḥ paḍanti ṭṛṣṭatān. The same is given by Trivikrama, III. 3, 51, and means in Sanskrit: gatas sa kesari pihau jālu niśchintā hariāpaḥ | jasu keroḥ huṣkāradṛuḥ mahuḥ paḍanti ṭṛṣṭatān | “The lion is gone; without fear may the antelopes drink the water; (the lion) by
Prākrit word. Originally its use was restricted, could easily be curtailed after a homogeneous rābhi, keli, kªlem, doubt that kelaka is the more modern form; and originally was kira, and our kera are only modi
to the pronouns and the words para and rájan; official, but thoroughly organic, is proved by the Ma
ficial, but thoroughly organic, is proved by the Ma
tailed. Secondly, the change of r to l forbids us
to accept Prof. Hoernle's theory. There can be no
tion with substantives. It has never been cur
tailed; we must do the same with innumerable other adjectives.

Prof. Hoernle denies having said that the genitive of santána was formerly santána keraka. At p. 132, however, he says: "Take, for instance, the genitive of santána, a child; it would be santána keraka." What else can this mean but what I have concluded from it? That the Bangáli adjectives have dropped all case, number, and gender terminations I knew as well as Prof. Hoernle does; but exactly because all of them have done it, and because this is the rule, it is difficult to see how keraka alone could have been curtailed to such an extent. In the language of the gipsies, where, as I have remarked above, kera is very frequently employed, the adjectives are treated in almost the same way as in Bangáli, but still kera had retained its old shape. Whether keraka occurs fourteen or twenty-eight times in the Mrichchhakatiká is of no consequence. I should not have mentioned that at all if I had not been struck by the astonishing confidence with which Prof. Hoernle asserted that this word in the determina
tive sense—according to his views—is found in the Mrichchhakatiká only; a confidence all the more astonishing as he confesses now himself that he has not even examined, to say nothing of read, such plays as the Milavichh and the Mādanikā. That the word keraka must have been very common in the colloquial speech Prof. Hoernle need not tell me. This, however, is no reason why it should have been curtailed; the question is not how often keraka occurs, but what changes it may have undergone. If every word of frequent occurrence were curtailed to one syllable, our language would soon resemble the Chinese language. It is due to the uncritical editions of Sanskrit plays by the Indian Parli
ts that the word is not met with oftener in other plays. In the Ģákuntāla I shall restore it in three more pas
sages where the best manuscripts have it, though it is not found in any of the present editions of this play. The first instance which I quoted from the Ģákuntāla is not a false one; keraka is used there pæmatically; it could be omitted very well. The second instance is not in the least doubtful, but as certain as anything can be. Monier Williams is no authority, his edition—apart from its being a pæm avivrama—being founded upon the worst possible manus
cripts. I gladly recognize the superiority of Prof. Hoernle in every other respect, but as for the Ģákuntāla I must lay claim to know a little more about the play than he, having collated,
complete want of criticism, invalidates all his jam and keran are used exactly in the same way, other hand I have endeavoured to show how keraka of the meaning of kerakt, and instead of recogn deductions, and I am afraid that the absurdity must still maintain that this error, which shows a to observe that the identification of kera with The form kerika is a false one; it is not supported literary language speaks slang; there is, however, a great difference between the colloquial and the slang—keraka is colloquial but not at all slang. The form kerika is a false one; it is not supported by the MSS. I cannot see why Prof. Hoernle has been obliged to trust his Calcutta edition. There has been published a much better edition (Śāka 1792) which is accessible to everybody who cares to get it; this edition (p. 242) has also boppakedike. The mistake is not so slight as Prof. Hoernle wishes to represent it. Keroka no doubt has the meaning of “own,” “peculiar to,” “belonging to,” but it now rests with him to show how the participle hºritacame to receive this meaning. His reasoning was that, as prakelaka is the same as prakrita, thus kelaka is the same as krita; and as kera means the same as prakara, thus kira means the same as prakita (p. 131.) I cannot discover any other passage in his essays where he alludes to the subject again. Thus I think I am entitled to judge of his reply he says that I have adduced the words kajja, and hence in Prākrit kāra; and the e, originally long, has been shortened afterwards. It is not necessary to suppose a form karra, as Prof. Kern does. A doubling of the r is forbidden by all Prākrit grammarians, and never found in Prākrit. In every other respect I agree with Prof. Kern in the way he has traced back kera to kārya.

The change of t to d in kira is restricted to the Māgadhi dialect by all Prākrit grammarians who have come to my knowledge, and indeed is found in this dialect only. Kira has always been local, and cannot be used to account for kera.

That in Marathi kela is the equivalent of krāta proves nothing; many words may be the equivalents of others without being derived from them. Thus in parakera, &c. kera is the equivalent of the Sanskritie kira, but I doubt whether even Prof. Hoernle would derive kera from kīga. Prof. Hoernle again takes refuge in an imaginary Prākrit word, “karita,” without meeting with better success. The “i” in karita, being a mere conjunctive vowel, would never effect a change from a to i. Besides, what is the use of dealing with imaginary words where words of every-day occur-
rence afford all we wish? Whither such fanciful theories must lead, will be seen best from Prof. Hoernle's fourth essay, which has just reached me. That the Marathi karāven has sprung from the Prākritic causative karūvemi (Vararuchi, VII. 27) Prof. Lassen saw forty years ago.

R. PISCHEL.

London, August 27, 1873.

Sir,—In re-reading Professor Weber's Essay on the Rāmāyana in your journal, I find that he twice (pp. 123, 176) touches the question whether "Sopeithes, king of the Kekai, who entered into friendly personal relations with Alexander the Great, may be identified with Aśvapati, king of the Kekaya, who is mentioned in the Rāmāyana."

As Prof. Weber quotes Lassen (I. 300, II. 161), it is possible that he allowed Lassen's words to supersede his own recollection of the original authorities about Alexander. (I. 300.)

Lassen's first note, in which he identifies the Kekai with the Kekaya, both with the people of Sopeithes, and Sopeithes with Aśvapati, is too long for extract. In the second passage he says: "Alexander went northward from Sangala with the main body of his army, into the land of the Kekaya, whose king was called Sopeithes. This would not, however, be his proper name, but rather his title, for already in epic story there is a king of that people called Aśvapati."

There is nothing in the world so easy as to be mistaken, but I have twice carefully searched Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo, and Curtius, without being able to find a word to indicate that Sopeithes was king of the Kekai, or in any way connected with them. That name seems to occur only once anywhere, and then in a doubtful reading. It is where Arrian (Indica, cap. vi.) speaks of Hydrestes as receiving a tributary called Saranges e Kekai, or e Kekai, or e Mecia. Nor is there anything in the four authors just named to the effect that Alexander went northward from Sangala.

I notice this matter because it bears on General Cunningham's identification of Sangala with the site in the Rechna Doāb still so called, an identification which seems to me, if I may presume to say so, eminently satisfactory. According to that view, Alexander, after his destruction of the city, did go north into the country of Sopeithes, but instead of being in the sub-Himālaya, this country apparently lay a cheval on the Hydasper and Acesines, and included the Salt Range or a part of it.

This is confirmed by Arrian's statement (Exp. Alex. vi. 2) that Alexander, when about to descend the Hydaspes, sent in advance two divisions of his army under Craterus and Hephaestion, one on each bank, appointing the rendezvous, where his arrival with the fleet was to be awaited, at the Residence of Sopeithes.* This rendezvous was reached by the king after a voyage of three days down-stream from Bucephalia.

Strabo says that in the territory of Sopeithes there was a mountain of fossil salt sufficient for all India. This is a reasonable hyperbole if applied to the salt-mines of Kheera, near Pind Dādan Khān. It is true there are said to be salt-mines also in Mandi, where Lassen places the Ke-

kai, Kekai, Aśvapati and Sopeithes, but they must be comparatively insignificant. Certainly they are very little known.

For the rest of the argument I refer to Gen. Cunningham's book. My present object is only to bar what seems an unproved assumption on the other side, to which such high sanction has been lent incidentally.

H. YULE.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to a query in the last number of the T. A., I send a line to state that we have many villages here where the Pātil's vatan is divided into two holdings or bans, each enjoyed by a family entirely distinct from the other, and usually of a different caste.

Thus, for instance, one family will be Lingsyats, and the other Marāthās, or Kanarese Brāhmans.

The same is often the case with Kulkarni vatanas.

Yours faithfully,

H. B. Boswell.

Belgaum District, 13th November 1873.

Calcutta is a place known from remote antiquity. The ancient Hindus called it by the name of Kalik she tra.† It extended from Bahula to Dakhinashāhar. Bahula is modern Bahula, and the site of Dakhinashāhar still exists. According to the Purānas a portion of the mangled corpse of Satī or Kali fell somewhere within that boundary; whence the place was called Kalik she tra. Calcutta is a corruption of Kalik she tra. In the time of Baldi Sen it was assigned to the descendants of Sora.

PUDMA NAV GHOSAL.

Calcutta, July 1873.

* I cannot find any recognition of this passage in Lassen.
† "Dakhinashāhar maravya yabacha Bahula gores Kalikshetram bejaneyath, &c."
THE VILLAPPÁKKAM COPPER PLATES.

BY A. C. BURNELL, M.C.S., MANGALOR.

This series of copper plates contains a grant of land by one of the last of the Vijayanagara dynasty—Venkatapati. He reigned in a very precarious way (at Candragiri) from about 1590 on into the early years of the 17th century. As the Vijayanagara kingdom had been utterly destroyed by the Muhammadans in 1564, his power must have been very small, but in the genealogy with which (as is the rule) this grant begins, he traces his descent from the Somavānśa, and claims to rule the whole of India from the Himālayas to Setu (Rāma’s Bridge)!

The grant is of the village of Villappākkam, tax-free, to Tiruvengadanātha, son of Ananta Bhatta. He is described as a follower of the Yajuh;4khā, and of the Āpasambasūtra, and as belonging to the race of Vatsa.

Besides the grant of the village in Sarvamānya (feu vert moigne of the medieval lawyers in England), several privileges are also granted which are interesting as throwing light on the tenures of South India, but which would need much explanation to make them intelligible to foreigners.

The date is:—

Śakti-(3)netra-(2)kalambe-(5)ndu-(1)ganite śakavatsare | plavasaṅvatvatsare punye māsi Vaiśākhānāmī pakshe’ valakshe . . . punyāyām dvādaśīlīthah, &c.

e. the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in 1601 A.D.

Thus it will appear that this grant is not of any great historical interest.


Before the appearance of this volume, as remarked by M. Foucaux in his preface, “there did not exist in French any complete biography of the founder of Buddhism. Mme. Mary Summer has, with reason, thought that the founder of a religion, which reckons more than three hundred million followers, deserves that the narrative of the events of his life should be available to all French readers, and not remain confined to the domain of science. She has,” as he adds, “successively acquitted herself of the task, for which she had well fitted herself by her Mémoire sur les Religieuses Bouddhistes, a book favourably received by all who relish works at once instructive and interesting.”

Mme. Mary Summer, we need scarcely hint, is the nom de plume of the wife of the distinguished French Orientalist who, five and twenty years ago, translated the earliest known legend of Buddha, the legend on which Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire based his life of Buddha given in his work Le Bouddha et sa Religion,—and to her husband’s experienced advice, doubtless, this little volume owes part of its value. It does not pretend in any way to be a critical work. The Sengalese dates of Buddha’s birth and death are accepted, and the principal events recorded in the usual legends are selected and briefly recorded in a pleasant style, and with an admiration for the subject of her biography that would almost lead the reader to imagine the authoress was a devout Buddhist nun.

Only once does she distinctly express her dissent from a tenet of the Buddhist creed, and that is when she contrasts its doctrine of the inevitable punishment of sin in some state of existence with the Christian “religion of mercy, which,” she says, “gives man the faculty of repentance, leaving for him, even to the last breath, an open door to a happy eternity, and permitting an act of contrition to make of the greatest of sinners one of the chosen of God!”—forgetting, apparently, the analogy supplied by the Atonement—the sacrifice of the Mediator as the substitute for the sinner. This admiration of Buddhism, however, is no new thing even among philosophers. “It is the misfortune of our times,” says M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, writing thirteen years ago, “that the same doctrines which form the foundation of Buddhism meet at the hands of some of our philosophers with a favour that they but little deserve. For some years past we have seen systems arising in which metempsychosis and transmigration are highly spoken of, and attempts are made, exactly as Buddha did, to explain the world and man without either a God or a Providence. A future life is refused to the yearnings of mankind, and the immortality of the soul is replaced by the immortality of works. God is dethroned, and in His place they substitute man, the only being, they tell us, in which the Infinite becomes con-

* In the North Arkat District.
scious of itself. These theories are commended to us, sometimes in the name of science, or history, or philology, or even of metaphysics; and though neither new nor very original, yet they can do much injury to feeble hearts. This is not the place to examine these theories, and their authors are both too learned and too sincere to be condemned summarily and without discussion. But it is well they should know by the examples, too little known, of Buddhism, what becomes of man if he depends on himself alone, and if his meditations, misled by a pride of which he is hardly conscious, bring him to the precipice where Buddha was lost. I am well aware, moreover, of all the differences, and am not going to insult our contemporary philosophers by confounding them indiscriminately with Buddha, though addressing the same reproofs to both. I willingly acknowledge all their additional merits—which are considerable. But systems of philosophy must always be judged by the conclusions to which they lead, whatever path they may pursue in attaining to them; and their conclusions are not therefore the less objectionable, though reached by different means. Buddha arrived at his conclusions 2,400 years ago. He preached and practised them with an energy not likely to be surpassed, if it be even equalled. He manifested a childlike intrepidity that no one can exceed; nor can it be supposed that any system in our days could again acquire an ascendancy so powerful over the souls of men. It would be useful, however, if the authors of those modern systems would just cast a glance at the theories and destinies of Buddhism. It is not philosophy in the sense in which we understand this great name. Nor is it religion in the sense of ancient Paganism, of Christianity, or of Muhammadanism; but it contains elements of all, worked up into a perfectly independent doctrine, acknowledging nothing in the universe but man, and though confounding man with nature, in the midst of which he lives, obstinately refusing to recognize anything else. Hence all those aberrations of Buddhism, which ought to be a warning to others. Unfortunately, if people rarely profit by their own faults, yet more rarely do they profit by the faults of others.

But, pleasant reading as this little volume is, and correctly as it reproduces the main narratives of the Oriental legend, it must not be supposed that these afford evidence of facts which actually happened: the earliest legends we possess date four or more centuries after Buddha, and must be accepted only as illustrations of the popular belief prevalent when they were committed to writing.

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ERRATA IN VOL. II.

Page 29 b, line 9 from bottom, for Hulle Makkalu read Hulē Makkalu.
65 for Kulwadi read Kułuvāṭi.
65 a, l. 7, for Holiar read Hōlēya.

65 a, l. 7, for Holiar read Hōlēya.
17 and 24 for Holiar read Hōlēyar.
35 " Holigiri " Hōlēgēri.
110 35 for Kulwadi read Kuluvadi.
37 " Holigiri " Hōlēgēri.
110 35 for Kulwadi read Kuluvadi.

List of Illustrations—9, for VII. to XI. read VII. to X.
21, for 19 pages, read 9 pages.
ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 35, line 38, for 'aſz' read 'aſṣº.'
5 a , 23 'eleventh' read 'twelfth.'
6 a , 14 'Paribhāṣāsūtra' read 'Paribhasha.'
6 a , 39 'Dhurtavāniiniin.' 'Dhurtavāniin.'
6 b , 4 'As. Soc. Jour.' 'Anc. Sans. Lit.'
7 a , 2 'from bot. for describ' read 'describe.'
13 heading read 'Dharsa.'
14 a lines 20, 21 for 'Bhata' read 'Bhatarika.'
15 a , 24 ' Smritis' read 'Smritis.'
15 a , 31 'Kali' read 'Kal.'
15 a , 31 'Krita' read 'Krita.'
15 a note * for 'prakriti,' read 'prakṛiti,' and insert a comma after 'anubandha.'
15 b note : for 'Sandhi' read 'Sandhi.'
16 a line 20 dele 'graceful.'
16 b , 22 'at.'
16 b , 36 , 37 for 'Rik-' read 'Rik.'
22 b , 40 , 41 for 'Mahābh.' read 'Mahābh.'
22 a , 23 , 24 , 25 for 'Khilafat' read 'Khilafat.'
31 a , 32 for ' Panchatantra' read 'Panchatantra.'
32 b , 10 from bot. for 'completes' read 'complete.'
34 b , 57 for 'Kirku' read 'Kirku,' and so p. 55b
34 b , 57 'Kshemindra' read 'Kshemendra.'
304 a line 33 for 'Kshemendra' read 'Kshemendra.'
305 b , 3 for 'Preenti' read 'Preeti.'
307 a , 26 'Nā.' 'Nā-'
308 a note * for 'mayā' read 'mayā.'
309 b line 22 'Panchatra' 'Panchatra.'
309 b , 28 'stories.' 'story.'
326 a , 41 'Kāroya.' 'Kāroya.'
339 a lines 16, 17 from bot. for 'ghārjiyā' (aʃānī) read 'ghariyā (qīāHʃ).'
339 b , 21 , 22 'barmi' read 'barm.'
357 b , 21 , 22 'it turns all medial single surds into sonants.' 2. The later Prakrit elides most medial single consonants. 3. Gauriān.'
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