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ERRATA.

Page 301, line 5 from bottom read, आयेपि नन्दनवने.	Page 305 verse 1192, read ०रकेन.
Page 304 line 16 from top, read ह्यारोहास्ततः	Page 306 verse 1332 read जात०.
Page 304 verse 1093, read पाञ्चाल्यौ.	

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THE RAMACHARITAMANASA AND THE RAMAYANA.

BY L. P. TESSITORI; UDINE (ITALY).

(Continued from Vol. XLI. p. 286.)

Ayodhyakāṇḍa.

(10) The supreme desire of the old Daçaratha is that he may see Râma's coronation in his lifetime :

C, II, 1, 36-37 (B, II, 1, 19) :

atha râjño babhûvai 'va vridhdhasya chirajîvinaḥ | prîtir eshâ
katham Râmo râjâ syân mayi jîvati || 36 || eshâ hy asya
parâ prîtir hṛidi samparivartate | kadâ nâma sutam drak-
shyâmy abhishiktam aham priyam || 37 ||

R. C. M., II, 1, 10 :

(saba ke ura abhilâshu asa . . .)
âpu achhata jubarâja-padu Râma-
him deu naresu ||

R. C. M., II, 4, 3^a :

mohi achhata yahu hoi uchhâhû |

Tulasî Dâsa, in the first of the two quotations given above, ascribes to all the citizens what Vâlmîki had ascribed to Daçaratha, but the substance is the same. The central point of the comparison is represented by the phrase *mayi jîvati*, which has been literally translated into *âpu achhata* and *mohi achhata*, and the correspondence is made still more persuasive by the fact that *âpu achhata* in the first quotation from the *R. C. M.* is quite superfluous and unjustifiable.

(11) Men and women in Ayodhyâ, eager to see Râma's coronation, look impatiently for the morning :

C, II, 5, 19 (B, II, 4, 19) :

tadâ hy Ayodhyânîlayaḥ sastrîbâlâkulo janaḥ | Râmâbhi-
shekam âkânkshann âkânkshann udayam raveḥ || 19 || .

R. C. M., II, 11, 3^b-4^a :

kahahim parasapara loga logâi |
kâli lagana bhali ketika bârâ | .

Ib. 6^a :

sakala kahahim kaba hoihi kâli | .

(12) Vâlmîki, in order to depict Mantharâ's passion, makes use of the metaphors: *dahyamândâ krodhena* (C, II, 7, 13) and *dahyamândâ'nalene'va* (*ibid.*, 21), which might have been the origin of Tulasî Dâsa's expression: (*Râma-tîlaku suni*) *bhâ ura-dâhû* (II, 13, 2).

(13) It has always been a rule in the Solar race that the eldest son should be king and his younger brothers obey his commands. This argument, which Vâlmîki puts forth several times in his *Ayodhyakāṇḍa* in favor of Râma's consecration, is picked up by Tulasî Dâsa and caused to

be uttered by Kaikeyî, when she is trying to convince Mantharâ that it is quite right that Râma should be made king :

C, II, 73, 20; 22 (*B* wanting) :

asmin kule hi sarveshâm jyeshtho râjye 'bhishichyate | apare
bhrâtaras tasmin pravartante samâhitâh || 20 || satataṃ
râjaputreshu jyeshtho râjâ 'bhishichyate | râjñâm etat samaṃ
tat syâd Ikshvâkûnâm viçeshatah || 22 ||

C, II, 79, 7^a (*B*, II, 86, 10) :

jyeshthasya râjatâ nityam uচিতâ hi kulasya naḥ |

C, II, 102, 2 (*B*, II, 111, 2) :

çâçvato 'yaṃ sadâ dharmah sthito 'smâsu. . . | jyeshthe
putre sthite râjâ na kamîyân bhaven nṛipah || 2 || .

(14) Daçaratha stoops over Kaikeyî, who is lying on the ground full of anger, and touches her with his hands :

C, II, 10, 27^a (*B*, II, 9, 6^a) :

parimṛijya cha pâṇibhyâm . . .

(15) Daçaratha asks Kaikeyî who has dared to vex her and what he is to do in order to punish the offender, and says that he himself, as well as all his family, is at her disposal :

C, II, 10, 31 and ff. (*B*, II, 9, 10 and ff.) :

(...vyâdhim âchakshva bhâmini) | kasya vâ 'pi priyaṃ kâryaṃ
kena vâ vipriyaṃ kṛitam || 31 || kaḥ priyaṃ labhatâm adya
ko vâ sumahad apriyam | . . . || 32 || avadhyo vadhyatâm
ko vâ vadhyaḥ ko vâ vimuchyatâm | daridraḥ ko bhaved
âdhyo dravyavân vâ 'py akiñchanaḥ || 33 || ahaṃ cha hi
madîyâç cha sarve tava vaçâ'nugâh | .

The passage is quite identical, even in form, in both the poems.

(16) Kaikeyî insists on demanding that the king should keep his promise and alleges the examples of others who gave their life and property to keep their word. This we find in both the poems, only the examples quoted differ, as Vâlmiki (*C*, II, 12, 43 and ff. ; *C*, II, 14, 4 and ff. F ; *B*, II, 11, 4 and ff.) quotes those of Çibi, Alarka and Sâgara, whilst Tulasî Dâsa (II, 30, 7, quotes those of Çibi, Dadhîchi and Bali. The example, of Bali, however, has a correspondence in the *R.* (*C*, II, 14, 11 = *B*, II, 11, 9^b-10^a).

(17) Daçaratha wishes the day of Râma's banishment would never break :

C, II, 13, 17^b (*B* wanting) :

na prabhâtaṃ tvaye 'chchhâmi niçe nakshatrabbûshite || 17 ||

R. C. M., II, 37, 2^a :

(bhûâlû) . . . hṛidaya manâva
bhoru jani ho |

(18) On the morning of the day fixed for the coronation, Râma is called to the king's presence, where, seeing his father lying on the ground in a miserable condition and not being addressed by him, he begins to suspect that the king must be angry with him, and asks Kaikeyî what is the offence which has made his father angry :

C, II, 18, 11 (*B*, II, 15, 18) :

kachchin mayâ nâ 'paraddham ajñânâd yena me pitâ | kupitas
tan mamâ 'chakshva . . .

R. C. M., II, 42, 7^b-8 :

bhâ mohi tem kachhu baça aparâ-
dhû || tâ tem mohi na kahata kachhu
râû | mori sapattha tohi kahu sati-
bhâû |

(19) In the *R. C. M.* (II, 44, 9-10) Daçaratha prays Çiva that Râma may disregard his command and refuse to go to the woods. The same wish Vâlmiki ascribes to Daçaratha in the *R. (C, II, 12, 86)*.

(20) Râma, in order to dissuade Sîtâ from her resolution to follow him to the exile, draws a sketch of the hardships of the forest, insisting particularly on the following points: (1) sleeping on the bare ground; (2) wearing bark-garments; (3) living on fruits, bulbs and roots and fasting occasionally when that natural food is scanty:

C, II, 28, 11 and ff (B, II, 28, 20 and ff):

supyate parnaçayyâsu svayambhagnâsu bhûtale | . . .
 || 11 || ahorâtram cha samtoshah kartavyo niyatâtmanâ |
 phalair vṛikshâvapatitaiḥ || 12 || upavâsaç cha
 kartavyo . . . | jaṭâbhâraç cha kartavyo valkalâmbara-
 dhâraṇam || 13 || | yathâlabdhena kar-
 tavyah samtoshas | yathâ 'hârair vanachariḥ
 || 17 ||

R. C. M., II, 62, 9-10;

bhûmi-sayana balakala.basana asana
 kanda-phala-mûla | te ki sadâ saba
 dina milahim samaya samaya anu-
 kûla ||

The last point is better developed in:

B, II, 28, 22 (C wanting):

vaneshv alabhyamâne cha vanye mûlaphale punah | bahûny ahâni vastavyam nirâhârair vanâçrayaiḥ
 || 22||.

(21) Sîtâ answers that a layer of grass will be for her the most delightful bed and that fruits and roots will be as sweet as ambrosia, provided she be near Râma:

C, II, 30, 14-15 (B, II, 30, 16-17):

çadvaleshu yadâ çiçye vanântarvanagocharâ | kuthâstara-
 nayukteshu kiṃ syât sukhataram tataḥ || 14 || patram
 mûlam phalam yat tu alpam vâ yadi vâ bahu | dâsyase
 svayam âhṛitya tan me 'mṛitarasopamam || 15 ||

R. C. M., II, 66, 2-3^a:

kusa-kisalaya-sâthari suhâi | pra-
 bhû-saṅga mañju Manoja-turâi ||
 kanda mûla phala amia ahârû |

and protests she will never get weary on the way:

C, II, 30, 11^a (B, II, 30, 12^a):

na cha me bhavitâ tatra kaçchit pathi pariçramah | .

R. C. M., II, 67, 1^a:

mohi maga chalata na hoihi hâri | .

(22) After Sîtâ has been given permission to follow her spouse, Lakshmaṇa grasps his brother's feet, wishing to be allowed to accompany him:

C, II, 31, 1 and ff (B, II, 31, 4 and ff):

evam çrutvâ sa samvâdam Lakshmaṇah pûrvam âgataḥ |
 bâshpaparyâkulumukhaḥ çokam soḍhum açaknuvan || 1 ||
 sa bhrâtuç charaṇau gâdham nipîḍya Raghunandanah

R. C. M., II, 70, 1-2:

samâchâra jaba Lachhimana pâyc |
 byâkula bilasha-badâna uṭhi dhâye |
 kampa pulaka tana nayana sanirâ |
 gahe charana ati-prema adhirâ ||

(23) In the *R. C. M.* Sumitrâ instructs Lakshmaṇa to take heed that Râma and Sîtâ live happily in the woods and forget their father, mother, friends and relations and the pleasures of the city. This can be traced back to a passage in the *R.* where Sîtâ says she will never think, while in the woods, of her parents, nor of the palace, which she has renounced:

C, II, 30, 16 (B, II, 30, 18):

na mâtur na pitus tatra smarishyâmi na veçmanah | .

R. C. M., II, 75, 9-10:

upadesa yaha jehi jâta tumhare
 Râma Siya sukha pâvahim | pitu-
 mâtu-priya-parivâru-pura-sukha su-
 rati bana bisarâvahim || .

(24) Sumitrâ instructs Lakshmaņa to regard Râma as Daçaratha, Sîtâ as herself and the forest as Ayodhyâ:

C, II, 40, 9 (*B*, II, 39, 11b-12^a):

Râmaņ Daçarathaņ viddhi mâņ viddhi Janakâtmaĵam |
Ayodhyâm aṭaviņ viddhi

R. C. M., II, 74, 2-3^a:

tâta tumhâri mâtu Baidehi | pitâ
Râmu saba bhânti sanehi || Avadha
tahâm jaham Râma-nivâsû | . .

(25) The citizens accompanying Râma into the exile awake in the morning after the first halt, and, not seeing Râma any more, burst into lamentations, and cursing their lives bereft of Râma, pray to die:

C, II, 47, 7 (*B* wanting):

ihai' va nidhanaņ yâma mahâprasthânam eva vâ | Râmeņa
rahitânâņ no kim arthaņ jivitaņ hitam || 7 || . . . itî 'va
. . | vilapanti

R. C. M., II, 86, 5b-7a:

dhiga jivana Raghubra-bihinâ |
jauņ pai priya-biyoga Bidhi kînâ |
tau kasa marana na mâņge dînâ ||
ehi bidhi karata pralâpa-kalâpâ | . .

(26) Râma, when taking leave of Sumantra, implores him to do everything in his power so that the king may not grieve on his account:

C, II, 52, 22^b (*B* wanting):

yathâ Daçaratho râĵâ mâņ na çochet tathâ kuru || 22 ||.

R. C. M., II, 96, 2:

saba bidhi soi karatabya tumhâre |
dukha na pâva pitu socha hamâre ||

(27) Sîtâ's prayer to the Gaņgâ:

C, II, 52, 82^b and ff. (*B*, II, 52, 17 and ff.):

Vaidehi prâņjalirbhûtvâ tâņ nadîm idam abravît || 82 ||
putro Daçarathasyâ' yaņ mahârâĵasya dhîmataḥ | nideçaņ
pâlayatv enaņ Gaņge tvadabhirakshitaḥ || 83 || chaturdaça
hi varshâni samagrâņy ushya kânane | bhrâtrâ saha mayâ
chai 'va punaḥ pratyâgamishyati || 84 || tatas tvam devi
subhage kshemeņa punar âgatâ | yakshye pramuditâ Gaņge
sarvakâmasamṛiddhini || 85 || punar eva
mahâbâhur mayâ bhrâtrâ cha samgataḥ | Ayodhyam vanavâ-
sât tu praviçatv anagho 'naghe || 91 || .

R. C. M., II, 103, 2-3:

Siya Surasarihim kaheu kara jori
mâtu manoratha puraubi mori ||
pati devara samga kusala bahori |
âi karaum jehi pûĵâ tori ||

(28) Sumantra, on his return after having accompanied the three exiles to the woods, relates to Daçaratha Râma's and Lakshmaņa's messages:

B, II, 58, 22 and ff. (*C*, II, 58, 21 and ff.):

. . . vaktavyo Bharato vachanân mama | . . . || 22 || tvayâ
çuçrûshyamâņo mâņ na çochati yathâ nripaḥ | matsnehâd
arhasi tathâ kartum ity api niçhayam || 23 || samaņ
mâtrishu sarvâsu vartethâ iti châ' bravît | . . . || 24 || 25 ||
ishadrosha parîtas tu Saumitrir idam abravît | . . .

R. C. M., II, 152, 3^a and ff.

kahaba samdesu Bharata ke
âye | . . .
seyehu mâtu sakala sama
j ni ||
tâta bhânti tehi râkhaba râu
socha mora jehi karaî na kâu ||
Lashana kahe kachhu bachana
kaṭhorâ | . . .

As regards Sîtâ, both in the *R.* and in the *R. C. M.*, Sumantra says she was so moved that she could utter no words. The correspondence is so much the more significant as neither Vâlmiki nor Tulasi Dâsa had mentioned Sîtâ when describing Sumantra's taking leave from the exiles. Had

not Tulasî Dâsa kept strictly close to the *R.*, it would be difficult to explain as a mere chance that he should have made the same omission as his predecessor had :

B., II, 58, 34 and ff. (*C.*, II, 58, 34 and ff.):
 Jânaki tu viniçvasya bâshpachchannasvarâ nripa | bhûto-
 pasrishṭachitte'va vikshamânâ samantatah || 34 || adrishṭapûr-
 vavyasanâ râjaputrî yaçasvinî | paryaçruvadanâ dînâ nai 'va
 mâṃ kimohid abravît || 35 || udîkshamânâ bhartâraç
 mukhena pariçushyatâ | mumocha kevalam bâshpam mâṃ
 nivṛittam avekshya sâ || 36 ||.

R. C. M., II, 152, 9-10 :
 kahi pranâma kachhu kahana liya
 Siya bhâi sithila saneha | thakita ba-
 chana lochana sajala pulaka-pallavita
 deha ||.

(29) The fastening up their hair, after the mode of the ascetics, which the exiles had adopted before crossing the Gaṅgâ (*B.*, II, 52, 2 and ff. = *C.*, II, 52, 68 and ff.) is not mentioned by Tulasî Dâsa in its proper place. But he does not omit this particular in Sumantra's relation to Daçaratha of what the exiles had done before he took his leave of them :

R. C. M., II, 151, 2 :

hota prâta baṭa-chhîru maṅgâvâ | jaṭâ-mukṭa nija sîsa banâvâ ||

where *maṅgâvâ* is perhaps sufficient to show that Tulasî Dâsa had before his mind the above-cited passage of the *R.*, where Râma gives Guha the command: *nyagrodhakshâram ânaya* (*B.*, II, 52, 2 = *C.*, II, 52, 68).

(30) Sumantra goes on to relate how his horses, after Râma's departure, kept on looking in the direction in which Râma had disappeared and neighing and shedding tears :

B., II, 59, 4 (*C.*, II, 59, 1) :

tato mama nivṛittasya turagâ bâshpaviklavâh | Râmam
 evâ'nupaçyanto heshamânâ vichukruçuḥ || 4 ||.

R. C. M., II, 142, 8^a, 9 :
 dekhi dakhina-disi haya hihinâhîm |
 || nahîm ṛina charahîm na
 piyahîm jala mochahîm lochana-
 bâri |.

(31) Tulasî Dâsa's account of what happened after Daçaratha's death harmonizes perfectly in its main lines with Vâlmiki's description, though the latter is of course much more diffuse. In fact the succession of the particulars is exactly the same in the *R. C. M.*, as in the *R.*, viz.: (1) lamentations of the women in the seraglio (*B.*, II, 68, 50-51; *C.*, II, 66, 16-23; *R. C. M.*, II, 156, 3-4); (2) affliction of the citizens and their lamentations (*B.*, II, 68, 52-55; *C.*, II, 66, 24-29; *R. C. M.*, II, 156, 5-6); (3) the breaking of the day and the gathering of the council (*B.*, II, 69, 1; *C.*, II, 67, 1-2; *R. C. M.*, II, 156, 8).

Moreover, there are in this passage of the *R. C. M.* two unquestionable reminiscences of the *R.*, to wit, where Tulasî Dâsa says the citizens regretted that the sun of the Solar race had set and where he says that everybody was abusing Kaikeyî. They can be traced back to the following passages of the *R.* :

B., II, 68, 54 (*C.*, II, 66, 28) :

hataprabhâ dyaur iva bhâskaram vinâ . . . | rarâja sâ nai'va bhṛiçam mahâpurî

B., II, 68, 55 (*C.*, II, 66, 29) :

narâç cha nâryaç cha bhṛiçârtamânasâ vigarhayanto Bharatasya mâtarâma |

(32) Bharata's hasty travel from Râjagriha to Ayodhyâ, which is described at length by Vâlmiki (*B.*, II, 73; *C.*, II, 71), is condensed to less than within only half a *çauptî* by Tulasî Dâsa :

R. C. M., II, 158, 1 :

chale samîra-bega haya hânke | nâghata sarita saila bana bânke |

but that half *çauptî* contains a complete summary of what Vâlmiki says in his fuller account, where Bharata is likewise represented as crossing rivers, forests and mountains, fatiguing his horses and vying in speed with the wind. As to this last point, namely, the comparison of Bharata's

speed to that of the wind, I think it is sufficient to prove that Tulasî Dâsa, when writing his *chale samîra-bega*, had in mind the following çloka of the *R.* :

B., II, 73, 7 (*C.*, II, 71, 8) :

râjaputro mahâbâhur atitikshnopaçoblitam |

bhadram bhadreṇa yânena Mârutaḥ kham ivâ 'bhyayât || 7 ||.

(33) Tulasî Dâsa relates how Kaikeyî, seeing Bharata greatly disconcerted on hearing of Râma's banishment, tried to console him with words, the only result of which was to exasperate him more and more, like salt applied to a burn :

R. C. M., II, 161, 1 :

bikala biloki sutahi samujhâvatî | manahum jare para lona lagâvati |

Now the example of the salt applied to a wound to indicate pain added to pain is found in the *R.* in Bharata's talk to Kaikeyî ; in fact, in both poems it occurs in the same situation, just as in both it refers to Bharata's grief :

B., II, 75, 15^a :

vraṇe kshâram vinikshiptam duḥkhe duḥkham nipâtitam |

(*C.*, II, 73, 3^a :

duḥkhe me duḥkham akaror vraṇe kshâram vâ 'dadâḥ |).

(34) Tulasî Dâsa relates how Bharata in the couch of *kuça*, on which Râma and Sitâ had slept under the tree at Çringavera, discovered some *kanakabindavaḥ* from Sitâ's ornaments and placed them reverently upon his head. The same discovery Bharata makes in the *R.*, and it is noteworthy that the two poems agree not only in that particular, but even in the use of the same term : *kanakabindu* :

B., II, 96, 16 (*C.*, II, 88, 14) :

manye sâbharanâ suptâ yathâ svabhavane purâ | tatra tatra
hi dṛiçyante çirṇâḥ kanakabindavaḥ || 16 ||.

R. C. M., II, 199, 3 :

kanaka-bindu dui çârîka dekhe |
râkhe sîsa Sîya sama lekhe |.

(35) Vâlmiki says that Bharata, on his way to the woods to take back Râma, in the *maitramuhûrta* (*viz.* in the third *muhûrta* from the rising of the sun), along with his retinue entered Prayâga after having crossed the Gaṅgâ. From this statement it can be inferred that the crossing of the river lasted two *muhûrtas*. Tulasî Dâsa keeps strictly close to Vâlmiki's computation of the time :

B., II, 97, 27 (*C.*, II, 89, 21) :

sâ sarvâ dhvajinî Gaṅgâṃ dâsaiḥ samtâritâ tadâ | maitre
muhûrte prayayau Prayâgavanam uttamam || 27 ||.

R. C. M., II, 202, 9^a :

daṇḍa¹⁵ çârî maham bhâ saba pârà |;

R. C. M., II, 203, 9^a :

Bharata tîsare pahara kham kîna
prabesa Prayâga |.

(36) Tulasî Dâsa narrates how Râma, at the sight of the sadness of the citizens in Bharata's retinue, took pity on them, and by embracing them all removed their grief ; and then admonishes his readers not to marvel at the Lord's power to embrace in a moment such an immense multitude (*R. C. M.*, II, 244, 1-4). Even this particular, pervaded as it seems by Tulasî Dâsa's peculiar mannerism, can be traced back to the following passage of the *R.* :

B., II, 111, 51 (*C.*, II, 103, 47) :

tân narân bâshpapûrṇâkshân samîkshya cha suduḥkhîtan |

paryashvajata dharmajñâḥ pitṛivan mâtrivach cha saḥ || 51 ||.

¹⁵ A *daṇḍa* is about 24 minutes, i. e., half the time of a *muhûrta*, which is about 48 minutes.

(37) The words with which Râma is informed of Daçaratha's death are qualified by Tulasî Dâsa as *kulisa-kathora . . . kaçu bânî* | (*R. C. M.*, II, 247, 5a): Vâlmiki in the corresponding passage has the same image of the thunderbolt, only more developed :

B, II, 111, 9-10 (*C*, II, 103, 2-3) :

tam tu vajram ivo' tṛṣiṣṭam âhave Dânavârîṇâ |
vâgvajram Bharateno 'ktam amanojñam niçamya tu || 9 ||
pragrihya bâhû Râmo 'tha pushpitâgro drumo yathâ |
vane paraçunâ kṛittas tathâ bhûmau papâta saḥ || 10 || .

(38) Bharata before taking any deliberation consults Râma's sandals :

B, II, 127, 13-17 (*C*, II, 115, 23-24) :

tatas tu Bharataḥ çrîmân abhishichyâ'ryapâduke | sa bâlavya-
janam tatra dhârayâmâsa cha svayam || 16 || pâduke tv
abhishichyâ'tha Nandigrâme purottame | Bharataḥ çâsanam
sarvam pâdukâbhyam nyavedayat || 17 || .

R. C. M., II, 325, 9-10 :

nita pûjata prabhu-pâmvarî priti na
hṛidaya samâti | mângi mângi
âyasu karata râja-kâja bahu bhâm-
ti || .

(39) The scratching of the ground with one's toes, which Tulasî Dâsa more than once mentions as a token of grief, is also found in the *R.* I quote for the comparison two passages from the *Ayodhyâkânḍa* :

B, II, 80, 15 (*C* wanting) :

tam avâkçirasam bhûmim charaṅgreṇa Râghavam |
vilikhantam uvâchâ'rtam Vasishṭho bhagavân ṛishiḥ || 15 || .

R. C. M., II, 281, 6^b :

mahi nakha likhana lagim saba
sohana || .

Aranyakânḍa.

(40) Tulasî Dâsa begins the *Aranyakânḍa* by saying that he has already sung the great affection shown by the citizens and Bharata, and that he will thenceforward sing the acts that Râma wrought in the forest. No doubt Tulasî Dâsa refers here to the *sarga* 105 of the *Ayodhyâkânḍa* in *B*, where Vâlmiki describes Râma's and Sîtâ's pastimes in a cave of the Chitrakûṭa and then the episode of the crow. Tulasî Dâsa joins the two parts together, condensing the first part within a single *çauṇḍî* and describing the second one at some length, but with great alterations. Here is the *çauṇḍî* replacing the first part of the *sarga* :

R. C. M., III, 1, 3-4 :

eka bâra chuni kusuma subhaye | nija kara bhûshana Râma banaye |
Sîtâhi pahirâye prabhu sâdara | baiṭhe phaṭika-silâ para sundara ||

With the few touches above Tulasî Dâsa sums up imperfectly the whole substance of the verses *B*, II, 105, 1-30, in which it is described how Râma, after showing Sîtâ the Chitrakûṭa and the Mandâkinî, entered with her into a cave in the mountain, sat down upon a rock (*çilâpaṭṭa*, *çilâ*) to take rest, and then placed the *tilaka* on her with his finger, which he had rubbed on a piece of arsenic, and adorned her hair with flowers.

The second part of the *sarga*, namely the episode of the crow (*B*, II, 105, 38-56), is narrated somewhat differently by Tulasî Dâsa. The crow for Tulasî Dâsa is none else than Jayanta, Indra's son, in the disguise of a bird. There is no mention of Jayanta in *B*, II, 105 ; but in another passage of the *R.* (common to *C*, *B*), where the same episode is repeated, we find Tulasî Dâsa's version, which is certainly a later interpretation of the episode :

B, V, 68, 9 (*C*, V, 67, 10) :

sutaḥ kila sa Çakrasya vâyasah patatâṃ varaḥ |

Tulasî Dâsa maintains the point of the loss of one eye, but does not explain it as Vâlmiki does, so that the fact looks strange and obscure in the *R. C. M.*, as a reader who is not acquainted with

the *R.* will not be able to see the precise reason for which the crow had to be deprived of one eye, but will think it a punishment in open contrast with the Lord's mercy, to which the crow had just appealed.

(41) In the *R.*, after Çarabhaᅅga's ascent to heaven, a great multitude of ascetics flock to Râma from every side and implore his protection from the *râkshasas* who are infesting the forest. And in the course of their appeal they say to him :

B. III, 10, 17^b-18^a (*C.* III, 6, 16) :

ehi paçya çarîrâᅅni munînâm bhâvitâtmanâm || 17 ||
hatânâm Râma rakshobhir bahûnâm bahudhâ vane |

Tulasî Dâsa catches the allusion given by Vâlmîki, and vivifies the image by making Râma actually see heaps of bones in the forest and ask the ascetics in his company about them :

R. C. M., III, 11, 6 :

asthi-samûhâ dekhi Raghurâyâ | pûchhâ muninha lâgi ati-dâyâ || .

(42) Agastya advises Râma to take up his abode in the Pañchavaᅅi in order to protect the ascetics there :

B. III, 19, 21^b = *C.* III, 13, 20^b :

api châ 'tra vasan Râma tâpasân pâlayishyasi || 21 || .

R. C. M., III, 15, 17 :

bâsa karahu taham Raghu-kula-
râyâ | kîjya sakala muninha para
dâyâ | .

(43) Çûrpaᅅakhâ presents herself to Râma after having assumed a beautiful form and addresses him with a gentle smile :

B. III, 23, 25 (*C.* wanting) :

sâ 'bhigamy mahâbâhuᅅ bhâtva vai kâmarûpiᅅi | strîsva-
bhâvam puraskᅅitya sasmitam vâkyam abavit || 25 ||

R. C. M., III, 19, 7 :

ruchira rûpa dhari prabhu pahim
jâi | bolî bachana bahuta musukâi

Mark how literal Tulasî Dâsa's rendering of the passage is.

(44) Tulasî Dâsa goes on to describe how Râma, upon hearing Çûrpaᅅakhâ's proffer of herself, looked at Sîtâ, and then in reply advised the *râkshasi* to court Lakshmaᅅa, who was still a bachelor. Though Râma's act of looking at Sîtâ might admit of various explanations, even without referring to the *R.* (see Baija Nâtha's commentary), yet there is no doubt that Tulasî Dâsa has borrowed it from Vâlmîki's corresponding passage :

B. III, 23, 45 (*C.* wanting) :

etat tu yachanam çrutvâ râkshasyâ hy atidârûᅅam | ikshâm
chakre tadâ Sîtâm Lakshmaᅅam cha mahâbhujâᅅ || 45 || .

R. C. M., III, 19, 11^a :

Sîtahi chitai kahî prabhu batâ | .

(45) According to the *R.*, the *râkshasas* make two expeditions to avenge the disfigured Çûrpaᅅakhâ : the first one of 14 men, the second one of 14,000 men. Tulasî Dâsa fuses both expeditions together into a single one of 14,000 men. Seeing the big *râkshasa* army nearing, Râma enjoins his brother to take Sîtâ into a cave. Lakshmaᅅa obeys and starts at once with Sîtâ, taking his bow and arrows in his hand :

B. III, 30, 16 (*C.* III, 24, 15) :

evam uktas tu Râmeᅅa Lakshmaᅅaᅅ saha Sîtayâ | çarân
âdâyâ châpaᅅam cha guhâm durgâm upâçrayat || 16 ||

R. C. M., III, 20, 12 :

rahehu sajuga suni prabhu kai
bâni | chale sahita Çᅅrî sara-dhanu-
pâni ||

Then Râma arms himself. Vâlmîki says he puts on his armour and therewith shines like the rising sun which has dispelled the darkness. Tulasî Dâsa has the same image of the

rising sun, but does not explain it, *i.e.*, does not tell the reason of Râma's being compared to the sun :

B, III, 30, 18 (C, III, 24, 17):
 sa tenâ 'guinikâçena kavachena vibhûshitaḥ | rarâja Râmas
 timiram̐ vidhûyâ 'rka ivo 'ditaḥ || 18 ||

R. C. M., III, 20, 19:
 bâla-rabûhim̐ gherata
 danuja |

The *râkshasas* become quite paralyzed with amazement at the sight of Râma's majesty :

B, III, 30, 38 (C wanting):
 dṛishṭvâ tu Râghavam̐ sarve râkshasâ yuddhadurmadâḥ |
 sthitâḥ parvatasam̐kâçâḥ paramam̐ vismayam̐ gatâḥ || 38 ||

R. C. M., III, 21, 1:
 prabhu biloki sara sakabim̐ na
 dâri | thakita bhai rajanichara-
 dhârî |

The 14,000 *râkshasas* rain upon Râma weapons of every description :

B, III, 31, 6 (C, III, 25, 7):
 tatas tam̐ bhîmakarmâṇam̐ kruddhâḥ sarve niçâcharîḥ |
 çastrair nânâvidhâkârair abhyavarshan sudurjayam̐ || 6 ||

R. C. M., III, 21, 19-20:
 sâvadhâna hoi dhâye jâni sabala
 ârâti | lâge barashana Râma para
 astra sastra tabu bhâm̐ti || .

(46) Tulasî Dâsa goes on saying that the *râkshasas* stricken by Râma's shafts fell to the ground like mountains. However natural may be the comparison of the monstrous bodies of the *râkshasas* to mountains, and however common it is both in the *R.* and in the *R. C. M.*, yet it seems to me that in the present passage of the *R. C. M.* such a comparison looks rather unjustified, and is not clear except by a reference to the corresponding passage in the *R.*, from which it is certainly derived :

B, III, 31, 25-26 (C wanting):
 kechid bânapravegais tu nirbhinnakavachâ raṇe | uchchair
 gaganam̐ âviçya tato' gachchhan rasâtalam̐ || 25 || mahâdri-
 çikharâ kârân añjanâchalasam̐nibhân | khecharân pâtayâmâsa
 râkshasân dharaṇṭale || 26 ||

R. C. M., III, 22, 10:
 chikkarata ligata bâna | dhara parata
 kudhara-samâna || .

(47) Before describing the fight with the *râkshasas*, Vâlmîki says that the gods were in fear for Râma on seeing him facing 14,000 foes alone. Tulasî Dâsa maintains that particular, but puts it quite out of place, as he mentions it at a time when Râma has already nearly completed the destruction of the *râkshasas* :

B, III, 30, 20-21 (C, III 24, 23-24):
 tato devarshigandharvâḥ siddhâç cha saha çâraṇaiḥ | ūchuḥ
 paramasam̐trastâ guhyakâç cha parasparam̐ || 20 || chaturdaça
 sahasrâṇi rak-hasam̐ bhîmakarmaçâm̐ | ekaç cha Râmo
 dharmâtma katham̐ yuddham̐ bhavishyati || 21 ||

R. C. M., II, 22, 27:
 sura çarata caudaha sahasa preta
 biloki eka Avadha-dhanî | .

(48) According to Vâlmîki, Râma hurled upon the *râkshasas* the *gândharvâstra*, which had the effect of dementing them in such a way that everyone saw the image of Râma in each of his comrades, and so they all perished killing each other. Tulasî Dâsa closely follows Vâlmîki's narrative :

B, III, 31, 46^b-47 (C wanting):
 tatas te râk-hasâs tatra gândharvâstreṇa mohitâḥ || 46 ||
 ayam̐ Râmas tv ayam̐ Râma iti kâlëna choditâḥ | anyonyam̐
 samare jaghnur utpatya paramâyudhaiḥ || 47 ||

R. C. M., III, 22, 28-30:
 . . . mâyâ-nâtha ati-kautuka kary-
 au | dekhaim̐ parasapara Râma kari
 samgrâma ripu-dala lari maryau ||
 Râma Râma kahi tanu tajahim̐
 pâvaim̐ pada nirbâna |

In the above passage from the *R. C. M.* it is said that the *râkshasas* die crying: *Râma! Râma!* Now if one looks at the Hîndî text only, one will not be able to find out the exact reason

of the *rākshasas*'s crying: *Rāma! Rāma!* To ascertain it one must refer to the parallel passage in the *R.*, where it is plainly said that the *rākshasas*, believing that they saw Rāma in every one of their companions, rush upon one another crying: *ayaṃ Rāmo! 'yaṃ Rāmaḥ!* ("this is Rāma! this is Rāma!"). That the Hindī passage is not clear without a reference to the *R.* is sufficiently proved by the fact that Mr. Growse quite misunderstood its meaning in his translation, which runs as follows: "the Lord . . . having power over all illusion, wrought a prodigy and while they were yet looking at one another he finished the battle and the army of the enemy all perished fighting crying 'Rāma Rāma' as their soul left their body; they thus attained beatitude."

(49) Rāvaṇa wants to secure Mārīcha's help for carrying off Sītā, but Mārīcha tries to dissuade him from provoking such a tremendous hero as Rāma; and says he has already tasted in battle his strength as, when smitten by a single arrow of Rāma, he was driven to a distance of a hundred *yojanas*; from that time on he has lived in continuous apprehension of Rāma's appearing and wherever he looks he sees his terrible foe:

B. III, 43, 32-34 (*C.* III, 39, 15-17):

api Rāmasahasrāṇi bhītaḥ paṇyāmi Rāvaṇa | Rāmabhūtam
idaṃ sarvam aranyaṃ pratibhāti me || 32 || vṛikṣhe vṛikṣhe
cha paṇyā ni chīrakṛiṣṇājināmbaram | çarachāpadharam Rā-
mam pāçahastam ivā 'ntakam || 33 || Rāmam evā 'nupaṇyāmi
rahiteshṇv ākuleṣu cha | dṛiṣṭvā svapnagato Rāmam udbhra-
māmi vichetanaḥ || 34 ||

R. C. M., III, 27, 7:

bhāi mama kiṭa bhṛiga ki nām
jahaṃ tahaṃ maim dekhaūṃ dou
bhāi |

(50) In the *R.* Rāvaṇa menaces Mārīcha with death, who declines to help him out of fear of Rāma, and gives him to a choice: either a probable death at the hands of Rāma, or a most certain death at his own hands, in case he should refuse to obey:

B. III, 44 31, (*C.* III, 40, 27):

āsāḍya taṃ jīvitasamçayo vā mṛityur dbruas te 'dya mayā virudhya | evaṃ yathāvad viga-
ṇayya buddhyā yad rochate tat kuru yach cha pathyam || 31 ||

It is clear that Tulasī Dāsa had before his mind that alternative, when he wrote that Mārīcha resolved to obey, after having seen that either way he must die:

R. C. M., III, 28, 5:

ubhaya bhānti dekhā nija maranā | taba tākesi Raghunāyaka-saranā |

(51) The apparition of the golden deer in the hermitage, Sītā's longing for its skin, Rāma's pursuit of it, the flight and death of the deer and its calling out '*Lakshmaṇa! Lakshmaṇa!*' at the moment of dying, are narrated in quite identical terms both in the *R.* and in the *R. C. M.* As a specimen of Tulasī Dāsa's close dependence on Vālmiki's narrative in this episode, I quote the parallel passages, describing the trick of the deer of keeping itself now near, now far, now in sight, now hidden, in order to take Rāma lure away:

B. III, 50, 4-7^a:

sa cha Rāmabhayodvigno Mārīcho Daṇḍake vane || 4 || babhū-
vā 'ntarhitas tatra kṣhaṇāt punar adṛiçyata | esho 'yam ayam
eti'ti vegavān Rāghavo yayau || 5 || muhūrtād eva dadṛiçe
muhūrtān na prakāçate | ativṛitta ishutrāsāl lobhayan sa Ra-
ghūttamam || 6 || kvachid dṛiṣṭaḥ kvachin naṣṭaḥ kvachit
trāsāçh cha vidrutaḥ | . . .

R. C. M., III, 29, 12-13:

kabahuṃ nikāṭa puni dūri parāi |
kabahuṃka, pragaṭai kabahuṃ chha-
pāi || pragaṭata durata karata chhala
bhūri | ehi bidhi prabhūhi gayaū-
lei dūri | .

(52) Tulasī Dāsa's description of the beauty of the Pampā forest in the spring and of its effect on the mind of Rāma, bereft of Sītā (III, 40-41), is derived from Vālmiki's *sarya* *B.* III,

79 (C, IV, 1). In this *sarga* Vālmīki, too, describes the beauty of the spring in the forest, where all nature loves and invites to love, whilst Rāma's mind becomes more and more sad at the sight :

B, III, 79, 9-10^a (C, IV, I, 22-23^a) :

vasantakālah prāpto 'yam nānāvihagakūjitaḥ |
viçālakshīvihānasya mama çokavivardhanaḥ || 9 ||

Saumitre mām suduḥkhārtam saṃtāpayati Manmathaḥ | . .

Tulasī Dāsa takes up this hint from Vālmīki, and develops it by representing that the God of Love himself finds Rāma tortured by separation, and encamps against him with his army ; and this gives him an occasion for describing at full length Love's army impersonated in spring (R. C. M., III, 41).

(53) According to Tulasī Dāsa the Pampā is a lake, not a river. Tulasī Dāsa lauds the purity of its water, agreeing thereby with Vālmīki, who gives the Pampā the constant epithets of *çubhajalā*, *ramyavārivahā*, *çītajalā*, etc.

Kishkindhākāṇḍa.

(54) Rāma presses to his bosom Sitā's upper garment (*uttariya*) picked up by Sugrīva :

B., IV, 5, 16 (C, IV, 6, 18) :

hridi kṛitvā tu bahuças tam alaṃkāram ārtavat | viniçyasamç | R. C. M., IV, 6, 6^b :
cha bahuço bhujāṅga iva roshitaḥ || 16 || . paṭa ura lāi socha atī kinhā || .

(55) In the R. C. M., Vālin reproaches Rāma of having killed him by surprise, as the huntsman kills his game :

R. C. M., IV, 10, 5^b :

mārehu mohi byādhā kī nātm |

No doubt the comparison has been suggested to Tulasī Dāsa by the following passage of the R. where Rāma explains to Vālin that, since he was nothing but a monkey, it was right on his part to kill him, as the huntsman kills his game :

B, IV, 17, 16-19 (C, IV, 18, 37^b-40) :

vāgurābhiç cha pāçaiç cha kūçaiç cha vividhaṛ narāḥ |
pratichchannāç cha driçyāç cha nighnanti sma bahūn mṛigān || 16 ||
pradhāvitān aviçvastān viçvastān apy avidrutān |
prasuptān aprasuptāṃç cha ghnanti māṃsārthino mṛigān || 17 ||
yānti rājarshayaç chā'tra mṛigayāṃ dharmakovidāḥ |
līpyante na cha dosheṇa nighnanto 'pi mṛigān bahūn || 18 ||
tasmāt tvam nihato yuddhe mayā bhāṇena vānara |
ayudhyan pratiyudhyan vā saumya çākhāmṛigo hy asi || 19 || .

(53) After killing Vālin, Rāma declines to enter Kishkindhā, on the ground that he has promised not to enter any city or village for fourteen years. Then he enjoins Sugrīva to enter the city and make *Āṅgada yuvarāja* ; as for himself, he will take up his abode on the mountain close by and remain there till the rainy season, just commenced, is over :

B, IV, 25, 9 and ff. (C, IV, 26, 10 and ff.) :

chaturdaçasamāḥ saumya grāmam vā yadi vā puram | na
pravekshyāmi Hanuman pitur ādeça esha me || 9 || 10 ||
evam uktvā Hanūmantam Rāmaḥ Sugrīvam abravīt |
enam apy Āṅgadam rājan yauvarājye 'bhishechaya || 11 ||
prathamo vārshiko māsah Çrāvāṇah salilāplutaḥ | pravṛittāḥ
saumya chatvāro māsāç cha vārshikā ime || 12 || nā'yam ud-
yogasamayah praviça tvam purim imām | iha vatsyāmy
aham saumya parvate niyatendriyah || 13 ||

R. C. M., IV, 13, 79^a :

kaha prabhu sunu Sugrīvam hari-
sā | pura na jāum dasa chāri barsā |
gata grīshama barashā-ritu āt |
rahihāum nikaṭa-saila para chhāi ||
Āṅgada sahita karahu tumha
rājū |

(57) Next comes the description of the rainy season, both in the *R.* and in the *R. C. M.* (*B.* IV, 27; *C.* IV, 28; *R. C. M.*, IV, 14-16). The phenomena of nature at this time of the year give Vālmiki an opportunity for some beautiful similes between them and the persons in his poem; the same is the case with Tulasī Dāsa, only his similes are moral and theological. For example the lightning flashing amidst the clouds appears to Vālmiki as Sitā being carried off by Rāvaṇa, whilst to Tulasī Dāsa it looks like the friendship of the wile, which never lasts. Next comes the description of the autumn (*B.* IV, 29; *C.* IV, 30; *R. C. M.*, IV, 17-18).

(58) In the *R. C. M.* (IV, 25, 1) we find the statement that the monkeys sent in search of Sitā, wherever they met a *rākshasa*, killed him with a single buffet of their hand:

katahuṃ hoi nisichara som bhēmṭā | prāna lehiṃ eka eka chapeṭā |

No doubt Tulasī Dāsa generalizes here the fact of the *rākshasa* killed by Aṅgada in a mountain-cave with a blow of the palm of his hand (“*talena bhijaglāna*” *B.* IV, 48, 21; *C.* IV, 48, 20); in the *R.* there is no mention of the monkeys’s coming across any other *rākshasa* on their way.

(59) Having failed to get tidings of Sitā, Aṅgada declines to turn back saying: “Should I return home without news of Sitā now that the term fixed for the return is over, Sugrīva would certainly put me to death. He has been my enemy for a long time and would be glad to profit by that transgression in order to take his revenge; it is not Sugrīva who made me *yuvārāja*, but Rāma.” Such is Vālmiki’s meaning in this passage, which Tulasī Dāsa reproduces quite unaltered as to the substance, though more concisely as to form:

B. IV, 53, 13-14 (*C.* IV, 53, 17^b-18^b):

mā chā’ham yauvarāṅje vai Sogrāveṇā’bhishechitah | nar-
endre ṅā’bhisikto ’ham Rāmeṇa viditātmanā || 13 || sa
pūrvabaddhavairo māṃ dṛiṣṭvā rājā vyatikramam |
ghātayīṣhyati tikṣhṇena daṇḍenā ’tichirād gatam || 14 ||

R. C. M., IV, 27, 46-5 :

uhām gaye mārihi kapiṛāi || pitā
badhe para mārata mohi | rākhā
Rāma nihora na ohī |

(60) The monkeys shed tears at hearing from Aṅgada that there is no escaping from death:

B. IV, 55, 17 (*C.* IV, 55, 17^b-18^a):

tasya cṛutvā vachas tatra karuṇaṃ vānararshabhāḥ |
nayanebhyas tu sasrijur netrajaṃ vāri duḥkhitāḥ || 17 ||

R. C. M., IV, 27, 7 :

Aṅgada-bachana sunata kapi-birā |
boli na sakahiṃ nayana baha nī-
rā |

(61) At the sight of Sampāti, Aṅgada, thinking his life lost, accounts Jaṭāyu blessed for having given up his life in Rāma’s service and gone to heaven:

B. IV, 56, 12^b-13^a (*C.* IV, 56, 13):

sukhito gṛidhrarājas tu Rāvaṇena hato raṇe || 12 || muktaḥ
cha Sogrīvabhayād gataḥ cha gatim uttamām |

B. IV, 56, 16^b (*C.* wanting):

dhanyaḥ sa gṛdhrādhipatir Jaṭāyuh . . .

R. C. M., IV, 28, 7-8 :

kaha Aṅgada bichāri mana māhiṃ |
dhanya Jaṭāyū sama kou nāhiṃ |
Rāma-kāja kārana tanu tyāgi |
Hari-pura gayāu parama-bada-bhā-
gi ||

(62) Sampāti says to the monkeys: “Take courage, according to Niçākara’s prophecy, you will succeed in finding Sitā. The restoring of my wings is the best evidence in favor of the truth of that prophecy”:

B. IV, 63, 15 (*C.* IV, 63, 12^b-13^a):

sarvathā kriyatām yatnaḥ Sitām adhigamīṣhyatha | paksha-
lambha mamā’yam vaḥ pratyakṣam saṃnidarṣitah || 15 ||

R. C. M., IV, 30, 2 :

mohi biloki dharahu mana dhīrā |
Rāma-kṛipā kasa bhayāu sarīrā ||

(63) The deliberations of the monkeys on the leaping across the Ocean (*B*, V, 1; *C*, IV, 64-65) are faithfully reproduced by Tulasi Dāsa with his usual conciseness. Jāmbavat regrets his old age and mentions a great achievement of his youth. Āngada says he would leap across the hundred *yojanas*, but doubts as to his being able to leap back. Jāmbavat replies he is quite certain Āngada would be equal to the feat, but it is not becoming to the chief to absent himself. Then Jāmbavat turns to Hanumat and asks him why he, being the son of the Wind and equal in strength to his father, keeps sitting apart silently instead of rising up and offering himself to accomplish the task:

C, IV, 66, 2^b and ff. (*B*, V, 2, 2^b):
 tūshṇīm ekāntam āṛitya Hanūman kiṃ na ṛjalpaśi || 2 ||
 Hanūman harirājasya Sugrīvāsya samo hy asi | . . . ||
 Mārutasyan'rasaḥ putras tejasā chā'pi tatsamaḥ || tvayṃ hi
 vāyusuto vatsa plavane chā'pi tatsamaḥ || 30 || .

R. C. M., IV, 31, 3-4^a.
 kahāi ricchha-pati sunu Hanu-
 mānā | kâ chupa sâdhi raheu nâ-
 balavâ Pavana-tanaya bala pavana-
 samānâ | .

Sundarakāṇḍa.

(64) Hanumat thinks to himself: it will not be possible for him to enter the city, so well guarded by the *rākshasas*, in his natural form: he must enter it by night after having assumed a most diminutive form:

C, V, 2, 31 and ff. (*B*, V, 9, 31^b and ff.):
 anena rūpeṇa mayā na çakyā rakshasāṃ puri || praveshṭum
 rākshasair guptā krūrair balasamanvitaiḥ || 31 || 32 || laksb-
 yālakshyeṇa rūpeṇa rātrau Laṅkā puri mayā | prāptakālaṃ
 praveshṭum me kṛityaṃ sādhayitum mahat || 33 ||

R. C. M., V, 3, 24-25:
 pura-rakhavāne dekhi bahu kapi
 mana kīnha bicāra | ati-laghu rūpa
 dharaūm nisi nagara karaūm pai-
 sāra ||

The form assumed by Hanumat according to Tulasi Dāsa is that of a gnat (*maçaka*), and thus is afforded another argument in favor of those who take Vālmiki's *vriṣhadamçika* in the parallel passage of the *R.* (*C*, V, 2, 47) to mean "gnat," differing thereby from Rāmarman who takes it to mean "cat" (*mārjāra*).

(65) When Hanumat tells Sitā he is Rāma's messenger, Sitā wonders how such a union between men and monkeys could ever take place:

C, V, 35, 2^b (*B*, V, 32, 2^b):
 vānarāṇaṃ narāṇaṃ ca katham āsīt samāgamaḥ || 2 || .

R. C. M., V, 13, 11^a:
 nara bānarahi saiga kahu kaise | . .

(66) To punish Hanumat, who, on account of his being a messenger, cannot be killed, Rāvaṇa gives order to set fire to his tail, a member monkeys are most proud of:

C, V, 53, 3^a (*B*, V, 49, 3^a):
 kapināṃ kila lāngūlam ishtaṃ bhavati bhūṣhaṇam | . .

R. C. M., V, 24, 10^a:
 kapi kai mamatā pūmohhi para . . .

(67) The citizens of Laṅkā, terrified by the conflagration roused by Hanumat, cry out and call to each other:

C, V, 54, 40 (*B* wanting):
 hā tāta hā patraka kānta mitra hā jiviteçāṅga hataṃ su-
 puṇyam | rakshobhir evaṃ bahudhā bruvadbhiḥ çabdaḥ
 kṛito ghoratarah subhītaḥ || 40 ||
 and say "this is no monkey, but some god in monkey disguise":

R. C. M., V, 26, 3^a:
 tāta mātu hā suniya pukārā |

C, V, 54, 35-33 (*B* wanting):
 wajrī Mahendras tridaçeçvare vā sākshād Yamo vā Varuṇo
 'nilo vā | Raudro 'gnir Arko Dhanadaç cha Some na vāna-
 ro'yaṃ swayam eva Kālah || 35 || kiṃ Brahmaṇaḥ sarva-
 pitāmahasya lokasya dhātuç çaturānanasya | ihā 'gato
 vānararūpadhārī rakshopasaṃhārakarah prakopaḥ || 36 ||
 kiṃ Vaishṇavaṃ vā . . . *ādi*.

R. C. M., V, 26, 4:
 hama jo kahā yaha kapi nahim hoī ||
 bānara-rūpa¹⁷ dhare sura hoī ||

¹⁷ Note how the *bānara-rūpa dhare* perfectly corresponds to the *vānararūpadhārī*.

After having set Laṅkā on fire, Hanumat throws himself into the sea to extinguish his flaming tail :

C, V, 54, 49 (*B* wanting):

Laṅkāṃ samastāṃ sampīḍya lāṅgūlāgniṃ mahākapiḥ |
nirvāpayāmāsa tadā samudre haripuṅgavaḥ || 49 ||

R. C. M., V, 26, 8-9 :

ulaṭi palaṭi Laṅkā saba jāri | kūdi
parā puni sindhu māṃjhāri ||
pūṃchi bujhāi . . .

All the above particulars are wanting in *B*, where we miss the verses *C*, V, 54, 31-50 .

(68) Sitā sends word to Rāma that away from him she may live another month, but no longer:

C, V, 38, 64-65^a (*B*, V, 36, 69):

idam brūyāc cha me nāthaṃ çūraṃ Rāmaṃ punaḥ punaḥ |
jāvitam dhārayishyāmi māsam Daçarathātmaja || 64 || ūrd-
hvaṃ māsān na jiveyaṃ satyenā'haṃ bravīmi te | . . .

R. C. M., V, 27, 6 :

māsa divasa mahum nātha na āvā |
tau puni mohi jiyata nahim pāvā ||

(69) Rāma clasps to his heart the jewel that Sitā has sent him through Hanumat, and bursting into tears asks the monkey what is Sitā's message to him:

C, V, 66, 1^b and ff. (*B*, V, 67, 1 and ff):

taṃ maṇiṃ hṛidaye kṛitvā ruroda sahalakshmaṇaḥ || 1 || taṃ
tu dṛishṭvā maṇiṃreshḥaṃ Rāghavaḥ çokakarçitaḥ | netrābh-
yām açrupūrnābhyām Sugrīvam idam abravīt || 3 || . . . || kim
āha Sitā Vaidehī brūhi saumya punaḥ punaḥ | . . . || 8 ||
. . . . || kimāha Sitā Hanuman . . . | || 14 || . . .

R. C. M., V, 31, 1^b-2 :

Raghuṇpati hṛidaya lāi soi lūhī |
nātha jugala lochana bhari bāri | ba-
chana kahe kachhu Janaka-kum-
ārī || . . .

(70) Rāma regrets he is not able to adequately recompense Hanumat for his great service :

B, V, 70, 11 and ff. (*C*, VI, 1, 12 and ff) :

ekaṃ tu mama dīnasya mano bhūyaḥ prakarshati | yad asyā
'haṃ priyākhyāne na karomi sadṛik priyam || 11 || evaṃ sam-
chintya bahudhā Rāghavaḥ prītamānasaḥ | nirīkshya suchiraṃ
prītyā Hanūmantam uvācha ha || 12 || 13 || ity uktvā bāshpa-
pūrnāksho Rāghavaḥ . . .

R. C. M., V, 32, 6-8 :

pratiupakāra karāüm kā torā | sana-
mukha hoi na sakata mana morā ||
sunu suta tohi urina maim nāhim |
dekheum kari biohāra mana māhim |
puni puni kapihi chitava suratrātā |
lochana nira pulaka ati gātā ||

The comparison with *C* is less persuasive, a fact which is quite exceptional; for, as we have seen, Tulasī Dāsa never follows two recensions at a time.

(71) Vibhīshana seeks refuge with Rāma. Sugrīva (and others, according to Vālmīki,) advises Rāma not to accept him, for he must certainly be a spy from Rāvaṇa. But Rāma replies that he cannot reject any one taking refuge with him, however guilty he might be :

C, VI, 18, 3 (*B*, V, 90, 35):

mitrabhāvena samprāptaṃ na tyajeyaṃ kathamchana | dosho
yady api tasya syāt satām etad vigarhitam || 3 ||
he has made a vow to protect all suppliants :

R. C. M., V, 44, 1 :

koṭi bipra-badha lāgahi jāhū. | āye
sarana tajaüm nahim tāhū ||

C, VI, 18, 33 (*B*, V, 91, 14) :

sakṛid eva prapannāya tavā'smī'ti cha yāchate | abhayaṃ
sarvabhūtebhyo dadāmy etad vratam mama || 33 ||
and on the other hand, even supposing that the *rākshasa* Vibhīshana had been sent by Rāvaṇa with hostile intentions, why should Rāma fear him ?

R. C. M., V, 43, 8 :

mama pana-saranāgata-bhaya-hāri ||

C, VI, 18, 22-23 (*B*, V, 91, 2-3) :

sa dushṭo vā'py adushṭo vā kim esha rajanīcharaḥ | sūkshmam
apy ahitam kartum mama çaktāḥ kathamchana || 22 ||
piçāchān dānavān yakshān prīthivyām chai'va rākshasān |
angulyagreṇa tēn hanyām ichchhan harigaṇeçvara || 23 ||

R. C. M., V, 44, 6-7 :

bheda lena paṭhavā Dasasīsā |
tabahum na kachhu bhaya hāni
kapisā || jaga mahum sakhā nisā-
chara jete | Lachhimanu hanāi
nimīsa mahum tete |

Here Tulasî Dâsa substitutes Lakshmana for Râma in the last part of the passage, but the meaning is the same.

(72) The Ocean apologizes for its delay in obeying Râma, by laying all the fault upon the inertia of the five elements

C. VI, 22, 23 (B, V, 94, 5):

<p>prithivî vâyur âkâçam âpo jyotiç cha Rîghava svabhâve saumya tishthanti çâçvataç mârgam âçritâh 23 </p>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">R. C. M., V, 59, 2:</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">gagana samîra anala jala dharani </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">inha kaî nâtha sahaja jaçâ karani </td> </tr> </table>		R. C. M., V, 59, 2:		gagana samîra anala jala dharani		inha kaî nâtha sahaja jaçâ karani
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	inha kaî nâtha sahaja jaçâ karani						

Yuddhakânḍa.

(in the R. C. M.: Laṅkâkânḍa.)

(73) In the R. C. M. (VI, 9, 8-9) Prahasta admonishes Râvaṇa not to listen to his counsellors, who, to please him, give him pernicious advice, and quotes a saying, which is found in a quite analogous passage of the R., where Vibhîshana gives Râvaṇa the same admonition

C. 61, VI, 21 (B, V, 88, 16):

<p>sulabhâh puruṣhâ râjan satataç priyavâdinaç apriy- asya cha pathyasya vaktâ çrotâ cha durlabhâh 21 .</p>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">R. C. M., VI, 9, 8-9:</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">priya-bâni je sunahiñ je kahahiñ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">aise nara nikâya jaga ahahiñ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">bachana parama-hita sunata ka-</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">çhore sunahiñ je kahahiñ te nara</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 5px;"> </td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">prabhu thore .</td> </tr> </table>		R. C. M., VI, 9, 8-9:		priya-bâni je sunahiñ je kahahiñ		aise nara nikâya jaga ahahiñ		bachana parama-hita sunata ka-		çhore sunahiñ je kahahiñ te nara		prabhu thore .
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	bachana parama-hita sunata ka-												
	çhore sunahiñ je kahahiñ te nara												
	prabhu thore .												

(74) At the moment of narrating how the monkeys's host crossed over on the bridge, Tulasî Dâsa says that Râma mounted a height and thence gazed upon the vast sheet of water, whereupon all the living beings of the sea came to the surface to behold the Lord (R. C. M., VI, 4). Shortly afterwards Tulasî Dâsa relates that Râma pitched his tent on the opposite shore of the Ocean and told the monkeys they could go and feed on fruits and roots (R. C. M., VI, 5). Both particulars fail in the R. and look as if they had been entirely invented by Tulasî Dâsa. If we examine attentively the parallel passage in the R., however, we shall find there two particulars, which might well be presumed to have given Tulasî Dâsa the idea of his invention :

C. VI, 22, 74a (B, V, 95, 43):

dadriçuḥ sarvabhûtâni sâgare setubandhanam |

C. VI, 22, 83 (B wanting):

vânarânâç hi sâ tîrṇâ vâhini Nalasetunâ |

tîre niviviçe râjñâ bahumûlaphalodake || 83 ||

I see no difficulty in considering that Tulasî Dâsa derived the first of the two above innovations from Vâlmîki's statement that all the marine beings beheld the building of the bridge, and the second from the epithet of *bahumûlaphalodake* given by Vâlmîki to the opposite shore of the Ocean.

(75) Tulasî Dâsa (VI, 11-13) relates that Râma ascends the Suvela, where looking towards the east he sees the moon, and asks those who are around him their opinion concerning its spots. Then, turning to the south, he has the illusion of seeing a mass of clouds with flashes of lightning and thunder; but Vibhîshana explains to him that there is nothing of the kind: what he takes for clouds is the royal umbrella of Râvaṇa, who is sitting on the top of the palace; what he takes for flashes of lightning are the flashes of Mandodari's earrings; and what he takes for thunder is the sound of the drums. Râma fits an arrow to his bow and strikes down Râvaṇa's umbrella and crowns along with Mandodari's earrings. Any reader, however well acquainted with the R., will hold that there is nothing like this in it. In a passage of the *Yuddhakânḍa*, however, I have succeeded in discovering the source of this

innovation by Tulasî Dâsa.¹⁸ It is the *sarga* C, VI, 40 (failing in (A), B), where Vâlmiki inserts an episode which, though appearing at first sight to greatly differ from that of Tulasî Dâsa, yet has a very close analogy with the latter. Râma ascends the Suvela with his retinue (C, VI, 4^o), 1; and thence turns his eyes to the ten cardinal points (40,²) and sees Laukâ, above which Râvaṇa is sitting on the top of the *gopura* (40, 3).

The first epithets with which Vâlmiki describes Râvaṇa here are: *çvetachâmaraparyanta* and *vijayaçchhatraçobhita* (40, 4), next come also the epithets: *nîlajîmûtasamûdâça hemasaçchhâdi-tâmbara* (40, 5), and lastly the simile:

samdhyaâtapena samçhannam megharâçim ivâ 'mbare || 6 ||

In my judgment there can be no doubt as to Tulasî Dâsa's having derived from the above description by Vâlmiki the first part of his innovation, *viz.*, Râma's illusion of actually taking Râvaṇa and his umbrella for a mass of clouds.

Then Vâlmiki goes on saying that Sugrîva, as soon as he saw Râvaṇa, leaped upon him and tore the crown from his head and dashed it to the ground:

ity ukvâ sahaso 'tpatya pupluve tasya cho 'pari |
âkrishya mukutaṃ chitraṃ pâtayâmâsa tad bhuvî || 11 ||

And this is certainly the source of the second part of Tulasî Dâsa's innovation, *viz.*, of Râma's striking down with an arrow Râvaṇa's umbrella and crowns (along with Mandodari's earrings). Tulasî Dâsa, who always strives to exalt Râma as much as possible, has deemed it convenient to ascribe to him even this feat, which in the *R.* is performed by Sugrîva, and in consequence has been forced to change the particular of the leap and wrestle (convenient for the monkey, but not for Râma) into that of the arrow.

As for the ascension of the Suvela mountain and the consequent view of the rising moon, I think both of them are derived from *sarga* C, VI, 38 (B, VI, 14), where Vâlmiki, too, describes the ascension of the mountain and the fall of the night illuminated by the full moon (C, VI, 38, 13; B, VI, 14, 24).

(76) Mandodari tries to persuade Râvaṇa to give up fighting against Râma:—it cannot be an ordinary man that slew Virâdha, Khara, Triçiras and Kabandha and killed Vâlin with a single arrow:

B, VI, 38, 23^b and ff. (C wanting):
Kharac cha nihataḥ samkhye tadâ Rîmo na mânuṣaḥ
|| 26 || Triçiraç cha Kabandhaç cha Virâdho Daṇḍake
hataḥ | çareṇai 'kena Bâli ca tadâ Râmo na mânu-
ṣaḥ || 27 || .

R. C. M., VI, 36, 14-15:
badhi Birâdha Khara Dûkhanahim-
lilâ hateu Kabandha | Bâli eka
sara mâreu tehi jânahu Dasakan-
dha || .

(77) Râma laments over Lakshmaṇa, whom he thinks to be dead, whilst he has simply fainted, and says:—other wives, other sons, other kinsmen can be easily procured, but another uterine brother cannot be found in the world:

B, VI, 24, 7^b-8^a (C wanting):
yatra kvachid bhaved bhâryâ putro 'nye 'pi cha bândhavâḥ
|| 7 || taṃ tu deçam na paçyâmi yatra sodaryam
âpnuyâm |

R. C. M., VI, 61, 7-8^b:
suta bita nâri bhavana parivârâ |
hohim jâhim jaga bârahim bârâ |...|
milai na jagata sahodara¹⁹ bhrâtâ ||

¹⁸ Even if Tulasî Dâsa should have derived it from some of his secondary sources, rather than from the *R.* directly, the passage in the *R.* in question must be looked upon as the ultimate source.

¹⁹ Mark the correspondence: *sodarya*=*sahodara*.

Then Râma asks himself:—what answer shall I give Sumitrâ, when she asks me about Lakshmaṇa on my return to Ayodhyâ?

B, VI, 24, 12^b (C, VI, 49, 8^b):

Sumitrâṃ kin nu vakshyâmi putradarçanalâlasâm || 12 || .

R. C. M., VI, 61, 16^a :

utaru kâha daihaüm tehi jâi | .

(78) In Kumbhakarṇa's episode Tulasî Dâsa follows Vâlmiki very closely. Leaving aside the parallel of the particulars of the narrative, I limit myself to quoting only two parallel similes, which for us are much more significant, inasmuch as Tulasî Dâsa generally disdains to avail himself of the same similes as have been used by Vâlmiki.

Tulasî Dâsa compares Kumbhakarṇa, when roused, to a personification of Kâla:

R. C. M., VI, 62, 7 :

jâgâ nisichara dekhiya kaisâ | mânahum Kâla deha dhari baisâ |

The same comparison we find in the *R.*, where it is said that the gods stood amazed before Kumbhakarṇa, taking him to be Kâla himself:

B, VI, 38, 11 (C, VI, 42, 11):

çûlapâṇinam âyântam Kumbhakarṇam mahâbalam |

hantum na çekus tridaçâḥ Kâlo 'yam iti mohitâḥ || 11 ||

The situation is somewhat different, but the image is the same. The second simile, common to Vâlmiki and Tulasî Dâsa, is the comparing of the bleeding Kumbhakarṇa to a mountain overflowing with streams:

B, VI, 46, 75 (C, VI, 67, 89):

karṇanâsâvihînas tu Kumbhakarṇo mahâbalaḥ | rarâja
çoṇitotsekair giriḥ prasravaṇair iva || 75 ||

B, VI, 46, 108^b-109^a (C, VI, 67, 121):

sa bâṇair atividhâṅgaḥ kshatajena samukshitaḥ || 108 ||
rudhiram parisusrâva giriḥ prasravaṇair iva || . . .

R. C. M., VI, 69, 7:

sonita sravata soha tana kâre |
janu kajjala-giri geru-panâre ||

(79) The spear, with which Râvaṇa throws down Lakshmaṇa, striking him full in the breast, is described by Vâlmiki as:

çaktiḥ samarapraçaṇḍâ Svayambhûdattâ (B, VI, 36, 83; C, VI, 59, 105)

which epithets Tulasî Dâsa maintains unaltered:

Brahma-datta praçaṇḍa sakti (R. C. M., VI, 83, 9).

(80) In the *R.* Hanumat falls upon Râvaṇa, who is trying to carry away the unconscious Lakshmaṇa, and strikes him with his fist, as if with a thunderbolt. Tulasî Dâsa maintains the particular of the fist and amplifies the simile of the thunderbolt:

B, VI, 36, 91 (C, VI, 59, 112):

Lakshmaṇam tu tataḥ çrîmân jigbhikshantam sa Mârutiḥ |
âjaghâno'rasi vyûḍhe vajrakalpena mushtinâ || 91 ||

R. C. M., VI, 84, 2:

muṭhikâ eka tâhi kapi mârâ
pareu saila janu bajra-prahârâ ||

(81) The gods are anxious on Râma's account, seeing him on foot whilst Râvaṇa is driving his chariot, and Indra despatches to him his own chariot guided by Mâtali:

B, VI, 86, 6-7 (C, VI, 102, 5 and ff.):

bhûmau sthitasya Râmasya rathasthasya ca rakshasaḥ |
na samam yuddham ity âhur devagandharvadânavaḥ ||
6 || devâtânâṃ vachâḥ çrutvâ Çatakratur anantaram |
preshayâmâsa Râmâya ratham Mâtalisârathim || 7 || .

R. C. M., VI, 89, 1-2:

devanha prabhuhim payâde dekhâ |
upajā ura ati-çhobha bisekhâ |
surapati nija-ratha turata paṭhâvâ |
harasha-sahita Mâtali lei âvâ ||

simultaneous arrival of the 'seven streams' of the rainy season, of the demon, Vṛttra, and of Indra, the god of the seventh intercalary month, for the destruction of the demon of the intercalary months.

The Vedic poets seem to have entertained two kinds of conceptions about the intercalary months; one evil and another good. Indra, Mārtaṇḍa, and other sons of Aditi seem to have represented the good side of the months, while Vṛitra, Sambara, and other demons are regarded as the personification of the evil nature of the intercalary months. If there still remains any doubt about this point, the following passage of the *Maitrāyaṇya Saṁhitā* (II. 4, 3, 4) will probably help to remove it:—

ततो यस्सोमोऽत्यरिच्यत तमग्ना उपप्रावर्तयत् । स्वाहेन्द्रशत्रुर्वधस्व इतींद्रस्याहेनं शत्रुमाचिकीर्षिर्द्विद्रमस्य शत्रुमकरोत् । तथा वाक्स्वयमेव व्यैत्स यं सोमं प्रावर्तयद्यस्मिंश्चाग्ना उपप्रावर्तयत्ता अग्नीषोमौ देवते प्राणापाना अभिसमभताम् । स यावदूर्ध्वबाहुः पराविध्यत्तावति व्यरमत । यदि वा प्रवणं तावदासीद्यदि वाग्नेरधि तावदासीत्स वा इषुमात्रमेवाह्ना तिर्यङ्मुखवर्धतेषुमात्रमेवान्वद्भुथो आइरहोरात्रे एवेषुमात्रं तिर्यङ्मुखवर्धतेषुमात्रमन्वद्भुत्यथो आइरर्धमासमथो मासमथो संवत्सरमिति । स वा इमाः सर्वाः स्रोत्याः पर्यशयत्तस्माद्वा इद्रोऽबिभेत्तस्माद् त्वष्टाबिभेत्तस्यैत्रः प्रत्तिमेच्छत्तमस्म प्रायच्छत् । तस्मै त्वष्टा वज्रमसिंचत्तपो वै स वज्र आसीत्तमुद्यमं नाशक्रोध वै तर्हि विष्णुरन्या देवतासीत्सोऽब्रवीद्विष्णा एहि इमहाहरिष्यावो येनायमिदमिति । स जेधात्मानं विन्यद्यत्ताभिपर्यातर्तादबिभेत्सयां तृतीयमंतरिक्षे तृतीयं दिवि तृतीयं । स यदस्यां तृतीयमासीत्तेन वज्रमुद्यद्यद्विष्ण्वनुष्ठितः । स वज्रमुद्यत्तं वृष्ट्वाबिभेत्सोऽब्रवीदस्ति वा इदं त्यस्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यं तत्ते प्रदास्यामि मा मा वधीरिति । तद्वा अस्मै प्रायच्छत् । तत्प्रत्यगृह्णात् । अथा मा इति तद्विष्णवेऽतिप्रायच्छत् । तद्विष्णुः प्रत्यगृह्णात् । अस्मास्विंद्र इन्द्रियं दधात्वस्मान्नाथो मघवानः सचंताम् । अस्माकं संत्वाशिषः । इति सोऽवेदस्ति वा वास्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यमिति । स यदंतरिक्षे तृतीयमासीत्तेन वज्रमुद्यद्यद्विष्ण्वनुष्ठितः । स वज्रमुद्यत्तं वृष्ट्वाबिभेत्सोऽब्रवीदस्ति वा इदं त्यस्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यं तत्ते प्रदास्यामि मा मा वधीरिति । तद्वा अस्मै प्रायच्छत् प्रत्यगृह्णात् । द्विर्माधाः इति तद्विष्णवेऽतिप्रायच्छत् । तद्विष्णुः प्रत्यगृह्णात् । अस्मास्विंद्र इन्द्रियं दधात्वस्मान्नाथो मघवानः सचंताम् । अस्माकं संत्वाशिषः । इति सोऽवेदस्ति वा वास्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यमिति । स यद्विदि तृतीयमासीत्तेन वज्रमुद्यद्यद्विष्ण्वनुष्ठितः । स वज्रमुद्यत्तं वृष्ट्वाबिभेत्सोऽब्रवीदस्ति वा इदं त्यस्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यं तत्ते प्रदास्यामि मा मा वधीः । संधां नु संधावहै यथा त्वामेव प्रविशानीति । सोऽब्रवीद्यन्मां प्रविशोः किं मे ततः स्यादिति । सोऽब्रवीत्त्वामेवैधीय तव भोगाथ त्वां प्रविशोयमिति । तद्वा अस्मै प्रायच्छत् । तत्प्रत्यगृह्णात् । त्रिर्माधाः इति तद्वाव त्रैधातव्या सहस्रं वा अस्मै तत्प्रायच्छत् । ऋचः सामानि यजूषि यद्वा इदं किंच तत्रैधातव्या तद्वामीति पशूनेव ।

M. S. II, 4, 3.

उदरं वै वृत्रः पाप्मा भुङ्क्तात्तुव्यः पुरुषस्य । यत्तप उपैति पाप्मानं वा एतस्त्वनुते भ्रातृव्यं क्षुधमेव तस्मिन्वा अवहेतां सयमस्या अध्येर्धा वागवदत् । उभा जिग्यथुर्न पराजयेथे न पराजिग्ये कतरश्च नैनोः । M. S. II, 4, 4.

"Then what Sôma there remained, he poured it into the fire, and said rather in favour of Indra than Agni: 'Grow with Indra as thy enemy.' He wanted Agni to be Indra's enemy; but he made Indra the enemy of Agni: for his expression itself came out (*with that meaning*). Both the Sôma he pressed and the Sôma he put into the fire became the two deities Agni and Sôma, and also the two vital airs, Prâṇa and Apâna (*air inhaled and air exhaled*). No sooner did this dual god with his arm raised up attempt to strike Indra, then he himself fell down. Whether when the dual deity fell down, or when he was inside the fire (*it cannot be said*),—he, however, began to grow breadthwise by the measure of an arrow in the course of a day, and also lengthwise by the measure of an arrow in the course of a day. They say that day and night themselves grew breadthwise by the measure of an arrow and also lengthwise by the measure of an arrow. They say that then the half-months (*grew*); then the month; and then the year. Then this dual deity lay covering all these streams. Indra became afraid of him; Tvashṭri also feared him. Indra requested the help of Tvashṭri. The latter promised help: he sprinkled the thunderbolt (*with water*) for him. Tapas [the month so called] is, verily, the thunderbolt. Indra could not raise it. Then there was another god, Vishṇu, near. Indra said: 'Come, Vishṇu, let us catch hold of this by which this (*is done*).' Vishṇu stretched his body in three directions, one-third portion on the earth, one-third in the air, and one-third in the heaven, so that Indra might get rid of his fear from the universal growth of the dual deity. Followed by Vishṇu, Indra raised the thunderbolt against the one-third part of the dual deity lying on this earth. Seeing the thunder-

bolt raised, he became afraid of it, and said : ' There is in me some power and I shall give it to you. Do not kill me!' He gave it to Indra, and the latter took it, and gave it to Vishṇu saying 'keep it for me.' Vishṇu took it and thought : ' May Indra put vital force into us ; may Indra bring prosperity to us ; may there be blessings upon us ; for there is internal power in him.' Followed by Vishṇu, Indra raised the thunderbolt against the one-third part that lay in the air. Seeing the raised thunderbolt, he became afraid of it, and said : ' There is some power in me and I shall give it to you. Do not kill me!' He gave it to Indra, and Indra took it and gave it to Vishṇu, saying 'keep this for me a second time.' Vishṇu took it, thinking : ' May Indra put vital force into us ; may Indra bring prosperity to us ; may there be blessings upon us ; for there is internal power in him.' Followed by Vishṇu, Indra raised the thunderbolt against the one-third part that lay in the sky. Seeing the raised thunderbolt, he became afraid of it, and said : ' There is some power in me and I shall give it to you. Do not kill me ; let us make peace : I shall enter into you.' Indra said : ' If you enter into me, of what use will it be to me?' He said : ' I shall brighten yourself ; I shall enter into you for your own enjoyment.' (*So saying*) he gave it to Indra, and Indra took it and gave it to Vishṇu, saying : ' Keep this for me for a third time.' It (the power) is, verily, a thousand of what are called Tridhâtus (three elements). He gave it to Vishṇu. The Rîks, the Sâmas, the Yajus, and whatever else there is, all that belongs to the three elements. Hence he obtains cattle alone."

"Vṛitra is the belly ; and sin is hunger, the enemy of man. When man obtains Tapas, he rends the sin, the inimical hunger. This is what the heavenly utterance said : ' Both of them conquered, but never sustained defeat ; and no one defeated either of them (*Indra and Vishṇu.*)'"

We are told in the above passage that Vṛitra grew out of the remnant of Sôma and that he grew first in the form of a day, then of half a month, then of a month, and at last of a year. Thus Vṛitra is clearly identified with Time. Special attention should be paid to those sentences of the passage which clearly declare : ' Vṛitra began to grow breadthwise by the measure of an arrow in the course of a day and also lengthwise by the measure of an arrow in the course of a day. They say that *day and night themselves grew* by the measure of an arrow, and became half-months, months, and a year.' It is clear therefore that Vṛitra is a demon infesting the intercalary months, or rather of the eighth intercalary month, since Indra who destroys him periodically is, as we have seen above, the god of the seventh intercalary month of the luni-solar cycle of five years. Since Vṛitra is made to 'enter into Indra himself,' it is clear that he is the broken eighth month coming after the seventh month.

I have pointed out in my *Vedic Calendar* how the Vedic poets regarded the intercalary days as being sinful and inimical to man. In the above passage Vṛitra is spoken of as a kind of sin and enemy to man. We have already seen how Agni and Sôma are considered as the gods of the light half of an intercalary month. In the following passage of the Taittirîya Sâmhita (II. 5, 2) Agni and Sôma are clearly described as the life-principles of Vṛitra. It follows therefore that Vṛitra must be the light half of an intercalary month. Since Vṛitra is periodically destroyed by Indra, the god of the seventh intercalary month, and since he is made one with Indra himself, it is also clear that Vṛitra is the first half of the broken eighth intercalary month. The reference to cold and fever in the passage seems to indicate the arrival of the rainy season. The passage itself runs as follows :—

त्वष्टा हतपुत्रो वीद्रे सोममाहरत्. तस्मिन्निद्रे उपह्वमैच्छत्. तं नोपाह्वयत् पुत्रं मेऽवधीरिति. स यज्ञवेशसं कृत्वा प्रासहा सोममपिबत्. तस्य यदत्यशिव्यत् तत् त्वष्टाह्वनीयमुपप्रार्वतयत्स्वाहँद्रे शत्रुर्वधस्वेति. यदवर्तयत् तदृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वं. यदन्नवीत् स्वाहँद्रे शत्रुर्वधस्वेति तस्मादस्य इंद्रः शत्रुरभवत्. स संभवन्नभीषोमावभिसमभवत्. स इषुभिर्नामिषुमात्रं विष्वङ्कुर्वधत्. स इमाक्लोकानावृणोत्. तदृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वं. तस्मादिद्रेऽबिभेत्. स प्रजापतिमुपाधावत् शत्रुर्मेऽजनीति. तस्मै वज्रं सिक्त्वा प्रायच्छदेतेन जहीति. तेनाभ्यायत्. तावन्नृतामभीषोमौ मा प्रहारावमंतः स्व इति. मम

वै शुवं स्थ इत्यब्रवीत् मामभ्येतमिति. तौ भागधेयमैच्यैताम्, ताभ्यामेतमग्नीषोमीयमेकादशकपालं पूर्णमासे प्रायच्छत्. तावन्नूतामभिसंदष्टौ वै स्वो न शक्नुव एतुमिति. स इंद्र आत्मनः शीतरूरावजनयत्. तच्छीतरूर्वोर्जन्म. य एवं शीतरूर्वोर्जन्म वेद नैनं शीतरूरौ हतः. ताभ्यामेतमभ्यनयत्. तस्माज्जञ्जभ्यमानोऽग्नीषोमौ निरक्रामताम्. प्राणापानौ वा एनं तदजाहिताम्. प्राणो वै दक्षोऽपानः क्रतुः. तस्माज्जञ्जभ्यमानो ब्रूयान्मायि दक्षक्रतु इति. प्राणापानावेवात्मन्धत्ते. सर्वमायुरोति. स देवता वृत्रान्निर्हृत्य वात्रेन्न हविः पूर्णमासे निरवपत्. ज्ञाति वा एनं पूर्णमास आ अमावास्यायां व्याययति तस्मान्नात्रेष्णी पूर्णमासेऽनुच्येते वृधन्वती अमावास्यायाम्. तत् संस्थाप्य वात्रेन्न हविर्वज्रमादाय पुनरभ्यायत तेऽभूतां द्यावापृथिवी माप्रहारावयोर्व श्रित इति. तेऽभूतां वरं वृणावहै नक्षत्रविहिताहमसानित्यसावन्नवीचित्रविहिताहमिति. इयं तस्मान्नक्षत्रविहितासौ चित्रविहितेयं य एवं द्यावापृथिव्योर्वरं वेदैर्न वरो गच्छति. स आभ्यामेव प्रसूत इंद्रो वृत्रमहन्. ते देवा वृत्रं हत्वाग्नीषोमावब्रुवन् हव्यं नो वहतमिति. तावन्नूतामपतेजसौ वै त्यौ वृत्रे वै त्ययोस्तेज इति. तेऽब्रुवन् क इहमाच्यैतीति. गौरित्त्वब्रुवन् गौर्वाव सर्वस्य मित्रमिति. सात्रवीत् वरं वृणै मध्येव सतोभयेन भुनजाध्वा इति तद्गौराहरत्. तस्मान्निव सतोभयेन भुञ्जते एतद्वा अभ्रस्तेजो यद्भूतेमतत् सोमस्य यत्पयः य एवमग्नीषोमयोस्तेजो वेद तेजस्त्वेष भवति. ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति किन्दैवत्यं पूर्णमासमिति. प्राजापत्यमिति ब्रूयात्. तेनेन्द्रं ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं निरवासाययति. तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययति.

T. S. II. 5, 2.

“Tvashṭri whose son was killed (by Indra) began to perform a Sôma sacrifice without inviting Indra to it. But Indra wanted to be invited to it. But he did not invite Indra, because the latter killed his son. But Indra drank the Sôma by force after obstructing the sacrifice. Tvashṭri poured (*prâvartayat*) into the fire what Sôma here remained, and said (*addressing the fire*): ‘Grow with Indra as thy enemy.’ Vṛitra [the demon that rose from the fire in consequence of the above libation] is so called, because the act of pouring down Sôma into the fire is from the root *Vṛit*. Since he said: ‘Grow with Indra as thy enemy’, Indra became his enemy. While coming out of the fire, he (Vṛitra) became Agni and Sôma. By the measure of an arrow, he grew on all sides and pervaded these three worlds. Because he pervaded them, he is called Vṛitra, ‘pervader.’ Indra became afraid of him, and going to Prajâpati, said: ‘there has arisen an enemy to me.’ Having sprinkled the thunderbolt with water, he gave it to him to kill the demon. Indra advanced with the thunderbolt. Then Agni and Sôma said: ‘Do not kill; we are within (*him*). Indra said: ‘You are for me; and so, come to me.’ They asked for a share (*in the sacrifice*). Indra promised to them a cake on eleven pot-sherds, to be offered to them every full-moon. They said: ‘We are bitten (*by his teeth*), and cannot come out (*of his mouth*).’ Then Indra created out of his own body cold and fever. This is how cold and fever came into existence. Whoever knows this origin of cold and fever, will not be attacked by cold and fever. Indra transferred cold and fever to them (*or to Vṛitra*). When he (Vṛitra) began to shiver, Agni and Sôma came out: it is *prâna* (air inhaled) and *apâna* (air exhaled) that left him. Prâna is *Daksha* and Apâna is *Kratu*. Hence the sacrificer should begin to shiver and say: ‘Daksha and Kratu are within me.’ Thereby he will have Prâna and Apâna in himself, and live the whole length of life. Having released the gods from Vṛitra, Indra offered an oblation at the full-moon on account of his slaying Vṛitra; for they kill him at full-moon, and revive him at new-moon. Hence a Rik-verse about the slaying of Vṛitra is recited at full-moon, while another about his revival is sung on the occasion of new-moon. Having offered an oblation for slaying Vṛitra, Indra again faced Vṛitra with his thunderbolt. Then the Sky and the Earth said: ‘Do not kill him, for he is lying upon us.’ And they said again: ‘We request a gift (*if he is to be killed*); I shall like to be decked with stars—so said the Sky; and I shall like to be variously formed,—so said the Earth.’ Hence the Sky is decked with stars, while the Earth is variously formed. Whoever knows this gift of the Sky and the Earth will have the same gift. Having been born out of these two (the Sky and the Earth), Indra killed Vṛitra. Having killed Vṛitra, the gods asked Agni and Sôma to carry their oblations. They said: ‘We have lost our energy; for it is in Vṛitra.’ The gods inquired among themselves, saying ‘who can secure that energy?’ Some replied: ‘The cow (*can do that*); for the cow is the friend of all.’ The cow said: ‘I shall

request a gift : you live upon the two things that exist only in me.' The cow secured that energy. Hence they live upon the two things that exist in the cow alone. What is called *ghī* is the energy of Agni, and what is called milk is that of Sōma. Whoever knows thus the energy of Agni and Sōma will be energetic. The Brahmvādins debate : 'of what deity is the full-moon ?' One should reply : 'Prajāpati.' Hence Prajāpati gave to Indra, his eldest son, a firm footing. Hence men give to their eldest son a firm footing by bestowing upon him a large portion of wealth.'

The following passage of the Taittirīya Sāmhita (VI, 5, 1) seems to furnish additional evidence about Vṛitra being a half month :—

इन्द्रो वृत्राय वज्रमुदयच्छत्. स वृत्रो वज्रादुद्यतादबिभेत्. सोऽन्नवीन्मा मे प्रहारस्ति वा इदं मयि वीर्यं तन्ने प्रहास्यामीति. तस्मा उक्थ्यं प्रायच्छत्. तस्मै द्वितीयमुदयच्छत्. सोऽन्नवीन्मा मे प्रहारस्ति वा इदं मयि वीर्यं तन्ने प्रहास्यामीति तस्मा उक्थ्यमेव प्रायच्छत्. तस्मै तृतीयमुदयच्छत्. तंविष्णुस्त्वतिष्ठत जहीति. सोऽन्नवीन्मा मे प्रहारस्ति वा इदं मयि वीर्यं तन्ने प्रहास्यामीति. तस्मा उक्थ्यमेव प्रायच्छत् तं निर्मायं भूतमहत् यज्ञो हि तस्य मायाऽऽसीत्.

T. S. VI, 5, 1.

"Indra raised the thunderbolt against Vṛitra. Then Vṛitra became afraid of this raised thunderbolt; he said : 'Do not kill me; there is some power in me; that I shall give you.' So saying he gave Ukthya (Fifteen) to Indra. Indra raised weapon against him for a second time. He said : 'Do not kill me; there is some power in me; that I shall give you.' So saying he gave the latter the same Ukthya (Fifteen). Then Indra raised the weapon against him for a third time; then Vishnu followed Indra, saying 'kill him.' He said : 'Do not kill me; there is some power in me; I shall give you that.' So saying he gave the same Ukthya to Indra. Indra then killed this guileless demon. It was, verily, the sacrifice which was his guile."

We are told in the above passage that while breathing out, Vṛitra gave *Ukthya* to Indra. *Ukthya* is a word used in the Vedic literature in the sense of 'fifteen,'¹² The word *Vajra*, the weapon of Indra, is also used in the same sense.¹³ Accordingly the wielding of *Vajra* or 'fifteen' by Indra, as well as the gift of fifteen by Vṛitra to Indra, clearly means the growth of fifteen days over and above the seventh intercalary month.

Contemporary religious records also furnish evidence that the *Ādityas* are the gods of intercalary months. It is known that the *Ādityas* are the sons of *Aditi*. *Aditi* in the *Rigvēda* (X. 100 1, 94) is requested to protect the poets from *Amhas*, 'sin.' She and her sons also are requested to release the poets from guilt or sin (R. V. I. 24; II. 27; VII. 93; I. 162; VII. 87).¹⁴ I have shown in my *Vedic Calendar* how the word *Amhaspatya* is used in the sense of an intercalary month and an intercalary month alone. There is no doubt that this word is philologically identical with the Zend word *Ameshaspenta*. The number of *Ameshaspentas* is also seven. Prof. Macdonell says (*Vedic Mythology*, P. 44), "It is here to be noted that the two groups have not a single name in common, even *Mithra* not being an *Ameshaspenta*; that the belief in the *Ādityas* being seven in number is not distinctly characteristic and old; and that though the identity of the *Ādityas* and *Ameshaspentas* has been generally accepted since Roth's essay, it is rejected by some distinguished Avestan scholars."

Whatever might be the reason of the Avestan scholars for rejecting the identity, this much is clear, that the words *Amhaspatya* and *Ameshaspenta* are identical; and that when the former word is invariably used in the sense of an intercalary month in the *Yajurveda*, there is no doubt that the forgotten meaning of the latter word must also be the same; and that when the *Ameshaspentas* are seven, the number of *Amhaspatyas* must also be and is, as we have already seen, seven. As regards the difference in the names of the *Ameshaspentas* and of the *Ādityas*, it does not appear to be of much importance, for the seven *Amhaspatyas* or intercalary months are found variously named both in the *Rigvēda* and the *Atharvavēda*.

¹² See *Tai. Sam.* VII. 2, 5, 17.

¹³ See *Ibid.* VII. 3, 6, 15; 4, 7, 25.

¹⁴ See Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 121.

The following are some of the passages of the Atharvavêda (VIII. 9) in which the seven Âdityas or the gods of intercalary months are called in various ways :

षडाहृशीतान्षड् मास उष्णानृतुं नो ब्रूत यतमोऽतिरिक्तः ।
 सप्त सुपर्णाः कवयो निषेदुः सप्त धंशंस्यनु सप्त ह्रीक्षाः ॥ 17
 सप्त हौमाः समिधो ह सप्त मधूनि सप्त ऋतवो ह सप्त ।
 सप्ताज्यानि परिभूतमायताः सप्त गृभ्रा इति शुश्रुमा वयम् ॥ 18
 अष्ट जाता भूता प्रथमज ऋतस्थाष्टेद्र ऋत्विजो वैव्या ये ।
 अष्टयोनिरदितिरष्टपुत्राष्टर्मी रात्रिमभि हव्यमेति ॥ 21
 अष्टेद्रस्य षड्यमस्य ऋषीणां सप्त सप्तधा ।
 अपो मनुष्यानांषधीस्तां उ पंचानु सेचिरे ॥ 23

“ Six they call the cold, and six the hot months.

Tell ye us the season, which one is in excess; seven eagles, poets, sat down; seven metres after seven consecrations.” 17

“ Seven are the offerings, the fuels seven, the sweet things seven, the seasons seven; seven sacrificial butters went about the existing thing; they are such as have seven heavenly birds, so have we heard.” 18.

“ Eight are born the beings first born of Rîta; eight, O Indra!, are the priests who are of the gods; Aditi has eight wombs, eight sons; the oblation goes unto the eighth night.” 21.

“ Among the seers, eight are with Indra, and six are in pairs; they are seven-fold and seven; waters, men, and herbs,—over these the five (*years*) have showered.” 23.

In verse 17 the poet clearly mentions the intercalary months (Atirikta Rîtu) and numbers them in various names as seven. The expression ‘seven seasons,’ when taken with the expression ‘the excessive season,’ leaves no doubt that they are intercalary months and seven in number. In verses 21 and 23 the poet refers to the story of Aditi, and seems to hesitate to count her sons as eight, though that was the number fixed at first. In the following passages of the Atharvavêda (IX, 9. and R. V. I. 164) the seven months are called seven horses and seven sisters:—

सप्त शृंजति रथमेकचक्रमेको अश्वो वहति सप्तनामा ।
 त्रिनाभि चक्रमजरमनर्वं यत्रेना विद्वा भुवनाधि तस्थुः ॥ 2
 इमं रथमधि ये सप्त तस्थुः सप्तचक्रं सप्त वहंत्यश्वाः ।
 सप्त स्वसारो अभि संनवंत यत्र गवां निहिता सप्त नामा ॥ 3
 द्वादशारं न हि तञ्जराय वर्वाति चक्रं परिद्यामृतस्य ।
 आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनासो अत्र सप्त शतानि विंशतिश्च तस्थुः ॥ 13
 सनेमि चक्रमजरं वि वावृत उत्तानायां दश युक्ता वहति ।
 सूर्यस्य चक्षु रजसैत्यावृतं यस्मिन्नातस्थुर्भुवनानि विद्वा ॥ 14
 सार्कजानां सप्तथमाहुरेकजं षड्विद्यमा ऋषयो देवजा इति ।
 तेषामिष्टानि विहितानि धामशः स्थान्ने रेजंते विकृतानि रूपशः ॥ 16

“Seven harness a one-wheeled chariot; one horse, having seven names, draws it. Of three naves is the wheel, unwasting, unassailed, whereon stand all those existences. 2

“The seven that stand on this chariot, seven horses draw it, seven wheeled; seven sisters shout at it together; where are set down the seven names of the kine?”

“The twelve-spoked wheel,—for that is not to be worn out,—revolves greatly about the sky of Rîta; there, O Agni!, stood the sons, paired, seven hundred and twenty.” 13.

“The unwasting wheel, with rim, rolls about; ten paired ones draw upon the upper side (*uttāna*); the sun’s eye goes surrounded with the welkin in which stood all existences.” 14

“Of those born together the seventh they call the sole-born (single-born); six, they say, are twins, god born seers; the sacrifices of them, distributed according to their respective stations and modified in form, move to the one permanent (*sthatre*).” 16.

(To be continued.)

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS.

BY D. B. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

(Continued from Vol. XLI., p. 173.)

XIV.—The Fourth Rock edict of Asoka.

THERE is one passage in this edict which has very much exercised students of Asoka's inscriptions. It is this, according to the several recensions :

Girnâr:—*Ta aja devānaṃ piyasa Priyadasino rāṇo dharmacharaṇena bherighoso aho dharmaghoso vimānadasaṇḍ cha hastidasanḍ cha agikanīdhāni cha añāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitvā janāni.*

Kālsī:—*Se ajā devānaṃ piyasa Piyadasine lājine dharmachalanena bheliḡhose aho dharmaghose vimānadasanḍ hathini agikanīdhāni añāni chā divyāni rūpāni dasayitu janasa.*

Dhauri:—*Se aja devānaṃ piyasa Piyadasine lājine dharmachalanena bheliḡhosan aho dharmaghosan vimānadasanaṃ hathini agikanīdhāni añāni cha diviyāni rūpāni dasayitu munisānaṃ.*

Shāhbāzgarhī:—*So aja devanaṃ piyasa Priyadrasisa rāṇo dharmacharaṇena bherighosha aho dharmaghosha vimānaṃ draśanaṃ hastino jotikanīdhani añāni cha divani rūpani draśayitu janasa.*

Mansehrā:—*Se aja devana piyasa Priydrasine rane dharmacharaṇena bherighoshe aho dhrama goshe vimānadrāsana hastine agikanīdhani añāni cha divani rūpani draśeti janasa.*

This passage has been variously interpreted, but these interpretations may be divided into two classes according as they are taken to refer to terrestrial objects or atmospheric phenomena. The first kind of interpretation has been favoured by M. Senart and Prof. Bühler and the second by Professors Kern and Hultsch. I confess, the first interpretation commends itself to me as being more natural. But the actual sense I deduce from the passage differs from that of M. Senart or of Prof. Bühler, and I give it here for the kind consideration of the scholars, who are interested in the matter.

In the first place, it is highly important to understand the syntax of the passage. The word *aho* I take with Professors Kern and Hultsch as equivalent to *abhavat*. *Vimānadasaṇḍ* of the Girnâr and Kālsī texts corresponds to *vimānadasanaṃ* of the Dhauri and *vimānaṃ draśanaṃ* of the Shāhbāzgarhī recension, and must, therefore, be supposed to stand for the Sanskrit *vimānadarśanāni*. The same remark applies to *hastidasanḍ* of the Girnâr text.

This may then be literally put into Sanskrit thus :

Ta-adya devānāṃ-priyasya Priyadarśino rāṇo dharmacharaṇena bheri-ghosho=bhavat=dharmaghosho vimānadarśanāni cha hasti-darśanāni cha agni-skandhāni=cha anyāni cha divyāni rūpāni darśayitvā janāni.

And it may be translated into English as follows :

“ But now in consequence of the practice of righteousness by king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, the sound of the drum has become the sound of righteousness, showing the people the spectacles (*darśana*), of the palaces of gods (*vimāna*), and of the (white) elephant, masses of fire, and other divine representations.”

Now, what can be the meaning of this passage? In my opinion, what Asoka means is that with him the drum has become the proclaimer of righteousness. The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Asoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness. This appears to me to be the natural sense of the passage. And now the question arises: what scenes or spectacles did Asoka show to his subjects? Obviously they are the *vimānas*, *hastins*, *agniskandhas* and so forth. These terms must, therefore, be so interpreted as to show that they could create and foster righteousness. But it must also be borne in mind that the sense we attach to them must not be different from that ordinarily assigned to them. So to begin with, what does Asoka mean by *vimāna*? According to M. Senart it denotes here “ processions of reliquaries”, and, according to Bühler, “ cars of the gods.” Bühler, I think, comes very near the proper sense though he misses the full significance of it. Now, Pāli scholars need not be told

that there is a work in the Pāli literature called *vimāna-vatthu*. It has been edited for the Pāli Text Society by Mr. E. R. Gooneratne. The introduction of this book opens with the following paragraphs :

"The *vimāna-vatthu* is a work that describes the splendour of the various celestial abodes belonging to the Dewas, who became their fortunate owners in accordance with the degree of merit they had each performed, and who there spent their time in supreme bliss.

"These *Vimānas* are graphically described in the little work as column-supported palaces that could be moved at the will of the owners. A Dewa could visit the earth, and we read of their so descending on occasions when they were summoned by Buddha.

"The lives of the Dewas in these *vimānas* or palaces were limited, and depended on the merits resulting from their good acts. From all that we read of them we can well infer that these habitations were the centres of supreme felicity. It is doubtless with much forethought that peculiar stress is laid, in our work, on the description of these *vimānas*, in order to induce listeners to lead good and unblemished lives, to be pure in their acts, and to be zealous in the performance of their religious duties.

"Stories from the *Vimāna-vatthu* are not unfrequently referred to in later doctrinal works, when a virtuous career in life is illustrated. Thus Maṭṭakuṇḍali and Sirimā Vimāna are referred to in the Dhammapada Athakatha; Obhita, Guttala, and Rewati are quoted in the Sutta Sangaha."¹

Anybody who reads the above extract will be convinced that these must undoubtedly be the *vimānas* referred to by Aśoka. He seems to have made representations of them and paraded them in various places. His motive in doing so we can easily surmise. As *vimānas* are palaces of gods who became their owners in consequence of the pure unblemished lives they led on earth, it was natural that he should show their representations to the people in order to induce them to practise righteousness and become possessors of such celestial abodes. That this was the sole object of the work *Vimāna-vatthu* is clear from the words of Mr. Gooneratne quoted above in bold type. Aśoka is very fond of telling us that the performance of *dharma* produces merit (*puṇya*) which in its turn conduces to the attainment of heaven (*svarga*). It is, therefore, quite intelligible that he might have shown to his subjects the palaces of the denizens of heaven of which they became masters through the righteous deeds performed by them while on earth, in order to impress on their minds that they also by similar virtuous courses could become owners of them.

Now, what can *hasti-darśana* signify? *Hasti*, of course, ordinarily means an elephant. But representations of what elephant did Aśoka exhibit to his people? They again must be of such a kind that they could deserve the name *divya*. I am almost certain that by *hastin* here we are to understand none by the White Elephant, i.e., Buddha. We know the story of the conception of Buddha. Māyā had a dream in which she saw the Bodhi-attva in the shape of a white elephant approaching her and entering into her womb by her right side. We have sculptures of this scene not only at Bharahat but also at Sāñchi. Nay, we have incontestable proof that this story was known to Aśoka and that he had at least one representation made of him. On the Girnār rock below Rock Edict XIII and separated by an indentation we have the following line: . . . *va sveto hasti savaloka-sukhaharo nama* [The white elephant whose name is the bringer of happiness to the whole world]. Prof. Kern was the first to recognise in this an unmistakable reference to Buddha. At Kālsī too on the east end of the rock containing the edicts of Aśoka inscribed, we have the outline of an elephant with the letters *gajātame* engraved between his feet. These letters, I think, stand for *gajottamaḥ*, and nobody can seriously doubt that here also we have another reference to Buddha. Most probably there was a similar outline or figure of an elephant in Girnār and also at other places. But it has now disappeared. I have, therefore, no doubt that similar representations of the White Elephant were made and exhibited to the people, most

¹ The idea of the *vimānas* is not foreign even to Jaina literature. "The servants of the *Siddhas* are *Devatas*, or the spirits of good and great men; who, although not so perfect as to obtain an exemption from all future change, yet live in an inferior heaven, called *Swarga*; where for a certain length of time, they enjoy great power and happiness; according to the merit of the good works, which they performed, when living as men." "The mortal bodies of mankind and *Devatas* perish, while the *Vimānas* (i.e., the abodes of deities of various classes) endure." (As. Res., Vol IX, p 232 and pp. 280—81). Prof. K. B. Pathak also informs me that in the Digambara Jaina works entitled *Māghanandī-śrāvakāchāra* and *Gomāśāra* have been given not only minute descriptions but also paintings of the *Vimānas*.

probably accompanied by oral descriptions as in the *Ākhyānas* so as to show clearly to them how Buddha was *sarva-loka-sukh-āhara* and thus induce them to imitate his actions in their lives.

There now remains the third word, *viz.*, *agniskanḍha*, and I am afraid I cannot give any satisfactory explanation here. The word ordinarily signifies a mass of fire, but this mass of fire must be of such a kind that it can be shown to be connected with a well-known incident and point to a moral. The only story that occurs to me in this connection is that narrated in *Jātaka* No. 40 (Fausboll, Vol. I) called *Khadiraṅgāra-jātaka*². The Bodhisattva of the story was the Lord High Treasurer of Benares. As he was sitting to take his meal, a Pachcheka Buddha rising from his seven days' trance in the Himālayas approached with his bowl and begged food. The Bodhisattva asked the bowl to be brought to him and filled it. But Māra wanted the Pachcheka Buddha to die of starvation by preventing the food from approaching him. So in the mansion of the Bodhisattva he created a fire-pit as fearful as in a hell. His cook who was taking the filled bowl to the Pachcheka Buddha saw this blazing fire and started back. The Bodhisattva came to know what had happened and went out in person to hand over the bowl to his guest. As he stood on the brink of the fiery pit, he noticed Māra, but heeded him not. And so he strode on with undaunted resolution to the surface of the pit of fire, and lo ! there rose up to the surface a large and peerless lotus-flower, which received the feet of the Bodhisattva. The bowl was given to the guest, and standing in the lotus he preached the truth to the people, extolling alms-giving and the commandments.

Several of the *jātaka* stories we find sculptured in the Bharahat and Sāñchi *stūpas*. They thus appear to have become popular even so early as the third century B.C.; and there is no reason why one of them should not have been utilised by Aśoka to make visual representations for impressing the people. Besides, the story just summarised must have been thought by him as exactly fulfilling his purpose, because it lucidly illustrates the fruit of alms-giving, of which Aśoka is never weary of speaking in his edicts. If he really wanted to encourage alms-giving, I do not think he could have made a happier selection for making representations of it and showing them to his subjects. The *jātaka* again appears to have been considered to be a very important one by the Buddhists themselves. For the same tale is re-repeated under the name of *Śreshṭhijātaka* in the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra published by Prof. Kern.

The word *rūpa* occurs in two ancient inscriptions. Line 2 of the well-known Hāthi-gumphā inscription of Khāravēla has the following:—*tato lekha-rūpa-ṛṇṇā-vv.v.h.ira-vidhi-vidradena*, where the word has been rendered by 'painting' by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. A Pābbosā cave inscription again reads *Śrī-Kṛishṇa-gopī-rūpa-kartā*, where Prof. Bühler translates it by 'statue'. I confine myself to the generic sense of the word, and render it by simply 'representation'. To this day it is a custom especially in villages, where English education has not spread, to make either paintings or clay representations of mythological scenes and explain to the people in detail what they are intended for. I have no doubt that Aśoka must have done a similar thing. Nobody can, I am sure, object to such *rūpas* being called *dirya*, which means not only 'belonging to heavenly regions' but also 'pertaining to divine beings.'

XV.—Talegaon Grant of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I.

My friend, Sirdar K. C. Mehendale, Secretary of the *Bhārat-itihās-saṁshodhak-maṇḍal*, has kindly sent to me for decipherment a set of copper plates recently brought to light at Talegaon (Dhamḍhere's) in the Poona district. It registers a grant issued by Kṛishṇa I. of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. Most of the verses descriptive of the genealogy are found in other Rāshtrakūṭa records. And the three or four new verses that are for the first time met with in this grant teach us nothing new excepting that in one stanza we are told that his son was called Prabhu-tuṅga. This must evidently refer to his son Govindarāja, at whose request, as mentioned further in the inscription, the grant was made.

The charter was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse which happened on the new moon day of Vaiśākha of Saka 690³ when Plavaṅga was the cyclic year. At that time Kṛishṇa I.'s

² My attention to this *Jātaka* was drawn by Prof. Dharmānand Kosambi.

³ The solar eclipse in question occurred on Wednesday the 23rd March 768 A. D.

victorious camp against the Gaṅgas was, we are informed, stationed at Maṅṅanagara, obviously the same as Mānyapura where the royal residence of the Gaṅgas was fixed in the 8th century, and which has been identified with Maṅṅe, north of Nelamangal in Mysore. The grantees were the Brāhmaṇas living in the Karahāṭa Ten-thousand and one Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudeva, to whom two parts only were assigned. The village granted was Kumārigrāma, and we are told that this village was given at the request of two persons called Vāsishṭha-Śrīkumāra and Jaivanti-Phaṇaiya. Along with Kumārigrāma four more villages seem to have been granted. They were Bhamaroparā, Araluva, Sindigrāma and Taḍavale. All these places are expressly stated to have been comprised in the Pūnaka district (*vishaya*). Their boundaries also have been specified. To their east were Khambhagrāma, Vorimagrāma and Dāḍimagrāma. To the south were the Khadiraveṇa hills. To the west were Alandiyagrāma and Thiuragrāma and to the north the Mūḷa river. Almost all these localities can be identified on the survey of India Atlas Sheet No. 39. Thus of the villages granted Kumārigrāma is Karehgaon, Bhamaroparā Bowrapoor, Araluva Ooroolee, Sindigrāma Seendowneh, and Taḍavale Turudee. Of the villages situated on the east, Khambhagrāma is Khamgaon, Vorimagrāma Boree, and Dāḍimagrāma Dalemb. Khadiraveṇa, the name of the hills to the south, cannot be identified, though of course these hills are there as specified. Of the villages on the west Alandiyagrāma and Thiuragrāma are doubtless the well-known Ālandī and Theur, the first better known as *chorāchī* Ālandī and the second as the favourite resort of Mādhavráo Peshwá who died there. The river Mūḷa obviously corresponds to the present name Muḷá of a river which joins the Muṭhā near Poona, their conjoint stream flowing afterwards eastwards and passing by the north of the villages mentioned. And it is this conjoint river that appears to have been known in those early days by the name Mūḷa, though it is now restricted to one of its feeders. But the most interesting fact recorded in this connection is the mention of Pūnaka as the name of the district wherein the villages were situated. Pūnaka obviously is Poona. That Poona is an ancient place has long since been known. It is well-known that the two Shaikh Salla *dargāhs* on the river bank were built about the close of the 13th century on the site of two old temples called Nārāyaṇeśvar and Puṇeśvar. Again, the caves near the Fergusson College are another indication of the antiquity of the city. But the most important and ancient monument is the rock-hewn temple of Pañcháleśvar situated in the Bhāmburḍā suburb, which has been assigned by archaeologists to the 7th century A.D. We have thus ample and sure proof that Poona was a very old place. But it was never dreamt that the name Poona also was equally ancient and that it was the head-quarters of a district in those early times as it now. This however, is now quite clear from the fact that Pūnaka, which can stand for nothing else but Poona, is spoken of as the district which contained the villages granted.

MISCELLANEA.

KAKATIKA MONKS.

In J. R. A. S. for January, 1912, Professor H. Lüders, while commenting upon a Brāhmī inscription, in which the word *kakāṭikānām* occurs, observes—

‘It is more difficult to say who is meant by *kakāṭikānām*. I take this to be a proper name, and as a cooking place in a Vihāra can hardly be intended for anybody but the monks living there, *kakāṭika* would seem to be the name of those monks, though I cannot say why they were called so.’

Taking the Professor's assumption that *kakāṭika* is the name of an order of monks to be correct, may I venture to offer an explanation? To me the word appears to be an *apabhraṃśā* from Sanskrit *kaukkūṭika* formed by Pāṇini 4. 4. 46. Unfortunately, Patañjali does not comment on the *sūtra*, but the *sūtra* itself explains the formation of ‘*kukkuṭīm paśyati = kaukkūṭikāḥ*’ as ‘*sañjñāyām*,’ i.e., not in the literal sense of ‘one who sees a hen’, but as a name, or attributive class-name. The *Kāśikā* illustrates by ‘*kaukkūṭiko*

bhikshuh’ and explains that by ‘*kukkuṭī*’ here is meant, by a transferred epithet, the space over which a hen can fly at one flight. The *bhikshu* who limits his vision over so much of the ground before him as can be covered by one (proverbially short) flight of a hen is meant by the word. There must have been *bhikshus* who submitted themselves to this sort of discipline to subdue the sense of sight and to avoid the *himsā* of small insects. The Buddhists and Jainas set a great store by *ahimsā*, and the sight of a *Jaina śādhū*, brushing the ground before him with a silk broom and treading with his neck bent low at a snail's pace, is not rare even now in India. If we assume that some *bhikshus* were called *kaukkūṭikas* after this habit of theirs, we can understand the latter contemptuous sense of ‘hypocrite’ attributed to this word by the metrical Sanskrit *kośas*. It is with a certain diffidence that I offer this explanation, but the word ‘*Sañjñāyām*’ in Pāṇini's *sūtra* itself supports my conjecture, I think.

Ajmer.

CHANDRADHAR GUPTA

THE INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN
ARTIFICIAL POETRY.

BY G. BUHLER.

[*Translated by Prof. V. S. Ghate, M.A.; Poona.*]

[The Editors of this *Journal* are deeply indebted to Prof. H. Lüders for having kindly taken the trouble of securing the permission of the Vienna University to publish a translation of Dr. Bühler's *Die Indischen Inschriften, etc.* This booklet is so important that a reliable translation was a long-felt desideratum to the Indian scholars. The Editors are therefore highly thankful also to Prof. V. S. Ghate for having prepared the translation which is being published in this *Journal*].

Indian Epigraphy which, since the last fifteen years has received a new impulse, and which thanks to the progress of Sanskrit philology as well as to the perfecting of the methods of multiplying the inscriptions, leads to more certain results than in early times, has already provided us with several important particulars elucidating the literary and religious history of that part of the world which is inhabited by the Brâhmanas and which wants a history as such. On the one hand, we owe to it particular and very important data, which definitely fix the time of prominent authors, as for instance, recently the time of the dramatic poet Râjasekhara, whose pupils and patrons, the kings Mahendrapâla and Mahîpâla ruled during the last decade of the ninth century and in the beginning of the tenth century of our era, as shown by Mr. Fleet and Prof. Kielhorn. On the other hand, the comparison of the partly insignificant notices in the inscriptions with the accounts of literary tradition or with the (data) conditions of the present day, permits us to have an occasional peep, in the development of all the types of literature and of all the religious systems, a peep whose worth is considerably significant in the absence of really historical details. Such, for instance, is the observation that the tradition about the home of several Vedic Schools and also of the works belonging to them, is confirmed through the statements in the old land-grants, inasmuch as, these mention not only the names of the donees but their secular and spiritual families. Not less significant for the history of the very important though little regarded in early times, religion of Mahâvîra-Vardhamâna is the demonstration gradually rendered feasible, that, his followers, the Nirgranthas or Jainas, are mentioned in a number of inscriptions, which runs on from the beginning of the historical period of India, with but rare interruptions, and that the assertions in their canonical works, about the divisions of the Monk-Schools are made reliable to the most part, through writings of the first century of our era. These hitherto published results are, however, only a small part of what the inscriptions may possibly yield to us. An accurate working out and a fuller estimate of the hitherto published materials little in extent though they be, will show that one can procure rich instruction from them, in all the departments of Indian Research; and that their results furnish specially sound proof-stones for the theories about the development of Indian intellectual life, theories which the Indologists, build on very weak foundations, compelled as they are by sheer necessity. The following treatise is a small contribution towards the examination of inscriptions in this spirit. Its aim is to establish firmly those results which the inscriptions yield for the history of Indian Kâvya or the artificial poetry of the court, as also to demonstrate, how far the same agree with the new opinions regarding the development of this species of literature. My reason for undertaking to treat of this question before other perhaps more interesting and less disputed questions, is the recent publication of the Gupta inscriptions by Mr. J. F. Fleet in the third volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum*. This exceedingly important work offers a larger number of wholly or partly metrical inscriptions with absolutely certain dates. The same, taken together with some documents already made known through reliable publications (editions) allow us to prove the existence of a Kâvya literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit during the first five centuries of our era, and to show that a great period of literature, which brought into general prominence, the style of the poetic school of Vidarbha or Berar, lies before the middle of the fourth century. They also make it very probable that the year 472 after Christ is to be fixed as the *terminus ad quem* for the poet Kâlidâsa.

Such conclusions would, no doubt, appear quite unimportant and scarcely worth the trouble of a special inquiry to those searchers who busy themselves with the history and the literature of the European peoples. The Indologe, however is unfortunately not in that happy position to look down with contempt, even upon such general results. Because, the history proper of Indian Artificial Poetry begins not earlier than in the first half of the seventh century of our era, with the reign of the mighty king Harsha or Harshavardhana of Thânesar and Kanouj, who ruled over the whole of Northern India from 606-648 A.D. The works of his favourite court-poet Bâṇabhāṭṭa who tried to portray the life of his master and of himself in the incomplete historical novel *Srī-Harshacharita*, and who besides wrote, as we know for certainty, the romance *Kādambarī*, and the poem (song) *Chandī-sataka*, and perhaps also the drama *Pārvatī-pariṇaya*, are the oldest products of the Court-poetry, whose composition, no doubt, falls within the narrow limits given above. Before this time, there exists no *Kāvya* as such whose age is hitherto determined with some accuracy and certainty or allows itself to be determined with the accessible documents. Only of one work which shows, throughout, the influence of the *Kāvya* style and which contains several sections entirely written in the *Kāvya* style, we mean, of Varāhamihira's metrical Manual of Astrology, *the Brīhat-samhitā*, it can be said with confidence that it is written about the middle of the sixth century; because Varāhamihira begins the calculations in his *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, with the year 505 A.D.; and he is supposed to have died in the year 587 A.D. according to the statement of one of his commentators. As to when the most celebrated classical poets Kālidāsa, Subandhu, Bhāravi, Pravarasena, Guṇāḍhya and the collector of verses, Hāla-sātavāhana lived, we possess no historical evidence. We can only say that the wide spread of their renown is attested for the first half of the seventh century by the mention of their names by Bāṇa and in the Aihole-Meguṭi inscription of 634 A.D.; as also that some of them, like Guṇāḍhya to whose work Subandhu does allude repeatedly, must certainly have belonged to a considerably early period. Besides this, there are anecdotes only poorly attested, as well as sayings of very doubtful worth; and the scanty details contained in the poems themselves, which might serve as points (stepping-stones) for determining their age, are very difficult to be estimated, because the political and literary history of India during the first five centuries of our era lies very much in obscurity. When the age of the most important poets is so absolutely uncertain, it is but natural that the case should be in no way better with the general question of the age of the *Kāvya* poetry. In the literature, we come across very meagre traces which point to the fact that the artificial poetry was cultivated from earlier times; and to our great regret, even the age of the most important work in which quotations from *Kāvyas* occur, we mean, the *Mahābhāshya*, is in no way, above doubt. Thus it is not improbable that these quotations might be left unheeded as being witnesses little to be trusted as some of the most important inquirers have already done, and that theories, not taking notice of the same, might be put forth, which shift the growth of the artificial poetry to a very late age. Under these circumstances it can be easily seen why I make myself bold to claim some interest for the evidence based upon the testimony of inscriptions, in favor of a relatively high antiquity of the artificial poetry.

The materials which the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* offers for this inquiry, are not insignificant, and comprise not less than 18 numbers whose dates are certain or at least approximately determinable, the age of their composition lying about between 350 and 550 A.D. The assiduous labours of Mr. Fleet and Mr. Dikshit, about the astronomically calculable dates of the Gupta-inscriptions, irrefutably show that the beginning of the Gupta era falls 241 years later than that of the Śaka era, and for the reducing of the Gupta to the Christian era, they leave us just the option of adding 318 or 319 years. Mr. Fleet has tried to show that the year 319 or 320 A.D. marks the beginning of the Gupta era. Dr. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, advocates 318 or 319, and for important reasons. For a literary-historical inquiry, it is of course the same (it matters not, it is indifferent which of these suppositions is the right one). The first king who makes use of the Gupta era is Chandragupta II, named Vikramāditya, whose inscriptions and coins show the years 82-94 or 95, i.e., 400-413 or 401-414 A.D. From

the reign of his father Samudragupta, there are two inscriptions not dated. These belong to the last half of the fourth century and as regards Mr. Fleet's No. I, it can be asserted that it was composed when Samudragupta had already ruled for a large number of years. Because the number of his exploits eulogised therein is very considerable. Mr. Fleet's supposition that this inscription must have been composed after Samudragupta's death, rests, as it will be shown in detail below, on a wrong interpretation of the expression "Samudragupta's glory had gone up to heaven". As for the documents dated according to the Málava era, the detailed expositions of Dr. Peterson and Mr. Fleet leave no doubt that the era is identical with the Vikrama era of 56-7 A.D. The age of several undated numbers can be determined, as Mr. Fleet has shown, by the comparison of their contents with those of the dated numbers. If we arrange chronologically the numbers important for our inquiry, we may have the following list.—

1. No. I, Harishena's panegyric of Samudragupta, composed sometime between 375-390 A.D., on the Allahâbâd pillar, consisting of 9 verses and the rest in high, elevated prose, at the close named a *Kāvya*.
2. No. II., A fragment of a poetic description of Samudragupta, composed sometime between 353—390 A. D.
3. No. IV., An undated fragment of a poetic description of four early Gupta-kings, from the reign of Chandragupta II ; Gupta-Saṃvat 82-94 or 95.
4. No. VI., The small, wholly metrical, undated inscription in Virasena's cave at Udayagiri, from the same period.
5. No. X., The inscription on Dhruvasārman's pillar at Bhilsaḍ, composed partly in high prose and partly in metre, dated Gupta-Saṃvat 96, *i. e.*, 414 or 415 A. D., in the reign of Kumâragupta, Gupta-Saṃvat 96—130, 414/5—448/9.
6. No. XVII., The long composition, from Mayûrâkshaka's well in Gângdhar, dated Saṃvat 480 (?), 428/4 (?) A. D., from the reign of king Viśvavarman.
7. No. LXI., The small metrical inscription from Saṅkara's cave in Udayagiri, dated Gupta-Saṃvat 106, 424 or 425 A. D.
8. No. XII., The undated, partly metrical inscription on the pillar at Bihâr, from the reign of Skandagupta, Gupta-Saṃvat 136-149, *i. e.*, 454-467 or 455-468 A. D.
9. No. XIII., The undated inscription on the pillar at Bhitari, which is partly in high prose and partly in metre, from the same period.
10. No. XIV., The long, wholly metrical Rock-inscription at Junâgaḍh, which shows the Gupta year 136-138, 454-6 or 455-7, and is called a *grantha*.
11. No. XV., The wholly metrical inscription on Madra's pillar at Kahâum, dated Gupta-Saṃvat 141, 459 or 460 A. D.
12. No. XVIII., Vatsabhaṭṭi's wholly metrical *praśasti* about the Sun temple at Mandasor, dated Málava-saṃvat 529, 473/4 A. D.
13. No. XIX., The wholly metrical inscription on Mâtrivishṇu's and Dhanyavishṇu's pillar at Eraṇ, dated Gupta-saṃvat 165, June 21, 484 A. D., in the reign of Budhagupta.
14. No. XX., The short, wholly metrical, inscription on Goparâja's tomb-stone at Eraṇ, dated Gupta-saṃvat 191, 509 or 510 A. D., in the reign of Bhânugupta.
15. No. XXXIII., Vâsula's, undated, wholly metrical, panegyric of the king Yaśodharman, on the pillar at Mandasor, spoken of as *ślokaḍh*, and engraved by the same stone mason as the following dated inscription.
16. No. XXXIV., (? 35) The wholly metrical Praśasti on Daksha's well at Mandasor, composed in the Málava year 589, 533-4 A. D., in the reign of king Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvarhana.
17. No. XXXV., (? 36) The inscription on Dhanyavishṇu's boar-statue at Eraṇ, in the year 1 of king Toramâṇa, composed partly in verse and partly in high prose.
18. No. XXXVI. (? 37), The wholly metrical panegyric on Mâtricheṭa's temple of Vishṇu in Gwalior, from the year 15 of the reign of Mihirakula, who, according to No. XXIII, verse 6, was a contemporary of Yaśodharman.

It would be perhaps possible to augment this list by the inclusion of some other documents, as for instance, the Meherauli pillar-inscription of emperor Chandra, No. XXXII, and the poetically coloured genealogy of the Maukharis on the Asirgaḍh seal, No. XLVII, which, according to the character of their writing, belong to this period. But those already mentioned quite suffice for our purpose. Their number shows that during the period from 350-550 A. D., the use of the *kāvya*-style in inscriptions, especially in the longer ones, was in vogue and from this very circumstance it follows that court-poetry was zealously cultivated in India. It will be seen further on that this conclusion is confirmed by other indications of no doubtful character. Our next and most important work is, however, to inquire how far the samples of the *Kāvya* style contained in the inscriptions agree with the works of the recognized masters of Indian poetic art, and how the same are related to the rules in the manuals of poetics. A full discussion of all the numbers mentioned would in the meanwhile be too detailed and of but little use. It would suffice to select a poem that falls in the beginning of the period and another that belongs to the close of the same, as representatives and to go through the same thoroughly. With the rest, only a few important points will be prominently touched upon. On similar grounds, I take up, for purpose of a detailed discussion, No. I—Harishēṇa's panegyric of Samudragupta and No. XVIII.—Vatsabhaṭṭi's *praśasti* on the Sun temple at Daśapura-Mandasor; and immediately turn myself to the latter.

(To be continued.)

THE ADITYAS.

BY R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A., M.E.A.S., BANGALORE.

(Continued from p. 24)

The seven hundred and twenty sons, spoken of in verse 13, are evidently the 720 days and nights of the civil year; and the ten twins on the upper side of the chariot, referred to in the next verse, must necessarily be the 10 days and nights above the 360 days of the year. This shows that the poets were well acquainted with the real length of the solar year. It is the seven *Ādityas* or the gods of the intercalary months, that are referred to in verse 16. The expression that the seventh was single-born clearly shows the break in the eighth intercalary month, as pointed out above.

In the following verses of the *Atharvavēda* (X. 8) the mention of the number one thousand in connection with seven swans seems to furnish additional evidence that the seven *Ādityas*, eagles, or swans, as they are variously called, are the seven intercalary months.

द्वादश प्रथयद्वचक्रमेकं त्रीणि नभ्यानि क उ तच्चिकेत ।
 तत्राहतास्त्रीणि सतानि शोकवष्पष्टिद्वच खीला भविचाचला ये ॥ 4
 इदं सवितविजानीहि षड्यमा एक एकजः ।
 तस्मिन्हापिस्वामर्धंते य एषामेक एकजः ॥ 5
 एकचक्रं वर्तते एकनेमि सहस्राक्षरं प्रपुरो निपद्वच ॥
 अर्धेन विद्वं भुवनं जजान यदस्थार्धं क तद्वभूव ॥ 7
 सहस्राङ्गया वियतावस्य पक्षौ हरेर्हेतस्य पततस्वर्गम् ।
 स देवान्सर्वानुरस्युपद्वच संपद्वयन्याति भुवनानि विद्ववा ॥ 18

"Twelve fellies, one wheel, three naves,—who understands that? Therein are inserted three hundred and sixty pins, pegs that are immovable."¹⁵ 4

"This, O Savitri!, do thou distinguish: six are twins, one is sole-born; they seek participation in him who of them is the sole sole-born." 5

"One-wheeled it rolls, one-rimmed, thousand-syllabled, forth in front, down behind; with a half it has generated all existence; what its other half is,—what has become of that?" 7

"By a thousand days are the wings expanded of him, of the yellow swan flying to heaven; he, putting all the gods in his breast, goes, viewing together all existences."¹⁶ 18

¹⁵ Comp. E.V.I. 164, 48,

¹⁶ Comp. A.V. XIII, 2, 38.

In verse 4, the Sāvana year of 360 days is described; and in verse 5, the three pairs of intercalary months together with the single seventh month are referred to. In verse 7, the cycle of 20 years is described as containing a thousand syllables, *i.e.*, days. The question about the other half seems to refer to the loss of fifteen days in the eighth intercalary month. In verse 18, the last cycle of five years with $7\frac{1}{2}$ intercalary months seems to be described as a special period or great year, each wing or half of which is measured by a thousand days. The yellow Swan is the seventh intercalary month. Now, if we expand the wings by putting 1,000 on each, its duration becomes equal to 2,000 days. In 2,000 days there are $\frac{2,000}{29d, 12h, 45m.} = \frac{2,000 \times 32}{945} = \frac{12,800}{189} =$

67 lunations and 22 days, taking a lunation to be equal to 29 days, 12 hours, and 45 minutes.¹⁷ It is clear, therefore, that by the expressions 'thousand-syllabled chariot,' and 'a wing of thousand days' duration,' the poet refers to the last cycle in the greater cycle of 20 years, in as much as that cycle is approximately equal to five lunar years and seven and a half lunations. It is also to be noted that five lunar years are $= 5 \times 354 = 1,770$ days and twenty-times 12 extra days $= 20 \times 12 = 240$ days. Putting these together, we have $1,770 + 240 = 2,010$ days, which is greater by 10 days than the duration of 2,000 days, as described in verse 18. We shall see that the same cycle of five years with seven and a half intercalary months is also termed Purusha, 'man' or Sapta-purusha, 'seven men'. Hence it is probable that the rising up of the thousand-headed, thousand-eyed, and thousand-legged Purusha by 10 *angulas* or days above the earth, described in the Purushasūkta, refers to the same cycle of 2,010 days, which was made equal to 2,000 days. It is probable that the use of *angulas* to mark days was a common practice among the Vedic poets, as among the Arabians. Regarding the use of fingers by an Arabian prophet to mark days, this is what Albêrûnî says¹⁸:—

“—‘We are illiterate people, we do not write, nor do we reckon the month thus and thus and thus,’ each time showing his ten fingers, meaning a complete month or thirty days. Then he (the prophet) repeated his words by saying ‘And thus and thus and thus’, and at the third time he held back one thumb, meaning an incomplete month or twenty-nine days.”

In the following verses of the Atharvavêda (XII, 3, 16; and XIII, 2, 24) the same intercalary months are described as seven sacrifices and seven yellow steeds:—

सप्तमेधान्पशवः पर्यगृह्णन् य एषा ज्योतिष्मानुत यश्चकर्ष ।
त्रयस्त्रिंशद्देवतास्तान्सचते स नः स्वर्गमभिनये लोकम् ॥
सप्त स्वा हरितौ वहति देव सूर्यं शोचिष्केषं विचक्षणम् ।
भयुक्तं सप्त शुंभ्यवः सूरौ रथस्य नन्द्यः ताभिर्याति स्वयुक्तिभिः ॥

“Seven sacrifices the cattle obtained; of which some were full of light, and others were pining; to them the three and thirty attach themselves; do thou conduct us unto the heavenly world.”

“Seven yellow steeds, O heavenly sun, draw in the chariot thee, the flame-haired, the out-looking: the sun hath yoked the seven neat daughters to the chariot; with them who are self-yoked, he goeth.”

The only point to be considered in this is the number 33. Here, again, the allusion seems to be to the same thousand days by which each wing of the heavenly swan was said to be expanded; for 1,000 is equal to $\frac{1,000}{30} = 33$ months and 10 days.

In the following verse of the Atharvavêda (X, 8, 7 and 13; and XII, 4, 22) the poets speak of the same cycle as one of eight wheels or eight intercalary months:—

अष्टाचक्रं वर्तते एकनेत्री सहस्राक्षरं प्रपुरो निपद्वा ।
अर्धेन विद्मं भुवनं जजान यदस्यार्धं कल्पः स केतुः ॥

“The eight-wheeled (*chariot*) rolls, having one rim, thousand-syllabled, forth in front, down behind; with a half it has generated all existence; what its other half is,—which sign is that?”

¹⁷ But the Vedic estimate of the synodic lunar month, as shown by the Jyotish Vêdānga, was 1930 days divided by 62 lunations = 29 days, 12 hours, 23' 2258 Seconds.

¹⁸ *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, P. 78; 1879.

In the following passage of the Atharvavêda (IX, 10, 17) the poet counts the intercalary months neither as eight nor as seven, but exactly as seven and a half and calls them embryos:—

सप्तार्धगभुववनस्य रेतः विष्णोस्तिष्ठति प्रदिशा विधर्मणि ।

ते धीतिभिर्मनसा ते विपश्चितः परिभुवः परिभवन्ति विद्वतः ॥

“Seven and a half, embryos, the seed of existence, stand in front in Vishnu’s distribution ; they, by thoughts, by mind, they, inspired, surround on all sides the surrounders.”

In the following verses of the Atharvavêda (X, 3, 8-10), the poet mentions the thirteenth month, and refers to the seven intercalary months as seven eagles and seven suns, making Kaśyapa the head of them:—

अहोरात्रैर्विमितं त्रिंशद्दशं त्रयोदशं मासं यो निर्मिमीते ।

तस्य देवस्य क्रुद्धस्य एतदागः..... ॥

कृष्णं नियानं हरयस्सुपर्णा भपो वसाना दिवमुत्पतन्ति ।

त भाववृचन्सद्नादृतस्य तस्य देवस्य क्रुद्धस्य एतदागः ॥

यत्ते चं कश्यप रोचनावद्यत्संहितं पुष्कलं चित्रभानु ।

यस्मिन्सूर्या अपितास्सप्त साकं तस्य देवस्य क्रुद्धस्य एतदागः ॥

“He who measures out the thirteenth month, fabricated of days and nights, having thirty members,—against that god, angered, is this offence.

“Black the descent, the yellow eagles, clothing themselves in waters, fly up to the sky ; they have come hither from the seat of Rita ; against that god, angered, is this offence.

“What of thee, O Kaśyapa, is bright, full of shining, what that is combined, splendid, of wondrous light, in which seven suns are set together ; against that god, angered, is this offence.”

In the following verses of the Atharvavêda (XIX. 53, 1 and 2) the Poet describes the same seven intercalary months as time in the form of a thousand-eyed horse with seven reins, and also as seven wheels:—

कालो अश्वो वहति सप्तरश्मिः सहस्राक्षः अजरो भूरिरेताः ।

तमारोहन्ति कवयो विपश्चितः तस्य चक्रा भुवनानि विद्वा ।

सप्त चक्रा वहति काल एष सप्तास्य नाभीरमृतं न्वक्षः ।

स इमा विद्वा भुवनान्यवाङ्मालः स हीयते प्रथमो नु देवः ।

“Time drives a horse with seven reins, thousand-eyed, possessing much seed ; him the inspired poets mount ; his wheels are all beings.

“Seven wheels doth this Time drive ; seven are his naves, immortality forsooth his axle ; he, Time, including all these beings, goes on as first god.”

The meaning of a thousand eyes is the same as that of a thousand syllables, or a thousand days, expanding a wing of the heavenly swan, explained above.

In what is called the Aruṇōpanishad of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the poet describes the same year with an intercalated month (*Adhisamvatsara*), beginning with the rainy season, together with the signs and characteristics by which its arrival was usually found out, so picturesquely and forcibly that one cannot resist the conclusion that the poet refers to the seven intercalary months. Since the Upanishad furnishes additional evidence about the theory I have been setting forth here, some of the passages of it, bearing on the subject, are quoted below, with translation and notes. Owing to the want of the intercalation of 8 or $7\frac{1}{2}$ months, the beginning of the year falls back, and coincides, as pointed above, with the middle of the month of Śrāvaṇa, when the rainy season sets in with lightening and rainbow. Accordingly the poet calls upon the waters to remove the heat and fever of the summer along with the demon infesting the intercalary months, and to manifest the arrival of the Ādityas, the gods of the seven intercalary months:—

आपनापामपस्सर्वा अस्मादस्मादितोऽसुतः ।

अग्निर्वायुश्च सूर्यश्च सह संचस्कराद्धिया ॥ 1

वाध्वद्वा राश्मिपतयः मरीच्यात्मानो अद्भुहः ।

देवीर्भुवनसूवरीः पुत्रवत्त्वाय मे सुत ॥ 2

महानाम्नीर्महामानाः महसां महसस्त्वः ।

देवीः पर्जन्यसूवरीः पुत्रवत्वाय मे सुत ॥ 3
 अपाङ्गुष्णिमपा रक्षः अपाङ्गुष्णिमपा रघम् ।
 अपात्रामप चावर्ति अपदेवीरितो हित ॥ 4
 वज्रं देवीरजीतांश्च भुवनं देवसूवरीः ।
 आदित्यानदितिं देवीं योनिनोर्ध्वमुदीषत ॥ 5
 शिवा नदशंतामा भवंतु दिव्या आप ओषधयः ।
 सुमृडीका सरस्वति मा ते व्योम संवृशि ॥ 6

“ I have obtained and obtained all waters from this and that side ; may Agni, the sun, and the wind make the waters prosperous. 1

“ O waters, whose steeds are the (*seven*) winds, whose lords are the rays of the sun, whose body is formed of shining rays, who are not malicious to anyone, and who are the mothers of all beings, allow me to have sons. 2

“ O Waters, who are of pleasing names, who are worthy of worship, who are of shining form, who are productive of food, and who are the mothers of the raining clouds, allow me to have sons. 3

“ O Waters, take away the excessive heat and fever, take away the demon, take away the bad smell, and take away our poverty. 4

“ O Waters, hold up the thunderbolt, hold up life and all beings ; O mothers of gods, hold up the *Ādityas* as well as the goddess *Aditi* together with her womb (*bringing forth the Ādityas or intercalary months*). 5

“ May the heavenly waters and herbs be auspicious to us, and may they bring happiness to us ; O water, thou art the bestower of comforts ; I have not seen thy abode in the sky.” 6

In the next passages the poet proceeds to define time and its characteristics :—

स्मृतिः प्रत्यक्षमैतिह्यमनुमानश्चतुष्टयम् ।
 एतैरादित्यमंडलं सर्वैरेव विधास्यते ॥ 7
 सूर्यो मरीचिमादत्ते सर्वस्माद्भुवनाद्धि ।
 तस्याः पाकविशेषेण स्मृतं कालविशेषणम् ॥ 8
 नदीव प्रभावात्काच्चिरक्षय्यात्स्थंदते यथा ।
 तां नद्योऽभिसमायांति सौरुस्सती न निवर्तते ॥ 9
 एवं नानासमुत्थानाः कालास्संवत्सरं श्रिताः ।
 अणुद्वाश्च महद्वाश्च सर्वे समवयांति तम् ॥ 10
 स तैस्सर्वैस्समाविष्टः उरुस्सन्न निवर्तते ।
 अधिसंवत्सरं विद्यात् तदेवलक्षणे ॥ 11
 अणुभिश्च महद्भिश्च समारूढः प्रवृद्ध्यते ।
 संवत्सरः प्रत्यक्षेण नाधिसत्त्वः प्रवृद्ध्यते ॥ 12

“ Remembrance of past experience, seeing with the eyes, tales heard from others, and inference as the fourth,—with all these (*four kinds of evidence*), the circle of the (*seven or eight*) *Ādityas* is laid up. 7

“ The Sun takes up the water from the whole world ; by means of the peculiar and ripe form of the waters [*i. e.*, raining clouds] the characteristics of the times are remembered.

“ Just as a river flows from an imperishable source, and just as other streamlets join her, and just as she, growing in volume, never returns, so the moments of various birth are merged in the year, by small bits and big periods ; they all form the year ; the year being formed of them grows in length and never returns.

“ One should understand this as a year with intercalation (*Adhisamvatsara*), and that by means of the characteristics (*to be spoken of*) ; formed of small and big bits of time, the ordinary year is visible to the eye ; but not so the swollen thing [*i. e.*, the year in which intercalation is to be made].” 12

The poet has defined the year as being formed of a member of small and big moments ; and has pointed out the difficulty of seeing the intercalated year. Now he is going to describe those characteristics by which its arrival can be inferred :—

पदरो विह्लिधः पिंगः एतद्भरण लक्षणम् ।
 यत्रैतदुपवृद्ध्यते सहस्रं तत्र नीयत ॥ 13

एकं हि शिरः नाना मुखे कृत्स्नं तदृतुलक्षणम् ।
 उभयतस्सप्तैर्द्रियाणि जल्पितं त्वेव दिह्यते ॥ 14
 शुक्रकृष्णे संवत्सरस्य दक्षिणवामयोः पादर्वयोः ।
 तस्यैषा भवतिः—
 शुक्रं तेऽन्यद्द्वयजतं तेऽन्यत् ।
 विषुरूपे अहनी द्यौरिवाप्ति ॥ 15
 विद्वा हि माया अवस्ति स्वधावः ।
 भद्रा ते पूषन्निह रतिरस्त्विति ॥ 16
 नात्र भुवना न पूषा न पशवः नादित्यः ।
 संवत्सर एव प्रत्यक्षेण प्रियतमं विद्यात् ॥ 17
 एतद्वै संवत्सरस्य प्रियतमं रूपं योऽस्य महानर्थं उत्पत्स्यमानो भवति ।
 इदं पुण्यं कुरुष्वेति तमाहरणं दद्यात् ॥ 18

“Being covered with (*clouds*), being damp and tending to wet, and being red (*with the rainbow*),—these are the characteristics of Varuṇa, the lord of water or the rainy season; when this is seen, there is put in a thousand (*days*);

“The head is uniform and single; but in its face it (*the year*) is varied; this is the sum total of the characteristics of the seasons (*intercalary*). From both sides (*abhayatah*), there are seven vital organs; talk alone paints it thus [in reality there is no such thing as the vital organ, &c.];

“White and dark days are on the right and left sides of the year: the following is said about it:—

O year, that which is white of thee [*i. e.*, the day, and that part of the year which extends from the winter solstice to the summer solstice] is quite different from what is to be worshipped of thee [*i. e.*, the night, and the part of the year which extends from summer solstice to winter solstice]; thy days are of different form; between them thou art like the sky. 15

“O year, thou art productive of food; thou possessest all kinds of enchantment; O Protector, may thy gift be good to us. 16

“No beings here; no god Pushan; no Cattle; no Âditya; there is the year alone; man looks upon it as a dear thing; the form of the year is what is dear to him; hence saying ‘Do, thou, this meritorious thing,’ one should give gifts when this great thing (*the intercalated year*) comes into existence.”

As I have already pointed out, the poet speaks of the arrival of the rainy season, when, for the adjustment of 20 lunar years to twenty sidereal years, the last cycle of 5 years in the period of 20 years was divided into two parts, and each part was made equal to 1,000 days. The expression that there are seven vital organs in the face of the year which, as a whole, is uniform, refers to the insertion of the seven intercalary months. As it is necessary to know the two parts or sides of the year when 1000 days are counted to form each part, the poet has referred to those two sides as being formed of white and dark days respectively. There is no doubt that by the two white and dark sides, the poet refers to what is called the Uttarâyana (that part of the year which extends from the winter solstice to the summer solstice) and also the Dakshinâyana (that part of the year which extends from the summer solstice, which coincides with the arrival of the rainy season, to the winter solstice¹⁹). It is well known that it was during Dakshinâyana that sacrifices were performed. Hence the poet has called that part of the year as being worshipable. ‘The meritorious thing’ refers to the gifts made in the sacrifices made at the end of the Dakshinâyana.

The poet now goes on to speak of the seven Âdityas and of the loss of the eighth Âditya:—

साकंजानां सप्तयमाहरेकजं षडुद्यमा ऋषयो देवजा इति ।
 तेषामिष्टानि विहितानि धामशः स्थान्ने रेंजते विकृतानि रूपशः ॥ 19
 को नु मर्यां अमिथितः सखा सखायमन्नवीत् ।
 जहाको भस्मशीषते । यस्तित्याज सखिविरं सखायम् ।

¹⁹ Compare Bhagavadgītâ, VIII, 24, 25.

न तस्य वाच्यपि भागोऽस्ति । यदीं शृणोत्यलकं शृणोति
नहि प्रवेद सुकृतस्य पथानिति ॥ 20

“Of those born together, the seventh they call the sole-born; six, they say, are twins, god-born seers; the sacrifices of them, distributed according to their respective abodes and modified in form, move to the *permanent*. 19

“O men, tell me who is that friend who, though not vexed, said about his friend thus:—‘As a deserter, he wants to fly from us?’ Whoever has deserted his friend that knew him will have no share (*of offerings*) even in talk; if he hears that there is such a thing, he hears what is untrue; for he does not know the path of good deeds.” 20

The poet says here that while the six sons of Aditi are born in pairs, the seventh became single-born, since the eighth, as he says later on, was half-born and was therefore cast out. It is only for the seven that sacrificial offerings are distributed according to their abodes, but not for the eighth, who, though a friend, has fled from the company of his friend, the seventh *Āditya*. This is what the poet seems to imply when he says that a deserting friend will have not even a promise of a share of sacrificial offerings.

The poet now goes on to speak of the five years' cycle:—

ऋतुः ऋतुना जुद्यमानः विननासभिधावः ।
षष्टिद्वच त्रिंशका वल्गा शुक्लकृष्णौ च षष्टिकौ ॥ 21

“One season, being propelled by another, runs and makes a noise: sixty are the groups of thirty (*days*); white and dark parts are also sixty in number.” 21

Before going to speak of the deserter, the poet finds it necessary to describe the rotation of the seasons and of the five years cycle. Here the sixty groups of 30 days are evidently sixty months, *i. e.*, five years. In this cycle a season of two months, propelled by other seasons, steps in. The sixty white and dark parts in the last line seem to refer to the greater cycle of sixty years, in which 120 solstices will happen. (60 winter, 60 summer.) It is to be remembered that the cycle of five years is closely connected with the cycle of sixty years, which is made of twelve cycles of five years each. There may probably be some reference to the names of the sixty years in the words ‘Prabhava,’²⁰ and ‘Akshaya,’ used in the beginning of the Upanishad, while comparing the year to a river. After describing the characteristics of the spring and other seasons which are omitted here as unnecessary, the poet goes on to speak of the winter season when the sacrifices in connection with intercalation are completed:—

अतिताम्राणि वासांसि भष्टिवज्रशतानि च ।
विश्वेदेवा विप्रहरन्ति अग्निजिह्वा असञ्चत ॥ 22
नैव देवो न मर्त्यः न राजा वरुणो विशुः ।
नाग्निनेद्रो न पवमानः मादृक् च न विद्यते ॥
दिव्यस्यैका धनुरालिः पृथिव्यामपराश्रिता ।
तस्येद्रो वन्निरूपेण धनुर्ध्यामच्छिनस्त्वयम् ।
तद्दिद्रधनुरित्यज्यं अभ्रवर्णेषु चक्षते ।
एतदेव श्योर्बाहस्पत्यस्य एतद्दिद्रस्य धनुः ॥ 25
रुद्रस्येव धनुरालिः शिर उत्पिपेश
स प्रवर्योऽभवत् । तस्मद्यः सप्रवर्येण ॥
यज्ञेन यजते रुद्रस्य स शिरः प्रतिवधाति ।
नैनं रुद्र आरुको भवति य एव वेद ॥ 26

(To be continued.)

²⁰ Prabhava is the name of the first year and Akshaya* of the last in the cycle of sixty years.

What is the authority for saying that Akshaya instead of Kahaya, is the name of the last year of the cycle?—J. F. F. Akshaya is the name by which the last year is commonly known in the Southern parts of India; see *Essentials of Astronomy*, p. 155, Mysore G. T. A. Press, 1912.—E. S.

THE PEREGRINATIONS OF INDIAN BUDDHISTS IN
BURMA AND IN THE SUNDA ISLANDS.

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Translated from the German by

G. K. NARIMAN, RANGOON.

THE sources, which are at our command for the ancient history of Burma, are the holy scriptures of southern Buddhists composed in Pāli. These were written in India and touch on the history of further India and Burma only cursorily and as a digression. Besides they cannot claim implicit reliance; but implicit reliance cannot at all be placed in Oriental annalists since a simple straight narrative without ornamentation of their own imagining has been always foreign to them.

According to the concordant testimony of all the histories, the Burmans came from the Ganges Valley and their kings were relatives to the Princes of Kośala and Kapilavastu. Of this tradition only this much is true, namely, that the Burmans emigrated no doubt, from the north and possibly in the course of their migration touched the valley of the Ganges. But there can be no possibility about their being related to the Aryans of India; that would be in conflict with their racial peculiarities as well as their language, which, no doubt, belongs to the monosyllabic group. The whole theory of the descent of the Burmans from India was first invented, after the conversion of the country to Buddhism, by court historians, who thereby flattered the reigning kings, inventing for them a kinship with the clan from which the Buddha had sprung.

In another instance the Burmese tradition comes in contact with the history of India, namely, as regards prince Daśaratha. He, too, was a descendant of the Śākya dynasty of Kapilavastu to which Gotama belonged, and wandered after renouncing the throne eastwards to Burma, where he founded the so called second Tagaung Dynasty.

From these repeated attempts of the historians to connect the history of Burma with that of India and especially with Kapilavastu, it follows that at an early date a regular intercourse must have been established between the two countries. Thus, we read in the sacred books of merchants from Ukkalā or Suvarṇabhūmi (these are the ancient names of Burma) who carried on business in Central India. Two of these merchants came in direct contact with the Buddha himself; as is reported to us in one of the oldest texts. (*Mahāvagga*, Book 1, Chapter 4.) The account is naturally somewhat fantastically embellished, still I assume with certainty that a historical kernel underlies it. It is stated there that the Tathāgata was seated at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree sunk in deep meditation, when there came up to him two men named Tapussa and Bhallika from Ukkalā bringing to the Buddha rice cakes and honey, offering the same to him as a present from themselves. The Buddha thought that "the Tathāgata do not take any food in their hands; how then shall I receive these rice cakes and honey?" Upon this the four Mahārājas of the four directions produced before him four stone utensils, in which the Buddha received the offered rice cakes and honey. These two merchants thus became the first lay disciples of the Buddha. This account in the *Mahāvagga* is confirmed by the inscription on the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, which dates from the year 1485 during the reign of king Dhammacheti. This king sent out eleven monks to Ceylon to enable them to receive their Upasampadā consecration at the celebrated Mahāvihāra; since their own ordination had become null, as they had not observed the prescriptions of the *Vinaya*. The pagoda of Shwe Dagon itself is said to have been built in the life time of Gotama; though, of course, this is mere legend. The inscription repeats the account as given in the *Mahāvagga* and adds that both the merchants received eight hairs from Gotama, which they took back to their country and enshrined in their pagoda on the summit of the Tamagatta Mount, east of the city of Asitanjanagara.

Both these accounts differ only in one essential point. For while in the *Mahāvagga*, the two merchants came from Ukkalā overland, the Shwe Dagon inscription states that this journey was made by ship. From this it appears that the compiler of the *Mahāvagga* understood Ukkalā to be Orissa, which is a province of India, from where one could journey overland to the Rājāyatana tree. Dharmaceti, on the other hand, the author of the inscription on the Shwe Dagon, understood by Ukkalā the territory at the foot of the Shwe Dagon Hill stretching up to the Irāvadi, where a number of colonists from further India must have settled at an early date. Hence he makes the two merchants voyage in a ship.

When we look into the later Buddhist Literature we find the history of Tapussa and Bhalika also in the commentary of Buddhaghosha to the *Vinaya* and to the *Anguttaranikāya*, which is a production of the 5th Christian century. There also the city from where they came and where they erected the pagoda on their return is called Asitanjananagara, just as in the inscription on the Shwe Dagon. Accordingly, there seems to be no doubt that Buddhaghosha, too, the most celebrated of the later Buddhist theologians, had in his mind Burma and not Orissa, and that the Shwe Dagon Pagoda was actually built on the spot, where the two merchants buried the hair relics presented to them by Gotama. The name Dagon can be traced to an old Tikumbha "the three alms bowls", and with this is linked the legend that Gotama and his two favourite disciples, Śāriputta and Moggallāna had buried their alms bowls at that place. The name came into use first in the 16th century, while before that time the pagoda was called Singuttaraceti. Buddhaghosha's testimony is, therefore, of special value, in as much as he composed the greater number of his *Commentaries* in Burma, after he had spent some time in Ceylon with a view to study the sacred scriptures at the latter place. The Burmese historians even assert that he was born in their country. But this is contradicted by the evidence of the *Mahāvansa*, which alleges his birth place to be in the vicinity of the holy Bodhi Tree, and, therefore, is not to be accepted as a historical fact. The identity of Ukkalā and Burma, as asserted by Buddhaghosha, is no doubt, (as Kern indicates,) in conflict with the statement of the *Lalita-Vistāra*, which places the home of the two merchants in a country to the north of the Deccan, and it likewise is not in accord with the information of the Chinese Pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang, who makes the merchants come from Baktria. But the *Lalita-Vistāra* has proved itself in many cases to be an unreliable source and the expression "northern country" is so vague that it might indicate almost any country. As regards Hiuan-Tsang he is a great authority for Northern Buddhism; but, he has little knowledge of Southern Buddhism, and when his evidence is in conflict with that of Buddhaghosha, we must explicitly give precedence to the latter.

We assume, therefore, that the first two lay disciples of Gotama originally came from Burma; but that is not the same thing as to say that Buddhism had already been introduced into Burma by that time. That event took place after the Council of Pīṭaliputra, which was held under the patronage of king Aśoka. At this Council, at the suggestion of Tissa Moggaliputta, it was resolved to send out missionaries to various directions with a view to proselytise the surrounding countries to Buddhism. Both the children of king Aśoka, Mahinda and Sanghamittā, went over to Ceylon; to Burma went the apostles Sona and Uttara. These two arrived there after a long journey, because the country was at that time in the possession of a sea monster who was working havoc there. The apostles succeeded in destroying the monster and naturally gained unexpected success in their mission of proselytisation. Two-thousand-five-hundred men and one-thousand-five-hundred women forthwith accepted monkhood, and the kings of the country thence-forward bore the name of Sonuttara.

The port where Sona and Uttara landed in Burma was called Golanagara or Golamattikānagara, and lay some twenty miles north-west of the capital, Thatōn. The late Doctor

Forchhammer, who rendered considerable service to the archeology of Burma, discovered there tolerably extensive ruins which go to prove an old settlement at the place. The name of the city in an inscription at Kalyâni belonging to the 15th century is explained so as to suggest that it consisted of earthen houses after the style of those constructed by the Gaula or Gola in India. It was also probably an old Indian colony from pre-Christian times similar to the one mentioned above at the foot of the Shwe Dagon Hill. In the 16th Century the city was called Takkala, and at present it is named Ayetthima. Forchhammer attempted to identify this Golanagara with the territory called Kalah mentioned by Arab geographers, and accordingly propounded quite a new hypothesis with reference to a question which had already been taken up by Sir Emerson Tennent and others. The Arabs speak about a kingdom, which bore the name of Zabedj and extended in the 8th and 9th Centuries over the Islands to the south and east of Malacca, and consequently to Java, Borneo, Sumatra, etc. To this kingdom belonged likewise the southern extremity of India and also the country in question called Kalah. This place was the centre of commerce in aloes, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, and lead. The ships coming from the east, China, and from the west, Persia, met at Kalah and exchanged their respective commodities. This Kalah therefore, must have been situated somewhere in the Indian Ocean and the supposition of Sir Emerson Tennent that it would be Point-de-Galle in Ceylon has nothing improbable about it. Even this day Ceylon constitutes the centre of commerce and the meeting point of passengers in the Indian Ocean, and if Point-de-Galle has been replaced as a port in course of centuries by Colombo, it was because the port of Point-de-Galle is in the first place unsafe, and secondly, because, it was the government which directed the intercourse towards the capital Colombo. In the accounts of the Arab geographers we come across a group of islands which must have existed in the vicinity of this ancient Kalah, and this has probably placed us on the right track. Sir Emerson Tennent thinks in this connection of the Maldivé Islands but that is scarcely probable, because, the Maldivé Islands lie two and a half days' journey west of Point-de-Galle, a situation which must have proved one of great distance for the then commercial circumstances. Perhaps we would be nearer the mark if we understood by Kalah the north-west coast of Ceylon, for, as a matter of fact there does exist a group of islands in close proximity, which constitutes what is called the Adams Bridge, and which was even a connecting link with the main land in pre-historic times. In the immediate neighbourhood of Kalah lived according to Cosmas Indicopleustes the king who had the hyacinth (*δ εἰς ἐχων τὸν ὑακινθόν*) which is an attempt at transcribing the precious stone district in Ceylon at present called Sabara Gamuva, and with it was connected the land where the pepper goods *i.e.* the district between Puttalam and Adams Peak which is known in modern times by the name of Maha Oya. The Arab geographer Abu Zayid further narrates that the country in his time was subject to two kings . . . the one was the Sultan of Zabej whose domination extended over Malacca, the Sunda Islands, and Travancore, the other was a Singhalese king who lived as a dependent on the Sultan.

Of another opinion is the author of the anonymous work on Ceylon which appeared in 1876 in London under the title, "Ceylon, a general description of the Island, historical, physical, and statistical." He is of the view that the vessels which plied between China and Persia must have sailed from Cape Comorin straight over the Gulf of Bengal to the Nicobar Islands; they must have touched at the port of Kalah which must have been in that case one of the islands or peninsulas belonging to Hinter India, possibly, the modern Kedah near Penang. There is nothing more to adduce in support of this hypothesis except the more or less questionable similarity of pronunciation between Kedah and Kalah. This hypothesis, however, has more of probability in it than that of Forchhammer, because, the vessels must have sailed past Kedah, while in order

to call a halt at Golanagara, they would have to make a long detour towards the north. I therefore, remain an adherent of the view of Sir Emerson Tennent concerning the situation of Kalah; only for Point-de-Galle I would substitute the north-west coast of the Island of Ceylon.¹

We will now leave Burma and the questions connected with it and cast a glance at the Sunda Islands. The date of the first colonisation is here also a matter of doubt, though the place whence the colonists immigrated was in all probability Kalinga, the district to the north of the mouth of the Godavary. The name Kalinga or Kaling, which is the designation bestowed by the Chinese on the Javanese, is no strong proof of this, for, the Chinese so call all the Indians who crossed over the ocean to the Celestial Empire. But it is very likely that they originally came from there, because it was also the provenance of the Singhalese. The Chinese Pilgrim Fa-Hian, who landed at Java about the year 413 on his return voyage from India to China, and sojourned there for a time, found an Indian civilisation in full growth. Brahmans and the so called heretics, as Fa-Hian calls all Shaivites, were in large numbers, while there were few or no Buddhists at all. This is confirmed by Sanskrit inscriptions in western Java and east Borneo, which to judge by the formation of the alphabet must be at the latest as old as the 5th Century. From these inscriptions, which are of a Vaishnavite character, we can conclude that both Java and the east coast of Borneo were hinduised prior to the 5th Century. Moreover, we learn from a Chinese report that in the year 435 there reigned in Java a prince, whose name was the pure Indian Dhâravarman and his title Sripâla. We possess documents belonging to Java and composed in its native language, the *Kavi* from the 9th Century. From this it follows that about that time the country was completely Hinduised and that there were traces of Buddhism in the Mahâyâna form. Probably, the Buddhists had immigrated to Sumatra and Malacca in the 5th Century soon after Fa-Hian's visit. This is supported by the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kedah and province Wellesley, as well as of the celebrated temple of Boro Bodor, the most extensive Buddhist structure in existence. According to the opinion of Fergusson and Burgess, the temple was completed in the 7th Century and its construction must have taken somewhere about a hundred years so that its building was probably commenced in the 6th Century.

We find Indian influence equally in Sumatra, although not in such a high degree as in Java and Bali. The alphabet which is used in Sumatra can be traced to an Indian origin, and the language has adopted a number of Sanskrit words. There are tolerably numerous names of places of Sanskrit origin. Buddhism must have flourished there from the 10th to the 14th Centuries, as can be inferred from several inscriptions and ancient buildings. Of all the islands of the Archipelago, Java alone seems to have admitted the division into castes according to the Hindu model, and this is an indication of Brahmanical and not Buddhist influence, for the Buddhist strove to do away with caste. The most prominent Brahmanical sect in Java was the Shaivite. Shaivism and Buddhism were the two officially recognised religions in Java, just as they are in Nepal of to-day where the King and the ruling classes are Shaivites, whereas the mass of the people do homage to the Buddha. We even find a kind of syncretism of both the religions in Java, in as much as the Buddha is regarded and adored as younger brother of Siva. At great festivals like that of Pañchavalikrama, it so happens that four Shaivite and one Buddhistic priests officiate in co-operation. The Buddhist priest turns his face towards the south, three of the Shaivites facing the three remaining cardinal points and the fourth sitting in the centre. We see from this that the Buddhists of the Sunda Islands were far from fanatics and allowed the adherents of other faiths to live there undisturbed. The situation was probably similar to that obtaining in Ceylon though in an inverted order, for the Buddhists were the first to occupy Ceylon, Hinduism having crept into the island only at a subsequent period along with Tamil immigrants. There, too, we meet with, as at Dondra on the southern coast, in one and the same temple images of the Buddha, of Vishnu, of Gaṇeśa, and the holy Bull from Tanjore, all of them being installed there without mutual disturbance or error in the prayers offered by the faithful of these various creeds.

¹ There is much more to be said for Kalah=Kedah than the author seems to be aware of.—ED.

PARAMAJOTISTOTRA

An Old Braja Metrical Version of Siddhasenadivākara's Kalyāṇamandīrastotra.

BY L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

I found this vernacular version of the famous *stotra* by Siddhasenadivākara in a Jaina MS. pertaining to the Indian Collection in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. The MS. is registered in Pavolini's catalogue under No. 674. It consists of 15 leaves, with 12 lines on each page, but it is unfortunately incomplete, some leaves at the end having been lost. As the colophon is wanting, it is not possible to fix the date of the MS., but the general appearance of the paper and of the script are sufficient to show that it was copied at a comparatively modern time. On the cover we read the title, *Digambarastotrāṇi*; which is quite probably the title we should find in the colophon, if the last leaf of the MS. had been preserved to us. It is, in fact, a collection of *stotras*, partly in Sanskrit and partly in Bhāshā, of which only the first four have been preserved. These are the following :—

(a) The *Pañchamaṅgala* by Rūpachanda, in Old Braja, from page 1b down to page 8a. It contains 25 stanzas in all, divided into five parts named respectively: (1) *Prathamamaṅgala*, (2) *Janamamaṅgala*, (3) *Tapakalyāṇaka*, (4) *Jñānakalyāṇaka*, (5) *Nirvāṇakalyāṇaka*. It is a *maṅgala-gīta* commemorating the five most salient points in the life of the Trailokyanātha Sudevajinavara, from the dreams seen by the mother of the Jina down to his attainment of the *nirvāṇa*. In the last stanza (25th) the author records his name.

(b) The *Vishāpahārastotra* by Dhanamjaya, in 39 Sanskrit stanzas.

(c) The *Aikībhāvastotra* by Vādirāja, in 26 Sanskrit stanzas.

(d) The *Paramajotistotra*, in Old Braja, from page 14a down to the foot of page 15b, deficient at the end, owing to the loss of the subsequent leaves of the MS. The text reaches to the beginning of stanza 26 and, therefore, 18 stanzas are wanting.

Though incomplete, this *Paramajotistotra* is, no doubt, of the greatest interest. It derives its value partly from its excellence as a translation; partly also, and perhaps chiefly, from the particular form of language, in which it is couched. The work is, in fact, a metrical version of Siddhasenadivākara's *Kalyāṇamandīrastotra*, in which the author has displayed an ability that is very rarely found in similar works. It was, indeed, no easy matter to put into a different language the often intricate meaning of the Sanskrit *stotra*, retaining all the puns that are met at almost every step in the latter; and, what is more, to put it into stanzas having verses rhyming with each other and corresponding exactly in number with the *vasantatilakās* in the original; even to outdo the very Sanskrit text in conciseness, by recasting the whole content of each *vasantatilakā*—without omitting any important particular—into stanzas numbering a smaller amount of syllables. How far the author has succeeded in this effort, the reader will judge for himself. In some passages, indeed, the vernacular version seems to be much more elegant than the Sanskrit original by Siddhasena itself. The work takes its name of *Paramajotistotra* from its beginning, after the example of the *Kalyāṇamandīrastotra* itself and of many other *stotras* of a similar kind, such as the renowned *Bhaktāmara*.

As to the probable author of the version—though it cannot be presumed that any positive conclusion on this question will ever be attained, owing to the scanty evidence,—I think there is a circumstance that may perhaps lead to his determination. Namely, the fact that the *Paramajotistotra* shares with the *Pañchamaṅgala*, the first work in the collection, not only the same language, but even the same linguistic peculiarities; and that the external affinity between the two works is such that it cannot be explained except by the assumption that both of them were composed in the same place and at about the same time, and, perhaps, even by the same poet. If it be correct to go as far as

the latter conclusion, it is with the Rūpacanda of the *Pañchamaṅgala* that the author of our version should be identified.

Turning to the form of the language in which the *Paramajotistotra* is written, I have to make some further observations concerning what has been stated above. The language is, in fact, Old Braja, but this statement would be altogether incorrect, if it were understood to imply that the version was made within the area where Braja is spoken at the present day. It is well known (and here I mean to refer chiefly to Sir G. Grierson's authority) that in former times the use of the Braja Bhākhā was spread towards the West far beyond the limits of the territory, where it was spoken. Indeed, for many centuries Braja has been the common polite language, in which poets of the Western Gangetic Valley, Rajputana and even Gujrat used to compose their works. When so used for literary purposes by the poets of the West, it was called Piṅgala, and in contradistinction to it the dialects peculiar to each of the various countries, when they were used in poetry, were called Diṅgala. But the use of the latter for literary purposes seems never to have been so widely extended as that of the former. Now, it can be easily conceived that the adoption of the Braja by the poets in such countries as possessed a vernacular of their own, and differing from it, could not take place without the Braja growing more or less corrupt through the introduction of strange elements and foreign words, borrowed from the peculiar dialect of the writer. The resultant, then, was a form of language, that in its main features was Braja, but at the same time contained many peculiarities, which were not consistent with the latter and could be explained only by a direct reference to Mārwaṛī or Gujaraṭī.

This is precisely the case with the language, in which our *Paramajotistotra* is composed. It is Old Braja mixed with alien elements, which clearly point to the West for their origin. Such are: सुविना "dreams," कर्म-तणी "of the actions,"¹ two instances of the plurals in—आ as are met in all the dialects of the Rājasthāni and Gujaraṭī; ए "this, these," for the singular and plural forms of the demonstrative pronoun, which in Braja ought to be यह and ये respectively; जे "who," for the plural of the relative pronoun, instead of the Braja forms जौ or जो; भणि "says," for the third person singular of the simple present, instead of भणै, which is the only form that is possible in Braja; करै है "is doing," an instance of the definite present, which is not very common in Braja, whilst it becomes the rule in Mārwaṛī and in the other dialects of the West; होसी "will be," an example of the sigmatic future, which is not found to exist in the Western Hindi, etc. Indeed, some of these as well as other forms, besides pointing to the West, seem to point also to an early stage in the formation of the vernaculars. In other words there are some peculiarities, which, though they may happen to have their correspondents in the dialects of Rajputana and of Gujrat, might be as well explained by a direct reference to the Apabhraṃṣa. Such are for instance: the postpositions तणी and तणी of the genitive, which are liable to be directly chained to the corresponding forms: तणउ and तणी in the Apabhraṃṣa; the inflected locative singular ending in -ए, -इ, of which there are traces in all forms of Bhāshā and which likewise occurs in the Apabhraṃṣa; the pronominal forms कौण "who?" for the interrogative pronoun, and किम "how?" for the interrogative adverb of manner, both of which are derived from the Apabhraṃṣa forms: कवण and कौ, and the latter has spread so far in the East that it is found even in the Old Baiswaṛī of Tulasī Dāsa; and finally the forms जरिसौ, तारिसौ, for the pronominal adjectives of manner, which are even older than the corresponding forms जइसउ, तइसउ of the Apabhraṃṣa, and for the explanation of which one must refer to the Prākṛit. Further, there are some other forms, which are rather to be considered as Kanauji peculiarities, like इहि, जिहि, किहि,² which are used for the oblique singular of the

¹ These two forms, as well as some of the others mentioned below, are not met in the *Paramajotistotra*, but only in the *Pañchamaṅgala*

² The MS. often reads इह; जिह, किह

pronouns. Quite peculiar are the forms होहि "is" and होहि "are," for the 3rd persons singular and plural of the simple present of the substantive verb, both used in their original indicative meaning and therefore corresponding to the Braja है and है, respectively. I believe, they are to be explained as having arisen from two hypothetical forms: *हवहि (हवइ) and *हवहि of the Apabhraṃṣa, which, though they have not yet been found, may reasonably be supposed to have existed beside the more recent forms होइ and होति. As for the ह being retained in the terminations: हि, -हि, instances of the same are not wanting in Old Hindī. Lastly, there will be noticed the use of the old genitive in-ह, which is also commonly found in the Old Gujarātī as well as in Canda's poetry, and in the latter it appears to have superseded almost all other cases. In the same way, it will be found used with a meaning different from that of the genitive case in the example गुणह गभीर in the 2nd caupāi of the *Paramajotistotra*.

The conclusion, then, to be drawn is that the *Paramajotistotra* was written at a rather early period in the history of the Bhāshās, which it is not possible to determine at the present day, and in a country lying to the West of the area where Braja was spoken. Whether this country was Rajputana or Gujarat, cannot be easily ascertained. The fact that some of the Western peculiarities, that have been treated of above—as for instance ए for the singular of the demonstrative pronoun and किन for the interrogative adverb of manner—seem to point rather to Gujarātī than to Rājasthānī, is of no great account in this question, as at that time the difference between the vernaculars of Gujarat and of Rajputana was much less distinct than at the present day. Be it remembered that both forms of speech have come out of the same stock, viz., the Çauraseni Apabhraṃṣa, and that their mutual connection still appears as a very close one, if we only compare the Old Gujarātī with the Old Mārwarī.

I need not expend words in illustrating the contents or showing the literary importance of the *Kalyāṇamandīrastotra*,—the original, of which our *Paramajotistotra* is a version—nor shall I dwell on its being an imitation of Mānātūṅga's *Bhaktīdmarastotra*, and still less on the questions concerning the probable identification of its author Siddhasenadiyākara. For all these particulars, the reader may directly refer to Prof. Jacobi's introduction to the edition of the *stotra* in the *Indische Studien* (Vol. XIV [Leipzig, 1875], pp. 376-377) and to Paṇḍit Durgā Prasāda's introductory note to the edition of the same *stotra* in the *Kāvya-mālā* (Guchchhaka VII [Bombay, 1907], p. 10). Let me only say, in explanation of the fact that the present version is included in a Digambara MS., that the *Kalyāṇamandīrastotra* is read by the Digambaras as well as by the Çvetāmbaras.

The metre, in which the *Paramajotistotra* is arranged, is partly the *chaupāi*, partly the *dohā*. The part of the work, that has been preserved to us, comprises 26 stanzas in all, out of which 18 are *chaupāis* and the other 8 are *dohās*. The first stanza, from the initial words of which the version takes its name, is not found in the Sanskrit original, and is, therefore, to be regarded as an addition by the vernacular poet.

As regards the Braja text, which follows below, I wish further to note that I have tried faithfully to reproduce the reading of the MS., as far as it was consistent with the laws of grammar and prosody. So, I have kept purposely unchanged:—the sign ष, without substituting for it ष; the frequent inorganic nasalization of the vowel आ, before ए, न, म, ह; the frequent substitution of अ for original इ, उ, and of ए for न, etc. On the other hand, I have silently corrected all evident blunders like the substitution of ऊ for उ and the omission of the dot of the nasals, and I have kept carefully distinguished from the व the ष, for which the MS. has no special sign. All other cases, in which I venture to differ from the reading of the MS., will be found recorded in the critical notes at the foot of the text. Their being so copious should not be imputed to any excess of scrupulosity on my part, but rather to the great incorrectness of the MS.

³ The latter substitution is to be regarded as a Western peculiarity.

अथ परमजोतिस्तोत्र ॥

दोहा

परम-जोति परमात्मा परम-ज्ञान-परवीन ।

वन्द्यै परमानन्द मै घटि घटि अन्तरत्नीन ॥ १ ॥

चौपाई

निर्भै-करन परम-परधान । भव-समुद्र-जल-तारण जाँण ।

शिव-मन्दिर अघ-हरन अनिन्द । वन्द्यै पास-चरण-अरविन्द ॥ १ ॥

कमठ-भान-भञ्जन-वर-वीर । गिरमा^४-सागर गुणह गभीर ।

सुरगुर पार लहै नहिँ जास । मैँ अजान जपहुँ जस तास ॥ २ ॥

प्रभु-सरूप अति-अगम अथाहँ । क्यौँ हम-सै-पै होय निबाँह ।

ज्यौँ दिन-अन्ध अलू^५-को पोत । कहि न सकै रवि-किरण-उद्योत ॥ ३ ॥

मोह-हीन जाँणै मन-माँहिँ । तो-उ न तुम गुण वरखै जाँहिँ ।

प्रलै पयोधि करै जल-बौन^६ । प्रगटै रतन गिणै ते कोण ॥ ४ ॥

तुम असाधि-निरमल-गुण-षाँनि । मैँ मति-हीन कहौँ निज-वाँनि ।

ज्यौँ बालक निज-बाह पसारि । सागर-परमति कहै विचारि ॥ ५ ॥

जे जोगेन्द्र करै तप-बेद । ते-उ न जाँणै तुम गुण भेद ।

भाव भागाति मनि मुक्त अभिलाष । ज्यौँ पँषी बोलै निज-भाष ॥ ६ ॥

तुम जस महिमा अगम अपार । नाँव एक त्रिभुवन-आधार ।

आवै पवन पद्म-सरि होय । ग्रीषम-तपति निवारै सोय ॥ ७ ॥

तुम आवत भवि-जन घट-माँहिँ । कर्म-बन्ध सिधल होय जाँहिँ ।

ज्यौँ चन्दन-तरि बोलै मोर । डरैँ भुयङ्ग लगे चहुँ ओर ॥ ८ ॥

तुम निरषत जन हीन-दयाल । संकट-तै छूटैँ ततकाल ।

ज्यौँ पसु घेरि लोहिँ निसि ओर । ते तजि भागत वेषत भोर ॥ ९ ॥

तुम भवि-जन-तारक किम होय । ते चित धारि तिरैँ ले तोय ।

यौँ ऐसौ करि जाँणि सुभाव । तिरैँ मसक ज्यौँ गरभित-बाव ॥ १० ॥

जिनि सब देव किये वसि वाँम । तैँ छिन-मैँ जीत्यौँ सो काँम ।

जौ जल करै अगन-कुल-हाँनि । वडवानल पीवैँ सो पाँनि ॥ ११ ॥

तुम अनन्त-गरवा-गुण जिये । क्यौँ करि भगति-धरौँ^७ निज-हिये ।

वह लघु-रूप तिरैँ संसार । यह प्रभु-महिमा अगम अपार ॥ १२ ॥

क्रोध-निवार किये मन-शान्ति । कर्म-सुभट जीते किहिँ भाँति ।

१) परमात्मा, ज्ञान; २) अन्तः; ३) गंभीर, नही, जपू; ४) पूत, कह, कीरण; ५) जाणौ, माहि, परसै (instead of प्रलै), कोण; ६) मुति, कहौ; ७) महना, ऐक, त्रिभवन, सिर; ८) कर्मनिबंध, भयंग, उर; ९) छूटै; १०) तवि (instead of भवि), यो, ऐसो; ११) जिन, कीये, ज्यौ, हाणि, पांन; १२) येह, महमां; १३) कीयो, किह, पटंतर, नीरलविष.

^४ For: गरिमा ;

^५ From: अलूक < उलूक ;

^६ Contracted form from वमन.

^७ An instance of the emphatic particle हू having combined with the final inherent अ of the word to which it was added.

यह पटतर देख्यौ संसार । नील-विरष ज्यौँ रहै तुसार ॥ १३ ॥
 मुनि-जन हिये कमल निज दोहि । सिद्ध-रूप समध्यावैँ तोहि ।
 कमल-कणिका विन नहिँ और । कमल-बीज उपजन-की ठौर ॥ १४ ॥
 जब तुम ध्यान धरै मुनि कोय । तब विदेह परमात्मा होय ।
 जैसे धात सिलातन त्यागि । कनक-सरूप धरै जब आगि ॥ १५ ॥
 जा-कै मनि तुम करै निवास । विनसि जाय क्यौँ विग्रह तास ।
 ज्यौँ महन्त विचि आवैँ कोय । विग्रह-मूल निवारैँ सोय ॥ १६ ॥
 करैँ विविध जे आत्मा-ध्यान । तुम प्रभाव-तैँ होय निधान ।
 जैसे नीर सुधा अनुमानि । पीवत विष-विकार-की हानि ॥ १७ ॥
 ज्यौँ भगवन्त विमल-गुण-लीन । समल-रूप मानैँ मति-हीन ।
 जो नीलिया-रोग द्विग गहै । वरन विवरन सङ्गु सी कहै ॥ १८ ॥

दोहा

निकट रहत उपदेस सुनि तर-वर भये असोक* ।
 ज्यौँ रवि उगतै जीव सब प्रगट होत भव-लोक ॥ १९ ॥
 समन-वृष्टि जे सुर करैँ हेठ वृन्त-मुष सोय ।
 स्यौँ तुम सेवत सुमन-जन बन्ध अधोमुष होय ॥ २० ॥
 उपजि तुम हिये उदाधि-तैँ वाँनी सुधा-समान ।
 जिहि पीवत भवि-जन लहैँ अजर-अमर-पद-थान ॥ २१ ॥
 करैँ इसार तिहँ लोक-कौँ थे सुर-चाँमर सोय ।
 भाव-साहित जो जिन नमैँ तासु गति उरध होय ॥ २२ ॥
 सिद्धासन गिरि मेरु सम प्रभु-ध्वनि गरजित घोर ।
 स्याँम सुतन घन-रूप लधि नाचत भवि-जन-मोर ॥ २३ ॥
 छवि-हत होहिँ असोक-दल तुम-भा-मण्डल देखि ।
 वीतराग-के निकट रहि रहैँ नैराग विसेधि ॥ २४ ॥
 सीष कहैँ तिहँ लोक-कौँ ए सुर-दुन्दुभि-नाद ।
 शिव-पथ-सारथवाह जिन भज्यौँ तज्यौँ परमाँद ॥ २५ ॥
 तीन छत्र त्रिभुवन उदित

१४) हिये, कणिका (for कणिका), विना, नही, और, ठौर; १५) परमात्म, धवै, आग; १६) विनसि, ज्यौ (instead of क्यौँ), विग्रह; १७) विविधि, आत्म, निर; १८) मुति, ज्यौ, गह, स्यो; १९) उगत; २०) वृष्टे, करै है, वीठ (for वृन्त), सोई, अधोमुष हाइ; २१) उपजी, हीये, जिह, भवी; २२) ईसार, स्वर (for सुर), सहत, तसु, होई; २३) गिर, मेरि; २४) जिम; २५) त्रिभवन.

* Observe that the carana is faulty.

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF SANSKRIT.

BY P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M.A.; VIZAGAPATAM.

It is frequently urged, as one of the excellences of Sanskrit, that its alphabet is scientific and perfect, unlike the English alphabet, which is both superfluous and defective. But it is not so well-known, that while the spelling of Sanskrit words is fixed for all time, its pronunciation varies so much from province to province that there are comparatively few letters whose values are the same all over India. When this is pointed out to a Hindu, his first impulse is to maintain that his pronunciation, *i. e.*, that of his district, is the correct, ancient one of Pāṇini and the Rishis that preceded him, and that all others are wrong. I have heard a Tamil Brāhmaṇ (and a professor in a Government College who has passed a high Examination in the Science of Language) maintain that the Tamil pronunciation of Sanskrit is the only perfect thing, though the Tamil land is several thousand miles far from that where Sanskrit was first evolved, and though Sanskrit did not reach the Tamil land until many hundred years after it was born. On the other hand I have known Hindi gentlemen, great Sanskrit scholars, believe that the confusion in speech between *sh* and *ś* prevalent in North India was part of the original perfection of the Sanskrit (perfected) tongue! As a matter of fact there is no right or wrong in these matters. As every flower has a right to exist and the one with narrow petals is not more correct than the one with broad ones, all forms of pronunciation are correct, each in the district or caste or clan where it prevails, and no one form is superior to another. Pronunciation, like other manifestations of life, changes in accordance with individual environment.

Firstly as time goes on the sounds of a language change. It has been proved that Sanskrit has levelled down original Indo-Germanic *a*, *e* and *o* into one uniform *a*, whereas the original sounds have been preserved in Greek, Latin and other languages. *Cf.* Sans. *pañcha*, *janas*, Gr. *pente*, *genos*; Sans. *cha*, Lat. *que*; Sans. *chal*, A. S. *hweol*; in all which cases the Sanskrit *a* is a later formation than the *e* or *o* of the other languages. That Sanskrit long *e* and long *o* are developments of *ai* and *au* is well-known to our Grammarians, but this is only a case of Indo-Germanic *ai*, *ei*, and *oi* becoming first *ai* and then long *e* in Sanskrit and *au*, *eu* and *ou* first becoming *au* and then long *o*. Compare Gk. *aithos*, Sans. *édhas*, Gk. *teichos*, Sans. *déha*; Gk. *oida*, Sans. *véda*; Lat. *aug-ere*, Sans. *ójas*; Gk. *reuma*, Sans. *sró-tas*. While Sanskrit has wandered further from the parent Indo-Germanic in its vowel system than its sister-languages, it has preserved the original consonant system better. But even here, there have been wide changes. In the Indo-Germanic there were two sets of *k* sounds, as to-day Arabic has, a velar and a palatal. These as well as the labialized velars were fronted, when followed by front vowels *e*, *i*; thence arose in Sanskrit the sounds of *ś*, *j*, *h*, *k*, *ch*, etc. Thus the roots *śi*, *jíu*, *har*, *kal*, *chal* represent an earlier *kei*, *gwei*, *gher*, *qel*, *qwel*.

Most of these changes from the Indo-Germanic to the Sanskrit have been revealed by the historical study of languages conducted by modern investigators. The method of Sanskrit Grammarians was purely analytical; it consisted in tracing forms to their roots (real or imaginary) and it is obvious that this method cannot but lead to laws of word formation, which may be practically useful but are not true as facts of history. The study of the growth of man based on anatomical considerations and intelligent inferences from the dissection of a number of corpses as to how man's body must have been put together may lead to very interesting results, but these results are likely to be very different from the real story of man as revealed by Comparative Zoology and Embryology. Psychology, till recently, analysed the grown man's mind into faculties and proceeded exactly like Pāṇini's grammar; and as the growing science of Comparative Psychology has upset the old Psychology, so Comparative Grammar has upset the older Sanskrit Grammar. Thus in *ś-ti*, the *e* representing *ei* of Indo-Germanic is surely not derived from *i*, the so-called root. The *k* of *mukta*, *rikta*, is not a modification of *ch* as Pāṇini says, because the Indo-Germanic analogue of their so-called roots *much*, *rich*, are *meuk*, *leikw*; similarly the *gh* of *ghnanti* is more primitive than the *h* of *hanti*.

But even taking Pāṇini at the usual Hindu valuation, there are many difficulties in utilizing his *sūtras* in an investigation of Sanskrit pronunciation. His last *sūtra* is "aa" (VIII., iv., 68) and is usually interpreted to mean that though in the body of the *sūtras* vowels have been described to be open (*vivṛita*), short *a* is not open, but close (*saṃvṛita*). This information can be utilized only if we know for certain how short *a* was pronounced by Pāṇini. This letter is pronounced in South India like the *u* of 'but' when accented and like the shortened form of the *e* in 'her' when unaccented. In Northern India when it is unaccented it loses all individuality and practically vanishes. In Bengal and Orissa, the accented *a* approximates to *o*. In which of these ways did Pāṇini intend the *saṃvṛita a* to be made? This is a question difficult to answer. And then there is the further question, whether these different pronunciations of *a* are far off reminiscences of the fact that Sanskrit *a* represents Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, and *o*. Again in modern Hindi we certainly hear short *e* and short *o*. Whence come these sounds?

It is fairly well-known that the Hindus are divided into two great groups, the five Gauḍas and the five Drāviḍas. These groups are distinguished from each other, firstly by the fact that the Brahmans of the former group eat fish and the flesh of "five five-nailed" animals, and those of the latter do not, and secondly by the fact that the Drāviḍas pronounce ञ् and ञ as *sh* and *y*, and the Gauḍas in many cases pronounce them *kh* and *j*. Thus when they begin words or syllables, there are invariably *kh* and *j*; *jama*, *jamund*, *khat*, *pūkhar*, *y* in the middle of a syllable is *y* as in *syāt*; *sh* when it is the first part of a conjunct consonant is sometimes attempted to be pronounced, and then it approximates to *s*, thus *shashṭi* becomes *khasṭi*. *ñ*, the nasal of *ch*-series is pronounced alike throughout India, when it preceded *ch* or *j*, but when it succeeds *j* as in the words *yajña* or *jñāna*, it is pronounced differently in different parts of India. The Tamil has in his own tongue a distinct *ñ* sound, occurring by itself in words, e. g., *ñāyiru* but it cannot be easily pronounced after *j*, so he pronounces these words as *yagñu*, *gñāna*. The North Indian makes the first word *jagya* and the second *gyāna*; the Maratha makes the former *yadnya*.

As regards sibilants, there are four sounds, the English *s*, the Tamil *ś*, the English *sh*, and the Indian *śh* sounds, all made by the friction of air passing between the palate, beginning from behind the teeth and gradually receding to the mid palate. There is no difficulty with regard to the first of these sounds. The second is the sound made in South India and the third in North India when reading ञ्. Seeing that Pāṇini was a Sindhi, it is probable that he followed the modern North Indian practice. South Indians claim that their pronunciation of this letter is the proper one, but there is no shadow of evidence to prove this, though when a South Indian speaks Sanskrit, the ear can much more readily detect the difference between ञ् and ञ. But this is perhaps due to the fact that to the South Indian, Sanskrit is absolutely a foreign language, his mother tongue belonging to the Dravidian family and he is therefore *plus royaliste que le roi*. With regard to the last of these sounds, too, there is a difficulty. The Drāviḍa makes the sound by doubling the tongue, and contacting the blade with the middle of the palate. The Gauḍa makes a *kh* of it. Where the South Indian reads *tushāra*, the Gauḍa reads *tukhāra*. The Gauḍa and not the Drāviḍa has spoken Sanskritic languages continuously from the beginning of the historic age in India, and hence his pronunciation must be regarded as the genuine Sanskrit pronunciation and the Drāviḍa one but a modification of it by a foreign tribe attempting to acquire it. The main language of Afghanistan is Pashto in its S. W. parts and Pakhto in the N. E. Here we have over again the Drāviḍa-Gauḍa difference. The S. W. *sh* may be due to the proximity of a Dravidian language, the Brāhūi. It is to be noted that Herodotus speaks of them *Paktues* and the Rig Veda refers to them as *Pakthas*. Apparently Pakhto was the ancient form and Pashto a recent one. This fact renders it probable that ञ् was *kh* in Sanskrit till the Drāviḍas made it into *sh*. This view will react on the discussion of certain problems of linguistic science. Collitz derives *ksheti* from a root *kshei* and *kshayati* and *kshināti*, both from a root *ghshet*. But it is a disputed question whether the Indo-Germanic had a *sh* sound. If, as with the Gauḍas, Sanskrit ञ् is really *kh* and *ksh* is really *khkh* and if ञ् developed from Indo-Germanic *k* ought to be pronounced *sh*, the above disputed question ought to be rediscussed in the light of this. As an example of a mis-

take due to the ignorance of the Gauḍa pronunciation of Sanskrit, I may mention that such a scholar as Bloomfield in his *Religion of the Veda*, p. 54, speaking of the Persian translation of the Upanishads made for Dara, says that "the Persian pronunciation of the word upanishad is oupanekat", whereas it is the Gauḍa pronunciation. Idg. *sweks* became Skt. षट्, which Gauḍas pronounce *khash*; Idg. *skewb* became शुब्, which Gauḍas make *khubbh*. In this connection it must be remembered that Idg. *sw* in some cases become *s* in Sanskrit and *kh(w)* in Persian; thus the Persian analogue for *svedas* is *kh(w)ay*, for *svasar* is *kh(w)dar*, and for *sū-karas* is *khūk*. Curiously enough Idg. *kw* when fronted by the influence of front vowels becomes *s* in Persian, corresponding to Skt. *ś*; thus Idg. *kwait*, Skt. *śvētas*, Pers. *safid*. Hence the history of Skt. ष् ought to be rediscussed in the light of these facts.

Scientific conclusions on the gradual changes of Sanskrit sounds are vitiated by four facts, (1) Maharashtra have been the main teachers of Sanskrit Grammar for the past two centuries or more and have imposed their Drāviḍa pronunciation on Sanskrit; and European Scholars have on that account not given the Gauḍa pronunciation its dues. (2) The Gauḍas of Benares have for a long time been under the influence of these Maharashtra and their own pronunciation to-day is a very mixed one. (3) Sanskrit was never the spoken language of the people; it was the *Saṁskṛita*, the literary, conventionalized form of the language of the people, first of the Indus valley, then of the Madhyadeśa, and lastly of Magadha and perhaps also of the Maratha country, before it became finally fixed in its present highly artificial form, denuded of syntax, divested of idioms, eminently suited to be the language of scholars, but unfitted to act as a means of registering the changing sounds of a living language. (4) The linguistic survey of Northern India has been conducted by gentlemen without a training in phonetics, and their enquiry has been to some extent vitiated by a belief that Sanskrit is the norm and the languages as spoken are corruptions of the *Saṁskṛita bhāṣā*.

My object is not to solve these problems, but merely to prove that the Sanskrit alphabet is not devoid of perplexing difficulties, nor is Sanskrit pronunciation an invariable fixed thing as people usually suppose. To one who knows the facts of the case and is not blinded by prejudice, it is as full of difficulties, as full of variations, as any other language.

SANTIDEVA.

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARAPRASAD SASTRI, M.A., C.I.E.; CALCUTTA.

SANTIDEVA is a great name in the later Mahāyāna literature. He is credited with the authorship of three works: (1) *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, (2) *Śikshā-Samuchchaya* and (3) *Sūtra-Samuchchaya* (See *Śikshā-samuchchaya* of Bendall, Introduction, page IV., on the authority of Tārānātha). *Sūtra-Samuchchaya* has not yet been found. But there is ample evidence that this was also written by Sântideva, as will be found in the sequel.

Bodhicharyāvatāra has been several times published and even translated into English. It was first published by Professor Minaef in the eighties. Then it was published in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society* by me. I had the advantage of collating a beautiful palm-leaf manuscript belonging to the Hodgeson Collection; in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1893 I acquired a copy of the *Pañjikā* commentary of the work by Prajñākaramati. The manuscript was copied in the year 1078 A.D. in Newārī character. The copyist's name is not given. But he describes the commentator Prajñākaramati as his *tātapāda*, from which it may be inferred that he was a disciple of the monk Prajñākaramati who was a well-known scholar of the Vikramaśilā-vihāra (See M. M. Satiś Chandra Vidyābhushaṇa's *Indian Logic, Mediæval School*, page 151) and flourished about the beginning of the 11th century. Another

manuscript in Maithilī character of the commentary running over the *Prajñāpāramitā* chapter only was also acquired at the same time. Professor De la Vallée Poussin has very nearly completed an edition of the text and the commentary in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*. The commentary is a store-house of information about the later Mahāyāna School.

The *Śikshā-samuchchaya* was edited in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica Series* of St. Petersburg by the late lamented Professor Bendall of Cambridge in 1902. He has enriched his edition with the meanings of the rare Buddhist words in English in the form of an index, and in the introduction he discusses the age of the work and the genesis of the passages quoted in the work. In the work Śāntideva rarely speaks himself, but quotes from a very large number of authoritative works. His *Bodhicharyāvatāra* is written in beautiful Sanskrit, very rarely tinged with Buddhistic licenses. The versification throughout is exceedingly musical. Śāntideva wrote at a time when Chinese scholars ceased to come to India. So it was at first thought that his works were not translated into Chinese. But my friend Professor Ohmiya of Tokio writes to me that he has discovered in Nanjio's catalogue of the *Tripitakas*, a work which appears to be a different version of the *Bodhicharyāvatāra*.

Recently three palm-leaves were acquired by me, being No. 9990 of the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which gives a legendary account of Śāntideva's life. The leaves were written in the 14th century Newārī hand at Katmandu. It represents Śāntideva to have been the son of a Rājā. But unfortunately the name of the capital of the Rājā has been so completely effaced that with all my efforts I could not make out anything of it. The name of his father is Mañjuvarmā. (Tārānātha says that Śāntideva was the son of a Rājā of Surāshṭra. See Introduction of *Śikshā-samuchchaya* of Bendall, page 3. But Tārānātha was later than these leaves, on which my paper is based). At the time of his installation as *Yuvarājā*, his mother pointed out to him that kingship led only to sin. "You better go," said his mother, "where Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are to be found. If you go to the place of Mañjuvajra, you will prosper spiritually". He rode on a green horse and left his father's country. He was so intent on his journey that he forgot to eat and drink for several days. In the thick of the forest a handsome girl caught hold of his horse and made him descend from it. She gave him good water to drink, and roasted goat-meat to eat. She introduced herself as a disciple of Mañju-vajra-samādhi. This pleased Śāntideva greatly. For his mission was to become a disciple of the same *Guru*. He stopped with the *Guru* for 12 years, and obtained the knowledge of Mañjuśrī. After the completion of his education the *Guru* ordered him to go to Madhyadeśa. And there he became a *raut*, *viz.*, a military officer assuming the name of Achalasena. He had a sword made of *devadāru* wood, and he soon became a favourite with the king, so much so that other officers grew jealous of him. They represented to the king that this man had a sword made of *devadāru* wood. How could he then serve his master as a soldier in times of war? The king wanted to inspect the swords of all his officers. Achalasena represented that his sword should not be seen. But the king insisted, and he agreed to show his sword to the king in private after covering one of his eyes. As soon as the king saw the sword his eye fell on the ground. The king was surprised and pleased. But Achalasena threw his sword on a stone, went to Nālandā, changed his dress and renounced the world. There he got the name of Śāntideva on account of his calmness. He heard the three *Pitakas*, and practised meditation. He got another name too, Bhusuku, because

भुञ्जानोपि प्रभास्वरः सुप्तोपि, कुटीं ततोपि तदेवेति भुसुकुसमाधिसमापन्नत्वात् भुसुकुनामख्यातिं लङ्केऽपि ।

Sometime after the young folk of Nālandā became curious to test his knowledge. It was the custom at Nālandā to hold recitations every year in the month of *Jyāishṭha* in waxing moon.

They pressed upon him to give a recitation. There was an extensive *Dharmaśāla* to the North-east of the great *Vihāra* at Nālandā. In that *Dharmaśāla* all the paṇḍits were assembled and Sāntideva was raised to the *śikhāśana*. He at once asked

किमार्थं पठामि अर्थार्थं वा तत्र ऋषिः परमार्थज्ञानवान् ऋध्गतौ-इत्यत्र औष्णादिकः किः ऋषिणा जिनेन प्रो-
क्तं अर्थं । ननु प्रज्ञापारमितादौ सुभूत्यादिदेशितं कथमर्थं इत्यत्रोच्यते शुबराजाचार्य्यमैत्रेयेण

इदर्थवद्धर्मपदोपसंहितं त्रिधालुसंक्षेपनिवर्हणं वचः ।

भवे भवेच्छान्त्यनुशांस दर्शकं तद्वत् क्रमार्थं विपरीतमन्यथा ॥

तदाकृष्टं आचर्याद्यैरर्थार्थं सुभूत्यादिदेशना तु भगवदधिष्ठानादित्यरोषः ।

The paṇḍits became curious, and asked him to recite a work that may be *Arthāśha*. He resolved in his mind which of the three works, *Sūtra-samuchohaya*, *Śikshā-samuchchaya* and *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, to recite. And he gave preference to the *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, and began to read :

सुगतान् ससुतान् सधर्मकायान् प्रणिपत्यादरतोऽखिलांश्च वन्द्यान् । सुगतात्मजसंवरावतारं कथयिष्यामि
यथागमं समासात् ॥

But when he came to recite the verse —

यदा न भावो नाभावो मतेः सन्तिष्ठते पुरः ।

तदान्यगत्यभावेन निराजम्बः प्रशाम्यति ॥

the Lord appeared before him and took him to Heaven. The paṇḍits were surprised, searched his *Paḍhu-kutī*, viz., a student's cottage, a thatched room 17' by 18' and there they found the three works *Sūtra-samuchohaya* and others, which they published to the world.

This is the legendary account of Sāntideva's life given in those three palm-leaves. From this we come to know that Sāntideva was a monk at Nālandā, that he had a *kutī* there, that he was called Bhusuku, and that he was the author of the three works mentioned above.

Reading through *Śikshā-samuchchaya* and *Bodhicharyā*, we find that he was a Mahāyānist of the Mādhyamika School. Professor Bendall thinks that Sāntideva's Sanskrit works are not altogether free from *Tāntrika* Buddhism. But from the *Catalogue De Fonds Tibétain* by P. Cordier, *Deuxième Partie*, page 140, we learn that Sāntideva is the author of a *Tāntrika* Buddhist work entitled श्रीगुह्यसमाजमहायोगतन्त्रबलिविधिः From a palm-leaf manuscript of चर्याचर्याविनिश्चयः : in the Durbar Library of Nepal, we learn that to Bhusuku are attributed several works of the *Vajrayāna* schools, viz., the school of the secret and mystic worship of the later Buddhists. I have discovered several songs on the same subject in Bengali attributed to Bhusuku. One of the songs declares him distinctly to have been a Bengali.

48 राममहारी— शुसुकुपादानां

वाजनाव पाडी पऊआ खालें वाहिउ ।

अदय वङ्गाले क्लेश लुडिउ ॥ धु ॥

आजि शुसुकु वङ्गाली भइलि—

निअघरिणी चण्डाली लेलि ॥ धु ॥

प्रज्ञापारमिताम्बोधिपरिमथनातमृतपरितोषितसिद्धाचार्य्यशुसुकुपादौ वङ्गालिकाध्याजेन तमेवार्थं प्रतिपादयति । प्रज्ञारविन्दकुहरहवे सद्गुरुचरणोपायेन प्रवेशितं तत्रानन्दादिशब्दोहीत्यादि अक्षरसुखादयवङ्गालिनवाहित इति अभिन्नत्वं कृतं ।

Though the name of his father's capital could not be read in the palm-leaves, it seems that the city was in Bengal. Sāntideva rode into the jungles of Terai where *Mañjuvajra-samādhi*, his *Guru*, had a *tapovana* similar to that of Divākara in *Harṣacharita*. The *Guru* asked him to go to *Madhyadeśa* in which term Hieuen Sthang included Magadha and which the Nepaleese still use in the corrupted form, *Madhesa*, in the same sense. Bengal is beyond *Madhyadeśa*. So *Mañjuvajra* would be justified in asking a Bengali to go to *Madhyadeśa*.

As to the age of Śāntideva, written as Jayadeva, by mistake, on page 106 of Cambridge *Catalogue* of Professor Bendall, while treating of *Śikshā-samuchchaya*, it is stated that the work was compiled by Jayadeva in or about the 7th century A. D. But he reconsiders his position in his introduction to the *Śikshā-samuchchaya*, and puts him down between the death of Śrīharsha, in 648 and the translation of the work under the celebrated Tibetan king *Khri-lde-sron-btsan*, who reigned 816-838 A. D. If so, the Bengali songs attributed to Bhusuku would be as old as the 7th century though the songs belong to the Sahajīā School of Buddhism, which seems to have branched out from Vajrāyāna or may be identical with it.

It may not be out of place to mention here how unhistorical Indian paṇḍitas became in the middle ages. In the Durbar Library, Nepal, there is a manuscript entitled *Bodhicharyavatā-rānuśāṅsa*, which is nothing else than the *Bodhicharyā* itself with a few verses added at the beginning and at the end. The prologue and the epilogue make the *Bodhicharyāvatāra* a dialogue between Aśoka and his *Guru* Upagupta.

It may be argued that Śāntideva, the author of *Mahāyāna* works, and Śāntideva, the composer of Sahajīā songs, under the name of Bhusuku may not be one and the same person. But this doubt is set at rest by the signature of one of the songs attributed to Bhusuku. The signature runs :

राउत भणइ कट भुसुकुमणइकट सअलाअइससहाव ।
जइतोमूढाअइसी भान्ति पुच्छतु सद्गुरुपाव ॥

In this signature Bhusuku calls himself a *rautā*, and we know from the palm-leaves that Śāntideva served as a *rāuta* in Magadha.

I have a mind to say more on the subject when I publish the old Bengali songs on Buddhism. Wassiljew, following Tārānātha, thinks that there were Buddhist works in an *Apabhraṅsa* language. In our joint expedition to Nepal in 1898-99 Professor Bendall and myself got a work entitled *Subhāshita-saṅgraha*. Professor Bendall has published the book. It contains some quotations in that *Apabhraṅsa* language. But in my last journey to Nepal in 1907 I found several works in that language which after a careful study I am inclined to call old Bengali. It is undoubtedly the language spoken in Eastern India in 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, in which these books were composed.

MISCELLANEA.

A POEM BY BHĀSA.

PAṆḌIT T. Ganapati Śāstrī of Travancore has laid all lovers of Sanskrit literature under a deep debt of gratitude by his discovery of twelve or rather thirteen of the dramas of the almost forgotten poet Bhāsa, who is known to have preceded Kālidāsa. Three of these he has edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

I beg to draw the attention of scholars to a *kāvya* or epic poem by the same poet. It is referred to in the *Prithvirāja-vijaya mahākāvya*, also called *Prithvī-mahendra-vijaya*. I quote from a manuscript in the possession of P. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, copied from the one in the Deccan College Library.

Text.

स्वका [सत्का] व्यसंहारविधौ खलानां शीत्पा [सा]
नि बह्नेरपि मानसानि ।

भासस्य काव्यं खलु विष्णुधर्मास्तो [न्तसो] प्यानना-
त्पारतवन्मुमोच ॥

Commentary.

सतां काव्यं तद्विषये संहारविधौ इहे शोषारोपणेनेरपि
सकाशाहुर्जनानां चित्तानि शीतान्यजडानि भवन्ति अत्र
साधनमाह सोमिरपि भासमुनेः काव्यं विष्णुधर्मान्मु-
खात्त्यक्तवान् नादहदित्यर्थः अत एव पारतवादित्युपमा
अभिहिं वस्त्वन्तरवत्पारतं दग्धुमशक्तो मुखान्मुञ्चति भा-
सव्यासयोः काव्यविषयेस्पर्धां कुर्वतोस्सर्वोत्कर्षवर्तित्वेन
परीक्षकान्तराभावात् परीक्षार्थमग्निमध्ये तयोर्द्वयोः काव्य-
द्वयं क्षिप्तम् तयोर्मेध्यादग्निर्विष्णुधर्मान्नादहदिति प्रसिद्धिः
खलैस्तु प्राप्तं सत्काव्यं दहते इत्यग्नेस्सकाशात्खलानां
राहकत्वमित्यर्थः ।

[Leaf 1 (number 3), page 2, lines 4-11].

From this we learn that *Vishṇudharma* (plural) was a *kāvya* of Bhāsa and it was put in the fire for being tested. The commentator, Jonarāja (son of Bhaṭṭa Nonarāja, son of Lolarāja) who commented on the *Kirātārjunīya* and *Śrīkaṇṭha-charita* also, calls Bhāsa a *muni*, and says that he and Vyāsa were rivals and one work of each was thrown into the fire, which, as a referee, did not consume the excellent work of Bhāsa named *Vishṇudharma*. It is not said whether the work of Vyāsa escaped unhurt. The submission of the works of Bhāsa to the ordeal by fire is alluded to by Rājaśekhara in Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvali* in the verse—

भासनटक्रचक्रेपि च्छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितम् ।
स्वमवासवदत्तस्य राहकोभून्न पावकः ॥

where *chhekaiḥ*¹ should be taken to mean *vidag-dhaiḥ* (=critics), and where the surviving work of outstanding merit is said to be *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, and not *Vishṇudharma*. The epithet *jalaṇa-mitte* (*jvalana-mitra*=friend of fire) applied to Bhāsa in *Gauḍavaḥo* (v. 800) refers, I think, to this episode in the poet's life rather than to 'an incident in the play' (of *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*), as is said by M. Sylvain Lévi. Testing the qualities of a drama or a poem by its combustibility or otherwise is indeed quaint. In his *Prabandha-kosha*, Rājaśekhara-sūri alludes to the custom of authors taking their new books to Kashmir where the works were examined by Paṇḍits and placed in the hands of Bhārati or Sarasvatī, who sat on a throne. If the work was of merit, the goddess nodded in approval and flowers were showered upon the poet; if not, it was thrown to the ground.

Thus there was a tradition in the 12th century of a *kāvya* named *Vishṇudharma* (plural) of great excellence by Bhāsa. The fact that Bhāsa is called *muni* and a rival of Vyāsa, and the possibility that *Vishṇudharmottara*, one of the *Purāṇas* going under the authorship of Vyāsa, looks like the name-sake and counterpart of the lost *Vishṇudharma* by Bhāsa, would, no doubt, be very gratifying to Paṇḍit Ganapati Śāstrī, who, carried away by the enthusiasm of his discovery, the importance of which be it far from me to under-rate, makes Bhāsa anterior to Kauṭilya Chāṇakya and Pāṇini. I shall discuss his case for this assumption in another note. But those who are not prepared to accept Vyāsa and Bhāsa as contemporaries, would admit that, in the 12th century

and thereafter, tradition remembered them as rivals of almost equal eminence and remembered a *kāvya* by the latter named *Vishṇudharma*.

CHANDRADHAR GULERI.

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[There are two works of the name of *Vishṇudharma* or *Vishṇudharmottara*, of which one, according to Böhler, is as old as A. D. 500 (*ante*, Vol. XIX., p. 408). Both professing to be *Purāṇas*, one was naturally attributed to Vyāsa, who is supposed to be the author of all *Purāṇas*. As it is inconceivable that one author can compose two different works bearing one and the same name, the other *Vishṇudharma* appears to have been hoisted upon Bhāsa. A rivalry was accordingly imagined to have sprung up between him and Vyāsa, and the tradition about the ordeal of fire which originally pertained to *Svapnavāsavadatta* was transferred to *Vishṇudharma*.—D. R. B.]

ŚANKARĀCHĀRYA AND BALAVARMĀ

In a note on page 200 of this Journal for 1912, Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has made an attempt to fix more accurately the date of Śankarāchārya. His attempt is based on the occurrence of the name Balavarmā in Śankarāchārya's commentary on the *Vedāntasūtras*, once under *Sūtra* IV. 3, 5 and once under *Sūtra* II. 4, 1. A Chālukya chief of the name of Balavarmā is mentioned in the Kaḍaba plates¹ of A. D. 812 as the grandfather of Vimalāditya, who was the governor of the Kunungil district when the plates were issued. The period of this Balavarmā would thus be, roughly, the last quarter of the 8th century. Hitherto this was the only inscription in which the name Balavarmā was found to occur. But I have recently discovered three *viragals* in Hirigundagal and Sankēhalli, Tumkur Taluk, which tell us that Balavemmarasa waged a war against the Gaṅgas during the rule of the Gaṅga king Śivamāra.² As the period of the latter is also about the close of the 8th century, there cannot be much doubt about the identity of the Balavemmarasa of the *viragals* with the Balavarmā of the Kaḍaba plates. Balavarmā's name also occurs in Maddagiri 93 and Tiptur 10, both of which³, though undated, probably belong to the close of the 8th century. As all the above inscriptions are found in the Tumkur district, there can be no doubt as to the identity of the Kunungil or Kunūngil of the Kaḍaba plates with the modern Kunūngil of the

¹ *Chheta* is a Pāli word meaning skilful, expert, *vide* Chhillers' Dictionary *sub voce*.—D. R. B.

² *Epi. Car.*, XII., Gubbi, 81; *Epi. Ind.*, IV., 332.

³ *Epi. Car.*, XII.

² See *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1910, para. 53.

same district. The Tamil inscriptions* of the Chola and Hoysala periods in Kunigal Taluk, which invariably give the name as Kuṇṇiḡil, also support the above identification. Consequently the identification of Kunigal with the Koṇikalaviṣaya of the Hoṣūr grant of Ambēra⁵ is no longer tenable. After the overthrow of the Chalukya power, Balavarmā may have become a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas and fought on their behalf against the Gaṅgas. Several *śrāgals* newly discovered in Tumkur Taluk refer to the wars between the Gaṅga kings Śripurusha and Sivamāra and the Rāshtrakūṭas,⁶ one of them giving us the important information that Sivamāra fell fighting in a battle at Kāgimogeṅṅur against Vallaha, *i. e.*, the Rāshtrakūṭa king (Govinda III).

There can thus be no doubt about the existence of a prince of the name of Balavarmā at the close of the 8th century. And his period being about the same as that generally assigned to Śankarāchārya, the attempt on the part of scholars to identify him with the one alluded to by the latter in his commentary can by no means be pronounced unreasonable. On reading my *Archaeological Report* for 1910, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasada Sastri, M.A., in a kind letter dated the 1st of May 1911, wrote to me thus:—"The date of Śankarāchārya has not yet been proved by any positive fact. In your *Report* you speak of a Balavarmā in about A. D. 812, *i. e.*, about the time when Śankarāchārya flourished; and he mentions in his *Bhāṣya* IV., 3, 4 of Balavarmā as being near to him. May not this be a positive proof of Śankarāchārya's date?" And in the note under reference Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has likewise based his conclusions on the same identification. It is possible that the identification is correct. There are, however, a few other circumstances which cannot well be ignored in this connection. Balavarmā is not the only prince mentioned by Śankarāchārya. He mentions several others, *e. g.*, under *Sūtra* IV., 3, 5 Jayasinha and Kṛishṇagupta along with Balavarmā; under *Sūtra* II., 1, 17 Pūrṇavarmā. In case Balavarmā is taken to be his contemporary, it stands to reason that the others also should be treated as such. It is not reasonable to single out one of the names to base our arguments on and completely ignore the others. Identifying the Pūrṇa-

varmā of Śankarāchārya with the Western Magadha king of the same name, the late Mr. Telang came to the conclusion that Śankarāchārya flourished at about A. D. 600.⁷ With regard to the other kings mentioned above, we know of a Kṛishṇagupta, the first king of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha, who ruled at about A. D. 500; of a Jayasinha of the Chalukya dynasty whose period is also about A. D. 500; and of another Jayasinha (Jayasinha II) among the Eastern Chalukyas, whose date is about A. D. 700. There is nothing to prevent us from identifying the kings alluded to in Śankarāchārya's commentary with those mentioned above. But none of them was his contemporary, if the date generally assigned to him is to be accepted. In these circumstances one may well be excused if one holds the opinion that the identification in the case of Balavarmā is as much open to question as in the case of the others and that the synchronism based on it is purely accidental. It looks as if one out of several names had been purposely seized upon to the exclusion of the others in order to secure support for a favourite theory. When epigraphical or other evidence becomes available to prove the contemporaneity of the kings referred to with Śankarāchārya, the argument from the synchronism of Balavarmā will be perfectly legitimate. Till then the names have perhaps to be looked upon as connoting imaginary persons like the words Dēvadatta and Yajñadatta or the letters A, B and C.

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[I have no doubt that my identification of Śankarāchārya's Balavarman is correct. For, as shown by me, his grandson Vimalāditya can alone answer to the description of the contemporary prince given by Śankarāchārya's pupil's pupil, Prajñātātman. This receives additional confirmation from the fact that it agrees with the date of the philosopher arrived at by Prof. Pathak on irrefragible evidence. It is true that Śankarāchārya speaks of other kings also, *e. g.*, Jayasinha and Kṛishṇagupta. But their names can have no weight so long as synchronisms of their sons or grandsons with the philosopher's pupils or pupil's pupils are not established.—D. R. B.]

* *Ibid.* Kunigal 2, 14 and 16.

⁶ *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1910, paras. 46 and 51-54.

⁷ *Epi. Ind.* IV, 227

⁸ *Ante*, XIII 95

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE MAHĀVAṂSA OR THE GREAT CHRONICLE OF CEYLON. Translated into English by WILHELM GEIGER, Ph.D., Professor of Indo-Germanic Philology at Erlangen University, assisted by MABEL HAYNES BODE, Ph.D., Lecturer on Pāli at University College, London. Demy 8vo: pp. lxiv, 300; with a map of Ancient Ceylon. Published for the Pāli Text Society by Henry Frowde; London: 1912.

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J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 1110 ff.]

Professor Geiger gave us in 1908 his critical edition of the text of the Original Mahāvamsa; that is, of chapters 1 to 36 and verses 1 to 50 of chapter 37 of the whole work, being that portion which was written to rearrange, expand, and explain the Dipavamsa (see p. 11 of the introduction to the translation). He has now followed that up by his translation of the text, published in English through the co-operation of Mrs. Bode: Professor Geiger made his translation in German; Mrs. Bode turned his translation into English; and the English rendering was then revised by Professor Geiger: we may congratulate both collaborators on the result. As is well known, the text of the Dipavamsa, with an English translation, was given by Professor Oldenberg in 1879. We are now at last provided with reliable and easy means of studying both the great Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles.

[1111] Professor Geiger's translation is preceded by an introduction of 63 pages, in eleven sections, in which he has discussed a variety of important points.

In the first place, he has briefly recapitulated the demonstration given in his *Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa* (1905) that the two chronicles were based on an older work, known as the *Aṭṭhaka-thā-Mahāvamsa*, which must have come down originally to only the arrival of Mahēndra in Ceylon (in the time of Aśōka), but was afterwards continued to the reign of Mahāsēna first half of the fourth century A. D.).

In the second place, Professor Geiger, defending the two chronicles against what he has justly described (p. 14) as "undeserved distrust and exaggerated scepticism," has shown that they are to be accepted safely as reliable historical records, with a framework of well-established dates. We have, indeed, to clear away from

them a certain amount of miraculous matter. But they do not stand alone among ancient histories in presenting such matter. And when we have made the necessary elimination, which is not difficult, there remains, easily recognizable, a residue of matter-of-fact statements, in respect of which the chronicles have already been found to be supported by external evidence to such an extent that we need not hesitate about accepting others of their assertions, which, though perhaps we cannot as yet confirm them in the same way, present nothing which is at all startling and naturally incredible.

In dealing with the chronology, Professor Geiger has accepted B.C. 483 as "the probable year" of the death of Buddha (p. 24). That particular year is undoubtedly the best result that we have attained, and that we are likely to attain unless we can make some new discovery giving us the absolute certainty which we do not possess. For a brief statement of the manner in which it is fixed, see p. 239 above: Professor Geiger has added observations of [1112] his own (pp. 26, 23-30), based on something pointed out by Mr. Wickremasinghe, endorsing it. As regards one item in the process by which it is fixed, the interval of 218 years from the death of Buddha to the anointment of Aśōka "is supported," as Professor Geiger has said (p. 25), "by the best testimony and has nothing in it to call for suspicion." As regards another item, we need not hesitate about accepting 28 years according to the two Ceylonese chronicles, against the 25 years of the Purāṇas, as the true length (in round numbers) of the reign of Bindusāra. This last consideration, we may add, entails placing the anointment of Aśōka in B.C. 265 or 264 (p. 27: if that should still remain unwelcome to anyone who, taking one item from one source and the other from another source, would place both the death and the anointment four or five years earlier, — well; it can be shown on some other occasion that there is nothing opposed to B.C. 265 or 264, for the anointment of Aśōka, in the mention of certain foreign kings in the thirteenth rock-edict. So, also, though the matter does not affect that point we may safely follow the 37 years of the two chronicles, against the 36 years of the Purāṇas, as the length (in round numbers) of the reign of Aśōka.

Professor Geiger hesitates (p. 28) to accept the "bold and seductive combination" by which I explain the mention of 256 nights in the record of Aśoka at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Brahmagiri, and other places. In what way, then is it to be explained? As regards the other two explanations which have been advanced, there is nothing in the calendar to account for the selection of that particular number of nights or days; and a tour of such a length by Aśoka, while reigning,—whether made by him actually as king or in the character of a wandering mendicant monk,—is out of the question. On the other hand, my explanation,—that the 256 nights mark 256 years elapsed since the death of Buddha,—is suggested exactly by the [1113] number of years established by the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa* from that event to the end of Aśoka's reign, and by the well-established practice of ancient Indian kings, of abdicating in order to pass into religious retirement: see this Journal, 1911. 1091 ff. My explanation may be set aside: but it has not been shown to be open to adverse criticism as the others are.

In respect of the later Buddhist reckoning, the erroneous one, now current, which would place the death of Buddha in B.C. 544, Professor Geiger, putting Mr. Wickremasinghe's remarks in a clearer light, has shown (p. 29) that it existed in Ceylon in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. This carries it back there to more than a century before the time at which I arrived in this Journal, 1909. 333.

In § 8 of the introduction, Professor Geiger has given (p. 36) a tabulated list of the ancient kings of Ceylon, down to Mahāsēna, on the lines of the list given by me in this Journal, 1909. 350, but with some improvements. His table has the advantage of giving the references by chapter and verse to his text of the *Mahāvāṃsa*; a detail which, for reasons stated at the time, I was not able to fill in. It increases the total period according to the *Mahāvāṃsa* by 1 year, 4 months, 15 days, by alterations under Nos. 10 and 11 (plus 2 years) and No. 17 (minus 7 months, 15 days):

these are due to improved readings. And it includes two additional columns, which give the chronology in terms of the Buddhist era, of B.C. 483 and of the Christian reckonings B.C. and A.D.

As regards a remark on p. 39—40, there is no need to accept the assumption that Samudragupta began to reign in A.D. 326: a more reasonable date is A.D. 335 or 340: see this Journal, 1909. 342.

The last section of the introduction (pp. 51-63) deals with the first, second, and third Buddhist Councils, all of which are shown to be historical events, and clears away the confusion in the Indian tradition between two [1114] distinct persons, Kālāsōka and Dharmāsōka, son of Bindusāra,—the Aśoka who issued the edicts.¹

Appendix D gives a list of Pāli terms used in the translation without being turned into English. Under No. 34 there is quoted a statement that, according to the details given in a table of the end of the twelfth century, the *yōjana* works out, for Ceylon, to between 12 and 12½ miles, but that in actual practice it must have been reckoned at from 7 to 8 miles. This latter value, however, is quite an imaginary one: see this Journal, 1907. 655. And as regards early times there is no reason for discriminating between India and Ceylon in this matter; and for India we have (1) the vague day's-march *yōjana*, averaging 12 miles, but liable to vary according to the circumstances of the particular march, and, in the way of *yōjanas* of fixed unvarying lengths, (2) the long *yōjana* of 32,000 *hasta*=9 miles, and (3) the short *yōjana* of 16,000 *hasta*=4½ miles; the last being specially favoured by the Buddhists: see p. 236 above, and this Journal, 1906. 1011,

Limitation of space prevents any further remarks. I conclude by expressing the hope that some Pāli scholar will give us shortly the technical review of Professor Geiger's translation which it merits.

J. F. FLEET.

¹ There is an accidental slip on p. 60, last line but one, where Dharmāsōka is spoken of as the son of Candragupta: read 'grandson.'

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

Continued from p. 132.

APPENDIX II.

Notes made on the spot by Mr. W. W. Skeat.

I East Coast.

1. *Kelantan*. 15 *pitis* or *këping* = 1 *këndëri*: 60 *pitis* or 4 *këndëri* = 1 *kupang*¹⁹ 480 *pitis* = 8 *kupangs* = 1 dollar:

2. *Singora*. At Singora (April 21, 1899). I obtained three of the small cowries formerly used here as coins. Phya Sukum, the Siamese Commissioner for the Ligor group of States, told me that the number of them which went to one *pitis* (cash) varied a good deal according to locality,²⁰ but in this district he thinks it was 100.

3. *Singora and Patalung* (shores of the Inland Sea, East Coast). At Singora (April 16, 1899), the Siamese Governor of Patalung sent me by request 28 of the old cash formerly in use there. They were round coins of tin, or perhaps spelter, with a round hole in the centre, a little larger than the ordinary Singapore cent, and appeared to bear trilingual inscriptions—in Siamese, "Patalung" on one side; in Malay "Nëgëri Singgora" and a Chinese inscription on the other. Some of them were also struck with the letters E. B. L., which the Governor believed to be the *chop* (Hind. *chhâp*, shop-stamp) of the Chinaman who struck them, and who was, he said, well known in Singapore. Four hundred of these cash, he said, went to the dollar, but they were never current beyond local limits.

4. *Patani, East Coast*. Chinese gaming counters with Chinese inscription on one side only, but otherwise resembling cash, were obtained from Jala, a province of Patani. No special local cash were obtainable either from Jala, Nawng Chik or Raman provinces, but were so from the provinces of Lige, Teluban, Patani and Jering,²¹ which were perhaps rather more Malayan in custom at the time.

5. *Patani*. Siamese money was not in general use here, perhaps, but was understood in the ports of the Siamese-Malay States: *e. g.*, in Patani Town.

2 solat (lot) make	1 at
2 at	1 phai
4 phai	1 fūang
2 fūang	1 salūng
4 salūng	1 bat ²²
4 bat	1 tamlūng
20 tamlūng	1 chang (kati) ²³

6. *Patani*. Minted coinage. All Patani *pitis* (cash) were formerly coined in the precincts of the *istana* (palace) up to about two years ago (writing in 1899-1900). All the *pitis* were called in at the death of the late Raja, the new Raja issuing new coins, according to the usual custom.

¹⁹ Here the *kupang* = the *talr*.

²⁰ See *ante*, Vol. XXVI., pp. 290 ff. Cowries are nowadays grated and used medicinally.

²¹ Patani was divided into seven provinces. Cash were not obtainable in Kedah, West Coast, but were so in Kelantan and Tringganu, East Coast.

²² *kop* = 1 *tikal*.

²³ For an explanation of Siamese money, see *ante*, Vol. XXVII pp. 1 ff.

7. *Patani*. On my visiting the office of the Customs clerk, a Patani-born Hokien (Chinese), in company with Luang Phrom, the clerk produced two of the old cash-trees, which had been cast before the making of cash had been prohibited by the Siamese Government, and also some cash of Jering.

8. *Patani: Jering*. Present coinage.

20 pitis	or kēping	make	1 kēndōri
80 pitis	or 4 kēndōri	„	1 kupang
640 pitis	or 8 kupang ²⁴	„	1 dollar

In the last reign the coinage was as follows :—

15 pitis	or kēping	make	1 kēndōri
60 pitis	or 4 kēndōri	„	1 kupang
480 pitis	or 8 kupang ²⁴	„	1 dollar

The alteration was due to a change in the price of tin. The tin cash-trees may have from 10 to 12 or 15 coins on them.

9. *Patani-Jering*. I bought at Jering some gold *dinar*, there called *mas kupang* (gold *kupang*), which were brought round by an old Haji. He said that they had been dug up in a bottle at Bukit Kuwong about 18 to 20 years ago (writing in 1899) by a Siamese, and that as they were considered treasure trove, half of them had gone as usual to the Raja and half to the finder. Traditionally they are supposed to have been struck by Raja Merkah after his conversion to Islam. Another kind, struck on one side only, is said to have been minted by his wife after his decease. The traditional diameter of coins of this kind is alleged to be that of blossoms of the *tanjong* tree, but the two I bought were a little smaller. One of them had a rude figure of a bull on it, and the other that of a horse and both had Arabic inscriptions. One of them had had a small eyelet-hole added to the edge of the coin, which was intended (I was told) to enable it to be worn round a child's neck to benefit the child's eyes.

10. *Patani-Jering*. The new British dollar is called here *perak toka'* (*tongkat*, or the "staff silver" piece), on account of the trident borne by the figure of Britannia. The *perak naga* or "dragon-silver" piece (Chinese Canton dollar) is now charged here at a discount of from one to two *kēndōri* (*saga kēndōri*, candareen).

11. *Patani-Jering*. At Penarik, Singapore cents were by no means well or generally understood, but nevertheless they were accepted, though I had to get help in explaining what they were.

12. *Patani-Teluban*. Coinage.

12 pitis		make	1 kēndōri
48 pitis	or 4 kēndōri	„	1 kupang (sa-tali) ²⁵
320 pitis ²⁶	or 8 kupang	„	1 dollar

Formerly the coinage was as follows :—

10 pitis		make	1 kēndōri
40 pitis	or 4 kēndōri	„	1 kupang
320 pitis	or 8 kupang	„	1 dollar

The statement that 320 cash instead of 384 went to the dollar in Teluban may have been due to the old associations of the time when 10 *pitis* went to the *kēndōri*. It cannot point merely to an appreciation of the *pitis*, as that would have evenly affected the scale throughout.

13. *Patani-Ligeh*. At Tanjong-mas we found that the *pitis* of Teluban were current there as well as the *pitis* of Ligeh. These last bore inscriptions :—(1) *chaping* (*kēping*) *Al*

²⁴ Here the *kupang* = the *tali*.

²⁵ But should be 384.

²⁶ Showing the *kupang* to equal the *tali*.

Shamsu wal Kamar fi Rabi'-al-awwal, 1313 [A. D. 1893]. (2) Langkat (Ligeh) khalik min zalik menjadi dëripada ini negeri.

The *pitis* of both districts were however of equal value, which perhaps made things easier. The scale of currency was as follows :—

10 pitis		make 1 këndëri
40 pitis	or 4 këndëri	,, 1 kupang
320 pitis	or 8 kupang	,, 1 dollar

14. *Patani-Ligeh.* The small currency at Tomoh consisted, I was told, of gold dust, and this is quite intelligible, as gold washing is the staple industry of the place. I asked the Chinese headman to give me 5 dollars' worth of this small change in gold; but his Chinese instincts were too strong for him, and I could afterwards only get 3 dollars for what he was pleased to call 5 dollars' worth of change.²⁷

15. *Patani-Ligeh.* Gold-dust is said to be used as small change both at Mombang and at Rekoh, though the people at the *pëngulu's* house declared they had none of it.

16. *Patani:* descriptions of Patani cash.

(a) Teluban. Inscription in Arabic²⁸ :—*ataxi tazani fi billah bisawaf. tubin (i.e., Teluban) sanat 1308 (A. D. 1891).*

(b) Jambu (Jering) : Inscription in Arabic : *al kadir biladi saharini hazar il wanna. Yambu (i. e., Jambu), 1312 (A. D. 1895).*

(c) Patani.

(i) Inscription in Arabic : *almanshiri wan fi biladil. Fatani (i. e., Patani), sanat 1309. (A. D. 1892).*

(ii) Inscription in Malay :—*ini pitis bëlanja didalam nögëri Patani : this cash is coin within the country of Patani. It is said that in Jala no pitis are coined.*

(d) A Singora coin. Has a Malay inscription on one side and Chinese on the other.

17. *Kelantan.* Old and present Kelantan *pitis* (cash) are said to go 480 to the dollar. They bear inscriptions : (1) *chaping (këping) li amir saj'a mulkahu daulat Kelantan, 1305 (A. D. 1888) :—(2) Thuribah fi Jamad-al-awwal.*

18. *Kelantan and Patani.* Cash-trees were obtained in both States.

19. *Patani-Ligeh :* description of cash.

(a) Inscription in Arabic :—*sultan-al-adhim daulat Ligeh Khalif.*

(b) Inscription in Malay :—*2 hari bulan Rabi'-al-awwal, 2nd day of the month of Rabi'-al-awwal : sanat 1307 (A. D. 1890) : asha ama wal rahman.*

20. *Coins obtained on the East Coast.*

(a) Three small cash with hole in centre, and same legend on both sides ; no mint mentioned, but probably Kelantan. Inscription : *Khalif [atu'l-mu] minin.*

(b) one Patani cash.

(c) one Kelantan cash.

(d) twenty-three large Trengganu cash, with legend : *sapuluh kepeng 10, ten cash-piece 10 kepeng, on one side : dharab fi Targanu (Trengganu) on the other.*

(e) two *joko*, gambling counters passing current in Trengganu with Malay legend on one side : *ini Ban Sing-punya, this is Ban Sing's ; and in Chinese on the other.*

²⁷ That is he made 2 points in 5, or 40 per cent., by manipulating the currency. See *ante*, p. 17, for the West Coast mint method, and p. 26 for the Dutch E. I. Company's method in similar circumstances. It was his idea of legitimate trade profit.

²⁸ All Arabic readings can only be approximate on such coins.

- (d) one Siamese coin bent (*tikal*) used by gamblers as being easy to pick up.
- (e) one Penang coin with Malay legend:—*Pulau Pinang* on one side, and arms of the British East India Company on the other.
- (f) three old cash, much defaced: one with Trengganu clearly written (*t-r-ng-a-nu*): the other illegible.
- (g) four American half-dollars, which go by the name of *jampal*: the oldest 1810.
- (h) four Java coins (guilder, half-guilder, quarter-guilder, eighth-guilder). The two latter have Malay and Javanese inscriptions:—*sa-përëmpat rupiya* (quarter rupee) and *sa-përpuloh rupiya* (eighth-rupee) respectively.

21. *Pahang*. In a Malay house on the *Lebih*, I saw cash hung upon the strings of a *para* (hanging tray), which was suspended over the hearth, just as they are hung upon the strings of an *anchak* (tray for offerings to the spirits). Deer-hoofs were hung underneath the *para*, just as is the case with the hoofs of the goat, whenever one is sacrificed for exposure in an *anchak*. In the same way coins are fixed to the shrouds of the spirit-boat (*lanchang*). In fact it seems pretty generally understood by all the Malays in the Peninsula that the spirits will appreciate the value of cash. *Pahang* is part of the British protectorate. *Kelantan*, *Patani*, *Trengganu* and *Kedah*, including *Setul*, *Perlis*, *Singora* and *Patalung* are under Siamese administration.^{28a}

22. <i>Patani</i> :	<i>Jambu (Jerìng)</i> .	Gold weights.
	2 <i>saga këndëri</i> ²⁹	= 1 <i>saga bësar</i>
	4 <i>saga këndëri</i>	= 1 <i>kupang</i>
	4 <i>kupang</i>	= 1 'mas (mace).
	16 'mas	= 1 <i>tahil</i> (tael) of 16 dollars
23. <i>Patani</i> :	<i>Raman-Ligeh</i> .	Gold weights. ³⁰
	4 <i>lada</i>	= 1 <i>puchok</i>
	4 <i>puchok</i>	= 1 <i>padi</i> (<i>saga këndëri</i>)
	4 <i>këndëri</i>	= 1 'mas
	5 <i>këndëri</i>	= 1 <i>kupang</i>
	8 <i>këndëri</i>	= 1 <i>rial</i> (Sp. dollar).
	15 <i>rial</i>	= 1 <i>tahil</i>
24. <i>Patani</i> :	<i>Raman-Ligeh</i>	Silver weights. ³⁰
	2 <i>puchok</i>	= 1 <i>padi</i>
	3 <i>padi</i>	= 1½ cents
	6 <i>padi</i>	= 1 <i>këndëri</i>

II: West Coast.

25. Singapore and Malacca Currency.

4 duit (¼ cent.)	make	1 sen (cent.)
2½ sen	,,	1 wang
10 wang	,,	1 suku (quarter dollar)
4 suku	,,	1 ringgit (dollar)

26. *Perak*. *Wang baharu*³¹ means the new (silver) piece valued at 2½ cents. According to *Klinkert*,³² the *wang* (*wang*) was a small piece of money = 10 *duit* = *een dubbeltje* (a Dutch

^{28a} *Trengganu*, *Kelantan*, *Kedah* and *Perlis* have since been transferred to British territory.

²⁹ *Këndëri* seeds = *candareen*: *saga bësar* = great seed. *Saga* by itself means usually the *këndëri* or *candareen*, i.e., seed of the *Adenanthera pavonina*, which is double of the *Abrus precatorius* seed. Here however *saga këndëri* is clearly the latter and *saga bësar* the former.

³⁰ It seems possible that in these cases the informant mixed up weights with relative and absolute value.

³¹ Maxwell, *Malay Manual*, p. 142.

³² *Nieuw-M.-N. Woordenboek*.

silver coin worth two pence). It was also a gold-weight = $\frac{1}{2}$ 'mas (mace). Klinkert no doubt refers to the *old wang*.

27. *Perak*. Maxwell's *boya* is no doubt a vulgar corruption of *buaya* (*buwaya*), i.e., the "crocodile" coin, which is referred to by Klinkert, who says it was a tin coin in Selangor in the shape of a crocodile, and that the value was 20 *duits*, as formerly issued.

28. *Perak*. The recess in the design in the *tampang* or "block"-coin is called *melumba*, which may be connected with *lombong*, a "paddock" in the workings of a local tin mine, so named from its sloping side.

29. *Perak and Selangor coinage*. In Penang, Kedah, etc., the *tampang* was called *kupang*.

The copper coinage now in use in the Federated Malay States is the cent (100 to the dollar) and half-cent of the Straits coinage. Till recent years, however, copper coins from nearly all the adjacent countries were admitted, but Government has some time since taken the matter in hand, and foreign copper coinage has been largely prohibited in the Federated States. A small copper Dutch coin called *wang* is still in use at $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

The small silver coins of the Straits currency (British) now used in the Federated States are 5, 10, 20 and 50 cents. They are called *sëling* or *s'killing* (Dutch, *skilling*), and were preceded by small silver pieces about the size of a Straits half-cent piece, but thinner. They had a design described as a shield and crown and were evidently Dutch or Javanese. They were sometimes collectively called *wang*, i.e., change, though this term more properly applied to the copper *wang*.

For the half-dollar (*jampal*), the United States coinage was sometimes employed.

The dollars in use were as follows:—

- (a) One of the oldest dollars, used in the Federated States, was the "pillar" dollar called by the Malays the "cannon" dollar, as they mistook the pillars on it for cannon. I have met with one or two specimens in Selangor.
- (b) The Mexican dollar with eagle and snake was largely used till quite recently, and was called the "bird" dollar (*ringgit burong*): the "snake" dollar (*ringgit ular*): and even the "butterfly" dollar (*ringgit rama-rama*).
- (c) The "scales" dollar (*ringgit nëraaha*).
- (d) Chinese and Japanese dollars were also in use.
- (e) Not long ago the Government has minted a British dollar at Singapore, which has been called the "Staff" dollar (*ringgit tongkat*) from the trident carried by Britannia.

30. *Perak-Selangor*. A *tali* was always $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The expression *sa-perak* (one silver-piece) was also formerly used for 6 cents as money of account, though there may have once been such a coin.

31. *Penang and Province Wellesley*. Swettenham, *Vocabulary*, p. 129.

10 duit (cent)	make	1 kupang
$12\frac{1}{2}$ duit	,,	1 tali
2 tali	,,	1 suku (quarter)
4 suku	,,	1 ringgit (dollar)

The *duit* (Dutch) is divided into halves and quarters: *satengah duit* and *suku duit*. Klinkert *Woordenboek*, says *s. v. tali*:—*sa-tali* = $\frac{1}{4}$ *gulden*; "naar het koord met 75 pitis, dat vroeger daarvoor gebruikt werd." Here the *pitis* = cash of the Chinese variety.

32. *Kedah: Ulu Kedah*. At Baling I found old Straits coins, copper cents of the East India Company when it administered Penang, still current.

33. *Setul: N. of Kedah*. I was told at Setul that a species of cash, *keping*, was formerly current, with a quarter of a Penang or Singapore cent: 4 *keping* (cash) = 1 Dutch *duit* (cent).

34. *Negri Sembilan*. Names for currency, from report in *J. R. A. S.*, Straits Branch No. 18, pp. 356 f.

sa-wang	= 2 cents.
sa-perak	= 6 „
sa-kupang	= 12½ „
sa-suku	= 25 „
s'omeh (sa-'mas)	= 50 „
<hr/>	
sa-liku ³³	= 21 cents
dua-liku	= 22 „
tiga-liku	= 23 „
and so on to 29 cents	
<hr/>	
sa-'ng baharu ³⁴	= 2½ cents
sa-tali = 5-'ng baharu ^{34a}	= 12½ „
sa-liku-'ng baharu	= 52½ „
dua-liku-'ng baharu	= 55 „
<hr/>	
duapuluh omeh	= 10 dollars
omeh duapuluh	= 7 „
duapuluh sa-rēpi	= 7 „
dua-bēlas sa-rēpi ^{34b}	= 4 „

35. *Singapore and Peninsula*. Dollars recently in use.

Name.	Average weight in grs.	Parts pure silver.	Parts alloy.
Hongkong	416	900	100
Old Mexican	416½	898	102
New Mexican	417½	898	102
Japanese	416	900	100
American Trade	420	900	100
British	416	900	100

36. *Perlis, N. of Kedah*. A certain amount of tin is exported from Perlis : 60-70 *kati* = 1 *jongkong* or slab. In Selangor and Perak, the slabs are called *kēping* or *jongkong*, and the smaller pieces *buku*. The shape of the slab was roughly that of the *tampang*, which was a clear imitation of it. This seems to be a strong link between the tin currency and the system of blocks or slabs in which the tin is actually cast.



keping or *jongkong*



tampang

³³ *Lekor* (*liku*) is the coefficient of the numerals between 20 and 30: so *satu-lekor* (*sa-liku*) is 21 and so on.

³⁴ *Wang baharu*, new coin: used in Malacca for a small obsolete silver coin. The phrase still means 2½ cents in accounts.

^{34a} The original has *S'ng baharu*, which, as Mr. Blagden has pointed out, is a misprint for 5 'ng *ba*haru.

^{34b} The last three statements are not clear. *Ome*h *dua*puluh and *dua*puluh *sa-rēpi* are evidently equivalents: *dua-bēlas sa-rēpi* means clearly another kind of *rēpi* (piece). Apparently *dua*puluh *sa-rēpi* means "a piece of 20" = 7 dollars, and *dua-bēlas* (*bēlas*, coefficient of numerals between 10 and 20) *sa-rēpi*, "a piece of 12" = 4 dollars. If this reading be correct, the proportion is not quite right, as 7 : 4 :: 12 produces 84 : 80. If, however, the two sides of the equation are intended to tally, *mas dua*puluh would seem to mean "a gold piece of 20," whatever "20" refers to.


In Pahang the *tampang* have been turned into mere tokens (money) by hollowing them out. The shape is preserved and they fit each other like a series of hats.

According to Wilkinson, *Malay Dict.*, *jongkong* is applied to the hollowed-out tokens to distinguish them from the *tampang* or solid blocks, which were also called *raman*. It is however certainly applied in the first place to the slab of tin (*képang*), *vide* Klinkert. *Tampang* means a flattish square slab; the term is also applied to the "fort" or ramparts round a Raja's palace in the sense that these are four-square. It is also used sometimes even for the Pahang *jongkong*.

37. *Peralat and Selangor*. Currency table for block tin.

5 cents	make	1 buaya (crocodile)
2 buaya	"	1 tampang (block)
5 tampang } 2 bidor }	"	1 'mas or jampal ($\frac{1}{2}$ dollar)
10 tampang } 2 'mas }	"	1 dollar

The weight of the *tampang* is said to have been about 1 *kati* in Selangor.

The entire currency is now obsolete and very hard to get. One of the minting places of the tin-block coins was Kerayong in the K'lang, Selangor. The *tampang* there minted were stamped with a mark called *tampok manggis*, or mangosteen rosette, which it was meant or thought to resemble .

The value of tin when these coins were current may have been not more than 12-15 dollars the *pikul*. It has lately gone up to 80-90 dollars, but for a good many years it varied from 20 to 40 dollars.

Some of the small varieties of the coins were carried on a string, but not all, and it is perhaps some 40 years or more since they were in vogue.

A *duit* in Selangor was formerly called a *pese*. Four *duit* or *pese*, went to a cent.

(To be continued.)

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

Continued from Vol. XLII, p. 28.

XVI.—Sambodhi in Asoka's Rock Edict VIII.

A much discussed passage in this edict runs as follows, according to the Girnâr text:—

Atilektañ añtarañ rájāno vihāra-yātāñ ñayāsu eta magayvā añāni cha etārisani abhīramakāni ahimsu so Devānāpiyo Piyadasi rájā dasa-vas-ābhisito sañto ayāya sambodhiñ ten-esā dhamma-yātid.

Now, what is the meaning of the expression, *ayāya sambodhiñ*? According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, it means, "reached true knowledge". M. Senart translates it by, "set out for perfect intelligence". Bühler renders it by "went forth in search after true knowledge". Mr. V. A. Smith's translation is "went forth on the road to wisdom". According to Prof. Rhys Davids, it means "set out for the *Sambodhi*—that is to say, he had set out, along the Aryan Eight-fold Path, towards the attainment (if not in his present life then in some future birth as a man) of the state of mind called Arahatsip". Dr. Fleet's interpretation is entirely different from any yet proposed. He regards so *Devānāpiyo Piyadasi rájā dasa-vas-ābhisito* as a sentence in itself, and takes *sañto* to stand for *sāntah* and to refer apparently to the Buddha. And he gives the following translation of the passage: "In times gone by, the kings went forth on pleasure-tours, on which there were hunting and other similar amusements: (so did)

this same king, Devânâmpiya Piyadasi, when he was ten-years-anoointed : (but) 'the Tranquil One went to true knowledge' : therefore (*there is now*) this touring for *dhamma*". I submit my interpretation of the passage so that the scholars may take it for what it is worth. The knotty expression with which we are concerned is, *ayāya sambodhiṃ*. The natural meaning of it is "went to *Sambodhi*" and not "set out for *sambodhi*" as contended by Messrs. Senart, Bühler and Rhys Davids. The words we have in the text are *ayāya* and not *patthito*. Now the question arises : in what sense is the word *sambodhi* to be taken here? Is it to be understood in the sense of "perfect intelligence" as done by all scholars? As pointed out by M. Senart, it is impossible to credit Asoka with pretending to have attained to perfect intelligence. This meaning must, therefore, be rejected. It is worthy of note, that, while the Girnâr recension has *ayāya* the Shâhbâzgarhî and Mansherâ texts give *nikrami* and the Kâlsî *nikami*[*th*]*ā*. This root *nish-kram*, which always has a physical signification, precludes us from taking *sambodhi* in the above sense; in other words, *sambodhiṃ nish-kram* cannot mean "attain to perfect intelligence". *Sambodhi* must, therefore, denote something with reference to which the physical action of going is possible. The conclusion is thus irresistible that the term here refers to the place where Buddha attained to true knowledge. If any instance is needed of the word *bodhi* or *sambodhi* having been employed in this sense, it is furnished by the following passage from the *Divyāvadāna*.

Yāvad rājñ = Āçokena jātāu bodhau dharmachakre parinirvāṇe ekaika-śata-sahasraṃ dattaṃ tasya bodhau viśeshataḥ prasāda(o) jāta iha Bhagavat = ānuttarā samyak-sambodhir = abhi sambuddh = eti sa yāni viśeṣa-yuktāni ratnāni tāni bodhiṃ preshayati, etc., etc.

I have no doubt that the word *bodhi* is in this passage employed in the sense of, "the word place where the Buddha attained to perfect intelligence". It may, perhaps, be argued that the word *bodhi* does not here denote the place where, but the date when, Buddha obtained perfect knowledge. But that this is not the sense here intended is shown by the words *bodhiṃ preshayati* where the word cannot possibly have that sense. The word *iha* occurring in the extract similarly points to a place and not to a date. It may, however, be argued that *bodhi* here means the *bodhi* tree. This sense also can suit the passage of the edict, though it does not seem to be intended in the passage of the *Divyāvadāna*. For if *jāti* denotes the place where Buddha was born, *bodhi* must necessarily denote the place where he acquired true knowledge.

I have said, above, that *bodhi* or *sambodhi*, in the sense of the Bo tree, can also fit the passage of our Rock Edict. That this word has this signification is clear from Childers' *Dictionary of the Pali Language*. A slightly grander term is *mahābodhi*, which is an almost exact equivalent of *Sambodhi*. It occurs in the name *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa* of a well-known Pali work, published by the Pali Text Society. *Mahābodhiṃ gam* is an expression which is frequently met with in this book; e. g., on p. 130, we have *taṃ khaṇaṃ yeva Bārāṇasī-rājadhāniyā Brahmādatta-rājānaṃ ādāya mahābodhiṃ upagantvā, etc., etc.*

Whichever sense of the word *bodhi* or *sambodhi* is taken, the purport of the edict in question is clear. It tells us that Āsoka's religious touring commenced with his visit to Bodhi. Of the four places connected with Buddha, that where he obtained enlightenment is considered as most important by the Buddhists. The *Divyāvadāna* also, as will be seen from the extract cited above, says that Āsoka attached far more value to Bodhi than to anything else, and consequently gives a longer and much more glowing description of his visit there. It speaks of the religious benefactions made by him and also of the interviews he had with *sthaviras*, exactly as the Rock Edict tells us.

XVII.—Was Devagupta another name of Chandragupta II?

On pp. 214-15 of this *Journal* for the last year, Prof. Pathak has given a summary of a Vākāṭaka copper-plate grant which is in his possession. Therein Prabhāvatī, mother of the

yuvrāja Śrī-Divākarasena, is spoken of as daughter of Chandragupta II, of the imperial Gupta dynasty. The same Prabhāvatī (-guptā) is mentioned in at least two published Vākāṭaka grants as daughter of Devagupta. And, as Prof. Pathak's grant, which was thoroughly examined by me, is an unquestionably genuine record, the conclusion is irresistible that Devagupta is another name of Chandragupta II. But if there is still any scepticism on this point, it is, I believe, set at rest by the Sāñchī inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G. E. 93. The following words which occur in it are important: *mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptasya Devarāja iti priya-nām*
. . . tasya sarva-guṇa-sampattaye, etc. The lacunae here are rather unfortunate, but if we make an attempt at grasping the true meaning of the passage in the light of what precedes and follows, I doubt not that it is intended to tell us that Devarāja was another name of Chandragupta II. Prinsep translated this passage so as to make Devarāja another name of this Gupta king. "This may be correct," says Dr. Fleet. But he prefers to supply the lacunae by reading *Devarāja iti priya-nām*=[*āmātyo-bhavat*]*y*=[*e*]*tasya*, and take Devarāja as the name of his minister. *Priya-nāmā* Dr. Fleet correctly renders by "of familiar name," but this phrase loses its sense if Devarāja is taken to be a name not of Chandragupta but of his minister. What is the force of saying that the minister's familiar name is Devarāja, when his other and generally known name is not given? On the other hand, if it is taken to refer to Chandragupta, the full significance of the passage is brought out. For the name Chandragupta is, as a matter of fact, first mentioned, and it is immediately followed by Devarāja. This first name is more widely known, but the second is more familiar. And there is also very great propriety in Āmrakārdḍava, the donor, giving this second name of the Gupta sovereign. For Āmrakārdḍava was not a Chief, but an officer of Chandragupta, as rightly said by Dr. Fleet. And it is but natural that he should mention over and above the usual and common, also the favourite, name of the sovereign by which he was familiarly known in his palace where Āmrakārdḍava must have more often come in contact with him than elsewhere. Again, Āmrakārdḍava is said to be *anujīvi-satpurusha-sadbhāva-vṛittiṃ jagati prabhīḍayan*. This epithet becomes appropriate only if Devarāja is taken to refer to Chandragupta. For part of his gift is intended to produce perfection of all virtues in Devarāja. If this Devarāja is no other but a minister, the expression *anujīvi-satpurusha-sadbhāva-vṛitti* has no meaning. This epithet would, therefore, naturally lead us to suppose that Āmrakārdḍava made the grant for the benefit, not of the minister, but of the sovereign. There can thus be no doubt that the Sāñchī inscription gives Devarāja as another name of Chandragupta II only. And this corroborates the Vākāṭaka plates of Prof. Pathak.

XVIII.—Manandasor inscription of Naravarman.

A new inscription has recently been brought to light at Mandsaur or Mandasor, the chief town of the district of the same name in Scindia's Dominions of the Western Malwa Division of Central India. It is now lying in the possession of Lala Dayashankar, a local pleader, but was originally found near the Fort gate not far from the village of Ṭoḍī.

The stone on which the inscription is engraved appears purposely to have been neatly cut out after line 9 for being used in some building. The object of the record is thus not clear, as it is lost with the missing portion of the inscription stone; but it seems to be something connected with the god Vāsudeva. This benefaction, whatever it was, was made by an individual named Satya, who was a son of Varṇavṛiddhi and grandson of Jaya. The record refers itself to the reign of Naravarman, son of Singhavarman and grandson of Jayavarman, and is dated the 5th of the bright half of Āśvoja (Āśvina) of the Mālava (or Vikrama) year 461 = A. D. 404. It is thus evident that this Naravarman is identical with the prince of that name who is mentioned as father of Viśvarman by the Gaṅghār inscription of V. E. 480.¹ And we know from another Mandasor inscription that

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 74 f.

Viśvarman's son was Bandhuvarman.² We thus obtain the following line of the feudatory princes who ruled over Malwa from about the middle of the fourth to about the middle of the fifth century A.D.

- (1) Jayavarman
- |
- (2) Siṅghavarman, son of (1)
- |
- (3) Naravarman, son of (2)
V. E. 461 = A. D. 404.
- |
- (4) Viśvarman, son of (3)
V. E. 480 = A. D. 423
- |
- (5) Bandhuvarman, son of (4)
V. E. 493 = A. D. 436

Among the various epithets of Naravarman mentioned in our inscription occurs in l. 5 the epithet *Siṅgha-vikrānta-gāmini* (*Naravarmani*). If I have understood this expression correctly, it shows that Naravarman was a feudatory of Chandragupta II. We know from Gupta coins³, that *Siṅgha-vikrama* was a title of Chandragupta II.; and we also know from a Sāñchi inscription that this Gupta sovereign was reigning till G. E. 93 = A. D. 411, *i. e.*, for at least seven years after the date of our inscription. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from concluding that the expression *Siṅgha-vikrānta-gāmini* hints that Naravarman was a tributary prince of Chandragupta II. And this is in keeping with the fact that his son and grandson, *viz.*, Viśvarman and Bandhuvarman were feudatories of Kumāragupta.

The verse which sets forth the year is very important, and I, therefore, quote it here.

Śri(r)-Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte prasaste Kṛita-sañjñite [|].

Eka-shashty-adhike prāpte samā-sata-chatushtay[e] [||].

The two expressions that are worthy of consideration in this verse are *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte*, and *Kṛita-sañjñite*. The first reminds us of similar expressions found elsewhere, *viz.*, *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā* and *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* of the inscriptions dated V. E. 493 and 589 respectively and both discovered at Mandasor itself. But what is the meaning of the expression *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte* which occurs in our inscription? In my opinion, it can have but one sense, *viz.*, "handed down traditionally by the Mālava tribe." The root, *ā-mnā*, primarily signifies "to hand down traditionally,"⁴ and, consequently, the word *gaṇa* can here only mean "a tribe," which again is one of its usual senses⁵. This, I think, is clear and indisputable, and the other similar phrases just referred to, must be so interpreted as to correspond to this. The late Prof. Kielhorn⁶ took these latter to mean "by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas." But to understand *gaṇa* in the sense of *gaṇand*, as he undoubtedly does, is far-fetched. Besides the expression occurring in the new inscription clearly shows that the word *gaṇa* must in all these phrases be taken to signify "a tribe." The word *sthiti* of the expression *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti* now remains to be explained, and it is obvious that it must bear a meaning which would correspond to *āmnāta*. *Sthiti*; therefore, must mean some such thing as 'a settled rule or usage' which, doubtless, is one of its senses⁷. This also brings out clearly the meaning of the instrumental which is intended by *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā* and *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt*, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn. These expressions must, therefore, mean, "in accordance with the (traditional) usage of the Mālava tribe."

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* for 1889, p. 87-90; 1898, pp. 111-12.

⁴ The *Amarakosha* *e. g.* gives *sampradāya* (=traditional usage) as one of the meanings of *āmnāya*.

⁵ One Bijaygaḍh inscription *e. g.* speaks of Yaudheya-gaṇa (*Gupta Insers.* p. 252). *Gaṇa* is also found appended on coins not only to the name Yaudheya but also to Mālava (*Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I. by V. A. Smith, pp. 173-4 and 182).

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. XIX, pp. 56-7.

⁷ *Vide* the St. Petersburg Lexicon *sub voce* and the references culled there from Sanskrit literature.

Now, what can be the meaning of *Kṛita-sañjñite*, which expression also is met with in our inscription? Obviously, the years 461, are here meant to be called *Kṛita*. But it may be asked, "Are there any inscriptions which contain instances of this word applied to years?" I answer in the affirmative, for there are at least two inscriptions which speak of *Kṛita* years. They are the Bijaygaḍh stone pillar inscription of Vishṇuvardhana and the Gaṅgadhâr stone inscription of Viśvavarman referred to above. In the first, the date is mentioned in the words, *Kṛiteshu chaturshu varsha-śateshu = aṣṭāvin(śi)śeshu 400 20 8*, etc.⁸ The second sets forth the date in the following verse: *Yāteshu chatuṣ(r)shu kri(kṛi)teshu śateshu sau[m]yeshu = āśita-sotturapadeshu=iha vatsa[reshu]*⁹. Dr. Fleet translates the word *kṛiteshu* by "fully complete," but admits that it involves a straining. Besides, even with this meaning, the word is made redundant by *yāteshu*, which is used along with it. But the sense of *kṛiteshu*, and consequently of the two passages in which it occurs, is rendered clear and intelligible, if we take it to be a name by which the years of what is now called the Vikrama era were known, as no doubt the phrase *Kṛita-sañjñite* of our inscription tells us. But here a question arises: "Was *Kṛita* the name of an era?" It is difficult to answer the question definitely at the present stage of our research. But the manner in which the word *Kṛita* is employed leads us to surmise that it was at any rate not the name of a king or royal dynasty that was associated with these years. We have *e. g.*, eras originated by Saka or Gupta kings. But we never hear of expressions such as *Sakeshu vatsareshu* or *Gupteshu vatsareshu*. The Bijaygaḍh and Gaṅgadhâr inscriptions, on the other hand, as we have seen, speak of *Kṛiteshu varsheshu* or *vatsareshu*. It is for this reason that I am inclined to think that *Kṛita* was not the name of a king or dynasty that was given to these years. It is not safe just at present to make an assertion on this point, but it appears to me that what is now known as the Vikrama era was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of reckoning years and was consequently originally known as *Kṛita*, which means "made." If this supposition is correct, it is clear why *Kṛita* can be used in apposition to years as is no doubt intended in the passages cited above. I do not, however, believe that the Mâlavas had anything to do with the actual foundation of the era. This is evident from the word *amnāta*, which never means "originated". The word can here signify only "handed down traditionally," and shows that the Mâlavas were only in possession of a traditional usage regarding, *i. e.*, of a mode of reckoning, the *Kṛita* years. We know that there are two systems of reckoning, which are peculiar to the Vikrama era, *viz.* the northern (*Chaitrādi*) and the southern (*Kārtikādi*). Whether the Mâlavas were supposed in the fifth century A. D. to have handed down one of these or not is a question which we must await further discoveries to answer.

ON SOME NEW DATES OF PANDYA KINGS IN THE 13TH CENTURY A. D.

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I.

IN December 1911, I obtained the permission of the Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, M.R.Ry. Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastriar Avargal, to search the files of his transcripts of Pāṇḍya inscriptions for unverified dates to be used as illustrations to my *Indian Chronology* as well as to the method of verification of dates advocated in my little brochure, *Hints to Workers in South Indian Chronology*. The search resulted in the discovery of many unverified Pāṇḍya dates,⁷ equal in importance, and more than equal in number, to those upon which the late Prof. Kielhorn had been engaged from 1901 up to the time of his death in 1908, and which had been published by him from time to time in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I had reason to believe that a considerable proportion of these unverified dates had also been submitted to Prof. Kielhorn, but that he had not succeeded in discovering a clue to them. From a note in German by Prof. Kielhorn, which I found in one of the transcripts in the Epigraphist's office, it was apparent that, in order to be able to deal more effectively with Pāṇḍya dates, which no doubt present features of unusual difficulty (as pointed out in my *Hints to Workers in South Indian*

⁸ Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 253.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75 ll. 19-20.

Chronology), he had constructed a rough ephemeris for the years A. D. 1000—1300. From his description of the ephemeris, however, I gather that it could not have contained more than the first five or six columns of Table X of my *Indian Chronology*, if it contained so much; that is, he must have used, as data for all the *tithis* and *nakshatras* of a particular year, certain constants derived from the positions of the sun and the moon at the commencement of the year. I mention these details, because for the very same purpose of dealing effectively with Pāṇḍya dates, I have also constructed an ephemeris or daily *Trayāṅga* for the years A. D. 850-1000 and again from A. D. 1200 to 1500, which I intend to continue backwards as well as forwards; but my ephemeris gives, in addition to constants for every year and every new moon, which I have already furnished in print in Table X of my *Indian Chronology*, the actual ending moment of the *tithi* and *nakshatra* for every day in the period dealt with. It is possible to discover from this ephemeris, after a few trials and without any calculation whatever, the day corresponding to any combination of *tithi*, *nakshatra* and *vāra*. The accuracy of the results presented to Epigraphists in this article, as well as the ease with which I have been able to obtain positive results where Prof. Kielhorn and other investigators merely reported negative results, are due to the fact that I obtained them, as a rule, direct from my ephemeris, instead of having to work them out every time from my *Indian Chronology*.

For the sake of ready reference, I give below a list of all the Pāṇḍya rulers of the 13th and first quarter of the 14th century, whose initial years have been ascertained either by Prof. Kielhorn or by me, distinguishing by asterisks my own contributions to the list. Where I have been able to reduce to narrower limits the commencement of a reign given by Prof. Kielhorn, this fact is also indicated by an asterisk. Similarly, the fact that I have proved Kielhorn's Vira Pāṇḍya (the only prince of that name disclosed by his investigations) to have been a *Māravarma* is also indicated by an asterisk. To Kielhorn's eight Pāṇḍyas of the 13th century, I have added a dozen new names, so that the obscurity in which the history of the Pāṇḍyas of the 13th century has been hitherto involved, and which finds frequent¹ expression in the annual reports of the Madras Epigraphist, has to some extent been removed. It remains for me, however, to acknowledge gratefully the liberal hints I have received from Mr. Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastriar, in the matter of determining the *broad*

¹ *Annual Report*, 1911-12, p. 71. "No. 322 of 1911 which is dated in the 10th year of Jaṭ. S. Pāṇḍya and quotes the 15th of Perunjangadeva may refer to the time of Jaṭ. S. Pāṇḍya I (1251 to at least 1261), or to J. S. Pāṇḍya II (1276 to at least 1290). The latter is more probable, as J. S. Pāṇḍya I is always distinguished by the epithet *who took all countries*." I shall show below that the king referred to is J. S. P. I.

Annual Report, 1911-12, p. 72. "Inscriptions of this Jaṭ. Vira Pāṇḍya, copied in previous years, do not give any clue as to the period when he flourished." I shall show, by means of four inscriptions copied so early as 1894, and one in each of the years 1906, 1907 and 1908, that this Jaṭ. Vira Pāṇḍya came to the throne in A. D. 1254 and was no other than the person well known to Madras epigraphy as the conqueror of "flam, Kongu and Choḷa."

Annual Report, 1910-11, p. 79. "Mār. Vira Pāṇḍya is another unknown king to whose 10th year belongs No. 277 of 1910." Again *Annual Report*, 1909-10, p. 99. "Mār. Tribh. Vira Pāṇḍya and Jaṭ. Tribh. Vira Pāṇḍya, mentioned in Nos. 307 and 494 of 1909, could not be identified with any of the kings in Kielhorn's list." I shall show, by means of inscriptions, copied in 1905 and 1909, that the only Vira Pāṇḍya whose dates were investigated by Kielhorn was a *Maravarma*; I shall also show that there were at least three Jaṭ. Vira Pāṇḍyas in the 13th century.

Annual Report, 1910-11, p. 79. "We do not know who Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya was in whose 12th year..... the *kaikkōlar*..." In Nos. 342, 343 and 344 of 1911 (three dated inscriptions of the 15th year of Mār. Sund. Pāṇḍya) the *kaikkōlar* figure again, this time as donors of gifts. I have identified these dates as belonging to a reign which commenced in A. D. 1294.

Annual Report, 1909-10, p. 97. "Jaṭ. Tribh. Sundara Pāṇḍya whose identity with any of the known kings of that name could not be definitely affirmed..... One of these inscriptions (418 of 1909) refers to an earlier grant by Kopperunjangadeva and helps us to identify this Sund. Pāṇḍya with Jaṭ. S. P. II." I shall show, by means of 9 inscriptions copied in 1909 (including No. 418 of 1909), and three in earlier years, that this Jaṭ. S. Pāṇḍya could not be either J. S. P. I or II, but a different person whose reign began in A. D. 1270-71.

Annual Report, 1908-09, p. 82. "Other kings of the name of Sundara Pāṇḍya who could not be identified by their characteristic epithets are Koner. Jaṭ. Tribh. S. P. (Nos. 69 and 72 of 1908); Jaṭ. S. P. (214, 217, 395, 411, 414 and 594 of 1908)..... Tribh. S. P. (130 of 1908 and 14 of 1909); ... Vira Pāṇḍya is represented by 13 inscriptions, in nine of which (119, 120, 122, 123, 134, 290, 401..... and 598 of 1908 and 59 of 1909) he is called Jaṭ. Tribh. Vira Pāṇḍya." I shall show below that the eight inscriptions whose numbers are italicized in this quotation and for which details of day and month are available, can be referred definitely to certain known Pāṇḍya sovereigns, viz. Jaṭ. S. P. II (411), Mār. S. P. II (130), Jaṭ. V. P. II (134), Jaṭ. V. P. III (119, 120, 122 and 401 of 1908), and Jaṭ. S. P. IV (69 of 1908).

limits of the period to which each inscription relates. Without such hints, pure chronology would be very often at sea in such investigations. The annual reports of the Madras Epigraphist give only the Saka or the cyclic years of inscriptions, but not the details of month and day, where these are available. I have suggested to the Epigraphist that these details might be given in future² in the Annual Report in all cases in which they are available, and also, where the only possible clue to the discovery of the year is the mention of a concurrent set of *tithi*, *vāra* and *nakshatra* with or without solar month, that a brief indication of the *period* to which the characters and other epigraphical evidence might seem to point should be furnished in the Annual Report. Such an indication as "circa 13th cent." or "12th or 13th cent." or "later than 14th cent." is in the latter class of cases indispensable for chronological investigation. All details of *tithi*, *nakshatra* and *vāra*, invaluable as they are for epigraphic research, are at present omitted from the epigraphist's annual reports, in order possibly to economize space, but no scientific record, however brief, can be complete without such details as may serve eventually to fix the date. The inscriptions containing such details are unfortunately not many. Moreover, if the tabular arrangement at present adopted in the appendices to the Madras Epigraphist's annual reports were replaced by the narrative form which I have adopted in Part IV of this article, there would not only be no waste of space, but considerable economy would result, and the Epigraphist would be able to include in the appendices everything he wished to quote from the contents of a given inscription, instead of having to divide his notes between the "remarks" column of an appendix and the text of his report. If the procedure I suggest were adopted, all the inscriptions found in a particular temple or other building would still stand together, as they do now, but they could be provided with a conspicuous heading, describing the temple or structure by its name, village, taluk and district. The tabular form seems to have been adopted more than 20 years ago when there were much fewer inscriptions and much less information to be recorded under each than is at present the case. It is now rather a hindrance than a help to the full treatment of an important or interesting inscription.

II.

List of Pāṇḍya rulers of the 13th century.

* An asterisk distinguishes additions made by the present writer to the list of Pāṇḍya kings published by Prof. Kielhorn at pp. 226-228 of Vol. IX of *Epigraphia Indica*.

Name of ruler.	Limits of commencement of reign.
* Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I ³	18 Aug. 1189—15 Ap. 1190
Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I	30 Mar.—29 Nov. 1190
Māvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I	29 Mar.—4 Sep. 1216
* Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara II	*25 June—19 July 1216
Māvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II	16 June—30 Sep. 1237
Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I	15 June 1238—18 Jan. 1239
Māvarman (*) Vīra Pāṇḍya	*3 July—1 Dec. 1238
Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I	20th—28 Ap. 1251
Māvarman (*) Vīra Pāṇḍya	11 Nov. 1252—13 July 1253
* Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II... ..	15 May—19 June 1254
* Māvarman Srīvallabha	4—10 Sep. 1257
Māvarman Kulaśekhara I	2—27 June 1268
* Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (II)	*12—27 June 1268
4 Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II	2 Nov. 1270—5 Jan. 1271
	13 Sep. 1275—15 May 1276
	*24 June 1276

² I am glad to find that in the annual report for 1912-18 these details are for the first time given in full—L. D.S.

³ I have assigned numbers to the Pāṇḍyas of the 13th cent. merely for convenience of reference in this article. I do not recommend the employment of such numbers generally when dealing with the Pāṇḍyas: for it is certain that there were earlier Pāṇḍyas bearing the same names, though we do not now know their exact dates. It would be better to refer to each Pāṇḍya by the year of his accession.

⁴ Called Jat. Sundara Pāṇḍya II in Professor Kielhorn's list.

* Mâravarman Vikrama Pândya	...	...	12 Jan.—29 Aug. 1283
* Jaṭavarman Vikrama Pândya	...	...	<i>circa</i> 1280
* Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha	...	...	6 Ap.—12 Nov. 1291
* Mâravarman Sundara Pândya III	...	...	20 Feb.—6 Mar. 1294
* Jaṭavarman Vîra Pândya III	...	...	23 June—24 July 1296
* Jaṭavarman Sundara Pândya ⁵ (IV)	...	...	29 Aug. 1302—5 July 1303
Mâravarman Kulāśekhara II...	...	...	6th—29 Mar. 1314
* Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pândya	...	...	15 Ap.—10 Aug. 1315
* Jaṭavarman Sundara Pândya V	...	...	10—25 Ap. 1318

III.

The following is a *tentative* arrangement of most of the above Pândya rulers, which will make it clear,

(1) that five Pândyas ruled at the same time, a fact established by tradition as well as by the statements of contemporary historians;

(2) that two Mâravarmans and two Jaṭavarmans were co-regents with a fifth Pândya who might be either a Mâravarman or a Jaṭavarman;

(3) that as a rule not more than one or two years elapsed between the death of a Mâravarman or Jaṭavarman and the accession of the next Mâravarman or Jaṭavarman. The interval of 4 years between the death of Mâravarman Kulāśekhara I and the accession of Kulāśekhara II is accounted for by the Muhammadan invasion (*circa* A. D. 1310—*vide* Report on Madras Epigraphy for 1908-09, p. 82). Again there is a gap of ten years in col. (5) which one would expect to have been filled up by a Jatavarman. For the present I am only able to fill it up with Jaṭavarman Vikrama Pândya to whom I have assigned above the conjectural date *circa* 1280; but I admit this is not satisfactory;

(4) that, in what I have numbered as the first line of Pândyas of the 13th century, a Mâravarman was regularly succeeded by a Jaṭavarman and *vice versa*, each successor being presumably either appointed by the reigning sovereign during his life time or called to the throne after his death.

N.B.—The main purpose of this tabular arrangement is to show that, taking *almost* any year between A. D. 1250 and A. D. 1315, it is possible to prove from inscriptions that five Pândyas ruled simultaneously. The qualification "*almost*" would probably be unnecessary if we knew the exact *terminal* year of each reign.

The terminal year of each reign here assumed is merely the latest year occurring in inscriptions (Pudukkoṭṭai inscriptions have in one or two cases been used for this purpose by anticipation), whereas the actual year of death may have been a few years later than that here assumed. Also a more careful investigation of the relationship among the individuals reigning at the same time, as well as of the places where they had their palaces, may lead us to a better adjustment of the concurrent lines which, as presented here, make *absolutely* no pretence whatever to a genealogical arrangement.

(1) Mâr. Sund. Pând. I (1216—1244)	(2) Mâr. Vîra Pândya (1252—1267)	(3) Jaṭ. Vîra Pândya II (1254—1275)	(4) Mâr. Sund Pând. II (1233—1255)	(5) Jaṭ. Kulāśekhara II (1237—1259)
Jaṭ. Sund. Pând. I (1251—1280)	Mâr. Kulāśek. I (1263—1310)	Jaṭ. Sund. Pând. III (1276—1293)	Mâr. Śrīvallabha (1257—1292)	Jaṭ. Vikrama Pândya <i>circa</i> 1280
Mâr. Vikram. Pând. (1283—1291)		Jaṭ. Vîra Pândya III (1295—1342)	Mâr. Sund. Pândya III (1294—1307)	Jaṭ. Sund. Pândya II (1270—1302)
Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (1291—1315)	Mâr. Kulāśek. II (1314—1344)			Jaṭ. Sund. Pândya IV (1302—1318)
				Jaṭ. Parākrama Pând. (1315—)
				Jaṭ. Sund. Pând V (1318—)

⁵ This was presumably the Sundara Pândya who, according to the Muhammadan historians, murdered his father Mâravarman Kulāśekhara I.

IV.

An analysis of 77 Pāṇḍya dates hitherto unverified.

[Between 1902 and 1908, Prof. Kielhorn verified 67 Pandya dates—*vide* list at pp. 226-228, *Ep. Ind.*, IX.]

Explanatory Note.—I believe I have the authority of the Madras Epigraphist for saying that he accepts the *conclusions* arrived at by me in the present analysis. I accept sole responsibility, however, for the *calculations* here presented and wish to add, by way of caution, that variations to the extent of .02 of a day may be found in my results. This is the necessary consequence of my ephemeris being calculated to two places of decimals; but wherever the variation was likely to affect the *vāra*, I have taken care to calculate the result to four places of decimals according to the full method indicated in my *Indian Chronology*.

I have in my possession about 90 Pāṇḍya dates sent to me by the Pudukkoṭṭai State which, so far as they are capable of verification, I hope to publish in a later article after getting them epigraphically examined.

In quoting dates, I have used certain abbreviations the meaning of which will be obvious; e. g., *su.* for *śukla*, *ba.* for *bahula*, etc. I have indicated *nakshatras* by placing their names between inverted commas, so as to distinguish them from the names of solar and lunar months. When I say that a tithi or Nakshatra ended at .25 of the day, I mean that it ended 15 ghaṭikas after mean sunrise. A key to this decimal system will be found in the *Eye-Table* appended to my book, *Indian Chronology* (1911).

Jaṭavarman Kulāsekharā I.

(Reign began between 30th March and 29th November 1190.)

1908 (103). From the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputūr (Madura District). Records (gift of) some lands belonging to the temple of Kailāsamūḍaiya Nāyaṇār by the *sabhd* of Tirupputūr, in order to provide for offerings on a festival in the same temple. Mentions *samvatsaravāriyam*.

Date.—Year opp. 2nd of Tribh. Kulāsekharā; 5th day of Mithuna; Sunday = Sunday 30 May A. D. 1193, which was the 5th Mithuna.

* Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya.

(Reign began between 18th Aug. 1189 and 15th April 1190.)

1908 (144). From the north wall of the six-pillared *maṇḍapa* in front of the Central Shrine in the Maṅgaiñātha temple at Pirāṅmalai (Madura District). Gift of money for offerings.

Tirukkoṇḍuṅṅuru was situated in Tirumalainādu. Mention is made of Aḷagāpuri *alias* Seḷḷianārāyaṇapuram in Kēraḷaśinga-Vaḷanādu.

Date.—3rd year of Jaṭ Vira Pāṇḍya (no epithet) Kanni; su. 7; Anurādha.

On Monday, 17 August 1192, Anurādha ended at .44 and su. 7 at .20; but as the solar day was only the 145th it was 10 days short of Kanni. [*Kanni*, error for *Simha*.]

1906 (352). From the north wall of the Akhilāṇḍēśvari Shrine in the Sikhānāthasvāmin temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pudukkoṭṭai State). Damaged. Sale of temple land for the purpose of repairing temple.

Date.—13th year of Tribh. Vira Pāṇḍya; Mesha; su. . . ., Sunday; Utt. Phalgunī = Sunday 15th April 1201, when Mēsha su. 11 ended at .84 and "Utt. Phalgunī" commenced at .27; (possibly regnal year 13 should be 12).

Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

Reign began between 29th March and 4th September 1216

* 25th June and 19th July 1216

1906 (362). From the south wall of the second *prākāra* in the Sikhānāthasvāmin temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pudukkoṭṭai). Registers a public sale of land and its purchase by Uḍaiyār Gāṅḡeyārāyar, a native of Āṅṅūr in Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya-vaḷanādu.

Date.—3rd year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I; Mārgaḷi; ba. 5; Sat.; “Maghā”= Saturday 8 December 1218. Mārgaḷi ba. 5 and “Maghā” commenced just before sunrise on, and were current throughout, Saturday, coming to an end at ·07 and ·10 respectively on Sunday.

1907 (133). From the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Mucukundēśvara temple at Koḍumbāḷūr (Madura District). Seems to record a gift of land. Mentions Kāraiḷūr in Sōḷa Pāṇḍiya-vaḷanāḍu.

Date.—13th year (in Pudukoṭṭai copy, tho’ Mad. Ep. Rept. notes that regnal year is lost) of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I; Mithuna; su. 2 (2nd *tiyadi*); Sunday; “Pushya”. On Sunday 24 June 1229 Mithuna su. 2 and “Pushya” ended at ·59 and ·22. Read *tithi* for *tiyadi*.

* **Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara II.**

(Reign began between 16th June and 30th September 1237.)

1905 (62). From the fifth pillar in the second storey of the east *gōpura* of the Sundarēśvara temple at Madura. Gift of land.

Date.—2nd year of Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara; Tula; ba. 6; Thursday; “Mṛigaśira”. On Thursday, 30 Sep. 1238, Tula ba. 6 and Mṛigaśira ended at ·91 and ·36 respectively.

1910 (135). From the fifth pillar of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Mulasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai (Madura District). Gift of land by the assembly of Sōḷāntaka-Chaturvēdimāṅgalam, to the servants of the *yōgasthāna* of Kārṇavar-dāsar situated in the ninth hamlet of the village.

Date.—2nd year of Jaṭavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravarthin Kulaśekharaḍeva—Mithuna 20, su. 13; Wed.; “Anurādha”. On Wed. 15 June 1239 (= 20 Mithuna) su. 13 and “Anurādha” ended at ·87 and ·20 respectively.

1908 (135). From the west wall of the store-room in the Tiruttalēśvara temple at Tirupputūr (Madura District). Seems to record a gift of four water pots for the sacred bath by Avanimuḷududaiyar, wife of Dēvaragaṇḍan.

Date.—10th year opp. 13th of Tribh. Kulaśekharaḍeva. 16th Mēsha; day of “Anurādha”. On Thursday 10 Ap. 1259 (= 16 Mēsha) “Anurādha” began at ·46. It ended next day at ·40.

Note.—It is curious that in the 23rd year of Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara I (whose reign began in A.D. 1190) there is a date, Tuesday 9 Ap. 1213, which satisfies the present conditions, *viz.* 16 Mēsha and “Anurādha”; but Madras Epigraphist thinks the characters of the inscription cannot be referred to beginning of 13th cent.

Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II.

(Reign began between 15 June 1238 and 18 Jan. 1239.)

* 3 July and 1 December 1238.

1908 (130). From the north wall of the first *prākāra* of the Agastyēśvara shrine in the Tiruttalēśvara temple at Tirupputūr (Madura District). Sale of land for the maintenance of a flower garden which was founded by Poṅparriyudaiyāṅ Viḷuppādarāyar of Pullūrkuḍi in Naduvirkūru in the district of Mīlalaikūram.

Date.—2nd year of Tribh. Sundara Pāṇḍya. Dhanus 11, su. 10, Wed; “Āśvini”. On Wed. 7 Decr. 1239 (= Dhanus 11), su. 10 and “Āśvini” ended at ·72 and ·89 respectively.

Note.—The result agrees with that of Prof. Jacobi, published, since this article was written, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 135: but the learned author satisfied himself with stating that the king in question must have begun to reign in A.D. 1237-38. As a matter of fact, the king is identical with Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (Kielhorn’s *C. vide Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 227), though the inscription itself does not style him a *Māravarman*; and if my other identifications of Madras and Pudukoṭṭai dates of this reign are correct, he must have come to the throne between 6 Oct. and 1 Decr. 1238, *i. e.* in A.D. 1238-39, not in A. D. 1237-38.

1895 (169). From the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* surrounding the shrine of the goddess in the Kailāśapati temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍān (Tinnevely District).

Date.—2nd year opp. [8th] of Mâravarma Sundara Pâṇḍya ; ba. 6 ; Wed. ; “Hasta” = Wed. 6 Jan. 1249, when ba. 6 and “Hasta” ended respectively at .32 and .37 of the day.

[Possibly 11th year, not 10th ; the reading is conjectural.]

1902 (616). From the inner side of the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Vṛiddhapuriśvara temple at Tiruppuṇāvāśal (Tanjore District). Sale of land.

Date.—3rd year opp. 14th of Mâravarma Sundara Pâṇḍya “who conquered every country” ; Kaṭaka ; su. 7 ; Monday ; “Svâti” = Monday, 12 July 1255, when Kaṭaka su. 7 ended and “Svâti” began.

Jaṭavarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I.

(Began to reign between 20th and 28th Apl. 1251.)

1906 (260). From the south wall of the central shrine in the ruined Śiva temple on the hill at Narasamaṅgalam (N. Arcot). Begins *Samasta-jagad-âdhâra*, etc. Incomplete. Registers a public sale of the village of Naraśingamaṅgalam in Mâvaṇḍûr-nâḍu, a sub-division of Kâliyûrkôṭṭam, a district of Jayaṅgaṇḍa-chôlamanḍalam.

Date.—7th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya ; Vṛiśchika ; ba. 3 ; Monday ; “Mṛigaśtra” = Monday 6 Nov. 1256, when Vṛiśchika ba. 3 and “Mṛigaśtra” ended at .97 and .33 respectively.

[6th Regnal year, not 7th.]

1901 (218) From the east wall of the Maṇḍapa in front of the Tirumâlîśvara temple a Mâgaral (Chingleput District). Records that a private person opened out streets and colonised the environs of the Agastyêśvara temple.

Date.—7th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pâṇḍya “who conquered every country.” Mêsha ; ba. 1 ; Rohiṇî. On Thursday 27 April, 1256, Rishabha su. 1 (not *Mêsha* ba. 1, which is a double error) and Rôhiṇî ended at .38 and .98 of the day respectively.

[7th year, as before, *vide* No. 260 of 1906 *supra*, an error for 6th.]

1901 (275). From the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Divyajânêśvara temple at Kôviladi. (Tanjore Dt.)

Date.—7th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya I., distinguished by the introduction *Samasta jagad*, (Tanjore Dt.) 8th tithi ; Monday ; “Pûrva Âshâḍha”. On Monday 17 Sept. 1257 Kanni su. 8 and “Pûrvâshâḍha” ended at .76 and .82 respectively.

1911 (322). From the west wall of the central shrine in the Dhênapuriśvara temple at Mâḍambâkkam (Chingleput District), quotes the 15th year of Perunjiṅgadeva and records a gift of lamps, etc., in the temple of Sîrrieri Aḷuḍayanâyanâr.

Date.—10th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pâṇḍya ; Rishabha ; Sukla 11 ; Sunday ; “Svâti”. On Sunday 23 May 1260, Rishabha su. 12 and “Svâti” ended at .71 and .60 respectively of the day. According to Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 222) Perunjiṅgadeva began to reign between February and July 1243.

[As Rishabha su. 11 cannot ordinarily concur with “Svâti,” su. 11 must be an error for “su. 12.”]

1909 (677). From the south wall of the Maṇḍapa in front of the central shrine in the temple of Neḍuṅgaĵanâthasvâmin at Tiruneḍuṅgalam. (Tamil). Begins with the introduction *Samasta-jagad-âdhâra* of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pâṇḍya. Gift of land by the people of Miśengili-nâḍu in Tenkarai Jayasinga Kulakâla-vaĵanâḍu.

Date.—Jaṭavarman Sund. Pâṇḍya (“*Samasta-jagad*”); 11th year ; Makara (apparent error for *Mina*) ; su. 6 ; Wed ; “Rohini” = Wed. 5 Mar. 1264 when tithi su. 6 and Nakshatra “Rohini” ended respectively at .50 and .53. Reg. year appearing in inscription as “pat [... ..] nṛâvadu” should be read as “pat [imu] nṛâvadu” (13th), not as “pat [ino] nṛavadu (= 11th).

The combination, su. 6 and “Rohini,” on Wednesday occurred only once (*i. e.*, on this date) during the 40 years A. D. 1251-1290, although ordinarily such a combination may be expected at intervals of 3, 7 or 10 years.

1903 (125) From the north wall of the central shrine in the Agastyêśvara temple at Tiruchunai (Madura District). Incomplete, Gift of land. A certain Vaidyâdhirâja is mentioned.

Date.—14th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Paṇḍya “who took every country” [Mina]; su. 7; [Sunday]; “Punarvasu” = Wed. 25 March 1265.

[Mina and Sunday, wrongly conjectured for Mēsha and Wednesday.]

Vira Paṇḍya (Kielhorn’s “E”)

(Reign began between 11 Nov. 1252 and 13 July 1253.)

1909 (395) From the south wall of the verandah round the central shrine in the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamaḍam (S. Arcot). Gift of land by purchase to the temple of Tiruppulippagava-Nāyanār at Siṅgingūr, a brahmadēya in Kurukkai-kūṅgam, a sub-division of Malāḍu in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu.

Date.—15th year of Māravarman Vira-Paṇḍya; Dhanuṣ; ba. 8; Saturday; “Hasta” = 10th Decr. A.D. 1267.

From this inscription it is clear that Kielhorn’s *Vira-Paṇḍya* was a *Māravarman*.

* **Jaṭavarman Vira Paṇḍya.**

(Reign began between 15 May and 19 June 1254.)

1894 (142) From the outside of the north wall of the second *prakāra* in the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely. Gift of a lamp.

Date.—4th year of Jaṭ. Vira-Paṇḍya (no epithet), Vaikāsi [22]; Tuesday; “Hasta” = Tues. 14th May A.D. 1258 (= 20 Rishabha or Vaikāsi). Hasta ended at 57 of the day.

[The solar date, Vaikāsi 22, which I found entered conjecturally in the Madras Epigraphist’s records, should be 20th.]

1894 (129) From the outside of the south wall of the second *prakāra* in the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely. Gift of land.

Date.—[4th] year of Jaṭ. Vira-Paṇḍya Simha; ba. 9; Sunday; “Rōhini” = Sunday, 5 Aug. 1257 when Simha ba. 9 and Rōhini ended at 92 and 74 respectively.

1894 (136) From the outside of west wall of the second *prakāra* in the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely. Gift of a lamp.

Date.—Year opp. 5th of Jaṭ. Vira-Paṇḍya (no epithet); Kanni 14; ba. 5; Friday; “Uttara Bhādrapada”. On Friday 11 July 1259 (= 14 Kaṭaka, not 14 Kanni), ba. 5 and “Utt. Bhād” ended at 36 and 66 respectively.

[Kanni, error for Kaṭaka]

1894 (151) From the inside of the west wall of the third *prakāra* in the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely. Gift of land.

Date.—7th year of Jaṭ. Vira-Paṇḍya; Kāttigai 16; “Satabhishaj” = Friday, 12 Nov. 1260 (= 16 Kāttigai) when Nak. “Satabhishaj” ended at 17 of the day.

1908 (134) From the west wall of the store-room in the Āgastyēśvara shrine in the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputūr (Madurā District). Incomplete. Refers to the shrine of Sūryadēva in the temple of Tiruttaliyāṇḍa-Nāyanār and to the Kannaḍiyan horsemen from a foreign country.

Date.—10th year of Jaṭ. Vira-Paṇḍya; (no epithet; but Kannaḍiyan horsemen are referred to); 10th year; Mithuna 7; day of “Maghā”. On Sunday, 1 June 1264 (= 7 Mithuna) “Maghā” ended at 44.

1906 (435) From the north, west and south walls of the central shrine in Vēdanārāyaṇa Perumāl temple at Murappunāḍu (Tinnevely District). Mentions Sri-Pōsala-Vira-Sōmidēva-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a brahmadēya in Murappunāḍu and a *maṭha* in it. Refers to a sale made in the 11th year (of the king’s reign).

Date.—14th year of Jaṭ. Vira-Paṇḍya “who took Īlam, Kongu, and Chōḷa, and performed the anointment of heroes at Perumbārapuliyūr.” Karkaṭaka; su. 1; Sunday; “Pushya”. On Sunday 4 July 1266, Karkaṭaka su. 1; and “Pushya” ended at 94 and 79 respectively.

1907 (402) From stones built into the base of the *Īsvara* temple at Perunṅaruṅai (Madura Dt): these are fragments.

Date.—14th year of Tribh. Vira Paṇḍya “who took Īlam, Kongu, and Śōlamaṇḍalam”. Mithuna; Ekādaśi; Sunday; “Krittika.” On Sunday 19 June 1267, Mithuna ba. 11 ended at .84 of the day, while “Krittika” began at .25 of the same day, ending at .29 next day.

1908 (128). From the Tiruttatisvara temple at Tiruputtur, (Madura District).

Date.—22nd year of Tribh-Jatavarman Vira Pāṇḍya 4th day (*tedi*) of Rishabha, su. 2, the day of “Rohini.” On Monday 29th April 1275 which was 4th Rishabha, but fell in the 21st year of the present reign, su. 2 and “Rohini” ended, the former at .27 of the day and the latter about sunrise [22nd regnal year should be 21st]. Prof. Jacobi, in Pāṇḍya date No. 91 contributed by him to *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 137, was unable to refer this date in all its details to Jātavarman Vira Pāṇḍya whose reign began according to him in or about Decr. 1295, but the present reign is a more natural place for the date.

* **Māravarman Śrīvallabhadēva.**

(Reign began between 4 and 10 Sept. A. D. 1257.)

1900 (110) From the south wall of the central shrine of the Rishabhēśvara temple at Chēn-gama, in South Arcot District. (Inscription built in.)

Date.—4th year opposite the 17th of Tribh. Śrīvallabhadēva.

Mithuna su. 4; Saturday, “Maghā”=Saturday 25 June A.D. 1278, when Mithuna su. 4 and “Maghā” ended at .76 and .48 of the day respectively.

1904 (539) From the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr, Tanjore District; seems to record a gift of land (inscription built in at the end).

Date.—Māravarman Tribh. Śrīvallabhadēva’s 35th year; Simha; su. 5; Wednesday; “Krittika.”

The day intended was probably Wednesday, 3 Sept. A. D. 1292 when Kanni ba. 5 (not Simha su. 5) and “Krittikā” ended at .25 and .59 of the day respectively. [*Simha* and *Śukla* are errors for *Kanni* and *bahula*.]

Note—There is a Pudukōṭṭā inscription for the same regnal year, Kanni; *paurṇamī*; Monday; “Revati”; which corresponds to Monday, 10 Sept. 1291 when *paurṇamī* ended at .02 of the day while “Revati” ended at .39 on the following day.

Māravarman Kulāsekharā I.

(Reign began between 12th May and 27th June 1268.)

1902 (598) From the inner *gōpura* of the Prēmapuriśvara temple at Aṅbil (Trichinopoly Dt.), left of entrance. Gift of land.

Date.—1 [1] th year of Mār. Kulāsekharā; Kanni; su. 2; Wed.; “Anurādha”: on Wed. 19 Oct. A. D. 1278, Tulā (not Kanni) su. 2 and “Anurādha” ended at .65 and .77 respectively. [*Kanni*, error for *Tulā*, as Kanni su. 2 cannot join with “Anurādha” except in very unusual circumstances.]

1910 (126) From the west wall of the first *prākāra* in the Mūlsthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai, (Madura District). Incomplete. Mentions the Tiruñjānaśambandaṅ-tirumaḍam in the same temple.

Date.—14th year of Mār. Kulāsekharā “who was pleased to take all countries.” Kanni, su. 7; Sunday; “Mula”. On Sunday 21 Sept. 1281, Kanni su. 7 and “Mula” ended at .92 and .58 of the day.

1910 (123) From the west wall of the first *prākāra* in the Mūlsthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai (Madura District)—Damaged and incomplete. Mentions Ten-Kallaganāḍu.

Date.—23rd year of Mār. Tribh. Kulāsekharā, “who took every country;” Makara; su. [7]; Monday; “Hasta”. On Monday 23 June 1292 (25th year of Mār. Kul. I), Mithuna (not Makara, which is an obvious error), su. 8 (not 7) and “Hasta” ended at .80 and .09 respectively. [Through the kindness of the Government Epigraphist I had an opportunity of examining the impression on which *Makara* and *Saptamī* are fairly clear. If the inscription really belongs to this reign, it must be pronounced full of mistakes.]

1910 (124) From the west wall of the first *prākāra* in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai, Madura District. Damaged. Quotes the 10th year of Sundara Pāṇḍyādēva and mentions the Alālasundaran-tirumaḍam in the same temple.

Date.—28th year of Mār. Kulāśēkhara “who was pleased to take all countries:” Vṛiśchika ba. 4; Sunday; “Pushya”=Sunday 27 Nov. 1295, when Vṛiśchika ba. 4 and “Pushya” ended respectively at ‘70 and ‘56 of the day.

1909 (734) From the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Muktiśvara temple at Pūratukōyil (Trichinopoly District). Gift of a village to the temple of Tirumuttāśvaramuḍiya-Nāyaṇār at Kaḍuvaṅkuḍi by the inhabitants of Mudiyaḅkuḍiṇāḍu and Vaḍakōṇḍu which were sub-divisions of Urattūr-kūṛram in Kōṇḍu *alias* Kaḍalāḍaiyāḍ-Ilaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōlāvaḷanāḍu.

Date.—28th year of Māravarman Kulāśēkhara; Kanni (should be *Dhanus*); ba. 10; Friday; “Hasta”. On Friday 2 Decr. 1295, Dhanus ba. 10 commenced, ending at ‘46 next day, while “Hasta” ended on Friday, 2 Decr. at ‘55.

1904 (506) From the north wall of the central shrine in the Agastyēśvara temple at Agatīyānpaḷli (Tanjore District). Gift of land in order to celebrate a festival in the temple for the recovery of the king from some illness.

Date.—31st year of Mār. Kulāśēkhara; Rīshaba; *śubla* . . . Sunday, “Utt. Phalg”. = Sunday 10 May 1299, when “Uttarā-Phalgunī” ended at ‘89 of the day. The tithi was su. ‘9.

1906 (46) From the base of the verandah enclosing the central shrine in the temple of Amṛitaghaṭēśvara at Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tanjore District). Gift of land for 40 lamps for the merit of Ulagūḍaiya-Perumā. The country is said to have been in a state of confusion for a long time and the inhabitants to be suffering distress in other provinces.

Date.—34th year Mār. Kulāśēkhara; Kanni; su. 7; Sunday; “Mūla”. On Sunday 10 Sept. 1301, Kanni; su. 7 and “Mūla” ended at ‘31 and ‘93 respectively.

1903 (288) From the north base of the central shrine in the Pārthasārathisvāmin temple at Triplicane (Madras). Mutilated in the middle. Records a sale of land.

Date.—[4] 9th year [may be read, says Epigraphist, also as 41st year]; Mēsha; su. 5; Wed. “Rōhiṇī”. On Wednesday 27 March 1303, Mēsha su. 5 ended at ‘60 of the day, while “Rōhiṇī” had ended at ‘97 on Tuesday. Local time may have added about ‘02 to mean time, so as to bring *Nakshatra* “Rōhiṇī” up to sunrise on 27 March. A. D. 1303 was the 41st year of this reign.

(To be continued.)

THE INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN ARTIFICIAL POETRY.

BY G. BÜHLER,

[Translated by Prof. V. S. Ghate, M. A.; Poona.]

(Continued from p. 148.)

III. Harishēṇa's panegyric of Samudragupta.

THE second one of the inscriptions which we are going to examine, Harishēṇa's panegyric of Samudragupta, presents many points of close touch with the *Kāvya* literature preserved and proves in the clearest manner that court-poetry was a subject most assiduously cultivated in the fourth century of our era. Harishēṇa's panegyric covered originally thirty lines and a half, and consisted of eight verses in the beginning, a long prose-passage and a concluding verse. All the three parts together form one single, gigantic sentence. Unfortunately, the four lines in the beginning containing two verses have been entirely lost and lines 4-16 have been distorted more or less, so that we have only one of the introductory verses, in a complete form. The subscription of the author in ll.31-33 informs us that not only the metrical lines but the whole of the composition is to be regarded as *kāvya*. It is said there:—

“And may this *kāvya*, of the slave of the feet of this same lord,²⁰ whose intelligence was expanded by the favour of dwelling near (His Majesty), the minister of foreign affairs, and the

²⁰ I. e. of the king Samudragupta. Mr. Fleet's supposition that Chandragupta II. is meant is grammatically not allowable.

counsellor of the royal prince,³⁰ the great General Harisheṇa, the son of Khādyaṭapākika³¹ and of the great General Dhruvabhūti, lead to the welfare and happiness of all beings. The accomplishment of the same was, however, looked after³² by the great General Tilakabhaṭṭa who meditates with reverence on the feet of his lord.'

Thus, this little composition of Harisheṇa belongs to that class of mixed compositions which in poetics are frequently called by the name *champū*, while the oldest works preserved for us, such as *Vāsavadattā*, *Kādambarī*, *Harshacharita* and *Daśakumāracharita* are called by the name of *ākhyāyikā* or *kathā*, 'a narration, a romance.' It possesses a certain relationship with the descriptions of kings, which are found in the *ākhyāyikās*. Similar to these³³ last, the description, in the present case, consists of one sentence with many adjectival as well as appositional phrases and a number of relative sentences. As will be shown later on, there are many agreements in respect of details. But, besides, Harisheṇa's composition presents its peculiarity or special character in several respects. This comes out in the grouping of the elements and especially in the skill in bringing out a connection of the praise of Samudragupta with the pillar on which the inscription has been worked out. The last part which forms the very foundation for the compilation of the whole work, and the concluding verse, deserve a detailed examination not only for this reason, but also for the fact, which will be seen if they are rightly understood, that the inscription was not composed, as Mr. Fleet assumes, after the death of Samudragupta. They are to be translated in the following manner, according to my interpretation:—

Lines 30-31—'This high pillar is, as it were, the arm of the earth raised up, which announces that the fame of Samudragupta, the illustrious lord of great kings, greatly augmented through the conquest of the whole earth, filled the whole surface of the earth, and found a lovely, happy path in that it wandered from this world to the palace of the lord of gods.'³⁴

Verse 9—'And the glory of this (ruler), which rises up in layers one above the other, through his generosity, his bravery of the arm, his self-control, and his perfection in the science of letters, and which follows more than one path, purifies the three worlds, like the white waters of the Gaṅgā, which rises up in even higher floods, follows more than one path, and dashes forth rapidly freed as it is from the imprisonment in the inner hollow of the braid of hair of Paśupati.'

For the explanation of this translation, the following should be noticed.

1. The word *uchchhrita* (l. 30) refers to the arm as well as the pillar, for it is only the raised arm pointing to heaven that can announce the fact that the king's glory has gone up there. The poet here has the *Ślesha* or paranomasia in view, and the word is, therefore, to be translated twofold. It is possible that the word *uchchhrita* as taken with the pillar may mean 'erected' (just here), instead of 'high;' but to decide which of the two meanings is intended, we must know further particulars regarding the working of the inscription.

³⁰ The title *kumārāmātya* 'counsellor or minister of the royal prince' corresponds probably to the title at present in use in Gujarāt, i. e., *Kumvarjēno kārbhārī* 'the manager of the prince'. At all the great courts in Kāthiāwād and Rājputānā, the adult princes as well as the Chief Queens have their own *kārbhārīs* who look after their private affairs. The minister of an Andhra queen is mentioned in the Kapheri inscription No. 11 (*Arch. Surv. Rep. W. Ind.* Vol. V, p. 78).

³¹ I take this word to be a title, which, however, I am not able to explain. [The translation above is grammatically wrong.]

³² The expression *anushṭhitam* will signify that Tilakabhaṭṭa who, as his title and name show, was a Brāhmaṇ of a high military rank, superintended the preparation of the fair copy and the engraving of the text; Cf. the use of the word at the end of the Gīrnār inscription, below.

³³ See, for instance, *Kādambarī*, pp. 5-6, 53-56 (ed. Peterson); *Harshacharita*, p. 162-179, 227-228, 267-271 (Kaśmir ed.) and especially *Vāsavadattā*, p. 121-129 (ed. Hall), where in the midst of prose, four verses have been interwoven.

³⁴ For the sake of comparison, I give Mr. Fleet's translation of this passage, which differs from mine. 'This lofty column is as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming the fame—which having pervaded the entire surface of the earth, with (its) development that was caused by (his) conquest of the whole world, (has departed) hence (and now) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (his) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods—of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Samudragupta.' The points requiring explanation are: (1) the addition of *has departed and now*, (2) the translation of *vicharāṇa* by *experiences*, (3) the insertion of *his* i. e. of he king, before *having gone*.

2. As regards the translation of the word *vicharaṇa* by 'path,' it is to be observed that the synonyms *charaṇa*, *gamana* and *yāna* are given in this sense in the Petersburg lexicon, and that this sense is justified by the statements of the grammarians about the suffix *ana*. According to them the suffix *ana* serves to denote the means; and the path is, according to the Indian conception, one of 'the means of going.'

3. The adjectival phrases *uparyupari-saṁchayochchhrita* and *anekamārga* must be translated in two ways, like *uchchhrita*, because they refer both to the glory and to the river Gaṅgā. As applied to the glory, the first compound means that Samudragupta's generosity, bravery, self-control and knowledge of the letters form the layers by which the glory towers itself up to the height of a mountain, and that every quality that follows, is higher and more excellent. As applied to the Gaṅgā, the adjective alludes to the Indian belief that this river is first visible in the heavens as the milk-path, then dashing through the mid-region, it falls upon the Kailāsa and lastly it rushes downwards to the plains. Thus to the looker-on, standing on the plains and looking upwards, the water of the Gaṅgā would appear to be towering in ever-rising layers. *Anekamārga* lit. 'which has more than one path,' as applied to glory, means, not only that the glory travelled in the three worlds, but that it followed different paths in the sense that it sprang from different causes such as generosity and so on. As applied to the Gaṅgā, the word has only the first sense and it is well known that the Gaṅgā is called *trīpathagā*.

According to the translation given above, the last part of the panegyric tells us that Samudragupta's fame, which is personified as a female, as is frequently met with in Indian poets, occupied the whole earth, and thus found it impossible to spread forth any more on this earth. Thus embarrassed, the fame went up to the palace of the lord of gods and thus found a new path for itself, along which it moved happily. Verse 9 informs us of the result which was brought about by this ascent to heaven. Then, says the poet, the king's glory attained to a similarity with the Ganges. For, like the same, it flows through the three worlds: heaven, mid-air, and earth. Every one of these thoughts and images occurs frequently in the court poets. Almost in every *śrāṣṭi* and in a large number of *chātus* or verses containing flattery, it is told that the glory of the king under description rushes forward into heaven. The most usual expression used to convey this thought is the statement that the glory of such and such a person fills up the three worlds. There are many places, however, where the ascent of fame, as here, is spoken of, and the figurative motive for the same is also given in different ways. Thus it is said in a verse of the poet Amṛitadatta who was a contemporary of the Kaśmīrian Sultan Shāhabuddīn (1352-1370 A. D.), *Subhāshītāvali* No. 2457 (Peterson's edition):⁸⁵

कीर्तिस्ते जातजाड्येव चतुरम्बुधिमज्जनात् ।

आतपाय धरानाथ गता मार्तण्डमण्डलम् ॥

'Thy fame, oh lord of the earth, which was, as it were, benumbed with cold, through its bathing in the four oceans, went up to the sphere of the sun, in order to warm itself.'

Another conception we find in Sambhu, the bard of the king Harsha of Kaśmīr (1089.—1101 A. D.) in *Rājendrakarṇapūra*, verse 67, (*Subhāshītāvali* No. 2627):

कान्तारेषु च काननेषु च सरिचीरेषु च इमाभृता

मुस्तङ्गेषु च पत्तनेषु च सरिङ्गवृस्तदान्तेषु च ।

भ्रान्ताः केतकगर्भपल्लवरुचः भ्रान्ता इव इमापते

कान्ते नन्दनकन्दर्लीपरिसरे रोहन्ति ते कीर्तयः ॥

'Thy glory, oh lord of the earth, which shines white like the inner sprouts of the *ketaka*, wandered about in forests and groves, on the banks of rivers, on the slopes of mountains, in cities and on the shores of the ocean; and then, as if exhausted (by this long journey), it sprouts up (as white flowers) on the lovely plots of plantain trees in the garden of gods.'

These modes of expression are quite complex and bombastic in comparison with Hariṣeṇa's simple and natural conception of the motive for the ascent of fame. No doubt, this is accounted for by the change in the Indian taste, which was brought about in the long period that separated these three poets.

⁸⁵ See *Subhāshītāvali*, introduction p. 4; and Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 247.

Not less familiar is the comparison of a king's glory with the Ganges, which flows through the three worlds and purifies them. Thus it is said in a verse of Paṇḍit Krishṇaka, *Subhāshitāvalī*, No. 2556 :³⁶

सा ख्यातास्ति जगज्जये सुरनदी सा शंभुञ्जुडामणौ
शेषा शेषतुषारसोमसुषमाचौरी मुणैर्निर्मलैः ।
सुवता सा भवकीयकीर्तितुलनौचित्यं भजेस्वा न च-
द्रूपालक्षणदेश संततमधोयानेकताना भवेत् ॥

This would quite suffice to show that the ideas contained in the concluding part of the panegyric, according to the translation above, are current in court poets. This itself vouches for the correctness of the proposed interpretation and proves the fact that this part of Harisheṇa's composition has been written in the *kāvya style*.

To turn from this digression to the examination of the form of the panegyric, we must begin with remarking that Harisheṇa, like Vatsabhaṭṭi, tries to introduce too often a change of metre in his verses. Thus, of the verses partially preserved, three (3, 5 and 8) are composed in *Sragdharā*, two (4 and 7) in *Śārdūlavikīrṇita*, and one each in *Mandākrāntā* (6) and *Pṛithvī* (9). The bad cæsura comes only once in the third *pāda* of the last verse. The language of the verses is, on the whole, simple, and especially the compounds of extraordinary length which are found used by Vatsabhaṭṭi, are carefully avoided. With the prose part of the panegyric, however, things are quite otherwise. Here, simple words are only the exception, while very long compounds are the general rule, the longest compound word (l. 19-20) containing more than 120 syllables. There cannot be any doubt that this contrast is intentional. Because all the manuals of poetics are unanimous on the point that the essence of elevated prose to be used in romances and stories consists in the length of compounds; while the different schools are not so unanimous regarding the admissibility of long compounds in verses. Thus Daṇḍin says in *Kāvya-darśa* I, 80-81 :—

श्रीजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।
पद्येष्वहाक्षिणास्यानामिदमेकं परायणम् ॥ ७० ॥
तद्गुरूणां लघूनां च बाहुल्याल्पत्व मिश्रणैः ।
उच्चावचप्रकारं तद्गृह्यमाख्यायिकादिषु ॥ ७१ ॥

81. 'The grandeur (strength) (of language consists) in the frequency of compounds; it is the very life of (poetic) prose. Even in verses, it is regarded as the main feature by those who do not belong to the southern school.'

82. 'It is of many kinds, according to the mixture of a larger or smaller number of long or short syllables; and is found in romances and other similar works.'

Daṇḍin's statement leaves no doubt about the fact that Harisheṇa follows the style of the southerners, the so-called *Vaidarbhī rīti*, which must have enjoyed in the fourth century the same high esteem as in later times, when a large number of writers belonging to the different parts of India advocate it as the most beautiful. Harisheṇa, however, could hardly have come from the south of India. His station at the court of Samudragupta shows that he lived in the north-east, in Pāṭaliputra,³⁷ and probably belonged to a family settled in the same place from of old.

Apart from the use of long compounds in the prose parts, there is nothing very artificial in Harisheṇa's language. Of the *Śabdālaṅkāras*, he uses only the simplest kind of alliteration, the *Varṇānūprasa*, and even this occurs principally in the prose-parts³⁸ and that, too, not many times. Of the *Arthālaṅkāras*, he uses *Rūpaka* very often, and *Upamā* and *Slesha* more rarely. Two instances where the last *Alaṅkāra*, i. e., *Slesha* occurs have been discussed above. A third instance of the same is met with in l. 25, in the epithets of Samudragupta : साध्वत्साधुद्वय-प्रलयहेतुषुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य which is to be translated thus :—'Of an incomprehensible prince who is the cause of the elevation of the good and of the destruction of the bad (and thus who

³⁶ Cf. also *Sārāgadhara-paddhātī* No. 1263.

³⁷ That Pāṭaliputra, and not Kanauj, as is usually supposed, was the capital of the Guptas, follows from the verses from Mr. Fleet's No. VI. translated above on p. 149 wherein the minister of Chandragupta calls himself an inhabitant, of Pāṭaliputra.

³⁸ For instance, l. 17 : *paraśuśaraśakti-prāśāsītōmāra* °; l. 20° : *śājugrahaṇamokṣhānugraha* °; l. 26 : *vigraha-vato lokānugrahasya*, and so on.

It is obvious that the short compounds marked 3 and 7 are to serve as resting points, and that the rhythm in 1, 2 and 4, is to remind us of the beginnings of the *Dandakas*.

In Harisheṇa's poetical imagery, we come across many conceptions that are very familiarly met with in the *kāvya* literature. Some of these have been already dwelt upon, while discussing the concluding part of his composition. We now notice a few others. The fragment of verse 3 says :—

'The order of the possessor³⁹ of the true meaning of the *Sāstras* whose heart is highly happy at the association with the good,—multiplied as its power is, by the virtues of the wise—puts an end to the war between good poetry and prosperity and thus enjoys in the world of the learned, a far-extending sovereignty whose shining glory endures in many poems.'

Here we have the exceedingly favourite allegory of the fight or discord between the Muse and the Goddess of wealth, which condemns the poet and the learned man to poverty and makes the rich incapable of service to Wisdom and Art. By way of comparison, I quote here from the classical literature only the *Bharataśūkyā* at the end of the *Vikramorviśī*, where Kālidāsa prays that this antagonism should cease :—

परस्वरविरोधिन्व्योरिकसंभयदुर्लभम् ।

संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योर्भूतयेस्तु सदा सताम् ॥

'May the union of the mutually hostile goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī, which is to be found only rarely in one place, bring good luck to the good !'

Further, the author mentions in verse 8, which will be given yet more fully later on, amongst the high excellences of the king, शशिकरशुचयः कीर्तयः सप्रतानाः 'the fame sprouting forth, shining purely like the moon' and thus bears evidence to his being aware of the well-known idea of the *kīrtivallī* or the creeper of fame, which covers over the three worlds with its tendrils. With this may be compared in the field of classical literature, *Sāṅgudhara-paddhati*, No. 1235.

A third most favourite poetic representation of fame is met with in the second compound in l. 23, referring to Samudragupta :—'Whose fame arising from the re-establishment of many fallen kingdoms and of many extinguished royal races, is tired by its journey through the three worlds.' Hemachandra also in the *prāsasti* to his grammar, verse 29, similarly speaks of the want of rest for his master's fame :⁴⁰

यद्वीर्मण्डलकुण्डलीकृतधनुर्कुण्डेन सिद्धाधिप

क्रीतं वैरिकुलास्वया⁴¹ दलकुण्डावसातं यशः ।

भ्रान्त्वा त्रीणि जगन्ति खेसविवशं तन्मालदीनां व्यधा-

दापाण्डौ स्तनमण्डले च धवले गण्डस्थलेवस्थितिम् ॥

'With the bow bent into a circular form by your arm stretched round, you won, oh king Siddha, your fame that shines whitely like the blooming flower of the jasmīn; being rendered helpless through the exhaustion of wandering through the three worlds, that your fame has at last rested itself on the palid, round breasts and the white cheeks of the Mālava women.'

In l. 25, again, we have quite an original conception which is meant to illustrate how far Samudragupta's glory obscured that of all his rivals. The poet there praises Samudragupta as a ruler 'who, in consequence of the overflow of his many virtues elevated through hundreds of good works, wiped off with his feet the fame of other kings.'

The idea seems to be that the leaves, on which the fame of other kings is written, lie before Samudragupta. The flow of his virtues streams over them, and he is only required to stir his foot, to obliterate the praises of the rulers of antiquity.⁴² I cannot point out anything in literature, which exactly corresponds to this. Nevertheless, it cannot escape the attention of any one, that the conception quite fits in with the character of the style of court-poets.

In the next line (26), we meet with a comparison which occurs frequently in the epics and which is used in later times by almost every classical poet and in every *prāsasti*—where Samudragupta is celebrated as a king 'who resembles Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka, i. e., the guardian-gods of the four directions.' Equally favourite is the immediately following *Upamā* : 'who puts to shame the preceptor of gods by his sharp and subtle understanding, and Tumburu, Nārada and others, by his lovely performances of music.' About the comparison of the king with

³⁹ I. e. of Samudragupta.

⁴⁰ Cf. also the verse quoted above on p. 175 from *Rājendrakarnapūra*.

⁴¹ In the second line, two letters seem to be wanting between स्वया and दलम्.—V. S. G.

⁴² As it appears to me this passage presumes the use of the colour usually prepared from soot and gum Arabic in old times, which was used for writing on palm leaves, as the Horinzi-MS. shows. The oldest full description of such MSS. can be had from the different passages of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*.

Brihaspati, we have spoken above on page 144. As for the statement that Samudragupta was a better musician than the well-known Gandharva and the sage of gods who invented the *ṛind*, an explanation is furnished by the coins, as Mr. Fleet has pertinently remarked, on which Samudragupta is represented as a lute-player. For the last climax of hyperbolic representation, we also meet with analogies in the *kāvya*s. When Harisheṇa says in l. 27-28, that his master is 'a god dwelling in this world, whose many marvellous and noble deeds deserve to be praised for a very long time and who is a man only in that he performs the acts necessary according to the conventions of the world,' we are reminded, in the first place, of Bāṇa's description of his patron, Harsha (*Śrī-Harshacharita*, p. 207-208), where his deeds have been put on a level with those of Indra, Prajāpati, Vishṇu and Siva, and he himself has been identified with these gods. A still more important parallel is provided by the statements of the Prākṛit poet, Vākpati, about Yaśovarman of Kanauj (*Gaṇḍavaho*, verses 167-181), according to which, the king is an incarnation of Bālaka-Hari or Vishṇu. As is to be expected of a poet of the eighth century, Vākpati expresses the idea with a greater elaboration of details⁴³.

Many more points of relationship with the *kāvya* literature can be discovered in the individual expressions of our *prastā*ti. It would suffice if I only point to *upaguhya* (for *āśliṣhya*),⁴⁴ *bhāva-piṣuna*, *mān-āmana*, *sneha-vyāluṭita*, *bāṣka-guru* (all in verse 4), *adbhut-odbhinna-harsha* (verse 5), *uohohāpakādra*, *tosh-ottunga*, *sneh-phulla*, and the frequent use of *sphuṭa*. The parallel passages given in both the Petersburg lexicons spare me the trouble of giving here many new quotations. Whoever is familiar with the diction of the *kāvya*s, will not require any special proof, but will at once recognise the affinity of these and other modes of expression to those used by classical poets.

Now, we have to notice a number of cases, especially in the prose part, where Harisheṇa obviously tried to surpass his rivals in the composition of *prastā*ti. To this category belong most of the long compounds in lines 17-24, in which the closing part especially comes now and then as a surprise and deviates very much from the usual track. Thus, in line 21, for instance, instead of saying that Samudragupta had acquired great power through the forcible extinction of many kings of Āryāvarta, Harisheṇa represents his master as a prince 'who was great through his power which expanded itself through the forcible extinction of many kings of the land of the Āryas.' Perhaps, the simple and natural expression प्रसभोद्धरणलब्धमहाप्रभावस्य appeared too trivial to the poet, and, for that reason, he went in for the more artificial one प्रसभोद्धरणोद्धृतप्रभावमहतः. So also the last parts of the following compound phrases are unusual and deliberately sought :—

1 (l. 22-23)—'whose fierce sovereignty (the neighbouring kings) propitiated, by means of the payment of all the taxes (levied), the carrying out of his orders, salutations and visits,' 2 (l. 25)—'the mighty bravery of his arm which held the whole earth in bondage, received homage from the inhabitants of all countries, in various ways, such as causing themselves to be presented to him, offering daughters and other presents, and requesting him for a decree with the Garuṇa seal for the possession of their country,' 3 (l. 26)—'whose heart had willingly received the formula and the consecration for the deliverance of the poor, the miserable, the helpless and the sick'. Whoever will take the trouble of reading through other published *prastā*ti, will easily see the originality of these modes of expression and judge of them according to their worth. The fact, however, that Harisheṇa makes use of deliberately sought modes of expression is to be explained by the existence of many other similar panegyrics whose simple and unadorned diction he tried to surpass.

The most clear proof, however, for the fact that Harisheṇa's composition does not at all belong to the beginning of the *kāvya* period, is provided by those passages in which he speaks of the king's peculiar poetic activity. In this connection, we should refer above all to what we have of the eighth verse, wherein the poet declares :—

'He alone is worthy of the thoughts of the learned ! Because what excellence is there, which would not be his ? He has made firm the barrier of law, his is the sprouting fame that shines purely like the rays of the moon, his the wisdom which pierces down to the truth, his the self-control, his the poetic style which is worthy of study, and his are the poetic works which multiply the spiritual treasures of poets.'

In the second part of his composition, Harisheṇa again refers to the last point when he says in l. 27 that Samudragupta's 'title as the prince of Poets was well established by the composition of many poems worthy of the imitation of the learned.' If one adds to this, verse 3 spoken of above on page 176 and the expressions used by Harisheṇa about his person, it naturally follows that, during the reign of Samudragupta, the *kāvya* literature was in full bloom, and that the conditions at his court were absolutely similar to those which are reported to have prevailed in later times at the courts of Kanauj, Kāśmīr, Ujjain, Dhārā and Kalyāṇī, and which are found to exist even to this day, here and there in India. The cultivators of Sanskrit poetry, who were called by the names of *kavi* or *budha* or *vidvas*, were not born or self-taught poets, but were professional learned

⁴³ The deification of the king is already found in old times ; e. g., in *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* VII, 4-9.

⁴⁴ See above p. 143.

men or Paṇḍits who studied the *śāstras*, i. e., at the least, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Kośha*, *Alaṅkāra* and *Chhandas*, and who wrote according to the hard and fast rules of poetics, as is shown by the form of Harishēṇa's little composition. The Sanskrit *kāvya*, which owed its origin to the court-patronage, and which can exist only by means of the same, was assiduously cultivated at the courts. The king supported and raised to honour, such poets, and even he himself, and with him his high officers, too, emulated with their protégés. Perhaps he had even a *kavirāja*, or a poet-laureate, appointed. At any rate, the title, as such, was in use in the days of Samudragupta, the title which in later times occurs very often in Sanskrit literature, and which, even at present, is given away by Indian princes, associated as it is with many benefits. His court could not thus have been the only one which patronized the exertions of the Paṇḍits in the domain of poetry.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A NEW LIST OF BUDDHISTIC SANSKRIT WORDS, by
Prof. Sylvain Levi and G. K. Nariman.

THE *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, a monument of Germanic erudition, published at the expense of Russia, contains an almost exhaustive inventory of Vedic and Brahmanic Sanskrit. Buddhism hardly appears in it at all. The authors of the *Dictionary* and their collaborateurs make use of a few meagre texts only. But in the last forty years the material for Sanskrit Buddhism has vastly increased. The published texts have revealed a perfect treasure of words which classic Sanskrit had ignored or neglected. A Buddhistic Sanskrit Dictionary is one of the

tasks to be undertaken in the near future. Meanwhile, it is of importance to elaborate the materials so as to put them on some sort of working basis. Cowell and Neil have given an excellent model in the glossary that they have added to their edition of the *Divyāvadāna*. Mr. G. K. Nariman has been good enough to prepare the list of new words that I have pointed out in my notes on the text and translation of the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra*. It may not perhaps be superfluous to place this list at the disposition of philologists, who are interested either in Sanskrit or Buddhism.

SYLVAIN LEVI.

A list compiled by G. K. Nariman of new words unknown in classical Sanskrit and not yet met with in Buddhist Sanskrit except in the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Asaṅga, edited and translated by Prof. Sylvain Levi.¹

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¹ The spellings of the words in this list are given as they are published in Prof. Sylvain Levi's book.

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A NOTE ON ŚIVA-BHĀGAVATA.

THE mention of *Śiva-Bhāgavata*¹ in *Patañjali-Mahābhāshya* is no doubt a proof that the Śaiva sect existed in the days of Patañjali. But that the Vishṇu-cult is anterior to the Śaiva cult, whenever the latter came to be formed, is also proved by this compound word. Bhāgavata is a worshipper of Bhagavān, the latter being a name peculiar to Vishṇu. See *Vishṇu-Purāna* and my notes on Bhagavān in the *Journal*, R. A. Society, London. The Bhāgavatas, or those who belonged to the Vishṇu cult, are contemporaneous with the

Vedas. When the Śaiva cult was inaugurated, it was felt to be necessary to appropriate this term of high and hoary sanction. In adopting it, therefore, it was also necessary to add a distinguishing mark showing the differentiation of the new cult from the old one. That mark was, of course, Śiva. This was added; and the compound word Śiva-Bhāgavata was thus launched into the world of the Sanskrit Grammarians.

A. GOVINDACHARY SVAMIN.

MYSORE, VEDA-GRĪHAM.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ALOPEN AND SILADITYA?

PROFESSOR TAKAKUSU (*I-tsing*, p. xxviii, n: 8) states that Alopen, the Nestorian missionary to China, visited Silāditya, in India, in the year 639 A.D. This statement is based on a remark of Edkins, quoted in the *Athenæum* of July 3, 1880, p. 8. Back numbers of the *Athenæum* are not readily available, and more than one writer has accepted Takakusu's account, without testing it as an important contribution to the history of Christianity in India. I myself did this in the

article *Bhakti-māṅga*, in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. ii, p. 548.

Since then, the statement has been called in question, and I have been able to trace it to its source. I now hasten to correct any wrong impression which may have been caused by my trust in Takakusu. He is quite wrong, and has entirely misunderstood Edkins. In the passage referred to, Edkins is not dealing with Silāditya, but with the Emperor of China.

CAMBBLEY, GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

BOOK-NOTICE.

ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB (Translated into English with Notes) and Historical Essays by JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., Professor, Patna College. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1912. Rs. 1-8, pp. 242.

This little volume consists of three parts. (1) A short account of the life and reign of Aurangzib. (2) A collection of anecdotes regarding that great emperor. (3) Miscellaneous essays dealing with the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib.

Of these, the second part is of real value to English students desirous of closer acquaintance with the individuality of the last of the great Mughal rulers. Here we have Aurangzib as courageous youth, jealous brother, ardent lover, stern parent, administrator of justice, upholder of royal prerogative and disappointed dreamer. The anecdotes have lost little of their

vigour by translation and the editor has elucidated the text by valuable notes.

The third part is necessarily more fragmentary, but all the essays are brightly written and several contain information not hitherto available to the English student, notably those entitled "The Companion of an Empress" and "Daily Life of Shāh Jahān." The final essay, describing the self-sacrifice of Khān Bahādur Khuda Bakhsh in collecting the nucleus of a "Bodleian" Library at Patna will be read with deep interest by those hitherto ignorant of what this public benefactor accomplished for his own country. It is a pity that the learned author occasionally uses slang expressions, evidently under the impression that they are idiomatic English.

L. M. A.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XLI., p. 272.

² Reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1913, p. 144

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from p. 159.)

APPENDIX III.

Extracts from

Millies, Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigènes de Malaisie. La Haye, 1871.

(Translated).

I. pp. 130 ff. Beaulieu is, I think, the first to mention the coins of Kedah: "They cast (says he) money somewhat of the material of French *sous*, of a little better alloy however, which they call *tras*, 32 being worth a dollar. They (the people) count by *taels* (*tahil*), but a *tael* there is worth four of the Achin (*tael*)."³⁵

The name *tras* or *teras* for a coin is not otherwise known to me, but I think it must be explained by *tra*, stamp, mark, which Marsden quotes in the term *tra timah*, lead (or tin) marked (to give it currency).

Mr. [J. R.] Logan, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, 1851, p. 58, says,³⁶ in 1850, that the native coin is the *tra*, a small round piece of tin, with a hole in the centre, of which 160 make a *tali* and 8 *tali* are worth a dollar.

Tavernier is the very first to publish some coins "of the King of Cheda (as he writes the ordinary name Quedah) and Pera." In the second part of his work (*Les six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, Paris, 1679, Pt. II.) p. 601,³⁷ he says that "the King struck no other coin than of tin," and he gives on the accompanying plate under Nos. 1 and 2 the "figure of a great piece of tin . . ." It is the only specimen of the celebrated traveller's collection which I have unearthed in the Musée Numismatique of the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. I give a drawing of it as I saw it, but it has suffered much during these two centuries.³⁸ The piece is octagonal with two lines in relief parallel to the edge. Between these lines there are some dots. There is no hole in the middle, but a small square, which Phayre thought to be a rough image of the *chaitya* on the ancient Buddhist coins, with a central chamber for relics (?). Crawford, who copied without remark Tavernier's coin, thought that this square represented a hole, and had the coin engraved with a hole on the obverse, but without a hole on the reverse!³⁹ Round the square are some characters which I have not been able to decipher. The reverse, which has some lines in high relief, parallel to the edge, with larger dots between the lines, bears in the drawing of Tavernier the figure of a serpent in the field.

There is in the same Museum a piece of tin of a similar type to the above specimen, with nearly similar characters, but it is round in form, and has on the reverse a figure which resembles a lotus flower.⁴⁰

Despite the authority of Tavernier, who, however, did not visit the Malay Peninsula himself, I doubt whether his coin belongs to Kedah or Perak. Not only is it unlike any of the known

³⁵ *Relation de divers Voyages curieux*, etc. Paris, 1666, Part II., p. 83. Beaulieu is probably here contrasting the difference between the silver standard of Kedah and the gold standard of Achin.

³⁶ This is from a footnote.

³⁷ *Vide* page 6 of the English Translation of 1678. See *ante*, p. 80.

³⁸ Plate XXII, fig. 230.

³⁹ *Hist. of Ind. Archipel.* I. p. 253, plate 6 M. de Chaudoir, *Recueil de monnaies de la Chine*, St. Petersburg, 1842, has also repeated the obverse (Pl. LIX, No. 26), but by a mistake of his in the catalogue and on p. 79 we find "after Raffles" instead of "after Crawford."

⁴⁰ Phayre gives a drawing of a similar piece of money, without explaining the legend (Pl. XVI. No. 6).

Malay coins, but also the characters on it do not appear to be Arabic, as would be expected at that time. On the contrary, the type resembles the coins which were in use in the neighbouring countries to the North, either on the coast of Tenasserim or Burma.⁴¹ Pieces of a similar kind, probably called *kebean*,⁴² which I know, and of which I have seen a good specimen in the Musée Numismatique de La Haye, usually bear on the obverse a circle with an eight-pointed star, and round it a legend in Pali in Burmese characters, and on the reverse a fantastic figure of a quadruped, probably of a *sinha* or lion, or according to Phayre of a fabulous animal, called *to* or *nayá*⁴³ in Burmese mythology, made up of a winged horse and a deer. Paulin de Saint Barthélémy (Fr. Paullinus), missionary to the Indies, was the first to attempt to explain one of these coins,⁴⁴ and quite lately⁴⁵ Lt. Col. A. P. Phayre has given drawings of a number of those which are to be found in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta [A. S. Bengal], but [both] without adding much light which would extend the knowledge of these numismatic remains.

The other coin (his Plate, Nos. 3 and 4) which Tavernier attributes to the King of Kedah and Perak is of quite a different character: "The little coin, (says he) passes at the value of 4 *deniers*." It is unfortunate that Tavernier's drawing is so badly executed, that it is difficult to decipher the legend. Still, I think I can distinguish the ordinary formula of the [Muhammadan] creed—*la illaha ill' illahu muhammad' r-rasulu' llahu: zarb fi . . . sanat? 1041? . . .* There is no God, but God: Muhammad is the Prophet of God: struck at . . . year? 1041? (1631-2). Unfortunately the name of the town has been injured,⁴⁶ but it must be confessed that what remains visible does not appear to agree with the name of any known locality in the State. The date is also very doubtful. The type of this side (of the coin) resembles the obverse of the Persian coins of the Sufis; but the Shiah formula [of the creed] *Ali waliv' llah* [Ali is the Prophet of God] is not visible in the drawing. The reverse, which seems smaller, does not bear anything but some ornaments. In the centre is an eight-pointed star, or rather a wheel, encircled by a garland of flowers and fruit, with a milled edge. Gemelli Careria, *Giro del Mondo*, Vol. II., p. 143, without quoting the source, has reproduced this coin the wrong way round.

2. p. 133. After Tavernier we find hardly any mention of Kedah coins. However, I have discovered one (which is published by Marsden), but having been wrongly read has remained unrecognised. This piece is (what seems to me very remarkable) of silver . . . The obverse bears: *bubalad Kadah daru' l-aman*.⁴⁷ *sanat 1154*, in the country (or kingdom) of Kedah, the abode of peace, year 1154 (1741-2).⁴⁸

3. p. 137. In the Royal Numismatic Cabinet at the Hague I discovered a copper coin of Kedah, so far, unique.⁴⁹ Its weight is $1\frac{3}{4}$ grs. The obverse bears . . . *Kedah*; the reverse, *daru' l-aman*: Kedah the abode of rest. The first word is too indistinct for me to dare to define it.⁵⁰ . . . This piece bears no date.

⁴¹ Millies was however, not aware of the fact that the Burmese legend gives the mint in Pali as *Mahásukha nagara*, which exactly translates *Daru' l-aman* or Kedah, on the Kedah coins. see *ante*, p. 65.

⁴² Cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1836, III. 302. [This is, however, a mistake. The weight and value do not admit of the suggestion. These coins must have been about $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents in value (*ante*, p. 31), whereas the *kebean* = *keping* were worth about 1 cent. See the quotation from Wilson, *Documents of the Burmese War*, 1827, *ante*, p. 36 and Pl. V fig. 3.]

⁴³ This is really a compound expression, *to-nayá*, a winged *to*.

⁴⁴ *Systema Brahmanicum liturgicum mythologicum civile ex monumentis Indicia Musei Borgiani Velitris*, Rome, 1791, p. 217, Pl. 31, No. 12. Phayre, *J. A. S. B.* 1863, No. 291, pp. 271-3.

⁴⁵ Millies is writing before 1866, when he died.

⁴⁶ I entirely agree with Millies' reading and would like to go further and read *zarb fi Kadah*, struck at Kedah.

⁴⁷ *daris* for *dar*.

⁴⁸ Plate XXII, figs. 231-232.

⁴⁹ Plate XXII, fig. 234.

⁵⁰ May it not read *bélanja Kadah*: Kedah, money.

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Logan of Singapore for several pieces, unfortunately badly preserved, which belong to the class of *tra*, or modern tin coins of Kedah. I will describe those of them which are the most distinct.

A round tin coin⁵¹ with an irregular hole: diameter, 23 mill.; weight, 1.85 grs. The obverse bears *dar (sic) -u' l-aman (sic) balad Kedah*; the country of Kedah, abode of peace. The reverse: *tahan alif, 1224* (1809-10). The first and fourth words of the obverse and the second of the reverse are written contrary to orthography. Also if the word *dar* were not very distinct, one might read *zarb fi* [struck at]. Moreover the second and the fourth figures of the date are not very distinct on the coin, but nevertheless I think I can read the year 1224 by the accompanying definition *tahan alif*, the year A.

4. P. 138. One more piece of this State,⁵² diameter 24 mill. and weight 150 grs., though of modern date, offers several difficulties in reading and explaining. I think I can read on the obverse: *belanja balad (?) al-parlis qadah: sanat 1262*, money of exchange of the country of Perlis, Kedah: year 1262 (1846). On the reverse is seen a lotus flower of five petals. The Malay word *belanja* [*bĕlanja*], revenue, expense, is moreover in use in the Malay Peninsula to indicate money of exchange. But the third word with the [Arabic] article seems to me so peculiar, as to leave me in doubt. I have found no explanation of it. I have never seen the name Perlis written in Malay characters, but as it is the name of one of the principal towns, which has often been the capital of the State, this name seems to me most probable.

5. P. 145. We have not been able to discover any coins which could with certainty be attributed to the other small States in the Southern part of the Malay Peninsula, but we must speak here of a class of tin coins, which though very simple in form, offer several difficulties in determining them. These pieces do not usually bear anything except some titles, either on one face or divided between the two sides; sometimes with, often without, a date.

A large round piece⁵³ of this kind is to be found at the Musée Royal de La Haye. On one side is the whole legend—*maliku' l-adil khalifu' l-muminin sanat* with two figures of a date—13: King [by grace] of the Just [God], the chief of the believers, year—13. From the appearance of the piece I should think that it is not of ancient date and that the year 1213 H. (1798-9) must be meant. Some others, of a little smaller size, in the same collection, appear to be of the same manufacture, but have simply the title without date:—*khalifu' l-muminin*, chief of the believers. In the Musée de Gotha there is to be found a fine example, and two less well preserved specimens in the British Museum, of an octagonal form, without a hole, [but] with the same legend and no date: on the obverse *maliku' l-adil*; on the reverse *khalifu' l-muminin*.⁵⁴

6. P. 147. A learned Malay, who has published several works in his own language, Abdu'llah, son of Abdu'l-kadir, made, in 1838, a voyage from Singapore to Kalantan on the East Coast of the Peninsula. A judicious observer, he noted the most remarkable things he saw, and to please the English he published an account of his voyage in Malay at Singapore in 1838.⁵⁵

. . . Speaking of the State of Trengganu, or Trangganu, on the East Coast, which formerly acquired a certain fame and played, even in the past century, a fairly great part in the political relations of the Peninsula, but which is now fallen into profound degradation, he mentions, among

⁵¹ Plate XXII. fig. 285.

⁵² Plate XXIII. No. 249.

⁵⁴ [Plate XXIII. Nos. 251-2.] Perhaps the reading should be rather *Malik-al-'adil*, the just king, or *Milki-'l-adil*, legal tender.

⁵⁵ *Bahwa ini Kisah pu-layar-an Abdullah, ben Abdu'l-kadir munshi. Deri Singapura ka-Kalantan. Turkarang ulih-nya. Singapur, 1264—1838.* (Published also in Malay characters) M. Ed. Dulaurier has rendered a great service by making the work better known through his French translation of the Malay text, published under the title:—*Voyage d' Abd-Allah ben Abd-el-Kader de Singapores à Kalantan*: Paris, 1850.

⁵² Plate XXII. No. 236-7.

other things, the coins of the country. He says, p. 48, that the money of exchange at Trengganu (*wang blanja negri Trengganu*) is 3840 *pitis*⁵⁶ of tin (*pitis timah*) to one dollar (*ringgit*). They bear an impression of the words *maliku' l-a'dil* and are of the size of our *duit* (*duit ket*). It seems to me from this remark to be very probable that all the coins of this class [above] mentioned belong to the Malay State of Trengganu.

7. P. 149. Passing on to Pahang during his voyage along the same coast, the learned Malay Abdullah complains greatly of the difficulties relating to the monetary system: 16 *tampang* (blocks of tin) are worth one dollar, but cannot be broken up into three *suku*, a half *suku* and one *suku*.⁵⁷ If we wish to buy an object of very small value, we must give a whole *tampang*. (Cf. text p. 23, French trans. p. 23). Thus this State, once so flourishing, has returned to an almost primitive savagery, where great blocks of tin, the produce of the country, serve as an imperfect medium of exchange.

8. P. 150. I have been unable to discover any ancient monetary remains of this State (Patani), but I have received one coin of a fairly recent date. It is a piece of tin, round in form, with a round hole, larger and heavier than the ordinary *pitis*. The obverse bears the Malay legend: *in [in] pitis blanja raj [raja] Patani*, this is a *pitis* current of the *raja* of Patani.⁵⁸ On the reverse there is: *khalifu' l-muminin, sanat 1261*, the head of the believers; the year 1261 (1845).

9. P. 151. To the north of Patani is Sanggora . . . It was in the fine numismatic collection of Dr. W. Freudenthal in London, that I discovered a coin of tin of this small State. It is round with a round hole, and, as is perfectly explicable from the above-mentioned notice of Dr. Medhurst, it is trilingual.⁵⁹ That which appears to be the principal side is occupied by a Chinese legend in four characters, which, according to my friend, Professor Hoffmann, should be read: *Tsai-tch'ing thung pao*, coin of Tsai-tch'ing. As however, we have very little means of determining the names which the Chinese give to foreign towns, we should be very uncertain where to find the locality of this Tsai-tch'ing without the help of the reverse. On the reverse is found the same name twice: in Malay in two words, above and below, *Negri Sanggora*, and to the right and left in Siamese characters *Song-khla*, which is [a corruption of] the name in use in that language.

10. P. 152. We ought also to speak of two coins, which, by their texture, seem to belong to the Malay Peninsula, but as to the exact locality of which, we have been unable to arrive at any determination. The first⁶⁰ is a piece of tin, 28 to 30 mill. in diameter, and weighing 4.96 to 6.80 grammes, with a square hole in the centre. The obverse bears the title—*khalifu' l-muminin*, the head of the believers. On the reverse there is nothing but the date—*sanat 1256*, year 1256 (1840-1)—which is clear. The rest shows certainly some Arabic signs, not Siamese as one would imagine after the preceding piece, but I cannot make out the meaning. On five examples, which I have been able to study, all bearing the same date, there is some difference in the signs, but they nevertheless seem to express the same words. On one specimen might almost be read *shahr*, which would recall to memory the name of the ancient capital of Siam, mentioned in the *Sajra Malayu* (*shahr al nawi* or rather, *shahr nawi*, the new city); but besides the fact that this nomenclature,

⁵⁶ I do not know why M. Dulaurier (p. 44) has translated [this]:—"It takes 3880 of them to make a dollar." The corresponding Malay text is clear: *tek ribu dalapan ratas ampat pulah* [3840]. [Read: *tiga ribu delapan ratus empat puluh*].

⁵⁷ *Suku*, a quarter, is also used for a quarter of a dollar, but here it must, I think, be considered the fourth of a *tampang*. [This argues a great local appreciation of the dollar, as the standard *tampang* is worth 1/10 dollar.]

⁵⁸ Plate XXIII. No. 254.

⁵⁹ Dr. Medhurst who visited Singora in 1828 found it divided into three parts, Chinese, Siamese and Malay. See Plate XXIV. No. 255.

⁶⁰ Plate XXIV. fig. 256.

OLD MALAY CURRENCY.

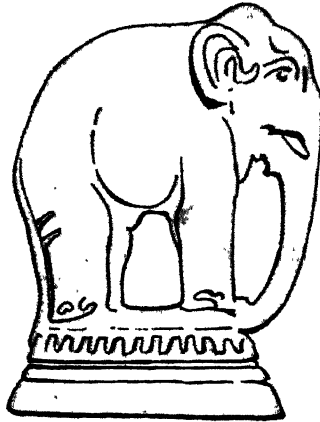
Plate IV.

Burmese and Tenasserim Weights and Money.

Indian Antiqu



1



2



3



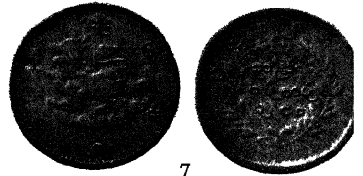
4



5



6



7



8



9



10



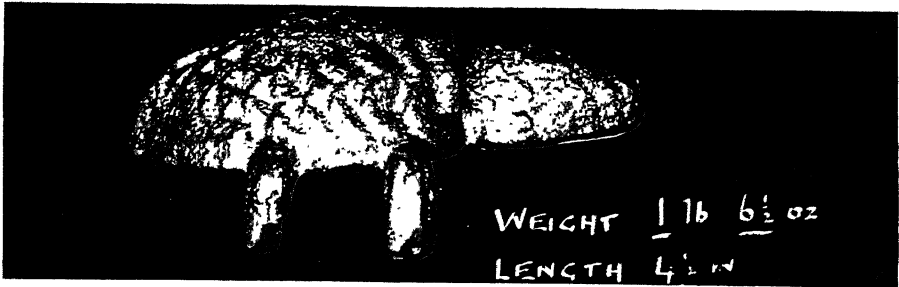
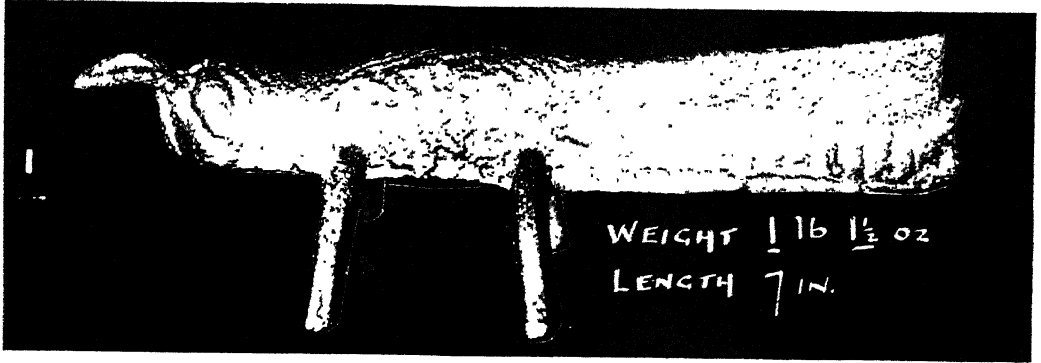
11



OLD MALAY CURRENCY.
Malay and Tenasserim Currency.

Plate V.

Indian Antiquary



OLD MALAY CURRENCY.

Plate VI.

Ridgeway's Origin of Currency and Weight Standards.

Indian Antiqu



Fig. 1. Coin of Salmis in Cyprus.

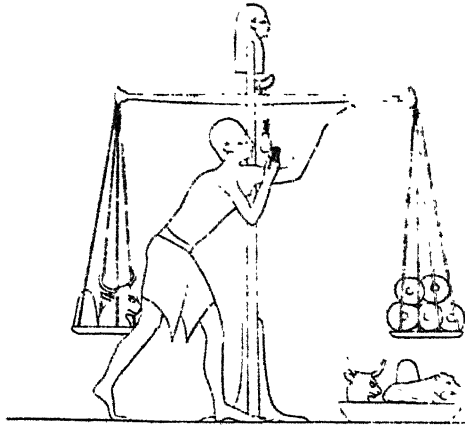


Fig. 2. Egyptian Wall Painting showing the Weighing of Ox and Ring Weights.

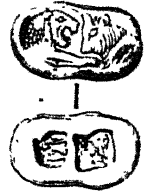


Fig. 3. Coin of Croesus

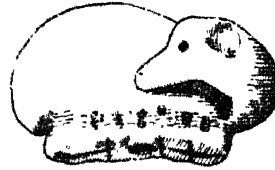
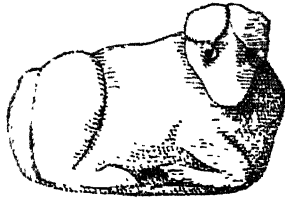


Fig. 4. Weights in the form of Sheep.

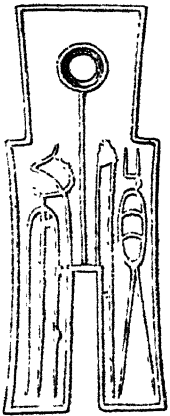


Fig. 5. Chinese hoe-money.



A



B

Fig. 6. Assyrian half-shekel weight of the so-called Duck type.

A. Side view showing cuneiform symbol = $\frac{1}{2}$.
B. View from above.

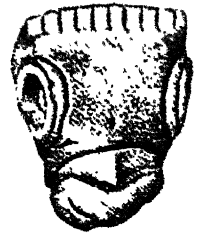


Fig. 7. Bull's-head Five-Shekel Weight.

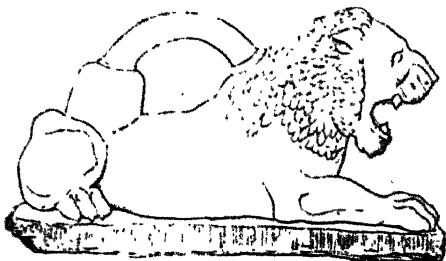


Fig. 8. Lion weight.

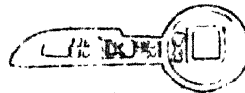
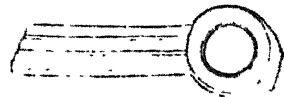


Fig. 9. Chinese Knife Money (showing the evolution of the modern Chinese coins).



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

taken from the Persian, belongs to a time somewhat distant, the last part (of the name) is not found on these coins. The letters *ba* might be taken for an indication of a year of the short cycle, as on a coin from Kedah; but the preceding signs give as little satisfactory sense as the following ones reading the Arabic word at the beginning as *shahr*, month. Further, it is very improbable that the last signs should be read *d-r-ba* for the Arabic *zarb* [struck], and that the first signs might indicate the well-known name Ligore or Lagor, Lakhon in Siamese. It therefore only remains for me to confess my ignorance.

11. P. 153. Again, MM. Netsche and van der Chijs have reproduced a tin coin (*De Munten van Nederlandisch Indie*, Batavia 1863, p. 172, No. 220), which I have never seen, but which, although somewhat obscure, seems to me to belong also to the Malay Peninsula. According to their description, it weighs about 5 gr. with a diameter of 32 mill., and has a hole of 13 mill. diameter. One side is blank, the other bears the inscription in [int] *pitis Jering 1261*. [This inscription puzzled Millies and the others, writing about 1865 and earlier, but from the knowledge since gathered by Mr. Skeat c. 1893, the coin clearly reads as above:—this is a *pitis* (cash) of Jering, 1261:—1845. Plate XXIV. No. 257].

(To be continued.)

ON THE DATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

BY S. KUMAR,

Supdt. of the Reading Rooms, Imperial Library, Calcutta.

In this *Journal* for July 1912, Prof. Nalinī Kānta Bhaṭṭasāli has contributed a paper on the date of Lakshmanasena, in which he has attempted to uphold Minhāj al-Dīn's story of the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār-i-Khālji, with a view to controvert an opinion expressed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in a meeting of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad on the same subject.

The author of the paper having implicit confidence in Minhāj's statement says that a composition executed by an artist of some note has succeeded in stirring up the students of history of our country to examine the story in a critical way. The author should have been aware that the "fresh stir" was not created by the painting referred to by him, but that a note of disbelief had already been struck, and that an attempt at criticising the statement which the author accepts as unquestionably true was first made by the late Bankim Chandra Chattōpādhyāya.¹

Mr. R. D. Banerji, whom Prof. Bhaṭṭasāli controverts, has already laid on the table of the Asiatic Society of Bengal the results of his investigation on the subject, which when published will perhaps yield the soundest arguments and go a great way to establish the historical validity of the statement alleged to have been made by Mr. Banerji. The object of the present note is to point out the fallacies, which are apparent in Prof. Bhaṭṭasāli's paper. "Every School boy" is aware no doubt of the daring deeds of the son of Bakhtyār. But does this at all prove that the account is necessarily true? Our school books are not always well-chosen, and the authors, whose profession it is to get them up, do so anyhow, without taking much intelligent interest in their work.

About the four inscriptions which Prof. Bhaṭṭasāli has referred to, we have here only a few remarks to make. The name of the king mentioned in these inscriptions is Aśokachalladeva and not Aśokavalladeva, the reading which has been accepted by Prof. Bhaṭṭasāli. The name was first correctly read by Dr. Bhagawānlāl Indrajī, and was afterwards emended by Cunningham without much reason for doing so. If Prof. Bhaṭṭasāli referred to the inscriptions themselves, or had examined the impressions taken from them, he would have, no doubt, been convinced that the inscriptions, Nos. 2 and 4, on which Cunningham's emendation was based, could not be relied upon. They seem to be very carelessly incised and abound in orthographical errors, and, on a minute examination, it will be found that in these practically very little difference exists between *v* and *ch*.

¹ *Prabandhamālā*.

The trustworthiness of Minhâj's account, which Prof. Bhaṭṭasâli upholds, remains as much doubtful as it had been before he subscribed to it. The contemporary historians whom Minhâj takes as his authorities, with the singular exception of the author of *Tāj al-Mūsir*, do not refer to Muḥammad bin Baḥṭiyâr's raids in "Bângâlâ". Minhâj visited Bengal about forty years after the raids and collected his account of them from two old soldiers, Samsam al-Dîn, and his brother, Nizâm al-Dîn, who were said to have been in the raiding hordes.²

Their account was sure to be an exaggeration if not anything else, and little reliable on the ground that they even did not understand the language of the country, as is to be expected of the pioneer soldiers of a foreign raiding horde; their mistaking a *vihâra* for a fort and the Buddhist Sramaṇas for Hindu Brâhmanas³ would perhaps be sufficient for us to determine how far their story could be relied on.

In order to magnify their own achievements, they fabricated the story which Minhâj records as true. It was even alleged that when Lakṣhmaṇasena was still in his mother's womb, his mother was hung legs upwards,⁴ in order to prevent the birth of the child at an inauspicious moment. When the proper time arrived, she was released and gave birth to the child, the future Lakṣhmaṇiyâ, but the mother did not survive. Such treatment of a lady has not been heard of in the country during the last two thousand years. Moreover, had the mother been treated in the way which Minhâj relates, the survival of the child would have been a physical impossibility. The source from which such stories originated cannot have much value with regard to veracity. The fanatic superstition and zeal of the raiders stood in their way of getting at a clear understanding of the circumstances which presented themselves at the time, and rendered them quite incapable of making a sympathetic study of the manners and customs of the nation, which, owing to internal dissensions fell an easy prey to the invading hordes of foreign barbarians, who were neither more brave nor more civilised. The rude vandals of the frontier border-lands, whose civilisation was all to come, pulled down a superb edifice of refinement and culture by one sweep of their fanaticism. They had neither the time nor the capacity to understand the real cause of their success. They were blinded by their magnificent achievements in a country, which to them appeared to be the promised land—the land flowing with milk and honey. The treatment, which, according to Minhâj, was doled out to the mother of Lakṣhmaṇasena is unprecedented in India, and is only possible in a country where women are being regarded as mere commodities of trade and subject to the *wagf* of movables.

The next source of information, which the learned Professor makes much of, is the *Laghubbhârata*. The traditions, as recorded in this work, might have been the prevailing traditions of the time, but with regard to their genuineness from an historical point of view, they should find acceptance with a heavy amount of discount. The work itself is a composition of the sixteenth century. The distance of time sufficiently warrants scepticism with regard to the historical nature of the traditions, on which Prof. Bhaṭṭasâli builds up his arguments.

The demise of the queen, the reported death of Vallâla, and the necessary installation of the new-born infant, Lakṣhmaṇa, are events too sad to be commemorated by the institution of a new era. Such commemoration is without any parallel in the world's history. The Nirvâṇa era, which is supposed to commemorate the death of Buddha, has a different interpretation with the pessimistic Buddhist. To him it typifies the total cessation of pains, an utter dissolution of the entity, "a consummation devoutly to be wished". In the case of the Hijira, we might say that Muḥammad's flight from Mecca to al-Madinah was the beginning of his success, and, hence, he had good reason to regard the date of his flight as auspicious and to perpetuate it in the memories of men by the inauguration of a new era.

² Minhâj: *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî*: Raverty's Trans., p. 552.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Raverty's Trans., p. 555.

³ *Ibid.*, Raverty's Trans., p. 552.

Mr. Banerji is perfectly right in rejecting the date of the first of the four Bodh-Gayâ inscriptions of Aśokachalladeva. When Hieuen Tsang visited India, there was a great divergence of opinions about the date of the Mahâparinirvâṇa. The Northern and the Southern Schools did not agree. The mention of the Mahâyâna and the Hevajra leads us to believe that the date might have been in accordance with the reckoning of the Northern School; but the mention of the "Singhal-sthaviras" in the inscription IV raises doubts, and the definiteness which Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâli asserts is rendered cloudy. No chronologist in India, or anywhere else, during "the interval of the seven centuries," took up the question and tried to harmonise the widely divergent opinions of the north and the south and to fix even a conventional date for the starting point of the Nirvâṇa era. Even now the same difference in opinions exists, and we fail to see any reason in the dogmatic assertion of the learned Professor. A calculation based upon so unsure a ground cannot stand the test of critical study. The assurance of the Buddhist friends of Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâli cannot obviate the difficulties that beset its acceptance as a datum for logical argument. He might convince himself of the existing difference in opinions by consulting Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*.

The next question that has been raised by Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâli centres round the expression *atttarâjya*. The Sanskrit expression, as it is, directs our attention to the *râjya* itself, if not to its initial year. It is not equivalent to *râjye atîte sati*, which would refer to the end of a regnal period. The *pûrvanipâta* of *atîta* is what we think renders the explanation of Prof. Kielhorn more acceptable than the one proposed by Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâli, and we understand it to mean that "although the years were still counted from the commencement of the reign of Lakṣhmaṇasena, that reign itself was a thing of the past."⁵ Prof. Kielhorn tried to harmonise the evidences of the Muḥammadan historians and those yielded by epigraphical studies and held that the so-called conquest of Bengal took place in the year 80 of Lakṣhmaṇasena era, although the reign itself was a thing of the past.

The question of a distinct era counted from the end of Lakṣhmaṇasena's reign is altogether a new one. If the king had been a very popular one, the end of his reign with the loss of his kingdom brought about by a foreign invasion, would be regarded rather as a calamity and would not be commemorated by the institution of a new era. The word that occurs in the old document referred to by Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâli has not been correctly quoted. The word is *pargandîti* and not *pargandîtt*. We are at a loss to understand how he could misquote it. The reference is to p. 45 (and not p. 511) of Babu Jogîndra Nâth Gupta's *History of Vikrampur* (in Bengali). Before making any remark, we would draw the attention of the learned Professor to the language of the document. It is full of outlandish words and expressions, and was made out at the time when the languages of the courts of law in Bengal were Persian and Arabic. The word *pargandîti* has perhaps no relationship with *atîta*. We should not like to risk any suggestion or improvise any correction as the learned Professor has done.

In the Madhâinagar copper plate grant,⁶ it has been said that Lakṣhmaṇasena joined in an expedition against the Kalîngas when he was still a Kumâra (*Kaumâra keli*). This must have been when he was at least 20 years of age. Then, following up the datum of the grant, he must have been at least 22 years of age when he was called to the throne. If we accept the conclusions of Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâli, king Lakṣhmaṇasena should have attained $22 + 80 = 102$ years when Muḥammad the son of Bakhtyâr led his Turks into Nadiya. Prof. Kielhorn, as it appears from his *Synchronistic List of Northern India*,⁷ had afterwards abandoned his theory of the conquest of Bengal, an interpretation which he proposed by bringing together the evidences of the Muḥammadan historians and those obtained by the study of inscriptions of the period.

Mr. D. R. Bhaṇḍârkar has pointed out that Mr. Nagendra Nâth Vasu has already set forth much of the matter which Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâli dilates upon in his paper; and, by the way, it might be said that the conclusions of Mr. Vasu on the date of composition of *Dânasîgara* do not seem to us very

⁵ *Ante*, XIX, p. 7. and p. 2, note 3.

⁶ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* for 1910.

⁷ *J. A.*, VIII.

well warranted. When we find that *ślokas* indicate the date of the composition in a manuscript, copies only of which are available, and also find that in some of them such *ślokas* are absent, the possibility of their being interpolated in the copies in which they are found generally comes to our mind, and such evidences should not be taken as conclusive enough to serve as data for further argumentation. With regard to the *Adbhutasāgara*, we may point out a similar variation in the existing copies of the work. The copy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal does not contain many *ślokas* which are reported to be present in the manuscript described by Sir Rāmkrishṇa Gopāl Bhaṇḍārkar.

In conclusion, we are inclined to believe that Lakṣhmaṇasena was dead long before the raids described by Minhāj took place, and that A. D. 1119 or Saka 1041 is the approximate date of the death of Vallālasena and the installation of Lakṣhmaṇasena. A new inscription lately discovered at Dacca by Mr. R. D. Banerji, which he has incorporated into his paper on Lakṣhmaṇasena read before the Asiatic Society, will conclusively prove the validity of our reasoning and hasten to a definite decision a yet undecided point in the history of Bengal.

INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN ARTIFICIAL POETRY.

BY G. BUHLER.

[Translated by Prof. V. S. Ghate, M.A.; Poona.]

(Continued from p. 179.)

IV. The Girnār inscription of the reign of Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman.

The results obtained from the examination of Harisheṇa's *praśasti*, point to the provisional supposition that the *Kāvya* literature was in bloom, at least in the whole of the fourth century, and the works composed at that time, do not essentially differ from the samples of *Vaidarbhī rīti* preserved for us. Beyond this, we cannot go with the help of the Gupta inscriptions known to us up to this time. It, therefore, becomes necessary to consider the only great Sanskrit inscription, which can be, with certainty, placed in a considerably earlier age. It is the so-called Rudradāman inscription on the well-known rock on the way from Junāgaḍh-Girinagara to the present Girnār, a holy mountain known as Ūrjayat or Ujjayanta in earlier times. This inscription would be more properly called 'the *praśasti* of the restoration of the Sudarśana lake, during the reign of Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman.' Its age is pretty certainly fixed, in the first place, by the names of the king and the Kshatrpa Chasṭana, who is spoken of as Rudradāman's grandfather, and in the second place, by the date of the storm which shattered down the embankment of the Sudarśana lake. Chasṭana is no doubt rightly identified with the king Tīastanes, who, as Ptolemāus informs us, ruled in Ozene or Ujjayinā. The Greek name quite corresponds with the Indian name, not merely on the ground of other similar cases which occur and in which the Indian palatal sounds are represented by the Greek dentals with following *ia*,⁴⁵ but because even the Indian pronunciation of the palatals varies between *tśa* and *tya* as well as between *dśa* and *dya*, and we frequently hear of *tya* and *dya* as combinations with the sibilants.⁴⁶ The possibility that Ptolemāus could have meant any other Chasṭana than that of our inscription must be regarded as out of question, because the name occurs in no other dynasty, and even amongst the western Kshatrapas, it is only the grandfather of Rudradāman, who is so named. Thus, if we accept this identification of names and persons, it follows that Chasṭana must have reigned before 150 A.D. and further that his grandson Rudradāman can, in no case, be placed later than in the first half of the third century, probably even earlier. The settling of the date becomes even more accurate through the fact that the fixing of the beginning of the Gupta era in the year 318 or 319 makes entirely probable the view already maintained by Dr. Bhagvānlāl, Dr. Bhāu Dāji, Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar and others, according to which the date of the inscription in question, i.e., the year 72, refers to the

⁴⁵ Cf. Tiatoura-Chitor and Diamouna-Jamunā.

⁴⁶ See the remarks on the reverse of the table of letters in my Guide to the elementary course of Sanskrit. I shall, in another place, furnish proof that the modern pronunciation of the Indian palatals is very old.

Saka era and thus corresponds to our year 150 or 151. This date is the first of a long series, which continues down to the year 310. Inscriptions⁴⁷ provide the following dates:—103 for Rudradāman's son Rudrasimha, 127 for Rudrasimha's son Rudrasena, and 252 for Svāmī Rudrasena; while on the numerous coins are frequently represented almost all the decades between 100 and 310. During this long period, the successors of Chashtana appear to have maintained their sovereignty over western India, except for a short interruption, and to have been in possession of Málwā as well as the neighbouring provinces of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. There is nothing in the inscriptions before us, that would admit the conclusion that their capital was ever removed from Ujjain further westwards. On the other hand, our inscription shows quite clearly that the residence of the prince lay outside of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, as his officer Suvīśākha, according to l. 18, was governor of Ānarta⁴⁸ and Surāshṭra. The successors of the Kshatrapas, in the sovereignty over Málwā and the whole of western India, were the Guptas, whose conquest of the former province falls before or in the Gupta year 82, i.e., 400/1 or 401/2 A.D., as is shown by Mr. Fleet's No 3. Accordingly, it is to be expected that the last date of the Kshatrapas coming from Chashtana's race can not lie far removed from the Gupta year 82. And this is actually the case, if the year 310 on the Kshatrapa coins is interpreted as a year of the Saka era. Then it corresponds to the year 388 or 389 A.D., and is removed only by eleven years from the year in which the conquest of Málwā can have taken place at the latest. Though this very consideration is enough to commend the identification of the era used by the Kshatrapas with that of the Saka kings, there are still many other reasons of not less importance, which would confirm the same. The titles of Chashtana are *rājan*, *Kshatrapa* or *Mahākshatrapa*, and *śāmin*. The word *Kshatrapa* is, no doubt, as has been long ago asserted, an adaptation of the Persian *Kshatrapa* 'satrap.' Because, although we can look upon the word as a pure Sanskrit word and translate it by the protector of Kshatriyas, still such a title is entirely unknown to Sanskrit literature. *Kshatrapa* and its Prakrit substitute *Chhatrapa* or *Khatrapa* occur in the first place, in the coins and inscriptions of barbarous kings and their governors, who ruled over the north-western India.⁴⁹ Even Chashtana as well as his father, the *Mahākshatrapa* Ysamotika,⁵⁰ were foreigners, and there is no reason why we should believe that the title was fixed upon them in a different sense. If Chashtana bears the title of *rājan* also, well, it might have been conferred upon him only as a mark of distinction for some special service. In a similar manner, the vassals named *śāmantā* or *mahāśāmantā*, as well as other high dignitaries received the title *mahārāja*⁵¹ in the fifth, sixth and later centuries. Chashtana's suzerain can have been just one of the Indo-Scythian kings whose might had overshadowed the whole of the north-western and western India, towards the close of the first century and in the second century, as is shown by the inscriptions and the accounts of the Greeks; and a still clearer proof of his connection with the north-west is provided by his coins, wherein his name is given in the Bactro-Pali or rather Kharoshthī⁵² alphabet which is written from right to left. It is very probable that the descendants and the immediate successors of Chashtana bore the same relation to the rulers of the Indo-Scythian kingdom as long as it was in existence. As for Rudradāman, in particular, I see a clear confession of his dependence in the expression (l. 15) *svayam-adhigata-Mahākshatrapa-śabdēna*,

⁴⁷ The three dated inscriptions are, that on the rock of Guṇḍa, *ante*, Vol. X., p. 157, that on the pillar of Jasan, *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII., p. 234 ff. (in which, according to an impression of Mr. Dhruva's, the date is to be read as [tri]yuttarasate 100[+]3), and one unpublished inscription on a pillar in Okhāmaṇḍal, of which I possess a sketch and a photograph. The view, that the era used by the western Kshatrapas is the Saka era, is found at first in the *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII. p. 243 ff., and is further developed in Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's *Early History of the Dakkan*, p. 19 ff. See also *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S. 1890, p. 689 ff. I have opposed the same in *Arch. Surv. West. India*, Vol. V., p. 73, while I believed that the beginning of the Gupta era fell in the second century p. Chr.

⁴⁸ Ānarta includes Northern Kāthiāwār and northern Gujarāt up to the Mahl.

⁴⁹ Notice specially the copper-plate on which the *Chhatrapa* Liaka Kusula appears by the side of the king Moga. In this case it is quite clear that Liaka was the Satrap of Moga.

⁵⁰ See *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII., p. 3. A very nicely preserved coin on which this name is very clearly readable, was shewn to me, some years ago, by Dr. Burgess. Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads the name as Ghsamotika.

⁵¹ See Fleet, *Corpus inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 15 note.

⁵² See Professor Terrien de la Conperie *Babylonian Record*, Vol. I., p. 60. Dr. Bhagvānlāl (*ante*, VIII. p. 256) has rightly recognized the historical significance of the use of this alphabet on Chashtana's coins.

'by (Rudradāman) who had himself won the title *Mahākshatrapa*'. According to my view,⁵³ the author means to say that Rudradāman did not inherit the title *Mahākshatrapa* from his father or grandfather (although these possessed it), but that he had to win it by means of his special services and that he received it from his suzerain. To this interpretation I am specially led by the meaning of the very analogous phrase, *samadhigatapañchamahāsabda*, 'he who has won the five *mahāsabdas* (i.e., either five great titles, or the right to have the royal music band to play)', which is used in a very large number of inscriptions, of *Sāmantas* or vassal-chiefs. Moreover, even supposing Rudradāman had made himself independent and had himself taken a title, it appears to me improbable that he should have chosen the title *Mahākshatrapa*. In that case, he would have certainly named himself *mahārāja*, *rājārāja*, *rājātirāja*, or *rājādhirāja*, as the independent kings of the first and second centuries always did. Thus Ohashtana, in all probability was a dependent of some Indo-Scythian king, and it is, therefore, not possible that he should have founded a new era. He must have used the era of his suzerain, and the same must be supposed in connection with his grandson. If then, as I believe it must be assumed, this latter also bore the same relation to the Indo-Scythians, there can be no doubt regarding the interpretation of the date of the Girnār *prāsasti*.

According to this calculation, then, the destruction of the Sudarśana lake by the storm mentioned in our inscription falls in the year 150 or 151 A.D. The inscription itself, however, must have been written yet later, sometime towards the end of the first century of the Śaka era, i.e., between 160 and 170 A.D., because it is said in lines 17-18 that the restoration of the dam was attended with great difficulties. Thus it is most conclusively proved that even during the second half of the second century, there was in existence a *Kāvya* literature. Although there is wanting a colophon which might have given us the exact character of the composition, still it can be easily seen that it contains a *gadyam kāvyam* as such. Its style is similar to that of the prose part of Harisheṇa's *kāvya* in many respects and besides the use of *alanākāras*, there is an obvious effort on the part of the poet, to satisfy all the requirements prescribed for prose-composition by poetics. At the same time, however, it can not be denied that its worth is very considerably less than that of the *Allahābād prāsasti*, and that its author did not by far possess the imagination and talent of Harisheṇa. The language itself which is, indeed, generally speaking, flowing and good shows several deviations from the usage of classical poets and even presents some actual mistakes. Thus in *no ā garbhāt* (l. 9) there is a wrong *saṁdhi* made. Among other offences against the rules of orthography prescribed by grammar are the frequent omission of *ch* before *chh* and the use of the *anusvāra* for *ñ* and *n*, in the body of words, as well as for *m* at the end,⁵⁴ though both these, it is true, are sanctioned by usage. Further, there is seen the influence of the Prakrit in the word *viśaduttarāṇi* (l. 7) which stands for *viśaduttarāṇi*. Even the form *viśat* used only on the analogy of *triśat* etc., is not classical, but belongs to the language of the epics and the *Purānas* as is shown by the quotations in the Petersburg Lexicon. If the long syllables in *nirvyājam avajītyāvajītya* which are against rule, are not mere mistakes in writing of the scribe or of the stone-engraver,—although in the case of *°rāgena* for *°rāgeṇa*, no other assumption is possible,—then they must be regarded as only instances of the Prakrit influence. Because, the Prakrit dialects frequently represent *niḥ* by *nē* or *ñi*, and the Gujarātī *jī* 'conquest', and *jītavuṇ* 'to conquer' agree with the long syllable in *avajītya*. So also, the instrumental *patinā* in l. 11 is formed against Pāṇini's rules, though it is in agreement with the usage of the Vedic and epic language. There is also a mistake of syntax in *anyatra saṅgrāmeshu* (l. 10), 'except in battles', which ought to be *anyatra saṅgrāmebhyaḥ*. So also the form *pratyākhyātārambhaṇ* (l. 17) would be a worse mistake of syntax, as I believe in all probability it can not be regarded as an error in writing for *pratyākhyātārambhe*.

⁵³ Dr. Bhagvānlāl thinks otherwise. According to him the idea is that Rudradāman freed himself from the yoke of a suzerain.

⁵⁴ The frequent avoidance of a *saṁdhi* is not incorrect, because, according to a well-known *kārikā*, the *saṁdhi* depends upon *vivakshā*, i. e., it is to be made only if the words actually belong together. In the prose-inscriptions, the *saṁdhi* is usually not made where we would have a comma or a semi-colon.

Last of all, the phrase पञ्जन्वेन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायाम् (l. 5) is a hard nut to crack. No full-fledged classical poet has taken the liberty in this way. On the other hand, a similar phrase is more frequently met with in the epics.⁵⁵ The many points of similarity with the epics, which the language of the Girnâr *prāsasti* exhibits, could have led to the supposition that the author had cultivated himself exclusively by the reading of epics and that a *kāvya* proper was not at all known to him. But such a supposition is contradicted, first of all, by the general impression, which his composition makes. Whoever reads it attentively would feel that in the matter of the development of the style, it shows a stage considerably in advance of the epics. Further the supposition is contradicted by several particulars leading to a similar conclusion, especially the important passage in l. 14, wherein the author enumerates the attributes of a good composition, prevalent in his time.

As for the points of affinity with the *kāvya* style proper, which this *prāsasti* exhibits, it is to be first of all noticed that the author knew very well the canons laid down by Daṇḍin as common to all schools, according to which *ojas* or *samāsa-bhūyastva*, the frequency and length of compounds, is the principal feature of a prose composition. In the *prāsasti* also, the compounds occur more frequently than single words, and the compounds themselves often exhibit a conspicuous length. Thus in the very first line, there is a broken compound which consists of nine words with twenty-three letters. Such compounds and others extending over between ten and twenty letters are numerous. Once in the description of the king (l. 11) the author goes to the extreme of having a compound word which comprises seventeen words with forty letters. As compared with Harisheṇa's performance, that of the Gujarâtî author is by all means a modest one, though the latter far surpasses what the epic poets have been capable of doing or have regarded as permissible. As with Harisheṇa, a rhythmical arrangement of letters in the longer compounds is often noticeable, as for instance, in ll. 6 and 9 ff. Hand in hand with the length and number of compounds, goes the length of the sentences. The *prāsasti* apparently contains only five sentences with forty-nine *grantha*, of which the fourth sentence alone consists of more than twenty-three *grantha*. Harisheṇa surpasses the Gujarâtî writer, in this point also, and this is an important point, because his whole *kāvya*, though longer in extent, contains only one sentence. Of the *Śabdālanūkāras*, we have only the *Anuprāsa*, and the repetitions of parts of words, more seldom of whole words, as well as of single letters producing a similar sound, are very frequently met with. The specially remarkable instances are:—

शुभिरभ्यस्तान्नो रुद्रहान्नो (l.4), सृष्टवृद्धिना (l.5), °प्रभृतीनां नदीनां (l.6), °प्रहरणवितरण° (l.10), °प्रवृत्तीनां निषादानीनां (l.11), °कामविषयाणां विषयाणां (*ibid.*), °विधेयानां योधेयानां (l.12), °हस्तोच्छ्रयाजितोजित° (l.13), °न्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां (*ibid.*), पारणधारण° (*ibid.*), दानमानावमान° (*ibid.*), °गद्यपद्य° (l.14), प्रमाणमानोन्मानो° (*ibid.*), °नाम्ना °हान्ना °रुद्रहान्ना (l.15), पौरजानपदं जनं (l.16), पौरजानपदजन° (l.18), आट्येणाहाट्येण (l.19).

The *Varṇānuprāsas*, which do not strike us at first sight, but which are, nevertheless, not less characteristic, are specially numerous in गिरिशिखरतरुतटाहालकोपतल्पद्वारशरणीच्छ्रयाविध्वंसिना (l.6), where the repetitions of consonants and vowels are linked together very skilfully. Thus it is quite evident that the author took great troubles with these word-ornaments and attached great importance to them. His use of these far surpasses what the epic literature can present, and stands pretty on a level with what we have in Harisheṇa. The word यथार्थहस्तोच्छ्रयाजितोजितधर्मानुरागेण is just exactly in the *Kāvya* style, for the compound *arjitōrjita* is very much favourite with the later court-poets. As for the *Arthālanūkāras*, our author uses them but very rarely. Thus there are only two *Upamās* to be noted. In l. 1-2, it is said that the lake or rather the embankment thereof is *parvata-pratīsparddhi*, 'resembling a spur of a mountain'; and in l. 8, the dried-up lake is spoken of as *maru-dhanva-kalpam*, 'resembling a sandy desert.' In the former instance, the expression *pratīsparddhi* is quite characteristic of the *Kāvya* style. We have an *Uiprekshā* in the already mentioned passage, °पञ्जन्वेन

⁵⁵ Cf. for instance, *Nala* XII, 28, केतुभूतमिवोत्थितम् and also the quotations under भूत in the Petersburg Lexicon.

एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायाम्^o and a faint attempt at *Slesha* in l. 8, where it is said that the lake had become *atibhriṣaṁ durddā[rśanam]*. For the rest, the author neglects the numerous opportunities which are offered to him, for instance, in the description of Rudradāman, of showing his skill in bringing out similarities. He relies more on the effect of a representation of facts marked with strong outlines, than on the conglomeration of more or less conventional figures of sense. It must be conceded that he succeeds quite well in individual descriptions, though he fails in the fineness of execution and the elaboration of details, which are found to be present in Harisheṇa. The passage in l. 3-7 describing the destruction of the lake, reads best notwithstanding many important lacunae. Freely rendered, the passage would read thus:—

‘In the year seventy-two, 72, (in the reign)⁵⁶ of the king and great Satrap Rudradāman whose name is uttered by the worthy (praying for purity)—the son [of the king and great Satrap, Lord Jayadāman], the grandson of the king and great Satrap, Lord Chashtāna—the mention of whose name brings purity—on the [fifth or fifteenth] day of the dark half of the month Mārgaśīrsha. a storm with great streaming showers, as it were, reduced the earth to one single ocean; the terribly augmented force of the Suvarṇasikatā, the Palāśini and other rivers of the mountain Ūrjayat broke through the dam although proper remedial measures were taken, the water agitated by the whirlwind which (raged) with fearful violence as if at the end of the world-age, and which shattered down mountain-peaks, trees, rocks, terraces, temple-turrets, gates, abodes and triumphal columns, the water scattered about and tore to pieces [the and] this (lake) [crammed] with stones, trees, bushes and circles of creepers that were thrown down, was broken up, down to the bottom of the stream.’

The small number of the *Arthālamkāras* is richly counterbalanced by the fourth word in l. 14, which praises in all probability Rudradāman's skill in poesy, and contains, without question, the views of the author regarding the requirements of a good composition. Unfortunately, the word is mutilated. After स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोद्धारलंकृतगद्यपद्य, eight letters have been obliterated, followed by न. The last letter shows that the expression ended with the instrumental of an a-stem. Immediately after गद्यगद्य, only the word काव्य can come, as it is absolutely necessary to complete the two expressions गद्य and पद्य. The remaining six letters should then have been a phrase like विधानप्रवीणे, रचनकुशले, रचननिरते or like (भा) स्वादननिरते. Now if we consider what is said of Rudradāman in l. 13, viz., that he had acquired great renown by the complete study, the preservation, the thorough understanding, and the skill in the use, of the great lores, such as grammar, politics, music and logic, we must go in for one of the first series of expressions proposed. Because, the practising of classical poetry is the natural complement of the cultivation of the abstruse *śāstras* in the case of the Paṇḍit, and both these have been very frequently extolled as the qualifications of Indian kings. These considerations make it quite probable that the compound in question, when completed should stand as स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोद्धारलंकृतगद्यपद्य [काव्यविधानप्रवीणे] न. Now, if we take the author on his word, and suppose that he is stating only facts, nothing more nor less, then it would follow that Rudradāman must have devoted himself to the cultivation of court poetry like Samudragupta and Harshavardhana. Then the passage in question would further prove that the *Kāvya* literature, in the second century, had been developed to such an extent, that even the grandson of a foreign Satrap like Chashtāna could not escape its influence. On the other hand, if it is thought more advisable to understand the expressions of praise in the *prāsaśī*, with a qualification, and to think that these expressions regardless of actual facts, only concern themselves with representing Rudradāman as an ideal Indian prince—as the poet's fancy was pleased to depict, even then we would be justified in drawing this conclusion at least, that during the second century it was the custom at Indian courts to occupy oneself

⁵⁶ The words printed within small brackets are necessary to complete the sense; while those in rectangular brackets are renderings of the broken words as restored by me.

with *śāḍya*. Even this result in itself is of no little significance inasmuch as it proves that the invasions of the Scythians and other foreign races had extinguished the national art as little as the sciences. Further, as regards the characteristics which the *prāśasti* prescribes for *gadya-pāḍya* 'the compositions in prose and metrical form', it is to be noted, that they essentially agree with those which are given by Daṇḍin for the *Vaidarbhī rīti*, in accordance with an old tradition.⁵⁷ In *Kāvyaśāstra*, I. 41-42, we have:—

श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता ।
अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजःकान्तिसमाधयः ॥ ४१ ॥
इति वैदर्भमार्गस्थ प्राणा दशगुणाः स्मृताः ।

Of these ten fundamental attributes of the Vaidarbhī style, the *prāśasti* names three, *viz.*, *mādhurya*, *kānti* and *udāratva*, and there is no reason why the *madhura* and *kānta* of the inscription should be interpreted otherwise than as *rasavat* 'full of sentiment,' and *sarvajagatkānta* 'pleasing to the whole world' or 'lovely', respectively. On the other hand, the word *udāra* 'elevated, grand' can scarcely have the meaning which Daṇḍin attributes to it, in *Kāvyaśāstra*, I. 76.⁵⁸ The preceding *śabda-samaya* specially enters into compound with *udāra* at any rate, and the expression *śābdasamayodāra* can not but be translated as 'grand through the conventional (with poets) use of words.'⁵⁹ Accordingly, our author, following those who are referred to by Daṇḍin, as *kechit* (*Kāvya*, I. 79), means by *udāra*, that language in which are used proverbial words and attributes commended by poets, *e.g.*, *krīḍāsaraḥ*, *līlāmbuja*, and similar words. A fourth characteristic mentioned by Daṇḍin, the *arthavyakti* 'clearness of meaning', can be easily recognized in the synonymous expression *sphuṭa* of the inscription. A fifth characteristic *ojas*, 'the force of expression' may probably be meant by the adjective *chitra* 'wonderful, exciting wonder.' In favour of this we can quote Bharata's definition (Chap. XVI):—

समासवद्भिर्विधौर्विचित्रैश्च पदैर्युतम् ।
सानु[साधु]स्वरैरुदारैश्च तरोजः परिकीर्त्यते ॥

Even in the epithet *laghu* which is wrongly rendered by translators as 'short', we may find hidden a reference to the sixth attribute of the Vaidarbha style. *Laghu* here, no doubt, means 'beautiful, pleasing' and it very possibly stands for *prasāda* or *sukumāratā*, both of which are conducive to loveliness of composition. The last adjective *alaṅkṛita* leaves no doubt about the fact that the author of the *prāśasti* was acquainted with some theory of *Alaṅkāras*. In accordance with the proposed filling up of the lacunae and the explanations offered so far, the whole clause may be thus rendered:—

'(by the king and the great Satrap Rudradāman) who [was expert in the composition of] prose and metrical *śāḍyas*, which are easily intelligible, charming, full of sentiment, capable of awakening wonder, lovely, noble with the conventional use of words, embellished (with the prescribed figures of speech).' Thus, whatever we may say about Rudradāman busying himself with poesy—a fact which is very probable, though of course we can not be absolutely sure about it—so much is certain that the author of our *prāśasti* lays on poets conditions very similar to those prescribed by Daṇḍin, that in the second century there must have been already in existence romances and other works in high prose as well as compositions in the Vaidarbha style, which in no way differed from the samples of classical composition preserved to us, and that there also existed an *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*.

(To be continued.)

⁵⁷ The same are mentioned in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ch. XVI:—

श्लेषः प्रसादः समता समाधिर्माधुर्यमोजः पदसौकुमार्यम् ।
अर्थस्य च व्यक्तिरुदारता च कान्तिश्च काव्यस्य गुणा दशैते ॥

⁵⁸ उत्कर्षवान्युणः कश्चियस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते ।

तदुदाराह्वयम् — — — — ॥

⁵⁹ Dr. Bhagvānlāl's translation, 'remarkable for grammatical correctness,' is not right for several reasons. 'Grammatical correctness' would be *śābdasūddhatva*, and this quality does not make a composition *udāra*. Besides, the king's ability to write correctly is mentioned in l. 13. I explain *śābdasamayodāra* thus:—सदृशं शब्दविषये यः कवीनां समयः संकेत आचारो वा तेन उदारम् ॥

BRAHMAN IMMIGRATION INTO SOUTHERN INDIA.

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(Continued from Vol. XLI, p. 232.)

From this the conclusion is irresistible that there was indeed an ancient Brâhmaṇ leader of that name, who led a colony of Brâhmaṇs into the South. What the motives were that led to the emigration, we cannot definitely ascertain. The Purânic account is that the Vindhya began to grow higher and higher and obstruct the path of the Sun, that the Devas sought the help of the sage and requested him to humble the pride of the mountain; that while accordingly the sage approached, the mountain, being its *śishya* or disciple, made its obeisance by prostrating itself before him, and then the sage crossed it and enjoined it to remain in that posture until he returned—which event has not yet taken place and therefore the mountain has remained low until to-day. Certainly there must be some meaning in this otherwise palpably impossible myth. Agastya himself was one of the R̥g-Vedic sages, but he was not included among the *Saptar̥shis* or the seven sages, though he as the latter has become one of the *gotrakâras*, i.e., heads of the Brâhmaṇ families. The *R̥gveda* plainly describes him as trying to introduce a cult somewhat opposed to the cult of Indra, which was the prevalent one, and, therefore, as meeting with some opposition. Tamil tradition also points to this split as the real cause of his southward march with all his following. Probably it was not Agastya himself of the *R̥gveda* that made this southward march: a sort of quasi-eternity is given to the Vedic sages by the habit of calling the successive heads of the families or *gotras* by the names of the founders. Perhaps a descendant of the sage might have in later times led the southward march, when perhaps on account of the split in the camp, their continuance in the north had become intolerable. Perhaps, synchronous with that march, a depression of the Vindhya took place due to seismic causes, which gave rise to the myths we have referred to. Geology owns the possibility of such subsidence and teaches that such subsidence may occur, due to undue volcanic activity, especially at the opposite side of the earth. A glance at the map shows us that about—20° lat.—70° long., the opposite point of the earth with respect to the Vindhya, we have the Bolivian Andes with the powerful volcanoes of Sahama, Acancagua and so forth, and if in prehistoric times there was a terrible eruption of these volcanoes and this disturbance caused the subsidence of the mountain in India, we have precisely the state of things which the myth has obscurely represented as the prostration of the Vindhya before Agastya. Some such extraordinary or apparently miraculous intervention is needed to make a dissenter like Agastya find favour with the Âryans of the north, who have not only included his name among the *gotrakâras*, but have also accepted his hymns in the *R̥gveda* and thereby practically adopted his cult. When this event took place, it is not possible to determine. Tamil literature refers it to a remote age, i.e., earlier than 5000 B. C. Considering the magnitude of the geologic changes with which the emigration was synchronous, there is indeed much to be said in favour of this tradition. The *Râmâyana* also makes the southward march of Agastya long anterior to the events it narrates. Even before Śrī-Râma's time, Agastya had been dwelling in a hermitage to the south of the Vindhya about two *yojanas* from Pañchavaṭī, where he had made his temporary home; and he always seems to have acted as the pioneer in the southward march; for we find him go down further south at the time of the close of the Laṅkā war. The Tamils locate his *âśrama* in Podiyam, a peak of the Tinnevely Ghats, from which the Tâmrparaṇī takes its source; and he is still thought to be living there. Moreover, Râvaṇa, Vâli, Sugrîva and other great epic heroes of the south are represented as children of Non-Âryan mothers by Âryan fathers. Perhaps before complete Âryanisation was effected, these hybrids, with the energy natural to the offspring of mixed union, and also with the atavism of barbarian nature, which is seen to follow such unions

as a natural consequence, began to trouble the Áryan settlers in the Daṇḍakâ forest. For the *Rāmāyaṇa* says that for a long time before the advent of Rāma the troubles from the Rākshasas—meaning thereby the aborigines of the south, had ceased; but only very recently they had begun again under the leadership of Mārīcha, Subāhu, Khara, Rāvaṇa and others—all offspring of Non-Áryan mothers and Áryan fathers; Rāvaṇa is even represented as a Brāhmaṇ and Sāma-vedin—a descendant of Pulastya. Thus the first movement of the Brāhmaṇs towards the south seems to have been caused by a split in the faith, and the succeeding settlements were made afterwards by ascetics and lay-brothers, seeking solitude and calm for practising all the self-mortifications that they thought were necessary for gaining spiritual wealth. It was the combination of the two sets of circumstances that led to the slow Áryanisation of the south long before the rise of Buddhism, or the southward march of Jainism. Later on, after some advance was made in civilisation, emigration from other motives began also to take place; until at last about the 1st century A. D. we find that it was the South that became the seat of revived Brāhmaṇism. For the North had become almost Buddhistic, and powerful Scythian princes, like Kanishka, who had embraced Buddhism, were ruling in Kashmir, and the Sungas and the Āndhrabṛityas in Magadha, and Persian Satraps like Rudradāman in Ujjain. Only Kanauj seems to have been still Hindu, but it was quite powerless then. The Kosalas had emigrated by that time to the south of the Vindhya and had formed the Chalukyās, who later on founded in the 6th century A. D. the Chalukyan kingdom in the Mahārāshṭra country, after defeating Indra of the Raṭṭa or Rāshṭrakūṭa family. Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, one of the Āndhrabṛityas, who ruled at Pratiṣṭhāna, is represented in the inscriptions, as having conferred on the Brāhmaṇs “the means of increasing their race and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes,” whatever that may mean. Perhaps it was from his time that the downfall of Buddhism may be dated. For after this time we find a revival of Sanskrit literature and re-institution of sacrifices; and the long disused Aśvamedha is referred to as again having been performed by Pulakeśin and others. Even the satraps of Ujjain, who had apparently been given a place in the Hindu social system, took the Brāhmaṇs under their wings: for Ushavadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāna is represented as having fed thousands of Brāhmaṇs and, like Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, given them “the means of increasing their race” (whatever that may mean). During the time of the Chalukyās, Brāhmaṇism seems to have completely regained its lost power; for it was then that the greatest Neo-Hindu teacher, Śrī-Śaṅkarāchārya made his appearance. Before his time, *Pārvamīmāṃsā* had been studied with great attention and famous writers like Prabhākaraśvāmī. Nandivāmī and others lived and wrote during the reigns of the early Chalukyās; and as we have said elsewhere, Telugu and Kannada began to differentiate themselves about this time, giving rise to two distinct languages.

In the meanwhile Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba kingdom in Konkan in the 6th century A. D., introduced a colony of Brāhmaṇs from Ahikshetra in Rohilkhand, and when it was found that during the reign of his son these showed a tendency to go back to their old home, the king seems to have set a mark upon them by obliging them to wear their top-knot in a special fashion. These formed the Nambudris (நம்புத்தி-our masters) of the West coast—a class of Brāhmaṇs, who differ from the Brāhmaṇs of the East coast and of the Āndhra, Kannaḍa, and Tamil country in many particulars. These Brāhmaṇs slowly spread towards the south along the west coast and now inhabit the whole of the maritime country west of the Ghats as far down south as Trivandrum. It was the influence of these Kadambas that led to the subsequent differentiation of Malayālam from Kannaḍa on the one hand and Tamil on the other. The Kūrgī and the Tulu from the links connecting it with the two elder numbers of the Dravidian group; but none of these importations altered the essential character of the first settlers in manners and customs: they have remained distinct. The earlier settlers had borrowed many of the manners of the Dravidians, among which may be named the institution of *elli*-tying, the boring of the nose, the tying of the

idli and the presenting to the bride of the new *sari* by the husband's party prior to marriage called *கூரை*, are all Dravidian customs, symbolic of slavery or purchase and do not find any sanction in the sacerdotal formulæ of the *grihya* ritual in use among the Âryans. In all these respects the Nambudris seem to differ from the other southern Brâhmanas. So much was the South favoured by the colonization of the Brâhmanas before the 6th century that the *Pûrânas*, that seem chiefly compiled during the early Chalukyan kings, went to the length of prophesying that in future the only refuge of Brâhmanism would be the extreme south of the Peninsula, in the basin of the Tâmrarnî. For they shrewdly found out how in the North, subjected to foreign inroads and irruptions from without, there was not much chance of their keeping either their blood or their religion pure, and they with one voice declared :—

कलौ खलु भविष्यन्ति नारायणपरायणाः ।

कच्चित्कच्चिन्महाराज इमिडेसु च भूरिवाः ॥

ताम्रपर्णी नदी यत्र कृतमाला पयस्विनी ।

कावेरी च महाभागा

etc. etc. *Bhâg.*

Nor were their apprehensions long allowed to remain unconfirmed; the worst sort of disaster soon overtook them, when, early in the 8th century A. D. (711 A. D.), the relentless iconoclastic Muhammadan storm burst upon the land. It was Gujarât, that first suffered from the outburst. The Bhâgavata *Sampradâyins*—worshippers of Kṛishṇa, who formed the bulk of the population of Gujarât, Muttra and the north-west generally, soon felt the pressure of the times and the wisest among them migrated to the south and peopled the Telugu, Kannada and Tamil kingdoms. In the 9th and the 10th centuries their numbers increased when the Muhammadan incursions became more frequent and more threatening. It was these that brought into the South the Renaissance literature of the North, the product of more recent times, made during the times of king Bhoja of Dhârâ and the Guptas of Ujjain and Pâtaliputra and Harshavardhana of Kanauj.

The earlier emigrants had brought but the *Mimâmsâ*, the Epics and the *Sâtras*. It is these latter that brought Logic, Grammar and *Belles-lettres* in general, and gave an impetus to learning in the South. The 10th and the 11th centuries formed the Augustan period of Dravidian literature, alike in the Telugu, Tamil and Kannaḍa lands. The chief impetus for this magnificent activity was given by the new-coming Âryan settlers. So much did Râja-râja, the powerful Choḷa king at Kâñchi, recognize the value of these new comers that he defended them against the attacks of his aunt Kunda-Arvai, who remonstrated with him for showing favour to the culture of the North in preference to his own Tamil. The Śrîvaiṣṇava revival in the 11th century A. D. in the South was only an episode in the literary culture that came with this latest emigration. Śrî-Râmânuja himself was directly related to Saint Âlavandâr, grandson of Nâthamuni. In all likelihood Nâthamuni's father or grandfather was one of the pioneers of these latest settlers. If we examine the account given of the way in which these behaved towards each other, though settled in far off places like Kâñchi, Śrîrangam, Madura and so forth, we are bound to conclude that they belonged to a closely-knit sept, and that they could be easily marked off from the rest of the Brâhman population among whom they had settled; the real name of the Saint Âlavandâr, *i. e.*, the name Yamunai-thuraivar (the sage of the Jumna) itself tells us how new these settlers must have been in their new homes at the time of the sage. Even to this day these are distinguished from the other Brâhmanas of the South in several respects and go generally by the name of Vaḍamas, meaning North-country men. It was chiefly from this community that the bulk of the Śrîvaiṣṇava conversions were made. Even in the Kannada and Telugu country, it is the Bhâgavata *Sampradâyins* that easily passed into the Śrîvaiṣṇava or the Mâdhva fold. One distinguishing feature of these *Sampradâyins* is their partiality for Viṣṇu in his incarnation of Kṛishṇa. The *Bhâgavata-Purâna*, which seems to have been compiled by one of their number

develops this point of view of the community. *Srī-Bhājavata* is prized alike by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, the Mādhyas and the *Smārta* Bhājavata *Sampradāyins* and Vaḍamas. That these latter form the latest addition to the Brāhmaṇ population in the extreme south of the Peninsula is borne out also by a very curious custom. All the *Smārta* Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇ women, together with a few of the left-hand section of the Śūdras, tie their *sāris* in a peculiar fashion. The upper end of the *sāri* is brought under the left shoulder over the right arm round the back and thrown over the left shoulder. This is precisely the manner of the costume of Greek ladies after 450 B. C. known as the *himation*. It was also the old mode of dress of the Āryan Brāhmaṇs before they entered India. It is the mode in use among the Persians and the Muhammdans. Once upon a time it was precisely the way in which the upper garment was worn by the Āryan males also. But there seems to have come a change in the mode of the male dress somewhere about the time when the Āryans settled in India. The *yajñopavīta* which the Brāhmaṇ wears is only a symbolic representation of his mode of dress. Much as the *yajñopavīta*, the sacred thread, is prized by the Brāhmaṇ of nowadays, there seems to be nothing in the ritual or the *mantras* that are used during the *upanayana* ceremony to uphold the great value set upon it. That it is nothing but a symbolic representation of the upper garment will be patent to every one who considers the origin of the mode of wearing it as given in the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*.

अजिनं वासी वा दक्षिणत उपवीय दक्षिणं बाहमुद्धरतेऽवधत्ते सव्यमिति यज्ञोपवीतं । एतदेव विपरितं प्राचीनावीतं ॥ etc.

‘Skin or cloth worn towards the right, round the body so as to go under the right shoulder and above the left is called यज्ञोपवीत, the mode of dress in the service of gods; the opposite mode is called *prāchīnāvīta*.’

The words उपवीत and प्राचीनावीत indicate in what sense they might have been first used. प्राचीनावीत means the ancient mode of dressing; उपवीत is the recent mode of dressing, both derived from *vye* to weave. Later on the sacred thread with a bit of deer skin tied to it has come to symbolize this mode of dress. That *prāchīnāvīta* means the old mode of dress is borne out by the fact that funeral ceremonies are enjoined to be performed, the performer being dressed in that fashion, agreeably to the primitive notion that the sacrificer must dress himself like the god or the spirit he worships. Yamavaivasvata, being the old ancestor, who is worshipped in funeral ceremonies, the old mode of dressing is recommended. But in other cases the *upavīta*, the new mode. A metaphysical reason is assigned in the Veda itself for the change of dress, *viz.*, that the Devas and the Asuras performed a sacrifice, the Devas dressing in the प्रसृति fashion, *i.e.*, in the left to right fashion we have described and the Asuras in the other mode; and the Devas succeeded in gaining heaven while the Asuras were defeated and dispersed on all sides on account of the अप्रसृति fashion they had adopted. Probably this refers to the Āryan ancestors in their new colonies following nature, where all motion is seen to take place from left to right. For, finding such a mode of dress among the non-Āryan dwellers in the soil, they seem to have adopted it as a part of their scheme of following nature, which included the taking of such of the non-Āryan customs under their patronage as would help them in assimilating them easily and thereby strengthening their stock. While the male population easily adopted the change, the conservative female population perhaps remained averse to it for a long time. It was probably at this stage that the Dravidian Brāhmaṇs first migrated to the South. For while their ladies, *i.e.*, those of the *Smārtas* of Tamil-land preserve this old habit, the ladies of the later settlers have adopted the new orthodox fashion completely. Here is an evidence of a very curious but convincing kind for the very early settlement of the Tamil land by Brāhmaṇs, long before perhaps the Telugu country itself was occupied by them. For we know that the Karnāṭaka and Telingaṇa Brāhmaṇ ladies adopt the प्रसृति mode. The whole subject seems to be very interesting, and is deeply connected with the distinction of right hand and left hand

factions that used until recently to disturb the peace of Tamil villages, and of the Phanas in the Kannada districts.

At an early stage in the progress of this paper I asked the late Mr. Venkayya if he could throw some light on the solution of the problem I have taken up. I must, in justice to him, quote the letter he was good enough to send me from his camp at Vijayānagaram. He wrote:—“As I have not got all the books of reference, I am unable to give you a complete list of all inscriptions which contain grants of land to Brāhman̄s. I suppose you know that the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, *viz.*, Mayūrasarmā, was a Brāhman̄. His date is not definitely ascertained. But Dr. Fleet assigns the Kadambas to the 6th century A. D. As regards Pallava inscriptions, I would invite your attention to three copper plates, *viz.*, Mayidavola plates of Śivaskandavarman (*Epigraphica Indica*), Kadamba plates of Jayavarman and the Hirahadagalli-plates of Śivaskandavarman. From the language and phraseology of these inscriptions, Dr. Hultsch has concluded that they cannot be very distant, in point of time, from the reign of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, who reigned about the middle of the 2nd century A. D. These and similar grants which Dr. Fleet has noticed show that the Brāhman̄s had immigrated into Konjivaram long before A. D. 600. As regards Western India we have evidence to prove that there was a large colony of Brāhman̄s at Nāsik already in the 2nd century A. D. while the Western Chalukya king, Kīrtivarman I, is said to have made a grant to Brāhman̄s in A. D. 578. No Chola or Pāṇḍya records prior to A. D. 600 are known. But the presence of Brāhman̄s in Konjivaram during the 2nd or 3rd century may be adduced as evidence to show that they might have advanced farther south. This information is perhaps quite meagre for your purposes.” Thus wrote Mr. Venkayya; yes, meagre enough, as I have said in the beginning of this paper if we have to depend solely on the evidence of inscriptions. But we have seen what other sources of information we have regarding such points. Sanskrit literature and Tamiḷ literature might be used conjointly in fixing the chronology or other points of Indian History; for these two together will be seen to act like a *vernier* to definitely fix many an otherwise doubtful point.

It will thus be seen that the Āryan migration to the South was part of the scheme of Providence unfolded during a long interval of time by divine agencies apparently working with diverse, and oft times with cross, purposes. It was part of the large scheme whereby a moral and intellectual conquest of the whole of India was effected and the new-comer Āryan was blended with the native Dravidian, tending to produce a homogeneous population. Thus the method followed by the old Āryans was not to substitute the white man for the dark-skinned people—the method which is universally practised by the present-day civilizing agency with its cry of “White-man’s burden” and “Imperialism”. In those days Brāhman̄ missionaries of a different kind pioneered indeed and overran unsettled tracts and devoted their energies to the conversion of the heathen. But these missionary settlements, except in very early times, never led to the spreading of the sword in their wake, as has often happened in these afterdays of European colonization. “It was by absorption rather than by annihilation that Brāhmanism triumphed”, says Mr. Croke, the Bengal civilian-historian of the old North-West provinces. “We hear”, says he, “of none of the persecution, none of the iconoclasm which characterized the Musalman inroad. A fitting home was found in the Brāhman̄ pantheon for the popular village deities, the gods of fear and death of the indigenous faith. Vishṇu by his successive incarnation has been made the vehicle for conciliating the tribal gods or *totems* of tribes now well within the fold of Hinduism”. Thus the slow upheaval was going on and under the leadership of liberal teachers like Saṅkara and Rāmānuja, the band was being removed from the eyes and hearts of the people, when it pleased God to throw open the country for the inroads of more powerful foreigners.

NOTE OF THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN.

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IN my article on the epoch of the Gupta era published in *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII., I have stated, (p. 92) "the date 493 occurring in that (Mandasor) inscription is referred to the event of the Ganasthiti of the Málavas. What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know." The impression of a new inscription recently discovered at Mandasor, prepared by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Archaeological department and shown to me by him, enables me to make a contribution towards an elucidation of the point. The verse giving the date is thus worded:—

श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रद्यस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते ।
एकषष्टयधिके प्राप्ते समाद्यतचतुष्टये ॥

The translation is:—"the excellent quaternion of hundreds of years increased by sixty-one laid down authoritatively by the Málava-gaṇa and named *Kṛita* having arrived." The word *amṇāta* means 'laid down,'—authoritatively of course,—since what is *amṇāta* is to be treated with respect and scrupulously followed. In समाद्यतः समाद्यतः the sense is: the *Samāmnāya* (*Nighaṇṭus* or thesaurii) has been laid down (*Nirukta* I, 1). Similarly we are told in I, 20, that the later *Rishis samāmnānsishuh*, *i. e.*, laid down authoritatively or composed this work, and the Vedas and the subordinate treatises. In साक्षाच्चोपयाम्नात् (*Vedāntasūtra* I, 4, 25) *amṇāta* has the same sense. In the present case therefore the sense is: the year 461 has arrived which has been laid down authoritatively by the *Gaṇa* of the Málavas. This authoritative laying down cannot be predicated of this one year only but of all previous and subsequent years. If these years were laid down by the *Gaṇa*, they must either be so by their having composed a long list or directed that the years following a certain event should be ordinally numbered. Since a list must go on *ad infinitum*, *i. e.*, be interminable, the former supposition cannot be accepted. The *gaṇa* of the Málavas, therefore, must be supposed to have directed the use of an era beginning with a certain specific event. What must be the specific event? Light is thrown on this point by the following verse occurring in Yaśodharman's inscription at Mandasor:—

पञ्चसु शतेषु शरशं यातेष्वेकान्ननवतिसहितेषु ।
मालवगणस्थितिवशात् कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ॥

"Five hundred and eighty-nine years written down for the purpose of knowing the time in consequence (ablative) of the moment [moving cause or impelling force (*vaśa*)] of the condition as a *gaṇa* or compact political body of the Málavas having elapsed." That the word *vaśa* should be understood as the moment or impelling cause is confirmed by the manner in which the date is given in Bandhuvarman's Mandasor inscription. The words are:—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये ।
त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानाम्..... ॥

The sense is: "four hundred and ninety-three years having elapsed since the condition (*i. e.*, formation) of the Málavas as a *gaṇa*." *Gaṇasthityā* is to be taken as an ablative, the *visarga* having been dropped in consequence of the following soft consonant. This then was an era, the impelling cause of which was the *sthitī* of the Málavas as a *gaṇa*, that is, it was the era of the formation of the Málavas as a *gaṇa*, *i. e.*, their forming a body corporate or body politic.

The Málavas were originally a tribe which followed the occupation of fighting. They were soldiers by profession, and could enter any body's service as such, and did not form a *gaṇa* or an incorporated society for political and other purposes. Yājñavalkya, speaking of a person who takes away the wealth of a *gaṇa*, necessarily implies that a *gaṇa* is a corporate community with common property and common interest (II, 187). Occurring side by side in *ibid.*, II, 192 with *śrenī* a guild, and *naigama* or a body of merchants trading with foreign countries, *gaṇa* must mean a body corporate of persons following the same occupation such as that of fighting (*Vijñānēśvara* and *Aparārka*). I translate *gaṇasthiti* as existence or condition as a *gaṇa*. It should be taken as a *Karmadhāraya* or oppositional compound (गणश्चासौ स्थितिश्च *i. e.* गणस्थितिका or गणरूपस्थितिः). It cannot be taken as गणस्य स्थितिः. For in Bandhuvarman's inscription the expression मालवानां गणस्थितिः would in that case involve what is called *Ekadeśi-anvaya* or the latter part would be a *sāpeksha* compound, *i. e.*, *Mālavāndm* would have to be connected with *gaṇa*, *i. e.*, the first or subordinate part of the following compound and not with *sthitī* the principal part, as it should be. When we take the compound as a *Karmadhāraya*, *Mālavāndm* is to be connected with *sthitī* which is the principal noun as qualified by the word *gaṇa*. A *gaṇa* or a corporate and poli-

tical union the Málavas constituted in B. C. 56 and laid down authoritatively (*ámnáta*) that that event should be commemorated by making it the epoch of an era. I now proceed to show by direct evidence what the condition of the Málavas was in ancient times and how it changed subsequently as indicated by the inscriptions we have gone over.

In an article in this *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 23, I have stated that Alexander the Great met in central and lower Punjab two tribes of warriors named Malii and Oxhydrakæ. From Pāṇini's *sūtra* V, 3,114 and from the instances given by his commentators it appears that in the Punjab there existed in ancient times two tribes of the names of Málavas and Kshudrukas who are called *áyudhajivins*, i. e., sustaining themselves by the use of warlike weapons, in other words, who followed a soldierly profession. Under the *sūtra* IV, 2, 45 Patañjali discusses why Kshudraka and Málava are included in the group "Khaṇḍikâ" and others and in the course of the discussion he and the *Kāśikâ* mention that these two tribes belong to the Kshatriya order—he, impliedly, and *Kāśikâ*, expressly. Since the two names occur in the group and as it is reasonable to suppose that the first three words of a group at least come down from Pāṇini himself Kshudrakas and Málavakas were known to Pāṇini himself.

The Málavas are mentioned in the *Mahábhārata* also sometimes among northern peoples (II, 32, 7. III, 51, 26); and sometimes among southern, with Dákshinātyas and Ávantyas (VI, 87, 6-7). It also mentions westerly (*pratichya*) and northerly (*udichya*) Málavas (VII, 7, 15; VI, 106, 7). Varáhamihira too places the Málavas among the northern peoples inhabiting the Punjab (*Bri. S.* 14, 27). In speaking of a man of the name of Málavya he represents him to be ruling over Málava, Bharukachchha, Suráshtra, etc. (*Bri. S.* 69, 10-12); so that the Málava country is here alluded to as occupying the same position as it does in modern times. Kálidása in his *Meghadúta* carries his cloud messenger over the country now named Málwá but does not give that name; and mentions Daśárṇas, Vidiśá, Avantis, Ujjayiní, and Daśapura. So that it is clear that according to these authorities the Málavas in ancient times lived in the north, that is, in the Punjab and that they subsequently migrated southwards. While in the Punjab they were simply *áyudhajivins* or professional soldiers and do not seem to have formed a political union. Their migration to the south and settlement in the region just to the north of the present Málwá in the modern state of Jaipur is evidenced by a very large number of coins found at Nágara near Tonk. Most of these bear the legend *Málaváñdm jaya* and some *Málavagaṇasya jaya*. The very fact that coins were issued proclaiming the triumph of the Málavas or the Málava-gaṇa shows that at the time when they were issued the Málavas had already constituted themselves into a political unit with a regular system of government. That system appears to have been republican and not monarchical; since the legends on the coins bear the name of the tribe and its *gaṇa*. Probably afterwards the names of the leaders of the Republic were engraved on the money that was issued and perhaps in the course of time the Republic was succeeded by a Monarchy. The Málavas gradually moved southwards and gave their name to the whole country now called Málwá. Another instance of a race moving from the south to the north and giving their name to the countries they occupied from time to time is that of the Gúrjaras. They first settled in Punjab and a district of that Province is called Gujaráta to this day. Then they migrated southwards by western Rájaputáná which was formerly called Gúrjaratrâ or the protector of the Gúrjaras. This name, however, that part of the country soon lost, and in the form of Gujarát it was transferred to a southern province which is now called by that name.

The years of the era founded by the Málava republican body had the name *Kṛita* given to them according to the new inscription and there are two dates at least in which the years are given with the epithet *Kṛiteshu* prefixed to them. In the absence of any specific information we can only suppose that they were called *Kṛita*, because they were "made or prepared" for marking dates by the Málavá government.

KUMARILA'S ACQUAINTANCE WITH TAMIL

BY P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M. A.; VIZAGAPATAM.

Burnell has quoted, *ante*, Vol. I, p. 310, a passage from the *Tantra-Várttika* of Kumáрила-Bhaṭṭa, beginning with the word *Ándhra-Dráviḍa-bhāsháyám*; and, being puzzled by the singular locative termination, has remarked that the phrase is a "vague term by which the Tamil language is mentioned." Dr. Sten Konow in p. 277 of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV takes the phrase to describe "the language of the Ándhras (i. e., Telugu) and *Dráviḍas* (i. e.

Tamilians)." He remarks that *Andhra-Drāviḍa-bhāshā* was Kumārila's name for the "Dravidian family" of languages and translates the same word in page 284 by "the speech of the Āndhras and the Draviḍas" (shortening *drāviḍa* into *Draviḍas*, it is not known why). The singular suffix is explained by Dr. Konow as denoting "a difference of dialect, which is by no means certain," and, if true, he adds that the "Kanarese and Tamil would be included in the *drāviḍa-bhāshā*, as against Telugu, the *āndhrabhāshā*." All this is wasted ingenuity, for both in the printed text of the *Tantra-Vārttika* and in the MS. copy (in Telugu script) used by Dr. Ganganath Jha, the translator of the *Tantra-Vārttika*, the reading is *atha drāviḍādbhāshāyām*.

The whole passage as printed by Burnell, is full of errors and unauthorized alterations by a Tamil copyist; I therefore transcribe it below :-

*Tad-yathā, Drāviḍādi-bhāshāyām-eva tāvad-vyañjandnta-bhāshā-padeshu svarānta-vibhakti-
strī-pratyayādi-kalpandbhīḥ sva-bhāshānurūpān-arthān pratiparyamānāḥ drīṣyante. Tad-yathā,
odanam chor ity-ukte chora-pada-vāḥyam kalpayanti. Panthānam atar ity-ukte atara iii
kalpayitvā āhuh, "Satyam, dustaratvāt, atara eva panthā," iti. Tathā pāp-sābdam pakārāntam
sarpa-vachanam; akārāntam kalpayitvā, "Satyam, pāpa eva asau," iti vadanti. Evam māl-sābilam
strī-vachanam mālā iti kalpayitvā, "Satyam," iti āhuh. Vair-sābdam cha rephāntam udara-vacha-
nam vairi-sābdena pratyāmnūyam vadanti, "Satyam, sarvasya kshudhitasya akārye pravartantī
udaram vairi-kārye pravartate," iti. Tad-yadā Drāviḍādi-bhāshāyām idrīṣi svachchhandakalpanā
tadā Pārasī-Barbāra-Yavana-Raumakādi-bhāshāsu kim vikalpya kim pratipatsyante iti na vidmah.*

The passage occurs in Kumārila's discussion of *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* I. iii. 9 *choditam tu prakīyeta avirodhāt pramāṇena*. This *sūtra* ordains that words borrowed from *mlechchha* languages and used in the Veda, ought to be understood in the sense they have in the *mlechchha* languages and not to be ascribed new meanings based on the *Nirukta*. Sabara gives four such words in illustration, *pika*, cuckoo; *nema*, half; *tāmarasa*, lotus and *sata*, a hundred-holed, round, wooden bowl—these words, having been borrowed, according to *Mīmāṃsā* tradition, by the Vedic Rishis from *mlechchha* tongues. Discussing this question further, Kumārila uses the opportunity for airing his knowledge of five words from the *Mlechchha* tongue, Tamil, which he, no doubt, had casually picked up from some Tamil man. So he says that when the Aryas hear *mlechchha* words, they add to or drop from them some sounds and make them resemble Sanskrit words, though not necessarily of the same import. "Thus in the Drāviḍa, etc., language, where words end in a consonant, (the Aryas) add a vowel, a case inflection, or a feminine suffix and make them resemble significant words of their own language. Thus when food is called *chor*, they turn it into *chora*; when a road is called *atar*, they turn it into *atara* and say, 'true, a road is *atara*, because it is *dustara*, difficult to cross'. Thus they add *a* to the word *pā* ending in *p* and meaning a snake, and say, 'true, it is a sinful being.' They turn the word *māl* meaning a woman into *mālā*, and say, it is so.' They substitute the word *vairi* in place of the word *vair*, ending in *r* and meaning stomach, and say, 'yes, as all hungry people do wrong deeds, the stomach undertakes to do wrong (*vairi*) actions.' When such changes are freely made in the Drāviḍa, etc., language, what changes can be made in Persian Barbara, Greek, Latin and other languages, and what words can be got thereby, I do not know."

It is to be noted that Kumārila misquotes four of the five Tamil words he gives. Three out of the five do not in Tamil end in a consonant, but in *u*, and Kumārila clips the final short vowel as North Indians do in speaking Sanskrit words and imagines his mutilated form to be the Tamil form. Besides he drops the nasal of the word for snake, perhaps for fitting the word to the point to be illustrated. The Tamil words are *choru* more properly *śoru*, *pāmbu*, *vayiru*, the final vowel in each case being *u* made with the lips unrounded. By the word *Māl*, said to mean woman, Kumārila perhaps means Tamil *ammāl*, woman. Perhaps he heard women called *Sitammāl*, *Mangammāl*, etc., and broke them up into *Sitā+māl*, *Mangā+māl* and thus arrived at the word *māl*. The only word Kumārila quotes correctly is *atar*, more properly, *adar*, a word not now used in Tamil speech, so far as I know, except perhaps in some dialect unknown to me. From a Tamil dictionary, I learn, it means 'way,' and *adarāḥ* means highway robbery. It is curious that the only word Kumārila gives in a correct form is an obsolete word.

The misreadings of Burnell's copy are also interesting. The copyist was, no doubt, a Tamil man for, not knowing the word *atar*, he boldly substituted *naḍai*, and has thus turned the remark about *atara* into nonsense; and not being able to trace Kumārila's *māl*, he changed it into *āl*, a man.

I am not able to explain the *dūt* in Kumārila's *Drāviḍādi-bhāshā*. Probably it is an expletive meaning nothing.

THE REAL AUTHOR OF JAYAMANGALA, A COMMENTARY ON
VATSYAYANA'S KAMASUTRA.

BY PANDIT CHANDEADHAR GULERI, B. A.; AJMER.

In Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍita Durgā Prasādaḥ's edition, Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* is accompanied by a commentary named *Jayamaṅgalā*, therein ascribed to one Yaśodhara. At the end of every *adhyāya*, the colophon is as under—

इति श्रीवात्स्यायनीयकामसूत्रटीकायां जयमङ्गलाभिधानायां ।
विद्ग्धाङ्गनाविरहकातरेण शुरुत्तेन्द्रपादाभिधानेन यशोधरेणैकत्रकृतसूत्रभाष्यायां ।
— — — अधिकरणे — — — अध्यायः ॥

To me it appears clear from the above that the commentary, named *Jayamaṅgalā*, was not the work of Yaśodhara, who occupied himself, during his separation from a cultured lady, in writing out the *bhāshya*, immediately after its corresponding text. The commentary existed before him, but was separate from the text of the *Sūtras*. Yaśodhara whiled away the days of his separation by putting the text and the commentary together. For this labour he has been amply rewarded, by being called the author of the old commentary for hundreds of years !

To the second edition of *Kāmasūtra*, Paṇḍit Durgāprasādaḥ's son has added an appendix containing the commentary on the last book which in the former edition was without it. This part of the commentary is printed from a Vizianagaram manuscript, and its colophon is—

इति सप्तमेऽधिकरणे द्वितीयोऽध्यायः । आदितः षट्त्रिंशः । समाप्तं च कामसूत्रटीकायां जयमङ्गलाख्याया-
मौपनिषदिकं नाम सप्तमधिकरणम् ॥

Here we come across at least one manuscript of the commentary not tampered with by this worthy. From a close examination of the commentary one finds another interesting thing. This long colophon, giving the autobiographical details of the redactor, is found at the end of every *adhyāya*, but at the end of every *prakaraṇa*, there is another pithy colophon incorporated in the text. The text is doubly divided into *prakaraṇas* and *adhikaraṇas* as well as into *adhyāyas*. The text marks the end of *adhyāyas* and *adhikaraṇas* by a colophon which the redactor follows, while the original commentator seems to have marked the ends of *prakaraṇas* only. He did not think much of the division of the text into *adhyāyas* also, when it was already divided into *prakaraṇas* and *adhikaraṇas*, for he says—

तत्राध्यायसंख्यानं पूर्वशास्त्रेभ्य इदं स्तोत्रमिति दर्शनार्थम् । प्रकरणाधिकरणसंख्यानमन्यनिरपेक्षार्थम् । (p. 9)

In Paṇḍita Durgāprasādaḥ's edition, these pithy colophons are not given for the first four *adhyāyas*, which are the same as the first four *prakaraṇas*. At the end of the fifth *adhyāya*, which is also the end of the fifth *prakaraṇa* and first *adhikaraṇa*, the colophon नायकसहायदूतीविमर्शः पञ्चमं प्रकरणं पञ्चमश्चाध्यायः occurs in one MS. consulted and not in others; but after that these *prakaraṇa* endings regularly occur. From this I suppose that they were removed when a *prakaraṇa* and an *adhyāya* ended in the same place, to make room for the bigger and newer colophon but when the *prakaraṇa* endings did not coincide with the *adhyāya* endings they were allowed to stand.

I find further evidence of the fact that Yaśodhara was not the author of *Jayamaṅgalā* from a commentary of Kāmandaki's *Nītisāra*, published in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XIV. This is also named *Jayamaṅgalā*, but its author is Sankarārya.

The following is the first verse of the *Jayamaṅgalā* on Vātsyāyana—

वात्स्यायनीयं किल कामसूत्रं प्रस्तावितं कैश्चिद्दिहान्यथैव ।
तस्माद्दिधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां टीकामहं सर्वविदं प्रणम्य ॥

Compare this with the second verse of Sankarārya's *Jayamaṅgalā* on Kāmandaki—

कामन्दकीये किल नीतिशास्त्रे प्रायेण नास्मिन् सुगमाः पदार्थाः ।
तस्माद्दिधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां तत्पञ्चिकां सर्वविदं प्रणम्य ॥

Not only the names and the beginning verses, but the general styles of both the *Jayamaṅgalā*s are similar. Both discuss questions of grammar in the same way and explain, criticise or quote references in the same spirited fashion of ancient commentators. Here is one passage from both in which the words and phrases are almost the same—

Vātsyāyana :—

यथा षण्डक्यो नाम भोजः कामाङ्गाक्षणकन्यामभिमन्यमानः सबन्धुराष्टो विननाश.

Jayamaṅgalā :—

षण्डक्य इति संज्ञा । भोज इति भोजवशजः । अभिमन्यमानोऽभिगच्छन् । स हि मृगयां गतो भार्गवकन्यामाश्रमपदे दृष्ट्वा जातरागो रथमारोप्य जहार । ततो भार्गवः समित्कुशानादाथागत्य तामपश्यन्नभिधाय च यथावृत्तं राजानमभिशाप । ततोऽस्ती सबन्धुराष्टः पांसुवर्षैणावष्टब्धो ननाश । तत्स्थानमद्यापि षण्डकारण्यमिति गीयते । (p. 24)

Kāmandaki's *Nītisāra*—

षण्डक्यो रूपतिः कामात् etc.

Saṅkarārya's *Jayamaṅgalā*—

तत्र षण्डको नाम भोजवशमुख्यः । तन्निमित्तप्रसिद्धनामा षण्डक्यो नाम । स च मृगयां गतस्त्वृषितो भृग्वाश्रमं प्रविश्य तत्कन्यां रूपयौवनवतीमेकाकिर्नी दृष्ट्वा जातरागस्तं स्यन्दनमारोप्य स्वपुरमाजगाम । भृगुरपि समित्कुशादीनादाय वनादागत्य तामपश्यन्नभिधाय च यथावृत्तं ज्ञात्वा जातक्रोधस्तं शाप सप्तभिरहोभिः पांसुवृष्ट्या विपद्यतानिति । स तयाक्रान्तस्तथैव ननाश. (p. 20.)

Unless these be cases of unconscious similarity, I propose to conclude that Saṅkarārya commented on both the *Arīhasāstra* of Kāmandaki and the *Kāmasāstra* of Vātsyāyana. He named both his works *Jayamaṅgalā*, just as Mallinātha's commentaries on Kālidāsa are called *Saṅjīvanī*.

MISCELLANEA.

THE HARAPPA SEALS.

Out of the three Harappa seals, the facsimiles of which have been published by Dr. Fleet in the July issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1912 on the plate facing p. 700, I propose here a tentative reading of the seal marked B, viz.



The letters may be called "Later Indian Hieroglyphs." Distinctively pictorial traces linger here only in two cases: the fish-picture letters on the seals (A and C),¹ and the tree-like letter in the legend of the seal B. The characters, on the whole, are nearer the system of the old Brāhmī than their pictorial predecessors.

No reading could be offered with any definite amount of certainty until specimens of these characters are available in much larger numbers.



Adopting the Brāhmī order I propose a reading of the legend of the above (B) Seal as:

lo-ba-vya-dī

And reading it from right to left we get :

*Dī-vya-ba-lo*²



I take the first letter (in the latter order) to be derived from the picture of the *dhanu*, bow, and representing *da* or *dā*, the two bars standing for the *mātrā* *i* as attached to the *da*. The second figure I propose to read as *vya*,

 standing for *v*, and  for *ya*. The

original hieroglyph for *va* was probably a representation of the *vinā*, lute, and for *ya*, one of the *yonī*, as suggested by Cunningham.

The next symbol,  I think, represents *da*, (See legend) from which the Brāhmī  seems to have

come down. The original figure, it appears, reproduced some particular kind of tree. The last character may be read as *lo*, as Dr. Fleet has tentatively read the same character in the seal C.

The Brāhmī *la*  probably has its predecessor in the Harappa *la*. 

K. P. JAYASWAL.

¹ The figures on A and C have been conjectured to be either that of a deer or bull. The long tail and the hooves in C indicate that it is an attempt at representing the cow. The blurred portion between the hind legs in C probably represented the udder. There is a touch of domesticity in the little cover over the animal, like one seen up-country over the 'begging cows' of Jogis, and in the mark of a vessel below the mouth of the animal. There seems to be also a band round the neck.

² On the same principle I would read the legend of C. as :
Ta-pū-lo-mo-lo-go=tripura-mayuraka?

A FEW REMARKS ON PROFESSOR PATHAK'S
PAPER ON DANDIN, THE NYASAKARA AND
BHĀMAHA.

In his paper on "Dandin, the Nyāsakāra and Bhāmaha," *Ante*, Vol. XLI p. 232, Prof. K. B. Pathak has said: "Mr Narasimhachar quotes from this verse the words पाणिनीयस्य भूयोन्यासं शब्दावतारं and would have us believe that the second word न्यास in this verse is the name of Pūjyapāda's commentary on Pāṇini. This view is amply refuted by the Hebbur plates, which describe king Durvīṅita :

शब्दावतारकार-देव-भारतीनिव(ब)द्ध-बृहत्पथः *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XII., p. 17. 'He who was restricted to the path of eminence by the words of Deva [Devanandin], the author of the *Śabdāvatāra*.'

I do not think I have taken the word न्यास as the name of Pūjyapāda's commentary on Pāṇini. A reference to my paper¹ will clearly show that I have taken the word in the sense of a commentary on grammar.

With regard to the passage quoted from the Hebbur plates, it has to be mentioned that the interpretation put on it is no longer tenable, the passage making no manner of reference to either Devanandin or his *Śabdāvatāra*. In a set of copperplates,² recently discovered at Gummaredīpura, Srinivasapur Taluk, Kolar District, which is dated in the 40th year of king Durvīṅita's reign and may be assigned to the early part of the sixth century, the corresponding portion runs thus :

शब्दावतारकारेण देवभारती-निबद्ध-वड्कथेन किराता-
र्जुनीये पञ्चदशसर्गदीकाकारेण दुर्विनीतनामधेयेन.

This makes it quite plain that Durvīṅita was himself the author of a *Śabdāvatāra*, as also of a Sanskrit (*Devabhāratī*) version of the *Paiśācī Vaddakathā* or *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya and of a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of the *Kirātārjunīya*. We thus see that there is no ground at all for the supposed connection or contemporaneity of Devanandin or Pūjyapāda with Durvīṅita. The passage from the Hebbur plates, which are of a later date than the Gummaredīpura plates, can now be confidently corrected thus : शब्दावतारकारो देवभारती-निबद्ध-बृहत्कथः. That Durvīṅita was the author of a commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* had long been known, but

his authorship of the other two works is gathered for the first time from these new plates. It is of considerable interest to know that there came into existence, though unfortunately it has not come down to us, a Sanskrit version of the *Bṛhatkathā* as far back as the 6th century A. D. The versions now extant are those of Somadēva and Kshemendra, of the 11th century, and that of Budhasvāmī, styled *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṅgraha*, recently published in Paris by Prof. F. Lacote, who is of opinion that it was composed between the 8th and 9th centuries.³ Prof. Lacote also writes to me: "I believe Budhasvāmī's work is based on an older Sanskrit version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, for his version shows by the side of traits relatively modern traces very curious of archaism." This earlier version may in all probability be Durvīṅita's.

Further, as shown above, the *Śabdāvatāra* mentioned in the passage quoted from the Hebbur plates, is a work by Durvīṅita himself. It is true that Pūjyapāda's *Nyāsa* on Pāṇini is also named *Śabdāvatāra* in a Mysore inscription, dated A. D. 1530, which is quoted by Prof. Pathak, but this work must be quite different from its namesake referred to above. The latter, which has not likewise come down to us, may have been a *Nyāsa* on Pāṇini just like Pūjyapāda's; and it is just possible that Bhāmaha's reference is to this work, though, from the nature of the case, it is not possible to lay much stress on the point.

Prof. Pathak says : "Rakrilagomin was Reverend Rakrila, a Buddhist, and his son Bhāmaha was also a Buddhist." It is not clear on what evidence this assertion is based. If Bhāmaha were a Buddhist, we might reasonably expect some clue, however slight, to his religion in the illustrative stanzas, which, according to him, were composed by himself. On the contrary, we find in these stanzas references not only to the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* but also to the deities Śiva, Vishnu, Govinda, Pārvatī and so forth. Further, in the fifth chapter of his work, which deals with the logic of poetry, occurs the expression प्रत्यक्षं तत्त्ववृत्ति हि. I am not sure if a Buddhist would express such an opinion.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XLI, p. 90.

² See *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1912, paras 65-69.

³ See his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, p. 147.

As Bhāmaha criticises the division of उपमा into निन्दोपमा, प्रशंसोपमा and आचिख्यासोपमा, and as these are found in the *Kāvyaḍarśa* along with several other varieties, Prof. Pathak has come to the conclusion that Daṇḍī is anterior to Bhāmaha. He says further: "The justice of Bhāmaha's criticism will be at once admitted if we recollect that these numerous varieties are not recognised by Sanskrit writers on *Alaṅkāra*, who succeeded Bhāmaha. Nor can it be urged against this view, that Daṇḍī copied these thirty-three varieties from some previous author, since such a presumption is rebutted by the fact that Nṛipatuṅga has admitted most of these *upamās* into his *Kavirājamārga* II, 59-85." I venture to think that Daṇḍī could not have been the originator of the above-mentioned varieties of उपमा, nor can the fact that most of them have been adopted by Nṛipatuṅga, a later writer, prove that he was so. In the verse पूर्वशास्त्राणि संहृत्य ' Daṇḍī clearly admits his indebtedness to previous authors, and as a fact, we find some of his varieties, e. g., निन्दोपमा and प्रशंसोपमा in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁴ of Bharata.

I may remark in passing that the well-known line लिम्पतीव has now been traced to two of Bhāsa's dramas, namely, *Chārudatta* and *Bālacharita*, by Pandit Ganapati Sastri⁵ of Trivandrum.

It is gratifying to note that Prof. Pathak, following a different line of argument, has come to the same conclusion as myself with regard to the period of Daṇḍī, viz., the latter half of the 7th century.

R. NARASIMHACHAR.

SOME NOTES ON BUDDHISM.

AMONG the problems regarding the origin and history of Buddhism, the most interesting refer to the original language of Buddhism and to the prime original tradition upon which the various schools into which Buddhism was early divided have drawn. In the year 1909 a little work of the highest importance on the question of the formation of the Pāli canon was published by Professor Sylvain Levi (*Les Saintes Écritures du Bouddhisme*) which has been translated into English by me. Professor Herman Oldenberg has recently brought out *Studien Zur Geschichte des Buddhistischen Kanon* in which he fully recognises the value and indispensable importance

of the Chinese versions upon which Prof. Sylvain Levi has relied. Prof. Oldenberg brings out a few fresh points which will be studied with interest by the schools of Ceylon, Siam and Burma. He produces a number of parallels from the Pāli texts to the *Divyavadāna*. He shows that the Pāli school is mentioned by the *Divyavadāna*. He admits that the Pāli is not the original language of Buddhism and that the Pāli canon is translated from the Māgadhī. He examines carefully the Pischel fragment of the Sanskrit *Anguttara Nikāya*, and, with the help of the Chinese rendering furnished by Prof. Sylvain Levi, is enabled to correct the Pāli text; and interprets the whole differently from the construing of the passage by Pischel. Both the scholars emphasise the capital nature of the critical study of Prof. Anesaki on the four Buddhist *Agamas* in Chinese. Prof. Oldenberg devotes some pages to the literary history of the *Jātaka* and examines finally the history of the canon as constructed by Prof. Sylvain Levi. He is of opinion that the artists of the Bharhut and the Sanchi Topes were acquainted with a later version of the life of the Buddha than that preserved in the Pāli texts. He is of the same opinion as Prof. Lüders that the original language of Buddhism was the old Ardha-Māgadhī. A very interesting fact is the prohibition of image worship by the Buddha as hinted at by Prof. Oldenberg. It would be highly interesting to gather together from the oldest portions of the *Tipitaka* direct interdiction of idol worship.

Another contribution of high value from the same distinguished Professor at Göttingen is the *Studien Zum Mahāvastu* which explores the Sanskrit work and takes up the search for parallels, where it was left by Prof. M. Senart and Prof. Windisch. Though generally the Professor is enabled to prove the superiority of the Pāli texts, he himself is the first to bring into prominence such passages in Pāli as have been emended with the help of Sanskrit. A striking instance of the *Mahāvastu* supplying a gap in the Pāli text, as published both in London and Siam, is given at p. 131. Prof. Oldenberg gives ample instances where the Sanskrit text is more brief than Pāli, and asserts that these are so many exceptions which prove the rule. At times he himself is in doubt to decide which is the older,

⁴ *Kāvyaḍarśa* I. 2.

⁵ *Kāvyaśāstra* edition, XVI, 48-50.

⁶ See his edition of Bhāsa's *Swapnavasavadattam*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XV, Introduction, p. XXIII.

the Pāli or Sanskrit (p. 135). Here and there Prof. Oldenberg finds traces of the prime canon on which both the Pāli and the Sanskrit are based (p. 150). Prof. Oldenberg objects, in the light of Central Asian discoveries, to the assertion of Prof. Rhys Davids that the old *vinaya* had never been translated into Sanskrit.

In the *Journal Asiatique*, Sept. and Oct. 1912, Prof. Sylvain Levi gives an exhaustive study of the *apramāda-varga* and the Sanskrit *Dharmapada* discovered by the Pilliot mission. A very interesting fact deduced by Prof. Sylvain Levi from the Chinese authorities is that a portion of the *Dharmapada* was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by a fire-worshiper converted to Buddhism and that the *Mahāvastu* mentions the *Dharmapada*.

Perhaps of still greater value and interest is the Professor's dissertation on the pre-canonic language of Buddhism in the *Journal Asiatique*, Novem. and Decem. 1912. The conclusion of his most fascinating study seems to be that the Aśoka edict of Bairat mentions portions of the Buddhist scriptures in the language in which they were first given out, that is to say, the prime language of Buddhism. I hope to give a more detailed notice shortly of Prof. Sylvain Levi's studies, which, if accepted, must greatly modify our views of Ur-Buddhism and its language.

* * *

Theorie des douze causes by Prof. L. de la Valle Poussin is his further study of the Buddhist theory of the *pratītyasamutpāda*. The Professor uses, besides the Pāli canon, the Tibetan *Shatistambasūtra*, and Sanskrit works among them the invaluable *Abhidharmakośha* of Vasubandhu. Sanskritists interested in Buddhist philosophy will be glad to learn that the Belgian Academy will soon bring out the third *kośha* and that Prof. Sylvain Levi is engaged on the first dealing with *viññāna* and *śhaḍayatana*.

G. K. NARIMAN.

KĀRASKARA OR THE KĀTKARI TRIBE.

(Translated from Mr. V. K. Rajwade's *Marathi essay*.)

(1) Along with the words *Āraṭṭa*, *Paundra*, *Sauvira*, *Vaṅga*, *Kaliṅga* and *Prāntāna*, expressive of those countries and their peoples, the word *Kāraskara* also occurs in the 14th *sūtra* of the second *kaṇḍikā* in the first *adhyāya* of the first *praśna* of

the *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtras*. This same word *Kāraskara* is met with in the 44th Chapter of the *Karṇaparvam* of the *Mahābhārata*. In both these places, this word is used to denote a tribe of barbarians. *Baudhāyana* has prescribed an expiation for those who might have incurred the guilt of visiting the country of these people. Dr. Bühler thinks that they must have lived in the South. (*Vide*, note on p. 148, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIV). This ingenious suggestion, if accepted—and we for ourselves see no objection to it—enables us to throw a new and a better light upon the 156th *sūtra kāraskaravṛkṣhaḥ* occurring in the first *pāda* of the sixth Chapter of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The *Pāraskarādi* group also includes this word *Kārasakara*, which stands second there. There is, therefore, no doubt, that Pāṇini knew the term *Kāraskara*. Some people include it in the *Kāskadi* group, but this is not generally allowed. The expression *Sūtra Kāraskaro vṛkṣhaḥ* means a tree growing in the country called *Kāraskara* and itself having the same name. Pāṇini,¹ we thus clearly see, well knew two facts—(1) that *Kāraskara* was the name of a country and (2) that the trees from that country were also called *kāraskara*. Of course, if the suggestion that *Kāraskara* must be some southern country—lying to the South of the *Vindhya* mountains—be approved, then we may surely say that this southern country called *Kāraskara* was known to Pāṇini, who, moreover, knew that a very precious kind of timber was being imported from that country into Northern India, in his time.

(2) Now, *Baudhāyana* tells us that *Kāraskara* is the name of a barbarian tribe. Let us try to find out, who these people must have been and what must be the present corruption of their name. We think that these *Kāraskaras* of the time of Pāṇini and *Baudhāyana* are the present *Kātkaris* of *Mahārāshṭra*. The name *Kātkaris* can be derived thus:—

कारस्कर = कारचकर = काचकर = कातकर.

As at present, so in ancient times, these *Kātkaris* used to live in the *Mahākāntāra* to the south of the *Vindhyas* and the country which they occupied came to be called *Kāraskara* after them. The derivation of this word given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* is thoroughly untenable. Pāṇini thus must have known the *Kāraskara* country, the *Kāraskara* tree and possibly also the *Kāraskara* people.

K. C. M.

¹ The original essay is published in the *Report of the Bharat-Itihasa-Samśodhak-Mandal* Vol. III Part II.

THE VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA.

IN December 1912, I discovered at Vaḍner in the Chândor Tâlukâ of the Nâsik District a set of two copperplates. They contain a grant issued by Buddharâja, son of Saṅkaragaṇa, son of Kṛishnarâja of the Kaṭachchuri family of Central India, which appears to be an Imperial dynasty.

The characters belong to the southern variety of alphabet and resemble those of the Âbhôna¹ plates of Saṅkaragaṇa and the plates of Buddharâja found at Sarsavṇi², a village 4½ miles from Pâdrâ in the Baḥodâ State. These last bear the date, the 15th of the dark half of Kârtika of the year 361 of the Kalachuri era. The Vaḍner plates record an earlier grant, dated *Bhâdrapada suddha trayodasî* of the year 360 of the same era. The date does not admit of complete verification. Attention is invited to Dr. Kielhorn's remarks on the Sarsavṇi plates of Buddharâja. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 295). Diwân Bahâdur Pillai of Madras has kindly furnished me with three dates, *viz.* (1) A. D. 607, Friday, 11th August, (2) A. D. 608, Thursday 29th August, and (3) A. D. 609, Tuesday 19th August, one of which corresponds to that occurring in our grant. I am inclined to accept the third or the last date.

The Kalachuris³ are mentioned in the Miraj grant, the Nerûr plates (*Ante* Vol. VII, p. 161), the Sânkheḍâ plate of Sântilla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol II, p. 23), the Aihole⁴ and Mahâkûta⁵ or rather Makuṭesvara column inscriptions.

The last record states that Buddharâja was defeated by Maṅgaliṣa of the Chalukya dynasty, who took possession of all the wealth of the former. From this⁶ one is apt to suppose that

the power of the Kalachuris of Central India was crushed for ever. But the Sarsavṇi and the Vaḍner plates prove that Buddharâja must have made good his resources, and reclaimed at least the territory from Gujarât to the Deccan, which probably formed the integral part of the empire. The Vaḍner charter was issued at the request of Queen Anantamâhâyi by the illustrious Buddharâja while his camp was pitched at Vidiṣa. It was made for the purpose of defraying the cost of the five great sacrifices, *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihôtra* and others. The name of the *dûtaka* (messenger for the conveyance of the grant) is Prasahyavigraha,⁷ the great officer appointed over the army, and that of the writer is Nâphita⁸, the minister who had to look to the arrangement of peace and war.

The donee is Boḡasvâmin or Boḡasvâmin of the Vâjasaneyâ-Mâdhyandina school and of Kâśyapa gôtra, and a resident of Vaṭanagara, doubtless the modern Vaḍner in the Chândor tâlukâ. It was the headquarters of the *bhōga* of that name. *Vaḍa* is the Prâkrit form of *Vaṭa* and *nagara* is shortened into *nér*. We thus get Vaḍner. The village granted is said to be near Bhaṭṭaurikâ, which may very possibly be Bhâṭgaon about 9 miles from Vaḍner.⁹

As my paper on the Vaḍner plates will be published later on, it is needless to dilate on other points here. The above summary is given, as antiquarians are always naturally anxious to learn the salient facts mentioned in an ancient inscription newly brought to light.

It will be noted that the present grant is only the third known issued by the imperial Kalachuri family.

Y. B. GUPTE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

A PRIMER OF HINDUISM by J. W. FARQUHAR, Second Edition. Oxford University Press; London, Henry Frowde, 1912.

THIS is a remarkable book both on account of its contents and its authorship, for it has been written by the Literary Secretary of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations

in India and Ceylon, and it is a careful and competent historical account of that form of religion, which is known as Hinduism. The reader is taken successively through the prehistoric period, when primitive animism was first developed in the family, to the Vedic times and the rise of the priesthood and theology.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 to 300.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., pages 294 to 300.

³ Dr. Fleet has shown that the forms Kalatsûri, Kalachuri, Kaṭachchuri and Kâṭachchuri are identical and are applied to the same family (*Ante*. Vol. XIX, p. 16).

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 to 12.

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. XIX, pages 7 to 29.

⁶ The date of the Makuṭesvara column inscription is 13th April, 602 A. D. or thereabouts.

⁷ Prasahyavigraha is also the *dûtaka* of the Sarsavṇi grant.

⁸ Line 34.

⁹ *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 9.

Thence to the philosophic period and the formation of the religious doctrines, which laid the foundations of Hinduism as a distinct form of belief, with its offshoots of Buddhism and Jainism, and to the scholastic period, when the doctrine became defined in authoritative writings and manuals. The author then passes on the period of the deification of heroes, which has had so great an effect on the Hinduism of to-day and on its allied religions, and to the days of which he calls decadence, giving birth to the exclusive sectarianism from which India has never recovered, despite the efforts of the great general orthodox sects and of the unorthodox eclectic reformers that arose in mediæval times, with their doctrines of faith and pure deism. And finally he deals with the modern revival of Hinduism as a patriotic stand against the enormous influence of Western ideas on the populace since the advent of British rule and the Christian Missionaries.

All the vexed questions involved in such a survey are treated with historical fairness and wide knowledge and with true sympathy. The style is clear and brief. The reader is shown the history, religion and literature of each period, with illustrative readings and delightful representative texts, and there are also attached to each chapter a series of most careful tables, exhibiting in the briefest and clearest form possible such points as caste, orders of Brahmans, the growth of the Vedas, the chief schools and their *Brâhmanas*, Hindu chronological ideas, the *Upanishads*, *Śruti* or the Hindu Canon, the *Sūtras*, the Manuals of the Vedic Schools, the Buddhist *Tipitaka*, the chronology of the Incarnation, the systems of Hindu Philosophy, the Sectarial Literature, the Vaishnava, Śaiva, Kṛishnaite, and Bhāgavata Schools, and the mediæval reformers.

There are also useful chapters on the outline of the history of the Hindu family, Indian asceticism, modern Hinduism as a system, the animism of the outcaste classes, and the Hindu social organization.

To missionaries who would learn something of the religious ideas that dominate those amongst whom they work, and to all Europeans who would wish to understand, even dimly, the mental attitudes towards religion of those among whom they dwell or with whom they come in daily contact in India, this book is an invaluable *vade mecum*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

HISTORY OF AURANGZEB. Mainly based on Persian sources. By J. N. SARKAR: 2 vols. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta 1912. Rs. 3-8. 5s. net.

These two volumes comprise in reality the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, and their main value lies in the fact that they bring before

the student the first connected authentic account of these two reigns. Hitherto, all that has been available to the English enquirer of an authoritative nature, apart from Lane-Poole's monograph in the Rulers of India series, are the disconnected translations of Elliot from vernacular authors, which have the further disadvantage of being out of strict chronological order and very difficult to collate.

The book is well put together and the footnotes are of special value, as they not only give chapter and verse for the statements in the text, but provide an extensive bibliography which cannot but be of the greatest assistance to the student of this period of Indian history.

It is pleasant to observe that the author warmly acknowledges his indebtedness to the assistance afforded him by the late Mr. William Irvine, to whose unselfish generosity many other writers on Indian historical subjects have owed so much.

On the other hand, the unpleasant feature of the book is the absence of an index, for which the long list of contents does not compensate the student. One knows how much it goes against the grain of the true Oriental to concoct an accurate index, but when it comes to the author's turn to dive into as many volumes as the present writer has had to consult in the course of his historical studies, he will realize the supreme value of a competent index in saving time and labour.

R. C. TEMPLE.

GRANTHA-PRADARSANI (Nos. 34-39). Edited and published by S. P. V. RANGANATHASWAMI ARYAVARAGURU. Printed by G. R. KRISHNA MURTY, at the Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.

THE editor of this monthly is not unknown to the readers of this *Journal*. In the numbers referred to are published *Prākṛita-sarvasva* of Mārkaṇḍeya-kavindra and *Aphorisms of Jaina Prākṛit Grammar* of Trivikrama. No pains seem to have been spared in properly editing these works. Some of the works so far published in this monthly are Śriharsha's *Dvirūpa-kosha*, Agastya's *Śabda-saṅgraha*, Śaṅkara's *Saṅgyami-nāma-mālikā*, Appayya Dikshita's *Prākṛita-maṇi-dīpa*, Annarābhata's *Mitāksharā*, and *Divyastūtricharitam*. He also contemplates editing Mādhavāchārya's *Elākshara-ratna-mālā*, Mahādeva's *Upasarga-varga*, Sesha-Sri-Kṛishna's *Pada-chandrikā*, Kaṇāda-Nyāyabhāṣaṇa, and so on. There can thus be no doubt that Mr. Ranganathaswamin's one aim appears to be to publish rare and valuable Sanskrit works. And now that the old *Kāvya-mālā* is all but extinct, the value of his monthly can scarcely be overrated especially as it is being so well edited by him.

D. R. B.

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR E. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from p. 185.)

APPENDIX IV.

Extracts from various authorities relating to the
Tin Currency of the Malay Peninsula.

I.

Denys, A Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya, 1894.

S. v. Money. A great variety of small coins of brass, copper, tin and zinc are in circulation throughout all the (Dutch) Islands. The most frequent of these is the Dutch *doit*, of which about 300 ought to go to a Spanish dollar. The intrinsic value of all such coins, however, has no relation to their assumed one, and being usually over-issued, they are generally at a heavy discount.

The small coins of Kedah are of tin. They go under the name of *tru* (stamp, impression). Of these 160 are filed on a filament of rattan, of which 8 strings (*tali*), or 1280 coins, are considered equal to a hard dollar.

Chinese cash are often known as *pittis* by the Malays. This was the name of the ancient coins of Java, and is a frequent appellation for money in general, as well as for small change. Chinese coins of this description were found in the ruins of the ancient Singapore, of as early a time as the tenth century, and we have the authority of the first European that visited Borneo proper, the companion of Magellan, that they were the only money of that part of the Archipelago. 'The money,' says Pigafetta, 'which the Moors use in this country is of brass, with a hole for filing it. On one side only there are four characters, which represent the great king of China. They call it *picis*' (*Primo Viaggio*, p. 121).

The absence of all other current coins than such as are now mentioned, previous to the arrival of Europeans is testified to by the Portuguese historian (Barro), and this even in Malacca, the most considerable trading emporium in the Archipelago. The enterprising Albuquerque, before he quitted that place after its conquest proceeded to supply this deficiency . . . 'he ordered money to be coined, for in the country gold and silver passed only as merchandise, and during the reign of the king Muhammad there was no other coined money than that made from tin, which served only for the ordinary transactions of the market.' (*Decade*, II. Bk. 2, ch. 2).

II.

*Newbold, Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements
in the Straits of Malacca.*

2 vols. 1839.

Vol. II, p. 94. The following extracts from treaties made by the Dutch shew that they did not fail to profit by this opportunity of increasing the revenue of Malacca. Article I. of a treaty concluded by the Dutch Governor, West Boelan, in council with the Chiefs of Rumbow (Rembau) and Calang (Klang) dated Malacca, 24 January 1760:—"The tin being the produce of Lingee (Linggi), Rumbow and Calang, without any exception, will be delivered to the Company at 38 dollars a *bahara* of three *pikuls*, and this price will always continue without its being enhanced.

p. 96. The Dutch resumed their monopoly, as we find from the 7th article of a treaty, dated, Naning, 5 June 1819, between the Supreme Government of Netherlands India and Rajah Ali, the Panghulu and Ampat Suku, of Rumbow which ran thus:—Rajah Ali, the Panghulu

and Ampat Suku, of Rumbowe, must give up to the Government all the tin from Lingee, Sungie-Ujong, Rumbowe, and any place under their authority, without reservation. The Government binds itself to pay 40 Sp. dollars per *bhara* of 300 *kati* of 370 lbs." . . . On the resumption of Malacca by the English in 1825, the tin trade relapsed into the hands of private merchants.

p. 100. The tin assumes the shape of the ingots of commerce, of which there are two kinds, common in Sungei-Ujong, *tampang* and *képing* or *bangka*. The former weighs from half a *kati* to two *kati*, and the latter from 50 to 60 *kati*: one *kati* is equal to one pound and three quarters.

p. 103. According to Mr. Crawford (*Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 1820), the cost of producing a *cwt.* of *bangka*⁶³ tin is but £ 1-2-8, whereas the cost of producing the same quantity of Cornish tin amounts to £ 3-4-7. The cost of a *cwt.* of the metal in Sungei-Ujong is estimated by an intelligent native at £ 1-3-0.

III.

*J. R. A. S. Straits Branch, No. 10. 32 Nos., Singapore,
1878-99.*

p. 246. In a MS. collection of Dutch treaties prepared in Batavia under the orders of Sir Stamford Raffles, while he was Lieut.-Governor of Java the following engagement is to be found. It is dated 15 August 1650, Cornelis van der Lyn being then Governor-General. "Contract with the Chiefs of Perak, dependent on Acheen, stipulating that the exclusive tin trade granted to the Company by the Ratoe of Acheen will likewise embrace the State of Perak; that is to say, that the same will in future be restricted to the Dutch Company and the inhabitants of Acheen. Yang-de-per Tuan, Sultan of Perak, further promises in obedience to the order received from Acheen to direct all foreigners now trading at Perak to depart without delay with an interdiction against returning hereafter. The Company to pay the same duty as at Acheen for the tin it shall export, and the value of the tin coinage to remain as it is at present: *viz.*, 1 *bidor* for $\frac{1}{4}$ Sp. dollar, and 1 *bahara* of 3 *pikul* for 125 *bidor*⁶⁴ or 3 $1\frac{1}{4}$ Sp. dollars.

P. 247. c. 1651. The first named, Peirah (Perak), is situated on the Malay Coast and is subject to the Queen of Acheh (Acheen). The Establishment, which is under the control of an *onderkoopman* is maintained by the E. Maatschappy solely for the trade in tin, which is obtained for ready money or piece goods at the rate of 51 Rix-dollars the *bahara*.

p. 253. We are told, in an extract from a Malay Chronicle of Perak, that for a *bahara* of tin the Dutch could pay 32 *reals* (dollars); the duty was 2 *reals* besides.

p. 262. In a contract between the Dutch E. I. Company and the Sultan of Perak, dated 1765, the latter engages to sell all his tin exclusively to the Dutch "at the rate of c. 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ or Sp. dollars 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ per (*pikul* of) 125 lbs., or per *bahara* of 375 lbs. Sp. dollars 34."

p. 267. The tin of Perak is said to be delivered to the Dutch "at the rate of 32 Sp. dollars per *bahara* of 428 lbs." (1786).

p. 268. Maxwell says (1883) that the old Perak currency, lumps of tin weighing 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kati* each, called *bidor*, have altogether disappeared.

IV.

Marsden, History of Sumatra, ed. 1811.

p. 172. "Tin called *timah* is a very considerable article of trade . . . The mines are situated in the island of Bangka, lying near Palembang and are said to have been accidentally discovered there in 1710 by the burning of a house . . . It is exported for the most part in small pieces or cakes called *tampang*, and sometimes in slabs" (*képing*).

⁶³ *I. e.*, from the Island of Bangka near Palembang in Sumatra.

⁶⁴ Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade*, 1775, p. 87, says exactly the same thing: "The Pecul contains 100 Catty or 375 lbs. or 125 Bid" (*bidor*).

V.

Raffles, Java, 1830, Vol. II. Appendix.

(1). *p. li. footnote* The *pichis* is a small tin coin, of which 200 make a *wang*, and 28 *wang* are equal in value to a Sp. dollar.

(2). *p. clavi.* In the local currency of Java, 10 copper doits make one *wang* (a small silver coin) and 12 *wang* one rupee.

(3). *p. clavi.* The following table⁶⁵ shows the current value of the different coins circulating in Java :—

4	doits	make	1	stiver
10	„	„	1	dubbeltje
30	„	„	1	schelling
60	„	„	1	half rupee (Batavian, Surat or Arcot)
120	„	„	1	rupee (ditto)
240	„	„	1	American or Austrian dollar
[other variants] ⁶⁶				
63	doits	make	1	half sicca rupee (Bengal)
126	„	„	1	sicca rupee
132	„	„	1	half Sp. dollar
164	„	„	1	Sp. dollar
190	„	„	1	rix-dollar (of account)
312	„	„	1	old ducatoon
320	„	„	1	new ducatoon

From these tables can be deduced the following useful scales and inferences :—

(1).	200	pichis	make	1	wang
	28	wang	„	1	Sp. dollar

5600 pichis to the Sp. dollar ∴ the *pichis* here are Chinese cash.

Also 24 *wang* go to the dollar, making 4800 *pichis* to the dollar. The rix-dollar account) would run 4500 cash to the dollar.

(2).	10	doits	make	1	wang
	24	wang	„	1	dollar

240 doits to the dollar ∴ 2½ doit make 1 cent, and the doit is here the Dutch cash.

(3) General scale.

doits					
to the dollar	4	doits	make	1	stiver (cent)
	10	2½	stiver	„	1 dubbeltje (wang)
	30	3	dubbeltje	„	1 schelling
	60	2	schelling	„	1 half-rupee (suku)
	120	2	half rupees	„	1 rupee (jampal)
	240	2	rupees	„	1 dollar

240 doits to the dollar ∴ 2½ doit make 1 cent and the doit is here the Dutch cash.

⁶⁵ Selections only; differently stated from Raffles for clearness.

⁶⁶ Showing how easily the reports of observers of the old time can be misinterpreted.

VI.

*Thomas Bowrey, Malay Dictionary*⁶⁷, 1701.

10th Dialogue.

(1) Achee.

16	Miams	make	1	booncal
20	booncal	,,	1	cattaa
100	cattaa	,,	1	pecool
2	pecool ⁶⁸	,,	1	bahar Malayo

The *bahar* contains of English averdupoiz weight : 396 l. 11 oz. 14 gr. The *booncal* contains of troy weight : 1 oz. 8 dw. 23 gr.

The aforesaid is the Malayo weight, but they also use the China *dachin* or stilliard for great weights, which is accounted so :—

10	coonderin	make	1	mas
10	mas	,,	1	tial [<i>tahil</i> , tale]
16	tial	,,	1	cattaa
100	cattaa	,,	1	pecool
3	pecool	,,	1	bahar Malayo

The China pecool contains of English averdupoiz weight : 131 l. 13 oz. 12 dw. The *tial* contains of Troy weight : 1 oz. 4 dw. 1 gr.

(2) Bamjarmasseen.

The weights used to weigh gold and silver is accounted so :—

3	mataboorong ^{68a}	make	1	telae [tëra, tra : Chinese pron.]
6	telae	,,	1	mas
16	mas	,,	1	tial

The *tial* contains of Troy weight: 1 oz. 8 dw. Ten *mas* is accounted a dollar weight, but if the dollar wants 4 *telae* it is passable. One *mas* weight of gold is accounted the same value as a silver dollar; if so, 10 *mas* weight of gold, or one dollar weight of gold, is valued at ten silver dollars, but men may buy gold cheaper.⁶⁹ The dust-gold is near equal in fineness to English gold. For great weights they use the China stilliards.

(3) Succadana.

The weights used to weigh gold and silver is accounted so :—

3	mataboorong	make	1	telae
6	telae	,,	1	mas
16	mas	,,	1	tial

For great weights is used the China *dachin* or stilliard. The *tial* contains of Troy weight, 1 oz. 12 dw. 13 gr. The price of gold is 16 dollars a *tial*: its fineness is near as English gold.

(4) Passeer.

The weights used to weigh gold and silver are accounted so :—

3	mataboorung	make	1	telae
6	telae	,,	1	mas
16	mas	,,	1	tial

⁶⁷ A very rare and practically unknown book. Two copies in the British Museum.

⁶⁸ (?) Misprint for 3 *pecool*.

^{68a} *Mataburung*, bird's eye: *abrus* seed. Cf. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 1813, Vol. II., p. 415, where *mataboorong* becomes *malaboorong* and *telae* becomes *teea* (=tëta), which, when written by a Chinaman, represents *tëra*.

⁶⁹ This means that the ratio of gold to silver was in the latter part of the 17th century 10:1 or less. For ratio of gold to silver in the Far East at various periods see *ante*. vol. XXVI. p. 310.

The *tial* contains of Troy weight: 1 oz. 5 dw. 1 gr. The gold is in fineness near the English gold, and is valued at 16 dollars the *tial*. For great weights is used the *pecool* and *cattée*: 100 *cattée* = 1 *pecool*. The *pecool* contains of English averdupoiz weight 119 pounds.

(5) Extract from a Letter about Merchandize.

		(dollars	cents)
Black pepper: 25 <i>bahar</i> , each <i>bahar</i> 3 <i>pecool</i> , at 12 dollars the <i>bahar</i> ...	300		
White pepper: 15 <i>bahar</i> , at 22 dollars the <i>bahar</i> , is	330		
Dragon's blood: 5 <i>pecool</i> , at 45 dollars the <i>pecool</i> , is	225		
Bees-wax: 10 <i>pecool</i> , at 12 dollars the <i>pecool</i> , is	120		
Canes; 1000	29		48
Factorage of 1025 dollars, at 2 per cent	20		12
			1025 ⁷⁰

VII.

Chalmers, History of Currency in the British Colonies, 1893.

p. 332. For this settlement (Penang) the Company in 1787 and 1788 struck a silver coinage consisting of rupees, with half and quarter rupees and copper cents, half cents and quarter cents, . . . There were also 'pice' here usually of tin. For on 22nd March, 1809, a Government advertisement states that:—"whereas large quantities of spurious pice are now in circulation in this settlement and Government having ordered a new coinage of pice to the amount of 4,000 dollars, which with those that have been before coined at different times, by order of Government, will be sufficient for the purposes of general circulation. Notice is hereby given that on and after the first of next month no pice will be received into the treasury of this island, except such as have been coined by the order of the Government, as before mentioned, so that 100 of which pice shall not weigh less than 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ catties of pure tin.⁷¹

Though the (E. I.) Company had established the rupee as the standard coin in Penang, the trade relations of the settlement constrained the mercantile community to adopt as their standard, not the Indian coin, but the universal Spanish dollar, the coin familiar to the conservative races with whom they had commerce. Therefore from the earliest days of Penang, the dollar, not the rupee, was the recognised standard of value. Writing of this Island Kelly says in his *Universal Cambist* of 1825:—"Accounts are kept in Spanish dollars, copangs and pice, 10 pice make a copang and 10 copangs one Spanish dollar. The current pice are coined in the Island. They are pieces of tin, 16 of which weigh a catty or 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ lb. English. On the exchange of dollars into pice there is a loss of 2%.

p. 333. The Currency of the Straits Settlements is thus described in Low's *Disertation on Penang*, etc., in 1836:—"The dollar is the favourite coin in the Straits. It exchanges in the bazaars for a number varying from 100 up to 120 pice. At present it is pretty steady at 106.⁷² Indian rupees are also in circulation, but gold coins are hardly ever seen. There are also half dollars, and the divisions of the *sicca* [Government] rupee. A *sicca* rupee exchanges in the bazaar for 50 pice on an average" [*i. e.*, at par as a half dollar]. And similarly Newbold in his *Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, 1839*, (says) . . . "The most current copper coins are the cent, half and quarter cent, the doit, the *wang*, the *wang bhara* [*baharu*], and the Indian pice."

⁷⁰ The total is really 1024 dollars 60 cents including "factorage."

⁷¹ This gives the ratio of tin to silver as 5 $\frac{1}{2}$: 1. See next note.

⁷² The nominal local ratio of tin to silver was 10 $\frac{1}{2}$: 1 to 10: 1. The actual ratio as shown by comparative weighments of tin money and its silver equivalents (*ante*, p. 13) was 7 $\frac{1}{2}$: 1. The statements here show ratios of 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ and 5: 1; no doubt all due to local variations in the value of tin as stated in terms of silver money.

pp. 383-4. In 1835 the Company revised its currency legislation for the whole of its territories, which included the Straits Settlements, and made no exception in favour of the dollar-using colony when enforcing the establishment of the rupee as the standard coin, with pice as subsidiary circulation. The first concession which the Company made to the requirements of the Straits currency was in 1847, when by Act No. VI, of that year it was provided that the Indian Regulations shall not apply to copper currency of the Settlements of Penang, Singapore and Malacca . . . But this concession was withdrawn in 1855. The preamble of Act XVII of that year reads as follows:—Whereas the Company's rupee is by Act XVII of 1835 a legal tender in the Settlements of Prince of Wales Island (Penang), Singapore and Malacca, but no copper coin except the half-pice issued under Act XI of 1854 is now legal tender of fractions of a rupee in that Settlement . . . it was enacted as follows from the 1st July 1855 :—

A pie (cash) should be the legal			
tender in the Straits as	420	to the dollar	
A half-pice	280		
A pice ⁷³	140		
A double pice	70		

p. 383. (In 1863) Sir Hercules Robinson exposed the absurdities of the existing regulations :—All accounts throughout the Straits Settlements, except those of the Government, are kept in dollars and cents, but the smaller accounts are kept in the denomination of rupees, annas and pies, causing thereby much needless labour and confusion in the financial department.

p. 386. (On the transfer of the Colony from the Indian to the Imperial Government in 1867), the new local Legislation . . . under date 1st April 1867 passed the Legal Tender Act of 1867, repealing all laws for making Indian coin legal tender, and declaring that from 1st April “the dollar . . . shall be the only legal tender in payment or on account of any engagement whatever, except as hereinafter mentioned (*i. e.*, as to subsidiary silver coins) . . . The Act goes on to place limits of tender of . . . such copper or bronze coins as may be issued by Her Majesty's Mint or any branch thereof, representing the cent or one hundredth part, the half-cent or two hundredth part or the quarter-cent or four hundredth part of the dollar . . . Footnote. The rate at which the conversion of the old into the new currency was to be effected was 220 rupees per 100 dollars.

VIII.

Histoire de la navigation aux Indes Orientales par les Hollandois.

Par G. M. A. W. L. [Lodewijcksz Willen].

Amsterdam, 1609.⁷⁴ [Translated.]

[Book I. relates to the First Dutch Voyage, 1595-7] fol. 30b. The Chinese live only at Bantam . . . Those who live at Bantam are those who buy pepper of the villagers . . . storing it until the Chinese ships arrive, when they sell it at two sacks for a *catti*, that is, 100,000 *casas* [cash], for which they have bought eight sacks or more . . . Eight or ten of these ships come every year in January. . . . They bring the coin which has currency over all the Island of Java and the neighbouring Islands; it is called *cas* in the Malay language and *pitis* in Java. It is less than a *denier*,⁷⁵ and of very bad alloy, being cast in a mould. It is of lead mixed with the copper dross,⁷⁶ and therefore so fragile that when a string

⁷³ Ratio of tin to silver 4½ : 1.

⁷⁴ These extracts contain the first report of the currency in the Malay Archipelago made to the Dutch. The French in which the account is written is quaint and difficult.

⁷⁵ At that time 240 *denier* went to the *livre* (quarter dollar)=960 to the dollar.

⁷⁶ The text has : “ de plomb meslé d'esoume de cuivre ” [? zinc].

of them is dropped, eight, ten, twelve, or more are broken. Also if they are soaked for a single night in salt water, they stick together so firmly that half of them are broken.

This coin is cast in a mould in China, at the town of Chincheu,⁷⁷ situated in twenty-five degrees North Latitude, and they first began to take it there in 1590, at which date it was first cast in a mould by order of King Hammion, the present ruler, because the King, who was his predecessor, named Wontai, seeing that the *caxas* which had been made for the preceding twenty years by King Hoyjen had, to a large extent, filled the islands;⁷⁸ for they have no currency in China, where everything is bought and sold by little pieces of silver which they weigh by the *conduri* [candareen]. These are little red beans (*fasiols*), having a black spot on one side, called in Latin *abrus*.

Fol. 31a. The Chinese merchants bringing them [cash] from China in such a great quantity and being able to pass them, invented this nasty little coin,⁷⁹ in order that by the use and handling thereof, they might break them and use them up. Considering this, that King had them made of an even worse quality, and strung them by a square hole in the middle, 200 together. This they call a *satac* and they are of the value of 3 *liards* of our money. Five *satac* fastened together make 1000 *caxas* which they call *sapccou*: 12,000-13,000 *caxas* are bought for a *real* of 8 [dollar].⁸⁰ Few of the first *caxas* are found because they are nearly all used up, and in Java they are no longer current. When they were first introduced, six sacks of pepper were bought for 10,000, where now, on the arrival of the Chinese, they buy only two or occasionally 2½ sacks for 100,000 *caxas* of the present currency . . .

Now, because we have spoken of the weight *conduri*, it should be noted that a large number of *reils* of 8 [dollars] are taken to China, which will not pass because no coin is current there. But they cut them into little pieces, weighed by the above mentioned *conduri*, ten of which make a [gold] *mas*, and 10 *mas* make a *tayel*, which is as much as 12 ordinary *reals* [of silver].⁸¹

IX.

Anonymous: Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company. Translated into English [really paraphrased and extended from several authorities of all dates]. London, 1703.

p. 137. Waiting for the payment of pieces of eight for *caxias*, which the Dutch had, bought of them. These *caxias* are a kind of money of worse alloy than lead, of which they string 200 together and call⁸² it *una sauta de caxias* and *caxas*.

⁷⁷ ? Cachao in Tonquin. See Crawford, *Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, 1828, p. 517.

⁷⁸ This information and "history" is of course only what the Dutch were told locally.

⁷⁹ Cf. Crawford, *Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, 1828 p. 243. "(At Hué) he brought . . . 30 *quans* in money. About 15 Sp. dollars in a miserable coin composed of zinc."

⁸⁰ Malay, *sa-takok*, a knot on a string: *sa-pèku*, *sa-paku*, a string of cash: Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *sapèque*: Crawford, *Malay-Dict.*, s. v. *paku* (=Cantonese *pak*, a string of cash). *Liard* was an old French copper coin, worth apparently about an English penny on the above statement.

5	<i>sa-takok</i>	=	1	<i>sa-pèku</i>
c. 12½	<i>sa-pèku</i>	=	1	dollar ∴ 1 <i>sa-pèku</i> = 8 cents
3	<i>liard</i>	=	5	<i>sa-takok</i> ∴ 1 <i>liard</i> = 1½
1	cent	=	½	penny ∴ 1 <i>liard</i> = ½

The close connection of this scale with the sub-divisions of the tin ingot currency of the Malay Peninsula will have become by now clear to the reader.

⁸¹ All this is copied by Mandelslo without acknowledgment in the fashion of his time in *Voyages and Travels to the E. Indies*, 1630-40, in Davies' trans. 1669, pp. 117ff. It is also used in a *Collection of Voyages of the Dutch E. I. Co.*, 1703, pp. 198 f.

⁸² I. e., the Portuguese so call it. *Una sauta de caxias* come from Portuguese information and would mean a "string" (*sa-utas*, one string or file) of cash. In the work quoted *sauta* is misprinted *santa* and *sapccou* (*sa-pèku*) is misprinted *sapoon*.

p. 169. Though 140,000 *casas*, which is six score pièces of eight, were offered to make him [a Dutchman] prisoner and deliver him to the Portuguese: [1166½ to the dollar].

p. 233. The small *casas* are not current money in Bali, but only the great ones, 6,000 of which are worth a piece of eight.

X.

John Crawfurd. Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China, 1828.

p. 517. The proper coined money of Tonquin and Cochin China is called a *sapek* or *sapeque*, and formerly consisted of brass, but at present of zinc. It is about the size of an English shilling, bears the King's name in the Chinese character and has a square hole in the middle for the convenience of being strung, 60 *sapeks* make a *mas*, and 10 *mas* one *kwan* or *quan* [dollar] as it is more usually written. The two last are moneys of account: 600 *sapeks*, which make a *kwan*, are commonly strung upon a filament of ratan and in this manner kept for use, forming a bulky and most inconvenient currency. Ingots of gold and silver, stamped by the Government are current in the Country, although not considered coin . . . the zinc coin, as well as the gold and silver ingots are struck at Cachao, the capital of Tongking. The punishment of death is inflicted for forging the former. The Sp. dollar is current in Cochin China and valued at one *quan* and a half by the Government. The *kwan* of account according to the statement now given ought to be worth 55 cents or something more than half a Sp. dollar, but its price fluctuates with the plenty or scarcity of silver, as may naturally be expected. The price paid by the King for the metal, from which the *zinc currency* is struck, is only 12 *quans* the *picul*: so that of course it *passes for infinitely more than its intrinsic value*, and is therefore an object of considerable revenue.⁸³

XI.

Bowring: Kingdom and People of Siam in 1855-1857.

Vol. II., p. 34. [Cambodia—The King sent us] 30 *chu-chu*. This is the currency of the country and a very inconvenient one it is. The only coin current in Cambodia besides . . . is the *petis*. This is made of an alloy of zinc and tin, very thin, and so brittle as to be easily broken between the fingers. It has Chinese characters on one side and a square hole in the middle, for the purpose of being strung on a cord like Chinese cash. The coin itself is Cochin-Chinese, but is current over a great extent of country, including Cochin-China, Tongking, Laos, Champa and Combodia. . . .

60 petis	make	1 tean
10 tean	„	1 chuchu ⁸⁴
7 chuchu	„	1 Sp. dollar

4200 petis to the dollar.

Ten *chuchu* are generally tied together in a bundle for convenience of carriage: the weight of the bundle is enormous, four of them weighing a *picul*. We received from the King 3 bundles—their equivalent value being equal in Straits money to the magnificent sum of 4 dollars and 28 cents or thereabouts. It certainly looked a great deal, and was just about as much as a man could carry.

(To be continued.)

⁸³ This gives a scale 60 sapek = 1 mas
10 mas = 1 kwan

600 sapek (cash) to the kwan.

Government reckoning, 400 cash to the dollar: actual relative value, 1200 cash to the dollar.

⁸⁴ This exactly tallies with Cochin-China scale reported by Crawfurd, *supra*. No. X. *Chuchok*, Malay, string, file [of pierced cash].

KING CHANDRA OF THE MEHARAUJI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

BY M. M. HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, M. A., C. I. E.; CALCUTTA.

THE Mehārauli posthumous iron pillar inscription gives the following historical information :—

Chandra, an independent ruler conquered Bengal, crossed the seven tributaries of the Indus, and brought Balkh within his sway. The southern boundaries of his dominions were washed by the waves of the southern seas. He was a worshipper of Vishnu and he erected a flag-staff in honour of that deity.

The inscription gives no information about his capital, his parentage and his time, but as the characters in which it is incised belong to the early Gupta variety of Indian alphabet, he may have flourished in the first century of the Gupta era.

The inscription does not give his surname. Any surname may be given to him. Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu gave him the surname Varman, and Mr. Vincent Smith, the surname Gupta. Mr. Vasu's paper appeared in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1895, pages 177 to 180, and Mr. Smith's in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1897, pages 1 to 18. Mr. Vasu bases his theory on the Susuniā inscription of Chandravarman which he read from an imperfect impression as follows :—

Pushkarāmbudhipater Mahārāja-Śrī-Siddhavarmanah putrasya Mahārāja-Śrī-Chandravarmanah kritih. Chakrasvaminah Dāsāgreṇātisṛiṣṭah.

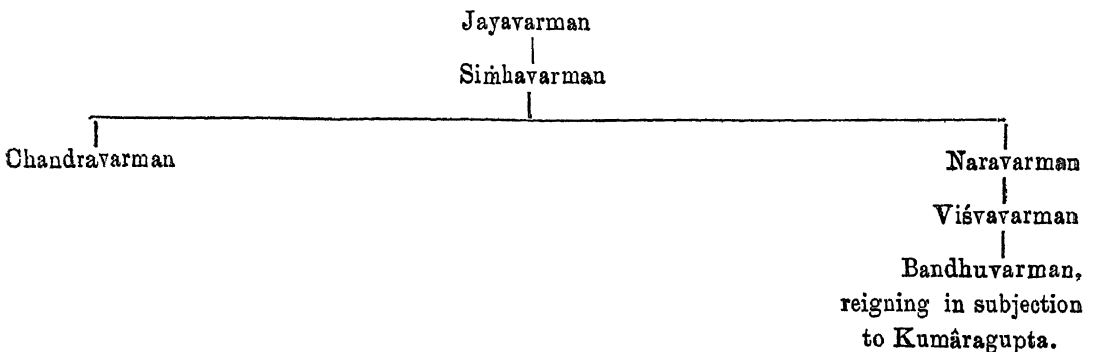
Mr. Smith bases his theory on the fact that at that period there was no great king who could conquer Bengal and Balkh at the same time, and on the fact that the inscription belongs to the north eastern variety of Gupta character. Mr. Vasu says that this Chandravarman is identical with the Chandravarman who was defeated along with other potentates of Āryāvarta by Samudragupta. Mr. Smith says that that may be true, but he cannot be the Chandra of the Iron Pillar, as he is simply styled *mahārājā* which means a subordinate position. Mr. Vasu says if this Chandra could conquer Bengal from the Pushkara Lake, how can he be a small king? Mr. Smith replies that Pushkarāmbudhi must be some place in Bengal or Assam, and not the Pushkara Lake.

I believe, I have stated the position of the two scholars on this point as far as a third person can do. But some facts have since then come to light which have strengthened the position of Mr. Vasu.

Mr. R. D. Banerji very kindly sent me a good impression of the Susuniā inscription. This impression improves the reading given by Mr. Vasu in one point at least. What he reads *Pushkarāmbudhipateh* is really *Pushkaraṇḍīhipateh*. This makes a good deal of difference in its historical bearing. *Pushkarāmbudhi* may or may not be the Pushkara Lake near Ajmer. It may appear to matter-of-fact people absurd to call that small sheet of water, 7 miles from Ajmer, an *ambudhi*, but Sanskrit poets are capable of such exaggeration. The latter part of the compound word may lead men to think of the sea, which is close to Bengal though not to Assam. But all these speculations have been set at rest by the new reading. Pushkaraṇa is a city which still exists. It is the second city in the Jodhpur State, and now stands on the border of the great sandy desert.¹ In the map given by Mr. Smith in his history of the conquest of Samudragupta, vast tracts of the country round Pushkaraṇa have been left outside these conquests. So even he admits that there were independent kings in this part of India which Samudragupta did not or could not conquer. There is nothing to prevent the supposition that Chandravarman king of Pushkaraṇa conquered or raided the greater portion of Āryāvarta and even Balkh but that Samudragupta sent him away from Āryāvarta, but could not conquer his home provinces in Western India; and I believe this is the right supposition.

¹ Its antiquity is vouched by the fact that an influential body of Brāhmins in Western India go by the name of the city.

Another fact has also come to light which confirms Mr. Vasu's theory. Babu Jaya Sankar, Vakil, Mandasor, has some property close to the city. While he was cultivating one of the fields, his men turned up a stone which contained an inscription. It was immediately taken possession of and kept in the house of the Subbah of the Province. In October last I saw the stone and read it. But as my stay there was short, I was not quite satisfied with my reading. Babu Jaya Sankar very kindly gave me two impressions which he had taken on very thin paper. But as I wanted to be quite sure, I applied to Dr. Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India, and at his instance Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has sent me an excellent impression. This stone contains only half the inscription. It breaks up in the middle of a sentence. But the portion that remains gives us a good deal of historical information. It was incised in the year 461 of the Málava era, that is, 404 A. D., and it gives us a line of kings in Western India, *viz.* Jayavarman, his son Simhavarman, and his son Naravarman, who was reigning in 404 A. D. Now, this Naravarman is known to us from the Gaᅅgdhâr inscription, dated 426 A. D., of Viśvavarman, who was his son. Referring to the new impression of the Susuniâ inscription given to me by Mr. R. D. Banerji, I find that what Mr. Vasu read Siddhavarman is really Simhavarman, written exactly in the same way as the Simhavarman in the inscription discovered by Mr. Jaya Sankar. In the Susuniâ inscription then, Simhavarman is the father of Chandravarman, and in the Mandasor inscription of 404 A. D. he is the father of Naravarman. May not Chandravarman and Naravarman be brothers? They both hail from western India, they both have the surname Varman, and the name of their father is also the same. They also come near to each other in time,—Naravarman in 404 A. D. and Chandravarman in Samudragupta's time, which Mr. Smith puts down from 345-380. But as his successor's earliest inscription is dated in Gupta Saᅅvat 82, that is, 401 A. D., his reign may have come down to a few years later than 380 A. D. Mr. Smith is wrong, I believe, in including Mandasor in the map of Samudragupta's conquests. For Naravarman and his son Viśvavarman do not seem to have acknowledged any obligation to the Guptas. The only inscription from Western Malwa in which a Gupta name appears is that of Bandhuvarman (436 A. D.), son of Viśvavarman, in which Kumâragupta's name is given first and then that of Bandhuvarman, who is again extolled for his many good qualities, showing that the subjection was not very hard. The line of Varman kings of Pushkarana would then run thus—



It may be urged that the title of all these monarchs, namely *mahârâja* shows a subordinate position. But is it a fact that *mahârâja* always meant a subordinate position? To whom would Mahârâja Jayavarman be a subordinate? Naravarman's grandfather must have lived in 350 A. D. or thereabout. There was no big empire at that time in India, and, by the showing of Mr. Vincent Smith's map, Pokarna was never included in Samudragupta's conquests, and yet Simhavarman of Pokarna is styled a *mahârâja*.

Mr. Vincent Smith may say that as it is not probable that a Mahârâjâ of Pokarṇa should invade distant Bengal, there must have been some Pushkara or Pushkaraṇa in Bengal or Assam. But then the burden of proving lies on him. Pushkaraṇa is a well-known place. The Susuniâ inscription agrees in character with the Mandasor inscription of A. D. 404. The compound letter *m* and *h* are exactly alike in both. They are records within a few decades of each other. So unless the contrary is clearly shown, people have a right to believe that a Mahârâjâ of Pokarṇa did invade Bengal. It may be argued that while Chandragupta I. and Samudragupta were powerful monarchs and were extending their dominions on all sides from the capital at Pâṭaliputra: how could a king, however powerful, of Pokarṇa, conquer Bengal? But the Susuniâ inscription says that Chandravarman of Pokarṇa did conquer that part of the country and erect the wheel there; so in spite of Chandragupta and Samudragupta he did come there and conquer.

This may be possible only if it is considered that Chandravarman came to Bengal before the victorious career of Samudragupta began. In fact, Samudragupta, in establishing his dominions in Âryāvarta, had to conquer Chandravarman. In ancient India and even in modern India powerful kings often had dominions distant from their home provinces. Duryodhana had Aṅga as one of his provinces, though in the intermediate space there were other independent sovereigns. The feudatory states of the present day often have possessions detached from their main possession. Shivaji had Tanjore far away from Poona. Similarly Chandravarman might have possessions in Bengal.

It is much easier to believe that a Mahârâjâ of Pokarṇa would invade or lead an army to Balkh than to think that a Mahârâjâ of Pâṭaliputra would invade that country. The distance between Pâṭaliputra and Balkh is certainly much greater than the distance between Pokarṇa and Balkh or Pokarṇa and Bengal.²

The argument from palæography, though very powerful when centuries are concerned, is of very little force for shorter periods. That the iron pillar inscription is written in eastern variety of Gupta character does not show that the inscription necessarily belongs to a Gupta emperor. The man who inscribed the inscription may have known only the eastern variety of character. The last argument of Mr. Vincent Smith is now given in his own words:—

“When to all these arguments is added this, that it is impossible to indicate any other sovereign of the period to whom the language could be applied the conclusion is inevitable that the Chandra who set up the iron pillar was beyond doubt Chandragupta II.”

The inevitable conclusion depends upon one assumption that it is impossible to indicate any other sovereign. But, with Simhavarman close by at Pokarṇa, having complete mastery of western India including western and even central Malwa, where is the impossibility of indicating another sovereign?

Mr. Smith admits that the wording of the iron pillar inscription departs widely from the ordinary formula of the Gupta inscriptions, and yet he is convinced that the mysterious emperor can be no other than Chandragupta II. But others are not so convinced, and the probability of the mysterious emperor being Chandravarman is now all the greater for the new reading of Pushkaraṇa for Puskara in the Susuniâ record and the discovery of the new Mandasor inscription of 404 A. D.

² The Sisuniâ inscription has the figure of a wheel before it. The wheel is pretty large and is complete with spokes, nave and rim. The inscription is meant to record the dedication of the wheel to Vishnu. The iron pillar inscription records the dedication of a flagstaff to Vishnu. Both these are likely to be the work of one devoted follower of Vishnu. This is another argument in favour of the Chandra of iron-pillar being Chandra Varma. Because the wheel and flagstaff are both sacred to Vishnu and one who erects a wheel is likely to erect a flagstaff also. I think the same donor dedicated other signs also sacred to Vishnu and some of them may yet be discovered.

MUKTAGIRI.¹

BY HIRA LAL, B. A.; NAGPUR.

MUKTAGIRI or Salvation Hill is what is called a *siddha-kshetra* of Jainas, whence $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores (35 millions) of Jaina devotees are said to have obtained *nirvāṇa* or salvation. Its old name is said to have been Meḍhagiri or Sheep Hill, because a sheep happened to fall from its top, but attained salvation owing to the sanctity of the place. It is referred to as Meḍhigiri in the Jaina book *Nirvāṇa-bhakti*, in which the following *gāthā* occurs :—

*Achchalapura vara niyāde
isānai bhāya Meḍhigiri sikhare
Akhūḥīhaya koḍio nirvāṇa.
gayā namo tesin.*

“To the north-east of Achchalapura lies Meḍhigiri Hill (whence) $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores² attained *nirvāṇa*. I bow down to it.”

Achchalpura is the old name of Ellichpur, to the north-east of which lies Muktagiri, at a distance of about six miles. It is included in the Betāl district of the Central Provinces and is fifty-seven miles from Badnūr, the head-quarters of the district. The hill is included within the village of Thaporā, and is about a mile away from the *basti*. It is reached by a country road, passing between two mountains rising high on either side, and presenting a most picturesque view to the passer by. These two hills, which are parts of the Satpuḍā range, meet at the point which was selected by the Jainas as their sacred place, where as many as 48⁴ temples have been constructed, containing 85 idols of the various Tirthaṅkaras, the principal one being Pārśvanātha. Below the hill there is a new temple built in which twenty-five idols are enshrined, some being new and others being those of old temples on the hill, now brought down below. The dates on these range from 1488 to 1893 A. D. The hill has two principal groups of temples, one at the highest point, containing four temples, which enshrine only the twenty-four pairs of *charanas*, or footmarks of the Tirthaṅkaras or Jaina incarnations. As a matter of fact, however, there are 26 pairs instead of 24. The main group of temples is at the middle of the hill, and has a temple cut out from the rock. It is not exactly in the cave style, the roof being ornamented with artificial arches. The central and the largest temple is that of Pārśvanātha with a golden pinnacle on its top. The image inside is canopied with seven snake-hoods, one of which, the local tradition goes, was broken with a stick by Aurangzeb, whereupon a stream of blood shot forth, which restrained the iconoclast from making further injuries to the idol. It is believed that until recently the blood mark was visible on the broken hood, but somehow or other it has now disappeared. The temple was apparently roofed, but a brick dome, as in almost all other temples, has been erected over it, fully on the Muhammadan style. To the west of this temple there are three temples made of stone. One has a small portico supported on four pillars, two of which belong to an old temple, which seems to have fallen down. The carvings on these pillars are beautifully executed, especially the one which occupies the south-west corner. It is ornamented with *kīrtimukhas* and with carvings of bells suspended with chains, as also Jinas in standing and sitting postures. Inside the temple, of which this forms the portico, there are broken pieces of pillars and *śikhara*, which indicate the existence of an older temple here.

On a still higher level to the west of this temple is another old temple, which has an underground terrace. This is rather in a decayed state, and has had to be supported by

¹ Visited on 18-3-10.

² The word is *koḍi*, which is taken as a corruption of *koṭi*; but the more reasonable version would be to take it in its ordinary sense of a score. It is very possible that 70 saints obtained *nirvāṇa* from this hill.

buttresses in several places. At the entrance on the top there is an exquisite carved image of a Jaina Tīrthānkara. Thus there are really 5 old temples, which may claim to have been built during mediæval Brahmanic period, or prior to the 13th century A. D.

Most of the images placed in this group of temples are made of black or white marble, but there are others made of ordinary red stone. Most of the marble stones are dated, and go as far back as 1488 A. D. They are much finer in sculpture than the red ones, which are locally believed to be older than the marble ones. It is very possible that the red ones are older and were made by local sculptors, who apparently were rude workers.

Besides the temples, there are spacious *dharmasālās*, or rest-houses for the pilgrims, and there are also underground temples, where everything is pitch dark without a lamp. Some of these underground places are said to have been covered up as being dangerous. Formerly the temples were not carefully looked after and they had decayed, but now the Jaina community is taking active interest in their conservation, and duly repairs and whitewashes them. This work was first commenced in the year 1890 by Bāpū Shāh of Ellichpur, who spent about Rs. 22,000 in doing *jīrṇoddhāra* or repairs, and enshrining new images where they were missing. Now each temple contains three or four or even a larger number of images. On one temple there is a stone inscription dated Saṃvat 1691 and Śaka 1556, or 1634 A. D., recording the names of the builder with his family. Another stone has now been inserted giving the repairer's name as Sitābāt of Amraoti. A regular staff of temple servants is now engaged to look after the temples, whose picturesqueness is well described by a party of visitors, in the Visitors' Book kept by the manager. This may well be quoted here. "This charming place, due to the charity and munificence of the Jaina community, so full of beauty and interest, perched in such commanding surroundings, wrought upon us all a sort of spell. One would well believe that the green moss-grown water-fall was fashioned, as we were told by our guide, by the fairies. The images of the gods, their expressive countenances, mysterious and brooding, with foreheads that seem to hide within themselves great thoughts, withdrawn and unspeakable, the courtyards, the temples and all their beauty, brought great enjoyment to our party³."

The Jainas believe that there is occasionally a shower of *kesar* (saffron) rain on the temples, which leaves yellow marks on them. Whether this has any connection with any kind of droppings from the numberless *dhāmwar* bees, which make numerous combs on the rocks is a matter for leisurely determination.

ON SOME NEW DATES OF PANDYA KINGS IN THE 13TH CENTURY A. D.

BY DEWAN BAHADUR L.D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L. (MADRAS);

LL.B. (LOND.).

(Continued from p. 172.)

*Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.

[Reign began between 29th December 1270 (See No. 584 of 1902 below) and 5th January 1271.] 1909 (680). From the west wall of the Chaṇḍikēśvara shrine in the temple of Neḍuṅḡala-nāthasvāmin, at Tiruṇḍuṅḡalam (Trichinopoly District). Gift of land for a lamp by Aryan Sivandakālaḷagiyāṇ of Puduṅḡur in Ārvalakūṛram, a sub-division of Rājēndra-chōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.

Date.—3rd year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya; Rishabha; su. 11; Monday; "Pushya" [su. 11 error for su. 5]. On Monday, 22 May 1273, Rishabha su. 5 and "Pushya" ended respectively at .73 and .01 of the day.

Note.—A date wrong by 6 tithis is not a satisfactory date. It is possible, however, that *Pusam*, the Tamil equivalent in the inscription for Pushya, is a wrong reading for "*Puram*" = "Purva Phalguni," but though the combination of "Purva Phalguni" with Rishabha su. 11 is possible, such a combination did not actually occur even once on a Monday between A.D. 1200 and A.D. 1350. It occurred on days of the week, other than Monday, in A.D. 1200, 1216, 1227, 1235, 1238, 1254, 1265, &c; and on Monday, but in Mesha (not Rishabha) in 1258 and 1275. Possibly

³ H. Campbell and others.

the date intended is Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1278, when Mesha su. 11 and "Purva Phālgunī" commenced; they ended next day at .33 and .70 respectively. This would be the 3rd regnal year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya whose reign began in 1276.

1909 (303). From the south wall of the outer *prākāra* of the Kachchhapésvara temple at Tirukkachchūr (Chingleput District). Gift of one buffalo for a lamp.

Date.—7th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya: Mīna; su. 10; Sunday; "Hasta" [*Mīna* error for *Rishabha*]. On Sunday 24th May 1276, Rishabha su. 10 and "Hasta" ended at .49 and .16 respectively. [Regnal year, 7th, should be 6th].

1908 (411). From the west wall of the first *prākāra* in the Vīlināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlīmīlalai, Tanjore District; Damaged. Seems to record a gift of land for the benefit of the *maṭhas* and minor shrines in the temple at Tiruvīlīmīlalai; mentions a certain Nārpattēṇṇāyira Pillai among the Saiva devotees.

Date.—8th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya; Dhanus; su. 8; Friday; "Rēvatī." On Friday, 23 Decr. 1278, Dhanus, su. 8; and "Rēvatī" ended at .26 and .03 respectively.

1909 (667). From the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine in the temple of Neḍuṅgaḷanāthasvāmin, at Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam, Trichinopoly District. Gift of land to the temple of Tiruneḍuṅgaḷa Uḍaiya Nāyaṇār in Vaḍagavi-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Pāṇḍya-kulapati-valanāḍu.

Date.—8th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya; Makara; su. 10; Wednesday; "Rōhiṇī." On Wednesday 5 Jan. 1278, Makara su. 10 ended at .36 and "Rōhiṇī" commenced, ending next day at .41.

1909 (319). From the north wall of the Vighnēsvara shrine near the tank, in the Tirukkachchūr village (Chingleput District). Gift of land in Brahmaku[ḷa]ttūr *alias* Vēṭṭaikāraṅkulattūr in Uṟrukkāṭṭukōṭṭam, to the temple of Nārpattēṇṇāyira-viṇṇagar Emberumāṇ at Tirukkachchūr.

Date.—8th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya; Rishabha; su. 3; Thursday; "Pushya." On Thursday 26 May 1278, Rishabha su. 3 ended at .37 of day and "Pushya" commenced, ending at .27 of Friday.

1909 (305). From the south wall of the outer *prākāra* of the Kachchhapésvara temple at Tirukkachchūr (Chingleput District). Records the gift by a temple dancing-girl, of a lamp and a brass image carrying it.

Date.—8th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya; Mithuna; *bahula* Monday, "Utt. Bhād." On Monday 13 June 1278, Mithuna ba. 7; and "Utt. Bhād." ended at .30 and .79 respectively.

1902 (584). From the west wall of the Saundayā-nāyākī shrine in the Kāḷīsvara temple at Kālaiyārkōvil (Madurā District). Gift of land.

Date.—10th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya; Dhanus, su. 2; Sunday; "Pushya" [*Dhanus* must be *Makara*, and *śukla* must be *bahula*]. On Sunday 28 Dec. 1281, Makara ba. 2 and "Pushya" came to end respectively at .76 and .00 of the day.

Note.—Relying on this date, I have fixed the earlier limit of the commencement of this reign as 29 Dec. 1270. The particular combination of tithi and nakshatra on a Sunday did not occur in the 10th year of reign of any of the other Sundara Pāṇḍyas and it may therefore be safely assumed that the date belongs to the present reign. If so it would belong to the 11th year, not to the 10th.

1909 (315). From the north wall of the outer *prākāra* of the Kachchhapésvara temple at Tirukkachchūr (Chingleput District). Refers to the confiscation of the property of some rebellious and misbehaved people at Uttippākkam and registers a gift to the temple of Tirukkachchūr.

Date.—13th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya. Kumbha, su. 5; Wednesday; "Āsvini." On Thursday 4 Feb. 1283, Kumbha su. 5 and "Āsvini" came to end at .20 and .39 respectively. They were both current for the greater part of Wednesday, 3rd February.

1909 (418). From the east wall of the *prākāra* in the Vyāghrapādésvara temple at Siddhalīngamaḍam (S. Arcot). Records that the Siva-Brāhmanas of the temple agreed to provide for offerings in the shrine of Āḷuḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār, from the interest on 2000 Kāsu presented to the temple by Arindavaṇ-Pallavarāiyāṇ in the time of Kōpperuṅṅadēva and now placed in their hands.

Date.—13th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya ; Mīna ; su. 6 ; Saturday ; “Rôhīṇī.” On Sat. 6th March 1283, Mīna. su. 6 and “Rôhīṇī” ended at ·51 and ·54 respectively.

1901 (191). From the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Âpatsahâyêśvara temple at Tenṇêri (Chingleput District). Gift of land.

Date.—14th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya ; month of Âḍi ; Monday ; “Hasta.” On Monday 9th July 1285, “Hasta” ended at ·48 [Regnal year should be 15th, not 14th].

1909 (308). From the south wall of the outer *prākāra* of the Kachchhapêśvara temple at Tirukkachūr (Chingleput District). Gift of 3 cows for a lamp by a merchant of Madhurântaka-Chaturvêdimangalam, residing in the street Buvanamuḷudupperunderuvu, of that village.

Date.—17th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya ; Simha, śukla . . . “*ṣuḷā*”, Monday ; “Utt. Âsh.” On Monday 6 Sep. 1288, Simha *śukla navamī* (9th tithi) ended at ·22 of day and “Utt. Âsh.” was current for the greater part of the day, ending at ·21 next day. [Regnal year was strictly the 18th, not 17th].

N. B.—This Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, whose reign is attested by six regular and several fairly regular dates, noticed above, comes between Kielhorn’s Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya I and his Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya II, who is really the third of that name in the present list of Pāṇḍyas of the 13th century. I would, however, not assign any numbers till we know more about the Sundara Pāṇḍyas in the latter half of the 12th and the first half of the 13th century ; but simply distinguish each Pāṇḍya, whether Sundara or Vīra, by the initial year of his reign. It would be interesting to know when Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya, who came to the throne on or about 29 Dec. 1270, ceased to reign. A. D. 1288 is the latest date furnished by Madras Inscriptions, while in one of the Pudukoṭṭai inscriptions I have found a 30th year for him, *i. e.*, A. D. 1300. If Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya whose reign began in 1270 ceased to reign in or about A. D. 1300, he cannot be the parricide who murdered Mār. Kulāśekhara I, in or about A. D. 1310. Nor can the parricide be the Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya who next comes under our notice and whose reign, beginning in A. D. 1276, ended in all probability, according to the inscriptions, as well as the Muhammadan historians, about A. D. 1293.

Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II.

(Reign began between 13th September 1275 and 15th May 1276 on or about 25th June 1276).

1908 (414). From the Viḷinâthasvâmin temple at Tiruvilimilalai (Tanjōre District) Gift of land for the recital of *tirumurai*.

Date.—9th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya ; Tuḷa ; ba. 7 ; Sunday ; “Pushya.” On Sunday, 21 Oct. A. D. 1285 Tuḷa. ba. 7 and “Pushya” *commenced* respectively at ·24 and ·14 of the day. They ended next day at ·20 and ·12 respectively.

1902 (581 A). From the west wall of the Saundaryanâyakī shrine in the Kālīśvara temple at Kāḷaiyārkoṅvil (Madura District). Gift of land.

Date.—11th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya II. Dhanus ; 2nd *tiyādi*, Wednesday ; “Punarvasu” = Wed. 4th Dec. 1286, on which day Dhannus ba. 2 and “Punarvasu” ended respectively at ·82 and ·93 respectively.

[*N. B.* “Second *tiyādi*,” ordinarily meaning the 2nd day of a solar month, is an unusual expression for *dvitīyā* or “2nd lunar tithi”, although *tiyādi* is etymologically the same as *tithi*].

1902 (575). From the south wall of the Kālīśvara temple at Kāḷaiyārkoṅvil (Madura District). Gift of land to the temple of Kāṇappêr by Aghôraśiva Mudaliār *alias* Vaidya-chakravartin. Mentions also a certain Pushpavanaśiva.

Date.—12th year of Jaṭ. Tribh. Sundara Pāṇḍya ; Simha 29 ; ba. 3 ; Wednesday, “Rêvatī.” On Wednesday, 27th August 1287 [which was 30 Simha, not 29 Simha], ba. 3 and “Rêvatī” ended at ·73 and ·87 respectively.

There is another date, very similarly worded, but referrible to a Sundara Pāṇḍya whose reign must have commenced in A. D. 1303—[See No. 580 of 1902 below].

1907 (590). From the north wall of the Tiruchuṭṭamāḷiga of Saumyanâthasvâmin temple at Nandalūr (Cuddapah). Damaged.

1909 (302). From the South wall of the outer *prākāra* of the Kachchapêśvara temple at Tiruppachchūr (Chingleput District) Tamil. Gift of 30 cows and one bull for a lamp by a native of Maṇaṇallūr *alias* Viraśoḷachaturvêdimāṅgalam in Sembūr Kottam, a subdivision of Jayaṅḡoḍa chōḷa-maṅḍalam.

Date.—Year opp. 13th of Jaṭavarman Tribh. Sundara Pāṇḍya; ba. 10; Monday; “Krittika” = Monday 3 July 1290 when ba. 10 in Kataka and “Krittika” ended respectively at .44 and .77 of the day.

Date.—(15th) year of Jat. Sundara Pāṇḍya; *Vīrodhi* Saṃvat; Kumbha; su. 10; Monday, “Punarvasu.” On Monday 20 Feb. 1290, which was in Virodhi Saṃvat, Kumbha su. 10 ended at .60, and Punarvasu began, ending next day at .05.

[15th year, error for 14th].

1908 (69.) From the south wall of the central shrine in the Nīlakaṇṭhêśvara temple at Veḍāl (North Arcot District). Gift of land to the temple of Karaikkāṇḍiśuramuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār at Viḍāl in Viḍār-parru *alias* Vikrama-Pāṇḍya-vaḷaṇāḍu, a district of Veṅkuṅṅa-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅḡoḍa chōḷa-maṅḍalam.

Date.—[This date appears, without any result, positive or negative, among the dates published by Prof. Jacobi in *Ep. Ind.* XI. p. 136]. 3rd year opp. 13th Konerinmaikondan Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya. Kataka; su. 7; Wednesday; “Hasta.” On Wednesday 4 July, A.D. 1291, Kataka su. 7 and “Hasta” ended at .53 and .01 respectively. (For ending moment of Nakshatra local time has also to be considered).

1904 (123). From the east wall of the *maṅḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Śivān-kurêśvara temple at Tirthanagarī (South Arcot). Gift of land for the festival called Kodaṅḍa-rāmaṇ-sandi after the king.

Date.—3rd opposite 13th year of Kōnerinmaikondān Sundara Pāṇḍyan; Mēsha su. 9, “Pushya” = Friday 28th March 1292, when Mēsha, su. 9 and “Pushya” ended at .59 and .25 respectively.

N.B.—The inscription particularizes the date now dealt with as the 276th day of the 16th regnal year. If so, the reign would appear to have commenced on or about 25th June 1276, which is consistent with all the dates found so far for this Sundara Pāṇḍya, except Kielhorn’s “P.” No. 27 “year opp. 14; Monday 15th May 1290.”

* **Māvarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Vikrama Pāṇḍya.**

(Reign began between 12th Jan. and 29 Aug. 1283).

1902 (143). From the south wall of the *prākāra* in the Rāmasvāmin temple at Bannūr (Mysore District). Sale of land.

Date.—3rd year of Māvarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya; Makara; su. 4; Friday; “Punarvasu” [*Sukla 4* must be *Sukla 14*]. On Friday 11th Jan. 1286, Makara su. 14 and “Punarvasu” ended at .20 and .12 respectively.

1896 (120). From the north wall of the second *prākāra* in the Kanyākumārī temple at Cape Comorin (Travancore State). Gift of lamp.

Date.—5th year of Māvarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya; Dhanus; *śukla 8*; Sunday; “Rêvatī.” On Sunday 14th Dec. 1287, Dhanus *śukla 8* and “Rêvatī” ended at .12 and .64 respectively.

1909 (410). From the east wall of the *prākāra* in the Vyāghrapādêśvara temple at Siddha-liṅgamaḍam (S. Arcot). Gift of land for offerings by the *nagarattār* of Sīrriṅgūr.

Date.—6th year of Mar. Tribh. Vikrama Pāṇḍya; Kanni; su. 1; Sunday; “Hasta.” On Sunday 29 Aug. 1288 (= 1 Kanni), Kanni su. 1 ended at .60 while “Hasta,” began at .38, ending next day at .42.

[Inscriptions Nos. 53 and 54 of 1905 give this Pāṇḍya the Śaka date 1209 = A.D. 1287].

1900 (116). From the north wall of the first *prākāra* of the Trivikrama-Perumāl temple at Tirukkoilūr (S. Arcot). Refers to the king’s victory over the Kākaṭīya king Gaṇapati and records a gift of two lamps.

Date.—8th year of Tribhuvanarājādhirāja Paramêśvara Śrī Vikrama Pāṇḍya; Dhanus; ba. 8; Friday; “Hasta.” On Friday 14th Dec. 1291, Dhanus ba. 8 and “Hasta” ended at .90 and .85 respectively.

1901 (251) From the south wall of the central shrine in the Akshésvara temple at Achchara-pákkam (Chingleput District). Damaged ; gift of land.

Date.—3rd year of Mar. Tribh. Vikrama Pāṇḍya; [“may be 5th,” says Epigraphist ; but the impression which he was good enough to examine again with me, seems to be a fairly clear “3rd year”]. Mīna ; ba. 11 ; Monday ; “Śravaṇa.” There is no date corresponding to the given chronological details between A.D. 1283 and A.D. 1290, but on Monday 26 Feb. 1291 (which however was in the 8th year, as in the last inscription, not in the 3rd or 5th), Mīna ba. 11 ended at ·51 of the day and “Śravaṇa” commenced at ·15, ending at ·17 on Tuesday.

* Jaṭavarman Tribh. Vikrama Pāṇḍya.

1894 (11) From the inside of the north wall of the second *prākāra* in the Sundararāja-Perumāḷ temple at Dāḍikkombu (Madura District). Incomplete.

Date.—4th year of Jaṭavarman Tribhuvana-chakravarti Vikrama Pāṇḍya ; Mithuna, su. 9 ; Thursday ; “Śvāti.”

On this inscription the Madras Epigraphist remarks : “The characters are earlier than those of inscriptions belonging to Kielhorn’s ‘K,’ Kōnerinmaikondan Vikrama Pāṇḍya, whose reign commenced in A.D. 1401. This Jaṭavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya may have been contemporaneous with Mātavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1283).”

Elsewhere (Annual Report for 1910-11, p. 79) we read “In the time of Jaṭ. Vikrama Pāṇḍya whose exact period of rule could not be fixed at present, etc.”

I find no dates that would suit the chronological details and the period assigned by the Epigraphist, except the following ;—

(1) On Thursday, 30 June A.D. 1278, Mithuna su. 9 and “Śvāti” ended at ·59 and ·54 respectively.

(2) On Thursday, 1 July, 1305, Mithuna su. 9 and “Śvāti” ended at ·90 and ·75 respectively.

When more dates of this reign are found, a further approximation may be attempted,

* Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabhadeva.

(Reign began between 5 Ap. and 12 Nov. 1291.)

1909 (503). From the South wall of the Parannaṅgāttaruḷiyasvāmin temple at Pudup-pāḷaiyam (Tinnevely District). Tamil, appears to record a gift of money for a lamp ; much damaged.

Date.—6th year of Srimat Śrīvallabhadeva ; Meshā ; [ba.] 11 ; Friday ; [may also be read, says Epigraphist, as Monday] ; “Uttara Bhādrapada.” On Friday, 19 April A. D. 1297, ba. 11 in Meshā and “Uttara Bhādrapada” ended respectively at ·11 and ·87 of day.

1909 (499). From the east wall of the Venkaṭāchalapati-Perumāḷ temple, at Sōlapuram (Tinnevely District), right of entrance. Damaged ; mentions Uttamaśōḷa-Viṇṇagar.

Date.—[9]th year of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabhadeva ; Meshā 11 ; *Paurṇamī* ; Tuesday.

The Epigraphist commented thus on this inscription : “The record is much damaged and the reading very doubtful.” The value, however, of the solar day of the month, in investigating the particulars of a reign regarding which nothing was known, induced me to beg the Epigraphist to examine the impression once more in my presence. This was done ; and the conclusion arrived at by us was that although the record was much damaged, there was no doubt about the words “Meshā, *Paurṇamī* and Sevvāi (= Tuesday);” there remained the day of the solar month which we read as “11” but which might equally be “19” or “16”. Presuming that it was “11,” I arrive at the date, Tuesday 5 April A. D. 1300, which was full-moon day and 11 Meshā.

1902 (642). From the north wall of the *maṇḍāpa* in front of the central shrine in the Pārijātavanésvarasvāmin temple at Tirukkaḷar (Tanjore District). Sale of land to Vijaya-Gaṇḍa-gōpāla.

Date.—25th year of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha ; Meshā ; su. 11 ; Saturday ; “Magha.” On Saturday, 3 April, A. D. 1316, “Magha” ended at ·60 of the day and Meshā *śukla* 11 commenced on at ·18, ending at ·26 next day.

1902 (639). From the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Mihirāruṇṣavara temple at Tirumtyachōhūr (Tanjore District). Gift of land.

Date.—21st year of Māravarman Kulāśekhara; Mithuna; śukla 12; Monday; “Svāti.”

Later, the same inscription refers to Jaṭavarman Śrivalabhadeva's 25th year, Vṛischika, ba. 15 [aparapakshattu *paunṇiyai*, an extraordinary expression, since *paunṇamī* must of course fall in *pūrva pakṣha*]; Wed.; Rōhiṇī. The date first quoted in the inscription may be referred, as is done below, to the reign of Māravarman Kulāśekhara II, *i. e.*, to A.D. 1334.

The second date may be identified with *Wednesday, 12 Nov. 1315*, when Rōhiṇī ended at '66 of day, and ba. 1 (*aparapakshattu prathamai*) at '95 of day. Either the inscription wrongly quotes *paunṇiyai* for *prathamai* which, considering the unusually erroneous expression commented on above, is the more probable alternative or the *paunṇamī* which in meantime ended at '97 of the day on *Tuesday*, was brought up to sunrise on *Wednesday* owing either to local time or to a peculiarity of local calculation. I think, however, ba. 1 was meant.

* Māravarman Tribh. Sundara Pāṇḍya.

(Reign began 19 Feb. and 6 Mar. A. D. 1294.)

1911 (342). From the west wall of the central shrine in the Muṅkuḍumīśvara temple at Kaḷattur (Chingleput District). Gift of land for offerings to the same temple by Kākkunāyakaṅṅ one of the Kaikkōḷars of the temple. Mentions Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḷa-chaturvêdimāṅgalam.

Date.—14th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, Mēsha, su. 13; Sunday; “Chitra” = Sunday, 16 April, A.D. 1307, when Mēsha, su. 13 ended at '66 of day, while “Chitra” ended at '39 next day, having been current for the greater part of Sunday.

1911 (343). From the north wall of the central shrine in the Muṅkuḍumīśvara temple at Kaḷattur (Chingleput District). Gift of land for offerings by Āḷudaiyanāyakaṅṅ, another Kaikkōḷa of Muṅkuḍumīśvara temple at Kaḷattur (Chingleput District).

Date.—14th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya; Mīna; su. 1; Monday; “Rêvati.”

On Monday, 6 March A.D. 1307, Mīna su. 2 and “Rêvati” ended at '82 and '47 of the day respectively [“su. 1” error for “su. 2”].

1911 (344). From the north wall of the central shrine in the Muṅkuḍumīśvara Temple at Kaḷattur (Chingleput District). Gift of land [for offerings] by Mallāṇḍai, a third Kaikkōḷa of the same temple. The donors in Nos. 342 and 343 were his brothers.

Date.—14th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya; Kumbha; śukla.....; Monday; Uttara-Āshāḍha.

On Monday, 19 Feb. A.D. 1308, Kumbha ba. 12, and “Uttara-Āshāḍha” ended at '89 and '17 of the day respectively [Śukla error for *bahula*].

* Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya.¹

(Reign began between 23 June and 24 July 1296.)

1900 (78). From the north wall of the first *prākāra* of the Vêdapurīśvara temple at Tiruvottūr (North Arcot District). Gift of 64 Cows and 2 Bulls.

Date.—5th year of Jaṭ. V. Pāṇḍya; Mithuna; “Hasta.” On Friday 7 July A.D. 1301, su. 1 and Nak. “Pushya” (not “Hasta”) ended at '56 and '23 of the day.

† 1908 (401). From the north wall of the first *prākāra* in the Vīḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḷimīḷali (Tanjore District). Gift of land by a native of Periyaṅguḍi in Tirunārayiūrnaḍu a sub-division of Kulōttuṅgasōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.

Date.—6th year of Jaṭ. V. Pāṇḍya (no epithet); Kanni; su. 6; Friday; “Mūla.”

On Friday 28th Sep. A. D. 1302 which was, however, at the beginning of the 7th and near the end of the 6th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya who suffered the Muhammadan invasion, Kanni su. 6 (it was the last day of Kanni) and Mūla ended at '10 and '25 of the day respectively.

¹ Since this article was sent to Press, Prof. Hermann Jacobi of Bonn University has calculated four of these dates (*i. e.* those marked †) relating to the reign of Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya and published them in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI. pp. 137-139. The present results are, however, offered to the public in the form in which they originally stood first because several old dates not furnished to Prof. Jacobi, are here referred to the present reign and secondly because the findings here presented, especially that relating to the probable commencement of the reign, are not invariably those arrived at by Prof. Jacobi.

1906 (45). From the base of the verandah enclosing the central shrine in the temple of Amritaghatēśvara at Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tanjore District). Gift of land; mentions the 41st year (of the king's predecessor ?) and the shrine of Vikrama-Chôlitchoburamuḍaiyâr.

Date.—14th year of Jaṭ. Vira Pāṇḍya; (no epithet) [Dhan] ba. 10 Wed.; "Śvâti;"

(1) on Wednesday 22nd Dec. 1266, Dhan. ba. 10 and "Śvâti" ended at '94 and '44 respectively.

(2) on Wednesday 16 Dec. 1310, Dhan. ba. 10 and "Śvâti" ended at '55 and '57 respectively.

If the first of these days were the date intended, it would belong to the conqueror of "Īlam, Koṅgu and Choḷa;" but as no such conquest is explicitly referred to, we may adopt the second date which would then belong to Jaṭ. Vira Pāṇḍya whose reign began in 1296 and lasted till at least 1342. He was the only Vira Pāṇḍya who could, so far as is known to us, refer in 1310 to a predecessor with 41 years of reign, that is, to his own (natural) father, Māravarman Kulāśekhara whose reign began in 1268, and who in 1310 was murdered by his legitimate son Sundara Pāṇḍya.

All the remaining dates of this Jaṭ. Vira Pāṇḍya refer to the 40th and subsequent years of his reign. We know from the Muhammadan historians that Sundara Pāṇḍya, after murdering his father Māravarman Kulāśekhara in 1310, defeated his natural brother Vira Pāṇḍya but was afterwards defeated by the latter with the help of "Manar Barmul," son of the daughter of the murdered Kulāśekhara, and fled to Delhi. Vira Pāṇḍya's success and restoration to his throne were of brief duration, because in or about 1312 he was attacked and defeated, and the city of Madurâ sacked, by the Muhammadans under Malik Kafur. We are told also that eight Muhammadan Chiefs ruled over the Pāṇḍyan kingdom from 1310 till about 1358, and there is among the Pudukkottai dates a Hejra date A. H. 732 (= A. D. 1331-32). About 1340, however, the work of the reconstruction and reconsecration of the temples desecrated by the Muhammadan occupation was taken up under the auspices of Vira Pāṇḍya, who now reappears on the scene, always dating his reign from July 1296 when he seems to have been installed by his father as co-regent of the Pāṇḍyan Dominions.

† 1908 (122). From the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr (Madurâ District). Sale of privileges pertaining to *pāḍikkāval* by the *sabhd* of Tirupputtūr (Madura District) to Avaiyaṅ *alias* Mālavachakravartin of Sūraikkūḍi.

Date.—44th year of Jaṭ. Vira Pāṇḍya; 5th Dhanus; su. 1; Thursday, "Mūla."

On Thursday, 2 Dec. 1339 (= 5 Dhanus) su. 1 and "Mūla" ended at '51 and '26 respectively.

1906 (393). From the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the Satyagirinâtha-Perumāj temple at Tirumaiyam (Pudukkottai). Records the sale of all rights connected with *pāḍikkāval*.

Date.—4 [5th] year of Jaṭ. Tribh. Vira Pāṇḍya (no epithet); Dhanus; ba. 8; Wed. "Hasta."

On Wednesday 13 Dec. 1340, ba. 8; and "Hasta" ended at '23 and '28 respectively.

† 1908 (119). From the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr (Madurâ District). Records that Avaiyaṅ Periya Nāyaṅār *alias* Viśālayadēva, a native of Kurai-kūḍi irrigated by (the river) Tēṅāru in Adalāiyūr-nāḍu, consecrated again the image in the temple of Tiruttalīyaṅḍa-Nāyaṅār which had been polluted by the occupation of the Muhammadans.

Date.—46th year of Jaṭ. Tribh. Vira Pāṇḍya; 14 Kaṭaka; Monday; su. 5; "Uttara Phālguni." On Monday 12 July 1339, su. 5 and "Uttara Phālguni" ended at '22 and '006 respectively; but the day of the solar month was 15 Kaṭaka not 14th [Regnal year 46 is apparently an error for 44]. At p. 138 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, Prof. Jacobi gives 2 Aug. 1339 as the equivalent of this date; but as he agrees with me as to the day of the solar month, his "2 Aug." must be a *lapsus calami* for "12 July."

(The Epigraphist, on reading the impression again in my presence, was of opinion that the recorded year was clearly 46).

† 1908 (120). From the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr (Madurâ District). Records the Muhammadan occupation of the temple and its consecration by Viśālayadēva mentioned in No. 49. He was on this account given certain special privileges in the temple by the priests of the temple.

Date.—44th year of Jaṭ. Vira Pāṇḍya; 21 Mithuna; su. 12; Sund.; "Anurâdha."

[Reference to Muhammadan occupation commented on in *Ept's. Rept.*, 1908-09, p. 82]

Sunday 16 June 1342 (= 21 Mithuna); su. 12 and "Anurâdha" ended at '49 and '77.

[Regnal year should be 46, not 44].

(The Epigraphist read the impression again in my presence and was of opinion that the regnal year may be 46 or 49, not 44).

* **Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.**

(Reign began between 29 Aug. 1302 and 28 Aug. 1303).

1902 (580). From the west of the kitchen in the Kālīśvara temple at Kālaiyâr Kōvil (Madurâ District) Gift of land.

Date.—[1] year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pāṇḍya; Simha 31, ba 3; Wed. "pati nḍi."

On Wed. 28 Aug. 1314 (= 31 Simha) ba. 3 and *nakṣatra* "Aśvini" (Tamil, *Aśvati*) ended at '89 and '47; respectively of the day.

Māravarman Kulasekhara II.

(Reign began between 6th and 29th March 1314.)

1902 (595). From the inner *gōpura* of the Prēmapuriśvara temple at Anbil (Trichinopoly District), right of entrance. Incomplete.

Date year opp. [3rd] of Māravarman Kulasekhara II. Rishaba; 13th tithi; Wed.; "Svāti."

On Wednesday 5 May, A. D. 1316, Rishabha su. 13 and "Svāti" commenced, ending at '09 and '40 respectively on Thursday. [Regnal year should be "year opp. (2nd) not "year opp. (3rd)"]

1903 (119). From the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Tilakēśvara temple at Dēvipaṭṭanam (Madurâ District). Mutilated at the beginning.

Date.—year opp. 2nd of Kulasekhara Pāṇḍya "who conquered every country;" 8th tithi; Sat.; "Rōhiṇi" On Saturday, 19 Feb. 1317, Phālguna su. 8 and "Rōhiṇi" ended at '92 and '25 respectively.

— From the outer wall, (above the *gōmukhā*) of the inner *prāśāra* enclosing the *garbhagrīha* of the Kuttalīśvara temple at Kurrālam (or Courtallam, Tinnevely District)

Date 7th (?) year of Māravarman Kulasekhara; 13 Kumbha; su. 8; Friday; day of "Rōhini."

On Friday 5 Feb. A. D. 1321, which was 13 Kumbha, śukla 8 and "Roihni" ended respectively at '59 and '98 of day. The regnal year looks like "4th" in the impression but is really "7th," which fact was verified by the writer's friends at Kurrālam.

1907 (126). From the north wall of the kitchen in the Siddhajñānēśvara temple at Pāpān-gulam (Tinnevely District). Sale of land to the temple of Karutt-aṇḍumuditta-Pāṇḍi [Sa] ramudaiya Nāyanār, here said to be in Sēraṇai-Venṇāṇ-tirumadaivilāgam situated in Mullināḍu.

Date.—8th year of Māravarman Tribh. Kulasekhara "who took every country;" Tula " [1] 2"; su. 9; Wednesday; "Sraṇa."

On Wednesday 30 Sep. 1321 (= 2 Tula), su. 9 and "Sraṇa" ended at '72 and '97 respectively.

The reading *12 Tula*, which I believe to be an error for *2 Tula*, gives rise to the following observations:—The epithet "who took every country" may seem to relegate this date to the reign of Mār. Kulasekhara I. The interval between the initial years of the two Kulasekharas being 46 years, it follows that lunar *tithis* and *nakṣatras* are likely to occur at the same time of the solar year in either reign. (*Vide* sec. 228 of my *Indian Chronology*.) Moreover, if a *tithi* falls this year on 2nd Tula, it must have fallen last year on or about 12th Tula, so that *per se* a particular *tithi* and *nakṣatra*, due on the 2nd Tula this year, would, ordinarily, have occurred 47 years ago on 12th Tula. Nevertheless, no suitable date, satisfying all the chronological details in the inscription, has been found in the reign of Mār. Kulasekhara I. except A. D. 1274, which however, was only the 7th year of that reign (not the 8th). On Wednesday 10th October A. D. 1274 (= 13 Tula, not 12 Tula) Tula su. 9 commenced at '08 of the day, ending next day at '14, while *nakṣatra* Sraṇa ended at '55 on Wednesday.

N. B.—This inscription is on the north wall of a temple kitchen, while the next, No. 125, is on the west wall.

1907 (125). From the west wall of the kitchen in the Siddhajñānēśvara temple at Pāpāngulam (Tinnevely). Sale of land to the temple of Karutt-aṇḍu-muḍitta Pāṇḍi [Sa]ramuḍaiya Nayanār.

Date.—8th year of Māvarman . . . Tribh. Kulāśekhara; Dhanus 11; ba . . . ; Tuesday, "Svāti."

On Tuesday 15th December 1321 (=19 Dhanus) ba. 10 ended at ·13 and "Svāti" at ·24 of the day.

[The inked impression of the inscription was read again in my presence by the Epigraphist, and the conclusion come to by him was that the solar day of the month could be read either as "11" or as "19." The latter reading suits the other chronological details which are clear.]

1907 (149). From the south wall of the shrine of the goddess in the Siva temple at Pūvā-laikkudi (Pudukkoṭṭai State). Gift of the village of Pūvālaikkudi. Mentions the festival called Maramānikkan-sandi and a certain Sōlai-Kalyilāyamūḍaiyaṅ *alias* Kalikaḍinda Pāṇḍiyadēvar. The temple is called Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvālaikkudi-uḍaiya-Nāyanār in Vaḍaparrunāḍu including Seṅvalūr, a sub-division of Kūḍalūr-nāḍu, a district of Ten-kōṇāḍu.

Date.—16th year of Mār. Kulāśekhara "who took every country;" Vṛiśchika; su. 5; Wednesday, "Rēvatī."

On Thursday, 25 January, 1330, Kumbha [not Vṛiśchika], su. 5 and Rēvatī ended at ·20 and ·18 respectively; in other words they were current for the greater part of Wednesday, 24 January, on which they commenced at ·10 and ·07 respectively [Vṛiśchika, error for Kumbha].

[The Epigraphist, at p. 73 of his Annual Report for 1907-08, identifies this prince with Mār. Kulāśekhara I, but the date does not suit the 16th regnal year of that reign].

On Wednesday, 3 Nov. 1283, Vṛiśchika, su. 12 (not *sukla* 5) and Rēvatī ended at ·71 and ·71 respectively.

On Wednesday, 31 Oct. 1286, Vṛiśchika, su. 12 (not *sukla* 5) and "Rēvatī" ended at ·66 and ·96 respectively.

These dates would answer for the 16th and 19th years of Māvarman Kulāśekhara I (16 and 19 being easily confounded in Tamil writing with each other); but *sukla* 5 for *sukla* 12 is not an error so readily accounted for as Vṛiśchika for Kumbha.

* Jaṭavarman Tribh. Parākrama Pāṇḍya.

(Reign began between 15 April and 10 August 1315.)

1906 (395). From the west wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Satyagirinātha-Perumāḷ temple at Tirumaiyam (Pudukkoṭṭai State). Incomplete. Sale of land for marriage expenses.

Date.—5th year opp. 7th of Jaṭ. Tribh. Parākrama Pāṇḍya; Kumbha; ba. 12; Sunday; "Uttara Āshāḍha." On Monday 11 Feb. A. D. 1325, Kumbha ba. 12 and "Uttara Āshāḍha" ended at ·22 and ·11 respectively. In other words, ba. 12 and "Utt. Āsh." were current for the greater part of Sunday, 10 Feb. 1325. [Regnal year should be 10th not 12th].

1894 (17). From the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Pushpavanēśvara shrine at Tiruppūvaṇam (Madura District). Gift of land.

Date.—(Wrongly assigned in App. to *Annual Report* for 1894-95 to Konerinmaikondan's 8th year) 9th year of Parākrama Pāṇḍya; Simha su. 8; Wednesday, "Anurāḍha." On Wednesday 10 Aug. A. D. 1323, Simha su. 8 and "Anurāḍha" ended at ·48 and ·45 respectively.

* Tribh. Kulāśekharadēva.

[23 July A. D. 1166 fell in his 5th year. This must have been the Kulāśekharā who waged a prolonged war against Parākramabāhu of Ceylon. Tiruputtūr is one of the places mentioned in the *Mahavamsa* as having been visited by Lankāpura, the Ceylonese General.]

1908 (101). From the Tiruttaḷisvara temple at Tiruputtūr (Madura District.)

Date.—Year opposite the 4th of Tribh. Kulāśekharadēva, "27th day of Karkataka "Rohiṇi;" Saturday. In *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, at p. 137 the Epigraphist notes that the date of the inscription, as judged by the characters, must be earlier than A. D. 1200. I find that the date was Sat. 23 July A. D. 1166 which was the 27th day of Karkataka. On this day "Rohiṇi" and Srāvaṇa ba. 10 ended at ·70 and ·87 of the day respectively.

THE INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN
ARTIFICIAL POETRY.

By G. BÜHLER.

[Translated by Prof. V. S. Ghate, M. A.; Poona.]

(Continued from p. 193.)

V. The Nāsik-Inscription No. 18, from the nineteenth year of Siri-Puṣumāyi.

A further contribution to the knowledge of the *Kāvya* style of the second century and especially of the poetic ideas and comparisons in vogue at the time is made by the *praśasti* of a cave which was given over to the monks of the Bhadrāyanīya school, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Andhra king Siri-Puṣumāyi. The date of the inscription can be only approximately determined at present. Nevertheless it must be somewhat older than the Girnār *praśasti* discussed above. Siri-Puṣumāyi like Chashtana is, as we know, mentioned by Ptolemæus, under the name of Siro-Polemaios or Siri-Polemios, as the ruler of Baithana, *i. e.*, Paīṭṭhāna or Prati-shṭhāna on the Godāvarī river. Accordingly the inscription in question will have to be placed somewhere about the middle of the second century. To the same result leads another circumstance which is put forth by Dr. Bhāu Dāji in *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 242. According to l. 6 of our inscription, Puṣumāyi's father Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi extinguished the family of Khakharāta. In the inscriptions of Nāsik,⁶⁰ Junnar, and Karle is mentioned a Kshaharāta king and satrap or great satrap Nahapāna, whose son-in-law, the Śaka Ushavadāta or Usabhadāta was a great patron of Brāhman and Buddhists and made many grants in the western Deccan as well as in Konkaṇ and Kaṭhiāvāḍ, and we are provided with the several dates of his reign, from the year 40 to 46. The similarity of the names Khakharāta and Kshaharāta makes it very probable that they denote one and the same person, a supposition which is also favoured by the circumstance that just the very districts, in which Ushavadāta made his grants, have been mentioned in l. 2 f. our inscription as parts of Sātakaṇi's dominion.⁶¹ The title satrap or great satrap borne by Nahapāna leads to the further conclusion that he was a dependent prince and the fact that on his coins, the Kharoshṭri *lipi* is used side by side with the southern alphabet, proves his connection with the north-west where the Indo-Scythians were rulers. We may, therefore, suppose that he, like Rudradāman used the Śaka era, and thus his last date, Saṃvat 46, would correspond to A.D. 124/5. Very probably his unfortunate war with Sātakaṇi took place soon after this year. According to his inscriptions,⁶² Sātakaṇi ruled for at least 24 years, and extinguished the Kshaharāta king and satrap before the eighteenth year of his reign. For, the Nāsik inscription No. 13, bearing this year, disposes of a village in the district of Govardhana,⁶³ which had in earlier times belonged to the dominion of Nahapāna. If then we assume that the battle between Nahapāna and Sātakaṇi took place in the year 47 of the Śaka era used by the former, *i. e.*, in A. D. 125/6, and in the fifteenth year of the reign of the latter, then the year of the writing of our inscription would be A. D. 153/4, by adding the 9 years of Sātakaṇi and the 19 years of Puṣumāyi to 125. Of course it is possible that the date in question may be from ten to twelve years earlier or a very few years later even. A later date than this does not seem to be probable, because the mention of Puṣumāyi's name in Ptolemæus shows that he must have been on the throne a long time before A. D. 151, the date of the completion of the Geography.⁶⁴

If we accept these conjectures which at least possess a very high probability, then our inscription is about twenty years older than the *praśasti* of the Sudarśana Lake; and its style must be regarded as a proof for the growth of *kāvya* in the middle of the second century. Although it is

⁶⁰ *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV., p. 99-103 (Nos. 5-11).

⁶¹ See especially Inscription No. 20, in which a village given as a present by Usabhadāta is again given away by an Andhraking. *Arch. Sur. W. India*, Vol. IV., p. 103 (No. 6) and p. 112-113 (No. 20).

⁶² *Arch. Sur. W. India*, Vol. IV., p. 103 (No. 14, last line.)

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 105, where 14 is to be corrected to 18.

⁶⁴ Compare also Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's remarks in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 20 ff. where the date of the Inscription is placed somewhat earlier. In several particulars, I can not agree with Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar.

composed in on old Prakrit very much nearer to Pāli, still the results that may follow from its examination would of course be equally applicable to Sanskrit Poetry ; as there exists no separating barrier between Prakrit and Sanskrit *kāvya*s. As far as the information provided by the *Alaṅkāra-śāstra* goes, both Sanskrit and Prakrit compositions are regarded as branches of a common stem and are both bound by the same laws. Accordingly we find that all the known Prakrit *kāvya*s are composed in obedience to the same canons as are written in Sanskrit. They present the same varieties of style and the same *alaṅkāras*, and it happens not seldom that one and the same author uses both Prakrit and Sanskrit. Even the author of our inscription must have known Sanskrit and been expert in Sanskrit *kāvya* also, because he appears to be guilty of some Sanskritisms. The compound *Vijhachhavanta*° (l. 2) appears to be but a transliteration of the Sanskrit *Vindhyaṛkshavat*, since the Greek form *οδξειος* shews that the Prakrit name of the Rikshavat began with *u*. Another apparently Sanskrit *saṁdhi* is found in °*Kesavājuna*° (l. 8), where the rule of the Prakrit demands °*Kesavajuna*°, i. e., °*Kesavajjuna*°. So also the form *pitupatiyo* (l. 11) occurring in a writing of such a late date, must be looked upon as only an archaic imitation of *pitripatnyoh*. As far as I know this is the only instance of a genitive in the dual number, which has been entirely lost even in older Prakrit literature. It is even possible that the inscription might have been at first composed in Sanskrit and then translated or transliterated, as the Prakrit, which resembled Pāli, was then, as even in much later times, the official language in southern India.⁶⁵ Whatever may be the case, so much is certain that the author was acquainted with the Sanskrit language as well as the Sanskrit literature.

His work is a *gadyaṁ kāvyaṁ* like the Gīrnār inscription discussed above and belongs to the class of *praśastis*. After the date given in quite an official manner, there follows the description of the king of kings Gotamiputa Sātakaṇi written in a high poetic style, which together with the shorter praise of his mother Gotamī Balasirī and of the cave prepared by her, in all, covers eight lines and a half, and altogether makes a gigantic sentence. Then there come at the end two short sentences which say that the Queen gave away the cave to the Bhadrāyaniya monks and that her grandson Puḷumāyi assigned the village Piśāchīpadraka for the preservation of the sculpture and pictures. In these concluding sentences, the language is quite business-like ; but even there we find some figures on a small scale made use of. In the first of these, the mother is described by means of three epithets giving rise to alliteration, *mahādevī mahārājamātā mahārājapatāmahī*, in the second the king is spoken of not by name but as *mahādevīya ajjakāya sevākāmo piyakāmo ṇa- [tā Sakaladakhind] pāthesaro*, 'the grandson ever willing to serve and please the Queen the grandmother, the lord of the whole of the Deccan.' Thus even here the author does not forget his profession altogether.

As for the first and the main part of the *praśasti*, its style entirely resembles that of the Gīrnār *praśasti* in that long compounds are used to bring out *ojas* or the force of language. These run on almost exclusively from l. 2 to l. 6 ; then in l. 7, the almost breathless reader is favored with a resting pause, in as much as only short words are used. In the last line and a half of the description of the king, the poet again takes a new leaf and uses towards the end the longest compound which contains sixteen words with forty-three letters (*paranagarula ityādi*). The *Anuprasa* is more liberally made use of, as is the case with the Gīrnār *praśasti*. Thus we have in l. 2 °*asika-asaka*,° in l. 3 °*pavatapatisa, divasakara hara*° °*hamalavimāla*,° in the last parts of the compounds in l. 3 °*sdsanasa, vadanasa vāhanasa, dasanasa*, and many more similar expressions. In one point, however, the Nāsik inscription differs from the Gīrnār *praśasti*. While the latter disdains the use of the conventional similes of court poets, these are found in our *praśasti* in a very large number and sometimes very striking too. Just the very first epithet of the king *Himavata-Meru-Madara-pavata-sama-sārāsa* 'whose essence resembles that of the mountains Himavat, Meru, and Mandara, is conceived quite in the *kāvya* style. Thus the author shows that the comparisons of the king with these mountains so favourite in later times were in vogue even in his day. What he, in reality, means by the phrase in question is that Sātakaṇi was possessed of

⁶⁵ See on this my remarks on the Prakrit Pallava Land-Grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 4 f.

great treasures, like the Himālaya, that he was the central point of the world, and overshadowed the same with his might, like the Meru, and that like the Mandara which was used as a churning rod by gods at the time of churning out nectar, he knew how to bring to light and to acquire for himself Lakshmi, the *Fortuna regum*.

The correctness of this explanation can be easily demonstrated. For, the idea that the Himālaya hides within himself immeasurable treasures has been prevalent amongst the Indian people since a very old time, and it finds its expression in mythology, in that the abode of Kubera is located in the Himālaya. To the court poets, the idea that riches are the *sāra* of the Himālaya is so obvious that at times they do not express it at all, but only hint at the same. Thus Kālidāsa says in *Raghuvamśa* IV, 79 :—

परस्परं विज्ञातस्तेषुपायनपाणिषु ।

राज्ञा हिमवतः सारो राज्ञः सारो हिमाद्रिणा ॥

‘As the (Gaṇas) (came) with presents in their hands, they understood each other’s essence; the king, that of the Himālaya (*i. e.*, his riches, and the Himālaya that of the king (*i. e.*, his might).’

Equally old and generally prevalent is the conception that the mountain Meru is the centre of the world; and kings are very frequently compared with the same, in *kāvya*s, in order to illustrate their great might. Thus, in the beginning of the *Kādambari*, Bāṇa says (p. 5. l. 11, Peterson’s edition) of the king Śūdraka :—

मेरुदिव सकलभुवनोपजीव्यमानपादच्छायाः

‘He resembles Meru in that all the worlds live in the shadow of his feet,’ *i. e.*, are preserved through his protection, just as they live in the shadow of the spur of the mountain. The comparison is also found in the inscriptions, *e.g.*, in the *prāsasti* which forms a prelude to the grant of land made by the Chaulukya king Mūlarāja I. It is said there⁶⁶ (l. 3) :—मेरुदिव सर्वदा मध्यस्थः । ‘He resembles Meru, in that he is always *madhyastha*, *i. e.*, the centre of the world, and impartial.’

As for the mountain Mandara, it is one of the most well-known myths, according to which it served gods as a churning-rod, at the churning of the milk-ocean. As on that occasion, Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, came out, and she is often described as the representative of the royal power and splendour and even as the consort of kings, the kings themselves are often compared with the Mandara mountain in order to hint at the idea that they churn out Fortune from the ocean of the enemies. Thus in *Śrī-Harṣhaṇḍikā*, p. 227, l. 7 (Kāśmīr edition) Bāṇa says, while describing the king Pushyabhūti, that he was मन्दरमय इव लक्ष्मीसमाकर्षणे ‘Mandara-like in drawing out Lakshmi.’ This same thought is further elaborated in verse 7 of the *Aphsāḍ prāsasti*,⁶⁷ a composition of the seventh century, written in a high Gauda style, where it is said of the king Kumāragupta :—

भूमिः श्रीशानवर्मक्षितिपतिशशिनः सैन्यदुग्धोदसिन्धुर्लक्ष्मीसंप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरीभूय येन ॥

‘Who became Mandara and immediately churned out the terrible army of the illustrious Śānavarman, a moon amongst princes, the army, which was the means of the acquisition of Fortune, and thus resembled the milk-ocean.’ A still more artificial representation of the simile is found in the *prāsasti*⁶⁸ of the Rāthor king Govinda II, verse 3, belonging to the beginning of the ninth century. I have explained it fully in the translation of the passage.

In the face of these facts, it can not be doubted, that the author of the Nāsik inscription intended to say or to hint all that is contained in the explanation given above;⁶⁹ and when we see that he dares to express himself in such an extraordinarily concise manner and is content with only

⁶⁶ See *Ante*, Vol. VI. p. 191. My translation as given there mentions only the second meaning of *madhyastha*. It is, however, not improbable that the writer also means to say that Mūlarāja was the centre of the world, although the expression cannot apply to a petty ruler who possessed only a few miles of land. Such considerations, however, have no weight with a court-poet.

⁶⁷ *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 203, l. 7.

⁶⁸ *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 65.

⁶⁹ It is just possible that he had in view even other less important qualities of the mountains named here. Thus, as the Meru is the abode of the *vibudha* or the gods, and as *vibudha* also means ‘a wise man’, the comparison of the king with the Meru may imply a compliment to the effect that the king was surrounded by wise counsellors and learned men. Compare, for instance, *Vāsavadattā*, p. 14, l. 1 मेरुदिव विबुधान्त्यः.

alluding to the *sāra* of the three mountains, we cannot but suppose that in the first place he knew all the myths in question and in the second place that the comparisons of kings with these mountains were in vogue then; for otherwise the expression in question would have been quite unintelligible to the hearer. The comparisons involved in the epithets in the next lines 3-4 are some of them so familiar that it is unnecessary to demonstrate their occurrence in the *kāvya*s. This is the case, for instance, with the phrase *divasakara-kara-vibodhita-kamala-vimala-sadisa-vadanasa*, 'whose face resembles a spotless lotus which the sun's rays have awakened (from the nocturnal sleep)', of which we should only remark that the use of the word *kara*, which also means 'hand,' is not unintentional. Equally commonplace is the comparison in *paṭipūṇa-chada-maḍala-sasirīka-pīya-dasanasa* 'whose appearance is lovely and lustrous like the disc of the full moon.' What is, of course, meant is that the face of the king shines like the full moon. But as the face has been spoken of before, the author uses *dasana* for *vadana* and thus varies somewhat the usual idea. Lastly, no examples are necessary for *varavāraṇavikamachāruvikamasa*, 'whose gait is beautiful like that of a lordly elephant,' and *bhujagapatibhogapīnavatavipuladighasudarabhujasa*, 'whose arms strong, round, massive, long and beautiful like the coils of the prince of serpents.' With regard to the last epithet it must be observed, in the meanwhile, that the author has taken great troubles to give a new unusual form to the old comparison of the arm of a warrior with a serpent, already very usual in the epics. For this purpose, he mentions the serpent-prince Śeṣha instead of some other favourite serpent, and piles together a number of adjectives. The first of these things is often done by court poets; e. g., in *Raghuvamśa* XIV. 31, Kālidāsa describes Rāma as *Sarpādhirājorubhujā*. Somewhat more rare is the absurd notion in *ti-samuda-toya-pīta-vāhanasa* 'whose armies drink the water of the three oceans,' though sanctioned by the usage of Indian poets. Similar expressions are now and then met with in panegyrics and *praśastis*, with a view to suggest that the victorious armies have pressed forward to the shores of the ocean. A rhetorician remarks that the water of the ocean would never be drunk. But nevertheless the poets very frequently use expressions like the one above, which, therefore, cannot be looked upon as involving a breach of *auchitya*.⁷⁰

The following lines contain nothing useful for our purpose. Their object is to represent Śātakaṇi as a ruler who lived up to the rules of *Nītiśāstra*. On the other hand, the short epithets in l. 7 remind us of several passages in the descriptions of heroes and heroines by Bāṇa who also frequently interrupts the long-winded compounds and the tiring rows of comparisons, in quite a similar manner, and now and then makes use of similar expressions in such cases. The rightness of what we say will be best shown by placing this part of the inscription side by side with a passage, in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, from the description of the king Śūdraka⁷¹:—

आगमान् निलयसः सपुरितान् असयसः सिरीय अधि-
दानसः उपचारान् पभवसः एककुससः एकधनुषसः एकसु-
रसः एकबम्हणसः ।

कर्ता महाधर्माणामाहर्ता क्रतूनामादर्शः सर्वशास्त्राणामु-
त्पत्तिः कुलानां कुलभवनं गुणानामागमः काव्यामृतरसा-
नामुद्यत्तैलौ दिव्रमण्डलस्थोत्पातकेतुरहितजनस्य प्रवर्त-
यिता गोष्ठीबन्धानामाश्रयो रसिकानां प्रत्यादेशो धनुष्मतां
धौरेयः साहसिकानाममणीर्विदधानाम् ।

Of course Bāṇa's expressions are much more choice, and they show a considerable advance in the development of the style. Nevertheless, a certain similarity is unmistakable and the reason why simpler epithets are inserted in the midst of more complicate ones is no doubt the same in both the cases. In l. 8, we meet with two long compounds which compare Śātakaṇi with the heroes of *Mahābhārata* as well as with the kings of yore described in that work:—'Whose bravery was similar to that of Rāma (Halabhrīṭ), Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena,' and 'whose lustre resembled that of Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Saṃkara, Yayāti, Rāma (of the Raghu race) and Ambarīsha.' Further these two compounds are separated, certainly not without intention, by another epithet inserted between them. Comparisons with the kings of epic tales are as a rule used by Subandhu and Bāṇa, in the descriptions of their heroes, who, however, work them out in a far finer way. They bring out the similarity in particular points by means of a *śleṣha* on every

⁷⁰ See, for instance, the Uḍepur *praśasti*, verse 10; *Ep. Ind.*, p. 234. The name of the rhetorician I have unfortunately not noted.

⁷¹ *Kādambarī* p. 5, l. 12—16; compare also *Kādambarī* p. 56, l. 7—8.

name or they show that their heroes surpass by far the old heroes, in that they go more deeply into the original.⁷² Here, in our inscriptions, we have to do with the beginnings of a development which reached its high point certainly in the seventh century, or perhaps even much earlier.

To the great significance of the immediately following passage, I have already alluded (the *Sāhasāṅkacharita*, of Padmagupta p. 48 ff.) :— 'Who, standing in the forefront defeated the hosts of his enemies, in a battle in which, in a manner immeasurable, eternal, incomprehensible and marvellous, the wind, Garuḍa, the Siddhas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Vidyādharas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas, Chāraṇas, the sun, the moon, stars and planets took part.'⁷³ It is just the oldest instance of a mixture of history and mythology, so usual in the later court poets. As Bilhaṇa repeatedly makes Śiva to interfere in the fortunes of his patron Vikramāditya, or as Hemachandra surrounds his master Jayasinha-Siddharāja with supernatural beings, or as Padmagupta-Parimala reduces the history of the life of Siddharāja to a pure myth, so has here our author given heavenly powers as confederates to the father of his master. This passage thus provides us with an interesting point of connection between our inscription and the style of narration of the court poets. About the meaning of the next phrase, unfortunately we are not sure, as the first letter can be read as *nā* or *ṇa*. If we read *ṇagavarakhadhā gaganatalam abhivigādhāsa*, as is most probably the case, then it would be rendered thus :— 'Who towered up higher in heaven than the shoulder of a great mountain, or the trunk of a grand tree.'⁷⁴ With this we may compare *Raghuvamśa* XVIII, 15, where it is said of king Pāriyātra :—

उच्चैःशिरस्त्वाञ्जितपारियात्रं लक्ष्मीः सिषेवे किल पारियात्रम् ।

'Fortune resorted, indeed, to (the king) Pāriyātra, the height of whose head surpassed (the mountain) Pāriyātra.'

If, on the other hand, we read *nāgavarakhadhā*, then we must translate :— 'Who went up into the heaven from the shoulder of his lordly elephant.' The meaning then would correspond to that of verse 20 in the Lakkā Maṅḍal *praśasti*,⁷⁵ where it is said of Chandragupta, the consort of the princess Śśvarā of Śinghapura :—

भर्तारि गतवति नाकं करिणः स्कन्धात् ।

'As her husband ascended to heaven, from the shoulder of his elephant'

These words describe Chandragupta's death, and would mean that he fell from an elephant, and had his neck broken, or that he, while fighting on elephant-back in the battle, met with a hero's death, or perhaps that he exchanged the splendour of the earthly life of a prince for heaven. The second alternative seems to be the most probable. At any rate the passage referring to Sātakaṇi will have to be understood thus, in case the reading *nāga*^o is the correct one.

In the remaining lines, we have first, the praise of the queen Gotamī Balasiri, 'who, in every way, acted worthy of her title "the wife of a royal sage"; secondly, the very bold, though improper, comparison of the mountain Triraśmi with a peak of the Kailāsa mountain, and lastly the assurance that the cave possessed a magnificence which equalled that of a lordly palace of gods. All these three notions are most usual in *kāvya*s. Instances of the third have been already mentioned by us above on p. 142.

What we have said so far should quite suffice to prove that the Nāsik-inscription No. 18, also, bears a close relationship with the *gadya kāvyas* preserved for us, and that it especially contains many comparisons current in the latter. It must, however, be repeated that this *praśasti* occupies a considerably lower rank than the prose parts in Harisheṇa's *kāvya*, and is still less artificial than the works of Subandhu, Bāṇa, and Daṇḍin.

(To be continued.)

⁷² Compare, for instance, *Vāsavadattā* p. 15; p. 22, l. 1; p. 27, l. 3; p. 122, l. 4—5 and especially the passage from the *Harshacharita* referred to by Dr. Cartellieri, *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. I, p. 123.

⁷³ Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar and Dr. Bhagvānlāl translate *vichīṇa*—which I have freely rendered as 'in which—took part',—by 'witnessed'. The reason why I do not follow this meaning is that no examples of this meaning accepted by the two gentlemen are known to me; on the contrary, *Yuddham vichar* 'to fight a battle' is given in the Petersburg Lexicon.

⁷⁴ The ablative implies here, as is often the case in Sanskrit, that the Positive form has the sense of the Comparative.

⁷⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, p. 13.

MISCELLANEA.

MATACHI : A DRAVIDIAN WORD IN VEDIC LITERATURE.

COL. JACOB, in a paper contributed to the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1911, p. 510, makes two interesting suggestions regarding the word *matāchī* occurring in the *Chhândogya-Upanishad* 1, 10, 1, मटचीहतेषु कुरुषु &c., which is explained by some commentators as रक्तवर्णाः क्षुद्रपक्षिविशेषाः. Col. Jacob says, that "these red-coloured winged creatures are no other than locusts" and that the word *matāchī* "looks like an importation from outside Āryāvarta."

It is interesting to note that both of these suggestions are confirmed by the fact that *matāchī* is a Sanskritised form of the well-known Dravidian word *miḍichi* or *miḍiche*, meaning locusts, which is used at the present day in the Dharwar District. Mr. Kittel, in his *Kannada-English Dictionary*, explains the word *miḍiche* thus: "that which hops, a grass hopper; a locust." According to the same authority the word appears as *miḍutha* in Telugu, as *vittal* or *vettal* in Malayālam, and as *vettukkili* in Tamil. The word is obviously derived from the root *miḍi*, to hop.

Mr. Kittel in the introduction to his *Dictionary* gives a very long list of so-called Sanskrit words, which are really Dravidian. But in compiling this list he seems to have drawn exclusively upon classical Sanskrit, *Matāchī* is thus the only Dravidian word as yet discovered in Vedic literature.

K. B. PATHAK.

SANKARACHARYA'S REFERENCE TO JAYADITYA.

IN his commentary on the *Chhândogya-Upanishad* 1, 1, 4, when elucidating the expression कतमा ऋक् Śaṅkarāchārya quotes the well-known *sūtra* वा बहूनां जातिपरिप्रभे इतमच् [Pāṇini V, 3, 93] and says that the compound जातिपरिप्रभे in this *sūtra* should be treated as a locative and not a genitive compound, and continues :—

It may be contended that the illustration given in the commentary on this *sūtra*, namely, कतमः

कठ इत्याद्युदाहरणम् does not favour our view. But we reply that even this illustration is in perfect harmony with our view, if the question relates to the individuals composing the *Kaṭha śākhā*. Śaṅkarāchārya's words are :—

ननु जातेः परिप्रभ इत्यस्मिन्विग्रहे कतमः कठ इत्याद्युदाहरणमुपपन्नं जातौ परिप्रभ इत्यत्र तु न युज्यते । तत्रापि कठदिजातावेव व्यक्तिबहुत्वाभिप्रायेण परिप्रभ इत्यदोषः ।

Ānandajūāna explains this thus:

अस्माद्विष्ट विग्रहापरिग्रहे वृत्तिकारीयमुदाहरणं विरुध्यते । कठशब्दस्य व्यक्तिविशेषत्वाभावात्तदिति शङ्कते नन्विति । उदाहरणेपि सत्यां कठजातौ तद्व्यक्तिबाहुल्यात्तद्व्यतननिर्धारणाभिप्रायेण परिप्रभे इतम जित्यङ्गीकारान्न परोक्तोदाहरणविराधोऽस्मत्पक्षेऽस्तीति परिहरति तत्रापीति ।

Chhândogya-Up. Ānandāśrama Ed., p. 10 Here वृत्तिकारीयमुदाहरणं means the illustration given by the *Kāśikā-vṛttikāra* Jayāditya, who died in A. D. 661, and whose words referred to above are :—

कतमो भवतां कठः

Kāśikā-vṛitti, Benares Ed., Part II, p. 94. Śaṅkarāchārya omits the word भवतां and indicates this by using the expression इत्यादि thus: कतमः कठ इत्याद्युदाहरणम्. It may be stated here that *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali*, as interpreted by *Kaiyaṭa*, hold that the words जातिपरिप्रभे should be left out of the *sūtra* as unnecessary, and therefore an illustration of this *sūtra* is given in the *Mahābhāshya*. The fact that Śaṅkarāchārya quotes the celebrated Buddhist grammarian Jayāditya, who died in the second-half of the seventh century A. D., is so interesting from a literary and historical point of view that it deserves to be brought to the notice of Sanskrit scholars.

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Poona.

BOOK NOTICE.

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.—A practical guide to the interpretation and verification of Tithis, Nakshatras, Horoscopes, and other Indian Time-records, from B. C. 1 to A. D. 2000.—By DEWAN BAHADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L., LL.B.; published by Grant Co., Madras (1911). Price Rs. 5.

THE present book by Dewan Bahadur S. Pillai dealing with the citation of dates according to the various systems in vogue in India ranging between 1 B. C. and 2000 A. D. fills a longfelt want. Roughly speaking the book may be said to consist of two main divisions—the letter press and the tables. The former gives the preliminary information necessary for an intelligent use of the tables. It explains the relations between Indian Astronomy and Indian Chronology. Chapter XV gives a list of the principal systems of chronology in use in India, along with the mode of calculating the equivalent Christian date therefrom. The catalogue of Hindu festivals in relation to *tithis* given in Chapter XVI is likely to prove of much interest even to the ordinary layman. The three parts, into which the letter-press of the book is actually divided, are so arranged and treated that they gradually develop one into the other, without in the least slackening the interest of the general reader in the study of even such a dry abstruse subject as chronological research.

By far the most important portion of the book—and also the practical one—is the tables given therein. They occupy nearly 250 pages closely bristling with figures. They are twenty-two in all, embodying the various items of value and interest to the historian, the archæologist and chronologist. In these tables the most important one, and of greater practical interest to the ordinary man of the world, is Table X, which enables him to know the exact English equivalent of any date from 1 B. C. to A. D. 2000. In this table also are given the solar years, new moons, and eclipses that occur during this long period of time. The calculations for this period of two thousand years is made according to the mode followed in the *Sūrya-siddhānta* as it is found at present. For the period from A. D. 500 to A. D. 999 the calculation according to the *Āryasiddhānta* also is given, and this special calculation is valuable owing to the immense influence which the *Ārya-siddhānta* enjoyed during this period. Dewan Bahadur S. Pillai's calculation for the period from 1 B. C. to

500 A. D. is made only according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta*. It is accurate and clear, but it is likely to lead the reader to form the wrong impression that *Sūrya-siddhānta* was followed in those days also. Varāhamidhira's *Pañcha-siddhāntikā* no doubt refers to a *Sūrya-siddhānta*, but it was not the *Sūrya-siddhānta* of the present day, from which the author has adopted the mode of calculation in the book. The calculation of the dates prior to 500 A. D. according to the latter-day *Sūrya-siddhānta* is, therefore, not quite in harmony with facts, and is merely a carrying backwards of the process used authentically only for the period from 500 A. D. onwards.

The eye-table appended at the end of the book sums up the results of the preceding tables, and is of great value for obtaining general results. It gives in a remarkably well condensed form almost all the items necessary to determine a date with fair accuracy. But for obtaining a detailed result, the reader must resort to the preceding tables.

Messrs. Dikshit and Sewell's book on Indian Chronology has acquired prominence because it was the first one in the field, but in point of cheapness and utility Dewan Bahadur S. Pillai's present publication in our opinion is much better. To an ordinary man Dikshit and Sewell's book is prohibitive owing to its high price; and consequently there was a longfelt want of a cheap ready-reckoner of dates. Mr. S. Pillai's book, however, meets this want to a remarkable degree. His methods are on the whole generally correct and sound. To workers in the various fields of antiquities and archæology, the present book must prove to be of incalculable value. To the layman also it will be of no small interest, inasmuch as hardly anyone will be found who has not at any time to look up some old date or another. Mr. S. Pillai's book is being constantly used by the *Bhārat-Itihās-samshodhak-maṇḍal* of Poona for verifying dates from Marāṭhā history. In the course of calculations made for several dates of the Marāṭhā period, only one inaccuracy was detected. On page 116, the week day of 1st January 1704 ought to be 7 (Saturday) and not 1 (Sunday) as printed in Table X. This is the only misprint so far discovered. But speaking generally, the work is remarkably free from misprints or inaccuracies of any kind, which are too often the besetting sin of books teeming with figures.

Poona:

G. S. KHARE.

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from p. 239.)

APPENDIX. VI.

An Achin Kupang or Five Doit Piece.⁹⁹

Dr. Hanitsch, *J. R. A. S.*, Straits Branch, No. 39, p. 197 f., says that there was found at Malacca in 1900 "a copper coin, probably one *duit*, of the following description:—Obv., coat-of-arms consisting of a crowned shield enclosing a lion rampant, with the figures 5 and 1/16 to the right and left of the shield respectively. Rev., the legend *Indiæ Batav 1816*." That is, the coin bears the arms of the Dutch E. I. Co. and was struck in Batavia. "Coins identical with it, except for the date, were issued by the Batavian Republic previous to the English occupation of Java, and by the Dutch Government after the English occupation, and the Raffles Museum contains such coins of the year 1802, 1818, 1819, 1821 and 1824. The Museum also contains a coin of 1815; that is, a coin struck in Batavia with the Dutch coat-of-arms during the time of the English rule. Therefore it is possible that the above coin of 1816, found at Malacca, may also have been struck under English rule. I cannot offer any explanation of this. A coin of this kind, but of the year 1802, is figured in Netscher and Chijs, pl. VI. fig. 39 (*De Munt van Nederlandisch Indie*, 1863). The figures 5 and 1/13 to the right and left of the shield respectively are somewhat mysterious. Netscher and Chijs (p. 108) say they are not able to offer any explanation of their meaning."

The coins in question are dated 1802—1824 and therefore the following quotation from Kelly's *Cambist*, 2nd ed., 1835, Vol. I., p. 97, applies to them. "Acheen in the Island of Sumatra. Accounts are kept in tales, pardows, mace, copangs and cash. A tale is 4 pardows, 16 mace or 64 copangs. The coins of the country are mace and cash. The mace is a small gold coin weighing 9 grains and worth about 14*d* sterling. The cash are small pieces of tin or lead, 2500 of which usually pass for a mace, but this number often varies." This scale of money of account was of long standing in Achin: see Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade*, 2nd ed., 1775, p. 87, who makes almost the same statement as Kelly. It goes back in fact a long way in the Malay countries: see Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, Hak. Soc. ed., p. 280 f., writing about 1675.

From the statements above quoted we can extract the following results:

A. Achin Currency.

40	cash	make	1	kupang
4	kupang	„	1	mas
4	mas	„	1	pardao
4	pardao	„	1	tahil

2560 cash to the tahil

640 cash to the pardao

B. Value of mas and pardao.

1	mas	equal	14 <i>d</i> .
1	pardao	„	56 <i>d</i> = 4 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .

⁹⁹ See *ante*, p. 37.

Therefore the *pardao* was a dollar of account (rix dollar, *reichsthaler*) reckoned at 640 cash.

C. Value of the coin.

5 doit (këping)	make	1 kupang = $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents
16 kupang of Achin	„	1 pardao = 100 cents

Therefore the Achin *kupang* was the *këndëri* of the old Dutch popular currency (see *ante*, p. 86). Therefore also the coins represent the *kupang* (*këndëri*) of Achin, which was 1/16 of a *pardao* or rixdollar of 640 cash, and was worth 5 *duit* (*këping*) of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cent. Hence the figures 1/16 and 5 on the coins.

The coins appear to have been struck for the convenience of the Achin trade, then very important. Historically Achin does not seem to have been so closely under British rule as Java was, during 1811-1816, and on the restoration of Java to the Dutch "a good deal of weight was attached by the neighbouring British Colonies to the maintenance of influence in Achin. In 1819 a treaty of friendship was concluded with the Calcutta Government, which excluded other European nationalities from fixed residence in Achin. When the British Government, in 1824, made a treaty with the Netherlands, surrendering the remaining British settlements in Sumatra in exchange for certain possessions on the continent of Asia, no reference was made in the articles to the Indian treaty of 1819; but an understanding was exchanged that it should be modified, while no proceedings hostile to Achin should be attempted by the Dutch." (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., l. 145). It is quite possible, therefore, that the British Government issued the *kupang* or 5 *duit* piece for the Achin merchants as well as the Dutch Government, and its use of the Dutch arms can be accounted for by the almost universal custom of the retention by a new Government of a well-known, even though inappropriate, design on coins meant for popular use.

The coin is not likely to have been intended for Java currency, as at that time "in the local currency of Java, 10 copper doits made one *wang* (a small silver coin) and 12 *wang* one rupee" (*Raffles, Java II. Appendix*, p. 166). Therefore, if intended for Java currency, a coin of 5 doits would equal 1/24 rupee or 1/38 rixdollar, as the rixdollar was then in Java equal to 190 doits (*op. cit.* p. 167). These proportions do not fit in with the statements on the coin.

It is interesting to note that 5 and 1/16 represents a very ancient proportion in India. The oldest copper coinage known there, the *purāṇa*, *paṇa*, *kārshāpaṇa*, or current copper cash, was based according to Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 46, on the cowry by tale, and on the *raktikā* or *rati* (= *abrus precatorius*) by weight, the cowry being equated to the *rati*. On this basis the tale of the actual copper coinage ran as follows:—

grains	cowries or raktikās	paṇa	names
9	5	1/16	
18	10	1/8	ardhakākiṇī
36	20	1/4	kākiṇī
72	40	1/2	ardhapāṇa
108	60	3/4	
144	80	1	paṇa, kārshāpaṇa

"The old copper punch-marked coins of copper and all the one-die [oldest] coins from Taxila were *paṇas*."

This exhibits a most interesting comparison.

Scale of modern gold coins in Sumatra.		Scale of ancient copper coins in India.
9 grains	= mās	= 1/4 kākiṇī
36 „	= pardao	= kākiṇī
144 „	= tahl	= paṇa, kārshāpaṇa

(To be continued.)

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. A.; POONA.

(Continued from Vol. XLII. p. 163.)

XIX.—Āśoka's Rock Edict I. Reconsidered.

Eleven years ago I contributed a note to the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society¹ on Āśoka's Rock Edict I., and therein showed what the true sense of the word *samāja* was and why it was that the Buddhist monarch spoke of it in an edict connected with the preservation of life. I am glad to find that my view has now been generally accepted.² I have, however, since I wrote last about it, found many more references to *samāja*, which are interesting and which throw light, in particular, on the passage *asti pi chu ekachā samājā sādhumatā Devānanī-priyasa Priyadasino*, which I then was not fully able to comprehend. The last portion of the edict wherein he makes mention of hundreds of thousands of animals slaughtered every day in his royal kitchen was also not quite clear. I, therefore, make no excuse for considering this edict again, and, above all, making a somewhat detailed discussion about the word *samāja*.

I have in my last article on the subject cited a passage from the *Harivaṅśa*, which represents Kṛishṇa to have held in honour of the god Bilvokēśvara a *samāja*, which "abounded in a hundred (varieties) of meat and curry, was full of diverse (kinds) of food, and surcharged with condiments." *Samāja* was thus a public feast where meat formed one of the principal articles of food served. This is one sense of the term, and doubtless shows why Āśoka took objection to such a kind of *samāja*. But there is another sense of the word which indicates that there was a second kind of *samāja* where no animal life was sacrificed and which could not consequently have been disapproved by him. No less than three descriptions of such *samājas* I have been able to trace in the Brahmanic literature. One of these has been set forth in the *Harivaṅśa* in verses 4528-4538 and 4642-4658. This *samāja* was called by Kāṁsa in order that his people might witness a wrestling match between Kṛishṇa and Balarāma on the one hand and Chāṇūra and Muṣṭika on the other. Here the word *samāja* is used synonymously with *raṅga* and *prekshāgṛa*, and appears to be a building erected by Kāṁsa for permanent use for entertaining his subjects by the exhibition of public spectacles. The building was at least two-storeyed and divided into a number of compartments with passages running inside. They all faced the east, and were provided each with *mañchas*³ which were arranged in raised tiers one behind the other. Some of these compartments were specially reserved for the various guilds (*śreṇī*) and classes (*gaṇa*), which on festive occasions decorated them with banners indicative of their profession. The prostitutes had also their own *mañchas* separately. But ladies of the harem were accommodated in the compartments of the upper storey, some of which were furnished with minute lattice windows (*sūkshma-jāla*) and others with curtains (*javanikā*). The golden *paryaṅkas* and the principal seats were covered with painted cloths (*kuthā*) and flowers. Drinking pitchers were fixed into the ground at due intervals, and fruits, stimulants (*avadanśa*) and unguents (*kashāya*) were provided for. A not forgettable feature of the *samāja* was the offering of *bali*, which has been twice mentioned in this account.

A second description of *samāja* is contained in the *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi-parvan*, chap. 134 and ff. When Droṇa made the young Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes conversant with the science of arms, he informed Dhṛitarāshṭra of it, who thereupon ordered Vidura to have a public exhibition made

¹ Vol. XXI, p. 392 ff.

² Smith's *Āśoka* (2nd edition), p. 156, note; *Early History of India*, p. 165, note 2; Hultzsch in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* for 1911, p. 785.

³ *Mañcha* no doubt corresponds to the Hindi *māñchā* or Gujarātī *māñhī*, and denotes a kind of stool or chair. *Paryaṅka* was only an elaborate kind of *mañcha*.

of their skill. A *samāja* was accordingly announced to the people. Land, even and free from trees, was selected, and the necessary portion of it measured out, by Droṇa, who also made an offering of *bali*. On the ground so selected the architects of the king raised a *prekshāgāra*. The people made their own *mañchas* and the rich folk their own *śibikās*. On the day fixed Dhṛitarāshṭra with the ladies of his royal family attended; and what with musical instruments sounding and what with the excitement of the people, the *samāja* was in an uproar like the ocean. There after Droṇa entered the *raṅga*, again offered a *bali*, and caused Brāhmaṇas to pronounce benedictions. Then the whole array of the young princes made their appearance and commenced each showing to the best advantage his proficiency in the military science.

The third description of the *samāja* occurs in the same epic but in chapter 185 and in connection with the *svayaṃvara* of Draupadī. On an even piece of ground, we are told, and to the north-east of Drupada's capital a *samāja* was erected, adorned with walls, moats, doors and arched gateways and covered with a variegated canopy. It abounded with actors (*naṭas*), dancers (*nartakas*), and hundreds of musical instruments (*turyas*) and was made fragrant by the burning of *aguru* sticks and the sprinkling of sandal water. The *mañchas* were occupied by princes come from the different quarters and by people of the capital town and the districts. For sixteen consecutive days the *samāja* was held, and it was concluded on the sixteenth day with the appearance of Draupadī and the hitting of the target by Arjuna.

It will be seen from the above summaries, brief as they are, that the words *samāja*, *raṅga*, and *prekshāgāra* have been used synonymously and that *samāja* sometimes refers even to the concourse of the people assembled there. All the three *samājas* were held by kings, the first to witness a wrestling match, the second the military manœuvres of the princes, and the third the *svayaṃvara* of a princess. No pains were spared to make the people comfortable and make their amusements complete. *Mañchas* and *panyāṅkas* were set up, and different classes of people had different compartments assigned. Arrangements for drinking water and stimulants were made. Actors, dancers, and musical instruments were also brought in to feast their eyes and ears. The *samājas* were sometimes permanent structures as in the case of Kāṃsa's *samāja*, and sometimes put up temporarily.

The Brahmanical literature thus tells us that there were two kinds of *samājas*, one in which amusements for the people were organised and the other in which meat and other food were distributed among them. The same thing we find in Buddhist literature also. In *Vinaya* II. 5.2.6 we are informed that certain Bhikshus attended a *samāja* that was held on a hill at Rājagṛiha and that they were censured by the people because they like ordinary sensual laymen took delight in dancing, vocal and instrumental music that were going on there. Here not the slightest mention has been made of victuals. But *Vinaya* IV. 37.1 has a different account to give. Here also a *samāja* on a hill near Rājagṛiha is spoken of, and certain Bhikshus again mentioned to have gone there. But there was nothing at this place to gratify the eye or the ear. The Bhikshus are represented in this *samāja* to have bathed, smeared themselves with unguents and dined, and also to have taken some victuals for their brethren. The words used here for dining and victuals are *bhojanīya* and *khādaniya*, which last word the commentator, it is worthy of note, has explained by the term *manṣan*.

We thus find that both the Brahmanical and Buddhist literatures allude to two classes of *samāja*. In one the people were entertained with dancing, music, and other performances, and in the other with food of which meat formed the most important part. Now, turning to Rock Edict I. let us see what Aśoka's attitude towards *samāja* was. There were some *samājas* which he condemned outright and in which he saw nothing but evil. On the other hand, there were some which were approved by him. As this edict is devoted to the preservation of animal life, there can

be no doubt, that, the *samājas*, which the Buddhist emperor tabooed, were those, in which animals were slain to serve meat. And further as there was nothing in the other *samājas* for Piyadasi to object to, these must have been the *samājas* which were called *sādhumatā* by him. But why should they have been considered excellent by him? If they were unobjectionable, he should have bestowed neither praise nor condemnation on them. But why were they designated *sādhumatā*? It is not difficult, I think, at least to frame a reply which is plausible. The *samājas* of the second kind were intended as we have seen for the exhibition of public spectacles. Could Aśoka have given a somewhat different turn to these spectacles and utilised the institution of *samāja* for impressing his people with something that was uppermost in his mind? If my interpretation⁴ of Rock Edict IV. is correct, in all likelihood Piyadasi must have shown to his subjects in these *samājas* representations of *vimānas*, *hastins* and *agniskandhas*, by means of which he claims to have increased their righteousness. He informs us that the sound of his drum became a sound of righteousness. What is probably meant is that the drum was beaten to announce a *samāja* in which these spectacles were exhibited. After publishing my interpretation of Rock Edict IV, I was revolving in my mind the question where Aśoka could have shown these representations to his people. The idea suddenly struck me that as *samājas* were *prekshāgāras* which were thronged by all sorts and conditions of men, he could not have done better than used these places for exhibiting these *vimānas*, *hastins*, and so forth. This is the reason, I believe, why *samājas* of the second class were looked upon favourably by him. That it was the practice of the kings of ancient India to call *samājas* is clear from the descriptions given above and also from epigraphic references cited in my last article. These last speak of Khâravêla, king of Kalinga, and Gautami-putra Sâtakarṇi as having amused their subjects with *utsavas* and *samājas*.

I now proceed to consider the third or last part of Rock Edict I. in which Piyadasi speaks of hundreds of thousands of animals slain every day in his royal kitchen. In my last article on this inscription, I interpreted this passage to mean that these animals were slaughtered to serve meat on the occasion of these *samājas* which he now condemned but which he formerly celebrated. But this interpretation is open at least to two objections. First, the word *anudivasaṃ* is rendered devoid of all meaning. For the natural and usual sense of this term is "every day", and it is not possible to suppose that before the spirit of righteousness dawned upon the mind of Piyadasi, he was in the habit of holding a *samāja* every day. Such a thing is an utter impossibility. Secondly, the slaughter of the animals referred to by him took place, as we are distinctly told, in his own kitchen (*mahānasa*) and not in a *samāja*. Nor is it possible to suppose that these *samājas* were celebrated near the royal palace, and, in particular, in the close proximity of the royal kitchen. For all evidence points to such *samājas* coming off not only far from the palace but also far from the city. Both the *samājas* described in the *Mahābhārata* and alluded to above were held outside the capital towns. And the references from Buddhist literature cited above inform us that they were held on the tops of hills. Hence *samājas* can possibly have nothing to do with the fearful killing of animals, that, as Aśoka tells us, was carried out every day in his kitchen. The questions therefore naturally arise: why did this daily slaughter take place? Was such a thing ever done by any other king? Those who have read chapter 208 of the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* can have no difficulty in answering these questions. In this chapter we are told that two thousand cattle and two thousand kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of the king Rantideva and by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame. This statement, I have no doubt, at once unravels the mystery which has hung over the passage of the edict. We cannot help supposing that like Rantideva Aśoka also was in the habit of distributing meat among his subjects and that his object in doing so must have been precisely the same,

⁴ *Ante*, p. 25 ff.

viz., that of making himself popular. This explanation fits here so excellently that, in the absence of a better one, it may, I think, be safely accepted. But he put a stop to this terrible animal carnage the moment his conscience was aroused and at first restricted it to the killing of three animals everyday which were required strictly for the royal table, and finally abolished this practice also, as we can well believe from the concluding words of the edict.

XX.—Ujjain Stone inscription of Chaulukya Jayasimha.

When I was at Ujjain in January last, I was told by the people that a fragment of an inscription recently discovered was lying in the compound of the local Municipality. On personally inspecting it, I found that though the inscription was but a fragment, the preserved portion of it was of great importance for the history of the Chaulukya and Paramāra families. It begins with the date, *viz.*, Thursday the 14th of the dark half of Jyeshṭha of Vikrama Saṃvat 1195, and refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya sovereign, Jayasimhadeva. His usual epithets also are given, *viz.*, *Tribhuvana-gaṇḍa*, *Siddha-chakravarti*, *Avantindītha* and *Varvaraka-jishṇu*, and he is mentioned to be reigning at Anāhilapāṭaka (Anhilvādā). *Mahattama* Śrī-Dādāka was at that time the keeper of the seal at Anāhilapāṭaka. Then, in lines 7-8, whose meaning is clear but whose grammatical construction is not faultless, we are told that Jayasimha was per force holding the district (*maṇḍala*) of Avantī after vanquishing Yaśovarman, king of Mālwa. The next two lines inform us that Mālwa was held for Jayasimha by Mahādeva, who was a son of Daṇḍa^o Dādāka and who belonged to the Nāgara race. Then follow names of some individuals and the mention of the god Kīrtinārāyaṇa. But as the stone is broken off from here, their connection is far from clear.

The importance of the inscription is centred in the mention of the district of Avantī being held by the Chaulukya Jayasimha after defeating the Paramāra Yaśovarman. This gives confirmation to the fact that the old Gujarāt chronicles speak of Jayasimha as seizing and imprisoning Yaśovarman and bringing all Avantideśa together with Dhār under his subjection.⁵ That Yaśovarman was thrown into prison is borne out by a Dohad inscription,⁶ which represents Jayasimha to have imprisoned king of Mālwa who can be no other than this Paramāra prince. We have a copper-plate grant found at Ujjain, which gives V.E. 1191 as the date of Yaśovarman and couples with his name the titles *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*. Jayasimha must, therefore, have inflicted this crushing defeat on Yaśovarman between V.E. 1191 and 1195. We are told that Yaśovarman contrived to escape from his prison, and, with the assistance of the Chohān king of Ajmer, regained his possessions and came to terms with Jayasimha.

THE PRIORITY OF BHAMAHA TO DANḌIN.

BY RAO BAHADUR K. P. TRIVEDI, B.A.; AHMEDABAD.

THE question of the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin has been discussed fully by me in the Preface to my edition of the *Pratāparudrayasobhāṣaṇa* in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. I have also given there my views in regard to the reference to Nyāsakāra which is found in Bhāmaha's work. Since, however, Prof. K. B. Pāṭhak has chosen to establish his theory of the priority of Daṇḍin to Bhāmaha on the strength of the reference which he thinks is indisputably a reference to Jinendrabuddhi of the eighth century, disregarding, or not attaching much value to, or not caring to refute other grounds which lend a strong presumption in favour of the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin, I shall try in this article first to show that the Nyāsakāra alluded to by Bhāmaha is not Jinendrabuddhi, and then to mention some grounds which lend a very strong colour to the belief in my mind of the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin.

⁵ See *e. g.* the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* (*Ante*, Vol. IV., p. 266).

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. X., p. 159.

The verses in Bhāmaha's *Kāvyaḍālakāra* in which Nyāsakāra is alluded to are as under :—

शिष्टप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा ।
 वृत्ता समस्तषष्ठीकं न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् ॥
 सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण वृत्तहन्ता यथोदितः ।
 अकेन च न क्वर्ति वृत्तिं तद्गमको यथा ॥

The passage from Jinendrabuddhi's *Kāśikāvivarāṇapañjikā*, as quoted by Prof. Pāṭhak, is as under :—

अथ किमर्थं वृत्तः सानुबन्धस्योच्चारणम् । वृत्तो निवृत्त्यर्थम् । नैतदस्ति । तद्योगे न लोकाव्ययेत्यादिना षष्ठी-
 प्रतिषेधात् । एवं तर्ह्येतदेव ज्ञापकं भवति तद्योगेऽपि क्वचित् षष्ठी भवतीति । तेन भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहन्ते-
 त्येवमादि सिद्धं भवति ॥

Now what Bhāmaha urges is that Pāṇini's *sūtra* 'वृत्तकाभ्यां कर्तरि' २। २। २५॥ should be strictly observed and no षष्ठीतत्पुरुष compound formed with words ending in the subjective वृच् and अक suffixes. Consequently no compound takes place in instances like अर्पां स्रष्टा, वज्रस्य भर्ता, and ओदनस्य पाचकः. How then, says Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita, is a compound like त्रिभुवनविधातुः in घटानां निर्मातृस्त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलहः to be accounted for? He then gives Kaiyaṭa's view 'शेषषष्ठ्याः समास इति कैयटः'. It will thus be seen that a compound of कारकषष्ठी with a word ending in वृच् or अक in the subjective sense is forbidden and that whenever a compound of a word in the genitive case is formed with a word ending in subjective वृच् or अक as in त्रिभुवनविधातुः it should be taken as a compound of शेषषष्ठी with a वृजन्त or अगन्त word.

Let us now see what the extract given above from the *Kāśikāvivarāṇapañjikā* means. Nyāsakāra discusses the propriety of the *anubandha* च् in वृच् in the *sūtra* 'वृत्तकाभ्यां कर्तरि.' His extract, as I understand it, means as under :—'Why does Pāṇini pronounce वृच् with its *anubandha* च्? In other words, why does Pāṇini not give the *sūtra* as 'वृत्तकाभ्यां कर्तरि'? What is the propriety of the *anubandha* च्? Nyāsakāra says that वृच् is pronounced to exclude वृन्. That is to say, a compound of षष्ठी with a वृजन्त is forbidden, not with a वृन्त. But this view brings in another difficulty; for the use of the genitive is forbidden with a वृजन्त word by 'न लोकाव्यय-निष्ठाखल्यर्थवृत्ताम्' २। ३। ६९॥ and so षष्ठीसमास with a वृजन्त is out of the question. This difficulty is obviated by Nyāsakāra by supposing that this very *sūtra* is a ज्ञापक that the genitive may sometimes be used with a वृजन्त word and that the विषेध or prohibition of the genitive with a वृजन्त word by the *sūtra* 'न लोका' is अनित्य or inconstant. The prohibition of the genitive with a वृजन्त word being inconstant, the *prayoga* भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहन्ता etc. according to the extract as given by Prof. Pāṭhak or the compounds भयशोकहन्ता etc., can be justified.

In brief, the gist of the Nyāsakāra's contention is this. No compound of the genitive with a वृजन्त word can take place according to Pāṇini's वृत्तकाभ्यां कर्तरि. Therefore compounds of the genitive with a word ending in वृच् should be justified by taking the word ending in वृच् to be वृजन्त.

Now let us see what Bhāmaha means and whether the Nyāsakāra alluded to by him is Jinendrabuddhi. He urges very strongly that Pāṇini must be strictly followed and that compounds of the genitive with a word ending in वृच् should on no account be formed either on the strength of शिष्टप्रयोग, i. e., the use of such compounds by the learned, or on the strength of the view of the Nyāsakāra, as the compound वृत्तहन्ता has actually been mentioned simply on the strength of सूत्रज्ञापक. कथंचित् seems to have been explained by Bhāmaha by सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण. Some justify compounds of the genitive with a word ending in वृच् by Pāṇini's own निर्देश in the *sūtra* जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः. The sense of Bhāmaha's words is quite clear. He contends that Pāṇini must be followed and no compound of the genitive with a वृजन्त word should ever be formed; Nyāsakāra's opinion should on no account be accepted and षष्ठीसमास

with a तृजन्त should not be formed. Thus the view of Bhāmaha's Nyāsakāra is that षष्ठीसमास with a तृजन्त word may take place. This is distinctly against Pāṇini and is therefore very strongly condemned by Bhāmaha. तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकं न्यासकारमतेन न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् means distinctly that according to the view of the Nyāsakāra षष्ठीसमास with a तृजन्त may be allowed. तृचा षष्ठीसमासो भवतीति न्यासकारमतं तन्मतेन तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकं न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् यतोऽपाणिनीयमेतत्—

This is the purport of Bhāmaha's words. Bhāmaha had great reverence for Pāṇini; for at the end of the sixth *parichchheda* he says, 'अद्वेयं जगति मतं हि पाणिनीयम्'

Now let us see whether Jinendrabuddhi is the Nyāsakāra alluded to by Bhāmaha. That the two Nyāsakāras, the one alluded to by Bhāmaha, and the commentator on the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, are far from being one and the same person must have now been clear on the following ground :—

The Nyāsakāra, Jinendrabuddhi, is not in favour of a षष्ठीसमास with a तृजन्त word; but justifies a compound of the genitive with a word ending in तृ by taking the word ending in तृ to be तृन् and not तृच्. Thus Bhāmaha's Nyāsakāra can never be Jinendrabuddhi.

Moreover, वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः means that the compound वृत्रहन्ता is उदित—actually mentioned by Nyāsakāra. It cannot mean सूचितः so that it can be included in the class भयशोकहन्ता owing to the use of the word आदि as Prof. Pāṭhak seems to think. Bhāmaha's Nyāsakāra must be one who has actually used the compound वृत्रहन्ता. It is thus as clear as anything that the Nyāsakāra of Bhāmaha is not Jinendrabuddhi on the two following grounds :—

(1) Bhāmaha's Nyāsakāra is distinctly in favour of the compound of the genitive with a word ending in तृच्; while Jinendrabuddhi is not in favour of such a compound and justifies a compound of the genitive with a word ending in तृ by taking the word ending in तृ to be a word ending in तृन् and not तृच् to avoid the violation of the *Sūtra* 'तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि'.

(2) Bhāmaha's Nyāsakāra has mentioned the compound वृत्रहन्ता on the strength of सूत्रज्ञापक and this compounded word must be understood to be तृचा समस्तषष्ठीक; that is, वृत्रहन्ता is a compound of the genitive with a तृजन्त and not तृजन्त word. Jinendrabuddhi does not mention the compound वृत्रहन्ता at all; and the compound that he mentions according to Prof. Pāṭhak's extract is भयशोकहन्ता. He uses आदि and thus वृत्रहन्ता may be proved to be correct (सिद्ध) according to him. But it is not उदित or actually mentioned by him; nor is it according to Jinendrabuddhi a compound of the genitive with a तृजन्त as Bhāmaha's Nyāsakāra evidently sanctions.

Prof. Pāṭhak says, "I shall give below Bhāmaha's verses, together with the passage containing the Nyāsakāra's *Jñāpaka*, as the extract supplied to Mr. Trivedi from Mysore is most corrupt." Now Bhāmaha's verses given by Prof. Pāṭhak are the same as in my edition of the *Pratāparudrīya* and there is no difference in reading whatsoever; and the extract supplied to me does not differ from Prof. Pāṭhak's extract except in one place, where the reading in my passage is more to the point than the one in Prof. Pāṭhak's extract. My extract is as under :—

अथ किमर्थं सातुबन्धस्योच्चारणं तृजिति । तृनो निवृत्त्यर्थम् । नैतदस्ति । तद्योगे न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठेत्यादिना षष्ठीप्रतिषेधात् । एवं तर्हि तदेव ज्ञापकं भविष्यति तद्योगे क्वचित् षष्ठी भवतीति । तेन भीष्मः क्रुमाराणां भयशोकस्य हन्ता इत्येवमादि सिद्धं भवति ।

On comparing this extract supplied to me for my edition of the *Pratāparudrīya* with Prof. Pāṭhak's extract as given above, it will be seen that there is no material difference in them except at the end in the instance given. Now भयशोकस्य हन्ता is more to the point than भयशोकहन्ता; for Jinendrabuddhi has given this instance to justify the use of the genitive with a तृजन्त word and to show that the prohibition 'न लोकाव्यय—' is अनित्य. The justification of a compound is not in dispute and therefore the reading given in Prof. Pāṭhak's extract is not quite in point; though it appears to be the correct reading as a line of a verse from the *Mahābhārata*.

Prof. Pâthak says, 'When Mr. Trivedi says that "many Nyâsakâras are mentioned in the *Dhâtuvṛitti* of Mâdhavâchârya : क्षेमेन्द्रन्यास, न्यासोद्योत, बोधिन्यास, शाकटायनन्यास," he tells us something less than the truth.' Prof. Pâthak then quotes three or four passages where *Nyâs* or *Nyâsakâra* is mentioned. The truth is that *Nyâsa*, *Nyâsakâra*, *Haradatta*, *Padamañjarî*, *Maitreya*, etc., are mentioned or quoted so very frequently in the *Dhâtuvṛitti* that it is useless to quote passages to show it to the reader. Moreover, the point at issue is whether there was *only one* *Nyâsakâra* or whether there were *more than one* *Nyâsakâra*. To establish that there were more than one *Nyâsakâra*, I have given the different *Nyâsakâras*, mentioned by Mâdhava, and I now quote a few passages where they are mentioned :—

(a) स्पष्टं चैवं 'गूपधूप' इत्यत्र न्यासपदमञ्जर्यादिषु । अत्र क्षेमेन्द्रन्यासे पणतेः सार्वधातुकेऽप्यायविकल्प उक्तः p. 266 Vol. I. Part I. (Mysore edition).

Here क्षेमेन्द्रन्यास is distinctly mentioned as different from न्यास.

(b) कथं तर्हि प्रत्युदाहरणं 'ग्रामण्यै स्त्रियै' 'खलप्वे स्त्रियै' इति । उच्यते—क्रियाशब्दत्वेऽप्यनयोः पुंसि मुख्या वृत्तिः पुंसामेव खल्विदमुचितं यदुत ग्रामनयनं नाम । एवं खलपवनमपि । आध्यानं तु स्त्रीपुंससाधारणमिति विशेष इति । न्यासोद्योतादावप्येवमुक्तम् । p. 74 Vol. I. Part I.

परिग्रहे तु अगतिस्वात् अन्तर्हेत्वा मूषिका इयेनो गत इति भवति । परिगृह्येत्यर्थः । अत्र न्यासोद्योते— 'अन्तःशब्दो धातोः परिग्रहे वृत्तिं कर्गति' इति । p. 14 Vol. II. Part I.

मनोहृत्य पयः पिबति.....उक्तं च न्यासोद्योते 'हन्तिरवधीकरणाङ्गं निवृत्तौ वर्तते अभिलाषनिवृत्तिमवधीकृत्य पयः पिबतीत्यर्थे इति । p. 14 Vol. II. Part I.

'अकथितं च' इत्यत्र न्यासे निवहिरिजिदण्डीन् प्रस्तुत्य ग्रामादीनामप्यजादिवन् क्रियाजन्यफलभाक्त्वेऽपि तद्विवक्षायामकथितत्वमुक्तम् । यदाह—अकथितेष्वेषां ग्रहणं यदा ग्रामादीनामीप्सिततमत्वमनीप्सिततमत्वं च न विवक्ष्यते किं तु कर्तुरीप्सितत्वमात्रमेव तदर्थमिति । न्यासोद्योते च—अजादीनां ग्रामादीनां चोप्सिततमत्वमविशिष्टमित्युक्तम् । p. 529 Vol. I. Part II.

It is not quite clear whether the न्यासोद्योत or the उद्योत on the न्यास quoted here is on the same न्यास that is quoted before or on another न्यास.

सातयतीति सातयः ।.....'सातिः सौत्रो धातुः' इति वृत्तौ । बोधिन्यासेऽपि 'सातिः सुखे वर्तते सौत्रः' इति । जिनेन्द्रहरदत्तौ 'सातिर्हेतुमण्यन्तः' इति । p. 122 Vol. I. Part I.

Here बोधिन्यास is made distinct from the well known न्यास of जिनेन्द्र.

विष्वणनम् । सशब्दभोजनम् । तथा च वृत्तौ—अभ्यवहारक्रियाविशेषोऽभिधीयते यत्र स्वन्नमस्ति । सशब्दं भुङ्क्ते इत्यर्थे इति ।

पिनाकी तु । भुञ्जानः किञ्चिच्छब्दं करोतीति । काश्यपस्तु भोजनमेवार्थमाह । बोधिन्यासेऽपि पक्षत्रयमपि दर्शितम् । pp. 457-58 Vol. I. Part II.

अत्र स्वाम्यादयः केचिद्देतदन्ता घटादय इति । बोधिन्यासे तु ध्वन्यन्ता इति । p. 459 Vol. I. Part II.

सर्वे नादयो षोपदेशा इत्यस्य पर्थुदासे 'नृतिनन्दिनर्दिनकिनादिनाधूनाथनृवर्जम्' इत्यत्र चैनं न पठतुः (मैत्रेयाभरणकारौ) । अत्र काश्यपः—'नाधतेर्षोपदेशस्वमयुक्तं गणकारवृत्तिकारादीनामनिष्टत्वात्' इति । नृतीनन्दीत्यादिवाक्ये नृवर्जे नृत्यादीन् पठित्वैतान् सप्त वर्जयित्वा इति वदन् श्रीकारोऽप्यत्रैवानुकूलः । तथा पर्थुदासवाक्ये नर्दतिवर्जे सर्वानितान् पठतः शाकटायनन्यासकृतोऽप्ययमेव पक्षोऽभिमत । p. 94 Vol. I. Part I.

The above quotations make it clear that Mâdhava mentions more than one *Nyâsakâra*.

Having shown that the *Nyâsakâra* of Bhâmaha is not Jinendrabuddhi, I shall proceed to place before the reader arguments in favour of Bhâmaha's priority to Dandin.

(a) Old writers on *Alankâras* are mentioned as ग्रामहादयः in the following :—

(1) पूर्वैभ्यो ग्रामहादिभ्यः सादरविहिताञ्जलिः ।

वक्ष्ये सम्यगलंकारशास्त्रसर्वस्वसंग्रहम् ॥

प्रतापरुद्रीय. १. २.

(2) भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयश्चिरंतनालंकारकाराः ।

अलंकारसर्वस्व p. 3

(3) भामहादिमतेन तु अर्थान्तरन्यास एव

रुद्रट's काव्यानुशासन p. 116

The views of Daṇḍin being the same as those of Bhāmaha about अर्थान्तरन्यास, Rudraṭa would have said षण्ड्यादिमतेन, had he thought Daṇḍin to be the oldest *Ālaṅkārika* in place of Bhāmaha.

(b) Bhāmaha's work is looked upon with great reverence by authors like Mammaṭa and Abhinavagupta and is called आकर. The following verses have been quoted by Mammaṭa :—

सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते ।

यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलंकारोऽनया विना ॥

काव्यप्र० X.

This verse is quoted in ध्वन्यालोक and लोचन pp. 207-8 and in हेमचन्द्र's काव्यानुशासन p. 267.

रूपकादिरलंकारस्तस्यान्यैर्बहुधोदितः ।

न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनितमुखम् ॥

रूपकादिमलंकारं बाह्यमाचक्षते परे ।

सुपां तिङां च व्युत्पत्तिं वाचां वाञ्छन्त्यलंकृतिम् ।

तदेतदाहः सौशब्ध्यं नार्थव्युत्पत्तिरीदृशी ।

शब्दाभिधेयालंकारभेदादिष्टं द्वयं तु नः ॥

काव्यप्र० VI.

Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his *Arthadyotanikā* on the *Abhijñānaśālikuntala* calls Bhāmaha's work आकर—अत एव सर्वालंकारानामतिशयोक्तिगर्भव्वमाकरे दर्शितम्—“नालंकारोऽनया विना” इति ।

The mention of authors like Rāmaśarman and Śākhāvardhana and works like *Achyutottara*, *Ratnāharaṇa*, *Rājamitra*, and *Āśmakavaṇśa*, and the fact that nothing is known about these authors and works and that they are not found quoted anywhere else lend a strong colour to the presumption that Bhāmaha belongs to very ancient times and this justifies the mention of Bhāmaha at the top of old *Ālaṅkārikas* in expressions like पूर्वैभ्यो भामहादिभ्यः, भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयश्चिरंतनालंकारकाराः, the great reverence in which he was held by authors like Mammaṭa and Abhinavagupta, and the application of the epithet आकर to his work.

(c) Daṇḍin's numerous divisions of *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Ākṣhepa*, and *Vyatireka* and his detailed treatment of *Śabdālaṅkāras* in a separate chapter strengthen the presumption of the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin and of Daṇḍin's belonging to a later age than Bhāmaha ; since the latter's divisions of *Ālaṅkāras* are not so minute and since he does not attach much importance to *Śabdālaṅkāras*.

(d) A close comparison of several portions of the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin almost affords a convincing evidence in favour of the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin. The following may be mentioned as instances :—

(1) Verses about कथा and आख्यायिका—

प्रकृतानाङ्गुलभ्रव्यशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना ।

गद्येन युक्तोदात्तार्था सोच्छ्वासाख्यायिका मता ॥

वृत्तमाख्यायते तस्यां नायकेन स्वचेष्टितम् ।

वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च काले भाव्यर्थशांसि च ॥

कवेरनिप्रायकृतैः कथनैः कैश्चिदङ्किता ।

कन्याहरणसंमामविप्रलम्भोदयाश्रिता ॥

न वक्त्रापरवक्त्राभ्यां युक्ता नोच्छ्वासवत्यपि ।

संस्कृतं संस्कृता चेष्टा कथापभ्रंशभाक् तथा ॥

अन्वैः स्वचरितं तस्यां नायकेन तु नोच्यते ।
स्वगुणाविष्कृतिं कुर्यादभिजातः कथं जनः ॥ भामह.
Compare with the above, the following from Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍḍarśa* :—

अपादः पदसन्तानो गद्यमाख्यायिका कथा ।
इति तस्य प्रभेदौ द्वौ तयोः राख्यायिका किल ॥
नायकेनैव वाच्यान्या नायकेनेतरेण वा ।
स्वगुणाविष्कृत्या दोषो नात्र भूतार्थशंसिनः ॥
अपि त्वनियमो दृष्टस्तत्राप्यन्वैरुदीरणात् ।
अन्यो वक्ता स्वयं वेति कीदृग्वा भेदकारणम् ॥
वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च सोच्छ्रासत्वं च भेदकम् ।
चिह्नमाख्यायिकायाश्चेत् प्रसङ्गेन कथास्वपि ॥
आर्याद्विवत् प्रवेशः किं न वक्त्रापरवक्त्रयोः ।
भेदश्च दृष्टो लम्भादिरुच्छ्रासो वास्तु किं ततः ॥
तत् कथाख्यायिकेत्येका जातिः संज्ञाद्वयाद्भ्रुता ।
अत्रैवान्तर्भविष्यन्ति शेषाश्चाख्यानजातयः ॥

On a comparison of the description of कथा and आख्यायिका as given by भामह and दण्डिन्; it will be seen at once that Bhāmaha recognizes a difference between them; while Daṇḍin says that they belong to one and the same class of compositions with two names. The facts that Daṇḍin knew that the difference between कथा and आख्यायिका was traditional (as the word किल- 'किल इति ऐतिह्ये'- shows) and accepted by old *Ālanikārikas*, that Bhāmaha acknowledges the difference between them and that the points of difference between them (1 आख्यायिका सोच्छ्रासा कथा नोच्छ्रासवती; 2 आख्यायिकायां वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च कथायां न वक्त्रं नाप्यपरवक्त्रम्; 3 आख्यायिकायां नायकेन स्ववृत्तमाख्यायते कथायामन्वैर्नायकवृत्तमाख्यायते) as attacked by Daṇḍin are precisely the same as those mentioned by Bhāmaha afford a strong presumption in favour of the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin.

2 गतोऽस्तमर्को भातीन्दुर्यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः ।
इत्येवमादि किंकाव्यं वार्तामिनां प्रचक्षते ॥
भामह.
गतोऽस्तमर्को भातीन्दुर्यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः ।
इतीदमपि साध्वेव कालावस्थानिवेदने ॥
दण्डिन्.

Here गतोऽस्तमर्कः etc. is declared to be bad poetry by Bhāmaha; while Daṇḍin says that it is undoubtedly good poetry. The use of एव is pointed and seems distinctly levelled against those who call it bad poetry. Bhāmaha is one that we have found as such and this allusion of Daṇḍin is another strong evidence in favour of the priority of Bhāmaha.

3. अपार्थं व्यर्थमेकार्थं संशयमपक्रमम् ।
शब्दहीनं यतिभ्रष्टं भिन्नवृत्तं विसन्धिकम् ॥
देशकालकलालोकन्यायागमविरोधि च ।
प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्तहीनं वृष्टं च नेष्यते ॥
भामह.
अपार्थं व्यर्थमेकार्थं संशयमपक्रमम् ।
शब्दहीनं यतिभ्रष्टं भिन्नवृत्तं विसन्धिकम् ॥
देशकालकलालोकन्यायागमविरोधि च ।
इति दोषा दशैवते वक्ष्याः काव्येषु सूरिभिः ॥
प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्तहानिदोषो न वेत्यसौ ॥
विचारः ककेशप्रायस्तेनालीढेन किं फलम् ॥

दण्डिन्.

It will be seen that the first ten *doshas* mentioned by Daṇḍin are precisely the same as those given by Bhāmaha and that the eleventh *dosha* of Bhāmaha is criticised by Daṇḍin. This is almost conclusive evidence in favour of the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin.

4. The verse

अद्य या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते ।

कालेनैषा भवेत् प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात् पुनः ॥

is given as an instance of प्रयोऽलंकार both by Bhāmaha (III.5) and Daṇḍin (II.276). It is very probable that Daṇḍin has borrowed this verse from Bhāmaha; for when the former does not acknowledge the source from which he borrows as in लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि &c., the latter acknowledges the sources wherever he borrows verses from others as *Rājamiṭra*, *Achyutottara*, etc. Moreover, Bhāmaha says distinctly that the instances to illustrate figures of speech are his own composition (स्वयंकृतैरेव निदर्शनैरियं मया प्रकृष्य खलु वागलंकृतिः । II. 96). This is an additional evidence for the presumption of the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin.

5

काव्यान्यपि यदीमानि व्याख्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत् ।

उत्सवः सुधियामेव हन्त दुर्मेधसो हताः ॥

भामह II. 20.

व्याख्यागम्यमिदं काव्यमुत्सवः सुधियामलम् ।

हता दुर्मेधसश्चास्मिन् विद्वत्प्रियतया मया ॥

भट्टि XXII. 34.

Here it is evident that one has borrowed from the other. The verse is ascribed to Bhāmaha by Srivatsānkamiśra of the tenth century A.D. This places Bhāmaha before Bhaṭṭi of the 6th or the 7th century.

Prof. Pāṭhak quotes from my text the verses यदुक्तं त्रिप्रकारत्वं तस्याः कैश्चिन्महात्मभिः etc. and states that Bhāmaha is attacking Daṇḍin in whose work the three divisions of *Upamā* mentioned by Bhāmaha are found. This inference or presumption does not seem to me to be at all warranted by facts; for Daṇḍin does not divide *Upamā* into three kinds only, but into a number of varieties (धर्मोपमा, वस्तूपमा, विपर्यासोपमा, अन्योन्योपमा, नियमोपमा, अनियमोपमा, समुच्चयोपमा, अतिशयोपमा, उत्प्रेक्षितोपमा, अद्भुतोपमा, मोहोपमा, संशयोपमा, निर्णयोपमा, श्लेषोपमा, समानोपमा, निन्दोपमा, प्रशंसोपमा, आचिख्यासोपमा, विरोधोपमा, प्रतिषेधोपमा, चद्रूपमा, तत्त्वाख्यानोपमा, असाधारणोपमा, अभूतोपमा, असंभावितोपमा, बहूपमा, विक्रियोपमा, मालोपमा, वाक्यार्थोपमा, प्रतिवस्तूपमा, तुल्ययोगोपमा, and हेतूपमा) so many as 32 in number; nor does Daṇḍin's विस्तर or long division of *Upamā* begin with मालोपमा so that Bhāmaha's words 'मालोपमादिः सर्वोऽपि न ज्यायान् विस्तरो मुधा' may be taken as levelled against Daṇḍin. If Bhāmaha had Daṇḍin in view, he would have said धर्मोपमादिः instead of मालोपमादिः

(e) Taruṇavâchaspatis, a commentator on the *Kāvya-darśa*, distinctly mentions in three or four places the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin :—

(a) भामहेन 'कन्याहरणसंप्रामविप्रलम्भोव्यान्विता' इति आख्यायिकाविशेषणतया उक्तम् । आख्यायिकामेव एव अत्र निराकृतः । Com. on I. 29.

(b) हेतुं लक्षयिष्यन् भामहेनोक्तं—'हेतुश्च सूक्ष्मलेखौ च नालंकारतया मताः'—इत्येतत् प्रतिक्षिपति—हेतुश्चेति । Com. on II. 235.

(c) हेतोरलंकारत्वप्रत्याख्यायितं भामहं प्रत्याह—प्रीत्युत्पादनेति । Com. on II. 237.

(d) दशैवेत्यवधारणं न युक्तम् । भामहोक्तानां प्रतिज्ञाहान्यादीनामपि विद्यमानत्वादिति चेदाह । प्रतिज्ञेति । Com. on IV. 4.

In (b) and (c) the commentator states distinctly that Daṇḍin criticises Bhāmaha. He thus places Bhāmaha before Daṇḍin.

I think I have made out a sufficiently strong case for the presumption, almost amounting to certainty, for the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin.

THE DATE OF THE MUDRA-RAKSHASA AND THE IDENTIFICATION
OF MALAYAKETU.

BY KASHI-PRASAD JAYASWAL, M. A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, CALCUTTA.

THE arguments of Telang¹ are conclusive to establish the thesis that the play could not have been written later than the eighth century A. D. Now there is a further piece of internal evidence which has been missed, and which, I think, fixes the date of the play with almost absolute certainty.

The *bharata-vākya* to the play names the reigning monarch: "at present (*adhundā*) may long reign king Chandragupta²". Who was this the then reigning king Chandragupta alluded to in the *bharata-vākya*? Before the eighth century and during a period when Pāṭaliputra was a living town³ (before 644 A. D.) there had been only three Chandraguptas: Chandragupta the conqueror of Seleucus, and the two Guptas bearing that name.

He could not have been the first. Omitting other reasons, it would be sufficient to point out that the Sakas and the Hūṇas are mentioned in the play⁴. I attach more importance to the mention of the latter, who were absolutely unknown in the fourth century B.C.⁵

As the first is excluded, the identification must be limited only to the ambit of the two Guptas, out of whom I would select the latter, Chandragupta (II) the Vikramāditya. Chandragupta I was not a monarch of much importance; his name is not associated in any of the Gupta inscriptions with the suppression of any foreign enemy, or any great deeds to elicit a comparison, as in the *bharata-vākya*, with Viṣṇu. Chandragupta II, on the other hand, did suppress the political power of the Sakan *mlechchhas* of Western India⁶. Also I feel inclined to suspect a veiled defence of the scandalous murder of the Saka Satrap⁷ in the story put forward in the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* of the destruction of the *Mlechchha* Parvataka⁸ by Chandragupta the Maurya through the alleged agency of the *visha-kanyā* ('poisonous girl').

¹ *Mudrā-Rākshasa* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 4th edition), Introduction, pp. 13-25.

² म्लच्छैरुद्दिश्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः ।

स श्रीमद्वन्धुभृत्याभिरभवत्तु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ।

³ Yuwan Chwang (c. 644 A. D.) found Pāṭaliputra in ruins with a population of some 1000 persons. Besides the fact that most of the scenes are laid at Pāṭaliputra, the patriotic speech of Rākshasa about Pāṭaliputra indicates that at the time of the composition of the play Pāṭaliputra was the capital:

"अयि, मयि स्थिते कः कुसुमपुरमुपरोत्स्यति । प्रवीरक प्रवीरक, क्षिप्रमिदानीम् । प्राकारं पेरितः शरासनधरैः क्षिप्रं परिक्रम्यतां, द्वारेषु द्विरैः प्रतिद्विपघटाभेदक्षमैः स्थीयताम्. Act II. verse 13.

⁴ Act V, verse 11.

⁵ I discuss below the Hūṇas of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa*.

⁶ In this connexion the prophecy of the *Purāṇas* as to the rise in Śākambharī (Śāmbhar) of a popular leader, the Brāhmaṇ Kalkī, who is an ordinary man in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* but is treated as an *avatāra* in later works, is significant. There seems to have been some great popular attempt made at uprooting the Sakas in Mālavā and Western Rājputānā about the early decades of the Gupta days, at which point the earlier *Purāṇas* close their chronology. [The *Vāyu*, I think, closed before the reign of Chandragupta II, probably in the early days of Samudragupta. For the dominions of the Guptas described there precedes the conquests of Samudragupta :

अनुगर्जं प्रयागञ्च साकेतं मगधांस्तथा ।

एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्षन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥ *Vāyu-Purāṇa* 37 ch. 277.]

⁷ भरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीविषगुप्तञ्च चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमनाशयत्. "Chandragupta, in the capital of the enemy, disguised as a beautiful woman, killed the lord of the Sakas who wanted wives of others". *Harsha-charita*, VI. The truth seems to have been that while a war was waged by Chandragupta II against the Satrap, probably an agent of Chandragupta took advantage of some scandalous intrigue of the Satrap and killed him.

⁸ The *Parvataka* of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* probably conceals in it the historical *Philippos*, Alexander's Satrap of the Panjab, who is recorded to have been murdered by Indian troops. Philologically *Philippos* would be changed into *Piribo*, * *Piribao* or * *Pirabao*; and an attempt to restore *Piribo* or *Pirabao* into Sanskrit would produce *Parvata* or *Parvataka*.

On the basis of the occurrence of the Hūnas in the play, it might be argued that the play must be dated after the Hun irruptions into India, which are believed to have taken place a generation later than the reign of Chandragupta II⁹. But the Huns had been known to this country before they came in as invaders. The *Lalitavistara* mentions the *Hūna-lipi*. They came to be known through the intercourse between India and Tartary and China, which had been well-established and frequent in the 1st and 2nd century A. D. A series of Hindu missionaries of Buddhism¹⁰ to China had already preceded Dharma-raksha (d. 313 A. D.), the translator of *Lalitavistara*. The *Questions of Milinda*, (ii. pp. 203-4) describes "people from Scythia, Bactria, China and Vilata (Tartary)" coming here. We do not know exactly where the Huns stayed immediately after they were driven away by China in the 1st century A. D. But this much is certain that they must have remained in the neighbourhood of Transoxiana through which the route to China lay. Before their attack on Persia (420 A. D.) they had already occupied Bactria. At Balkh and Bamian they had their head-quarters from which they raided south-west and south-east¹¹. In view of these circumstances there is nothing contradictory in having an author under Chandragupta II mentioning the Huns. The very mention shows that up to that time the Huns had not yet occupied any part of India, for they are associated with the Chinese or China (*Chīna-Hūnaiḥ*, *Mudrā-Rā. Act V, verse 11*). By Kālidāsa they are described as occupying Kāshmir (the land producing saffron)¹²; their Chinese association was completely forgotten in his days. It is also worthy of note that they do not figure in the first army of invasion which came to help Chandragupta against the Nanda (Act II, p. 124); they only appear in the army of Malayaketu, and there too not prominently, but as mere auxiliaries to Śaka monarchs (the northern Śakas = the Kushānas)¹³. They had not yet shown themselves superior to their Scythian neighbours, whom they actually overthrew about 465 A. D.

The conclusion, therefore, to which we are led is that the play knows the Hūnas of a time when they had not yet acquired any territory in India, although an attack from them was considered probable. We may roundly put it down on chronological considerations c. 410. A. D. This also would confirm the view that the reigning Chandragupta of the *bhārata-vākya* must be Chandragupta-Vikramāditya (d. c. 413 A. D.) And the annoyance caused to the country by the *mlechchhas* at the time of the composition of the drama would refer, if the composition, as it seems probable, took place after the suppression of the Western Satrap (c. 390 A. D.), to the Kushanas, or possibly to the new element of the Huns, who might have already made some incursions, possibly in league with the Kushānas, during the last years of Chandragupta's reign.

"Malayaketu." All the nations, which help the *mlechchha* king Malayaketu, in his invasion of Pāṭaliputra, belong, as the late Mr. Telang has pointed out, 'one and all' 'except the name-Malaya' 'to the northern parts, and most to the northern frontier of India,'¹⁴ to be more accurate,

⁹ V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2nd ed., p. 284.

¹⁰ e. g., Mahābala (c. 197 A. D.), Dharmapāla of Kapilavastu (c. 207 A. D.), Dharmakāla (222 A. D.), Vighna (c. 224 A. D.).

¹¹ Sir C. N. Eliot, *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., Vol. IX, p. 680.

It is very probable that the invasion of Balkh by Chandra of the Delhi Iron Pillar inscription (who has been now conclusively identified with Chandravarma (c. 400 A. D.) by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri in the light of his new Mandasor inscription) was in response to an early Hun inroad in territories, which were not subject to Samudragupta.

¹² *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 67-68. The Hunic occupation of Kāshmir comes over a century later, i. e., after Mihirakula's defeat (c. 530, A. D.) by Bālāditya and Yaśodharman. This would place Kālidāsa about 540-550 A. D., or some 130 years at least later than the composition of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa*. (I may mention here that I have come across a Hūn caste at Almora, Himalayas.) [For a different interpretation of these verses of Kālidāsa about Hūnas, see Prof. Pathak's note, *Ante*, vol. XLI.—D. B. B.]

¹³ गान्धारैर्मध्ययाने यवनपतिभिः संविधेयः प्रयत्नः ।

पञ्चान्तिष्ठन्तु वीराः शाकनरपतयः संवृ [भृ ?] ताञ्चीनहूणैः ॥

¹⁴ *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, Introduction, p. 33.

to the north-western frontier of India. Malayaketu's predecessor, Parvataka, also belonged to the same regions. Not a single southern nation is mentioned in his army. Malayaketu thus obviously has no connection with the Malaya of the south. Further, no Malaya¹⁵ in the north-west is known to any branch of Indian literature. And as *Malaya* is nowhere associated with the name of Malayaketu's alleged father and predecessor the *mlechchha* Parvataka, it does not seem to be connected either with any place-name or with any tribal designation. In view of these considerations *Malayaketu* can not be taken as representing originally a Samskrūta name. It appears to be merely a samskrūtised edition of the original *mlechchha* name of the *mlechchha* invader. I propose to read *Malayaketu* as *Salayaketu*, taking the latter as a Hindu edition of *Seleucus*. There is a deceptive similarity between the letters *ma* and *sa* of the Gupta and later scripts, and the change from an unfamiliar *Salaya*-into the familiar *Malaya*-would have been an easy process in the course of copying manuscripts. Whom else could Indian tradition have intended by the *mlechchha* king 'Malayaketu' invading from the north-western frontier with a huge army of Greek and other (auxiliary) forces against Chandragupta the Maurya than the Greek Seleucus? If by the invasion of Malayaketu the Greek invasion¹⁶ alone could be meant, the proposed reading *Salayaketu* in place of *Malayaketu*, I submit, has a very strong case.

KINSARIYA INSCRIPTION OF DADHICHIKA (DAHIYA)
CHACHCHA OF VIKRAMA SAMVAT 1056.

BY PANDIT RAMKARNA; JODHPUR.

AN article on the above has been prepared and sent by me for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*, but a summary of it is given here for the information of those interested in the ancient history of Rajputana.

The inscription belongs to the reign of a prince called Chachcha, a feudatory of Durlabharāja of the imperial Chāhamāna dynasty and whose genealogy is as follows:

Vākpatirāja
|
Simharāja
|
Durlabharāja

Chachcha is spoken of as a prince descended from the well-known *rishi* Dadhichi. The inscription unfolds the following genealogy of this chief:—

Meghanāda
|
Vairisimha
|
Chachcha

|
Yasāhpushṭa

|
Uddharaṇa

Chachcha is styled Dadhichika or Dahiyaka, which is now-a-days called Dahiyā. The following remarks translated from the Hindi Marwar Census Report of 1891 would be found interesting:—

"Some people hold that Dahiyās are the one-half race that goes to complete the thirteen and a half races of Rāthors. They once ruled over Parbatsar and Jālor, but now they are scattered

¹⁵ Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstri has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that the term *Malaya* is itself a Dravidian word meaning 'mountain.' Cf. Caldwell, *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., p. 21.

¹⁶ It is probable that some of the details of the invasion of Seleucus might have been confused with the details of the invasion of Menander, e. g., the march upon the capital Pāṭaliputra might have been transferred from the latter to the former, although it is not impossible that Seleucus was actually rased into a long march in the interior—a strategic policy largely and very successfully followed later on by the Parthians.

here and there. The old fort of Jâlor was constructed by the Dahiyâs. They now abound in the districts of Jâlor, Bâli, Jaswantpurâ, Pâli, Siwânâ, Sâncor and Mallânî. They observe widow marriage, and are not regarded as of equal position with other Rajputs.”

A detailed and more reliable account of this clan is contained in Mûtâ Neṇasî's *Chronicle*, a summary whereof will not here be out of place :—

“ The original seat of the Dahiyâ Râjpûts is reported to be a fortress named Thâlner situated on the banks of the Godâvarî near modern Nâsik, whence they migrated into Mârwar. In the Ajmer province they held the following places :—(1) the Derâvara-Parbatsar group of fifty-six villages, (2) Sâvar-Ghaṭiyâli, (3) Harsôr and (4) Mâhrôt also called Vîlanavâṭî. All the four villages lie in the north-eastern part of Mârwar. They also owned villages in south-western part as well, i. e., Jâlor and Sâncor.¹ Sâncor is said to have been conquered by Vijayasî with the aid of an accomplice, Vâghelâ Mâhirâvana (sister's son of Vijayarâja), from the Dahiyâ Vijayarâja in S. 1142. This event is recorded in a verse quoted below :—

“ धरा धूण धकचाल् कीध दहिया दहवहे ।
 सबसी सबलां साल प्राण मेवास पदहे ॥
 आलण सुत विजयसी वंस आसराव प्रागवड् ।
 खाग त्याग खत्रवाट सरण विजै पंजर सोहड् ॥
 चहुवाण राव चौरंग अचल नरां नाह अणभंग नर ।
 धू मेर सेस जां लग अचल ताम राज साचोर धर ॥ १ ॥ ”

Mûtâ Neṇasî also gives a list of the Dahiyâ princes, who reigned round about Parbatsar and Mârôt. He mentions Dadhîcha as one of their ancestors and specifies their names as follows :—

No. 27 Râha Râṇo (who inhabited Rohaḍî). No. 28 Kaḍava Râṇo. No. 29 Kîratasî Râṇo. No. 30 Vairasî Râṇo. No. 31 Châcha Râṇo (who raised a temple on a hill in the village of Siṇahaḍiyâ). No. 32 Anavî Udharâṇa (who ruled over Parbatsar and Mârôt).

It is clear that the names Vairasî, Châcha and Udharâṇa of this list (Nos. 30-32) exactly correspond to Vairisimha, Chachcha, and Uddharâṇa of our inscription. The list however gives Kîratasî as the name of Vairasî's father, whereas he is called Meghanâda in the inscription. But there is nothing to preclude the supposition that Meghanâda and Kîratasî (Kîrttisimha) were the names of one and the same prince, as instances are not wanting of kings known by more than one name. Châcha Râṇo, as we have just seen, is described in Mûtâ Neṇasî's *Chronicle* as having built a temple on a hill in the village of Siṇahaḍiyâ, which seems to be an old name of Kîṇasariyâ. Our inscription also tells the same story, *viz.*, that Chachcha caused a temple of Bhavânî to be built. The epithet *anavî*, which is coupled with Udharâṇa, appears to be a corruption of *anamva*, meaning “ unbending.” He was succeeded by Jagadhara Râvata, who ruled over Parbatsar. He constructed a temple, dug a step-well and a well in village Mânḍala, 2 miles from Parbatsar. His second son was Vîlhaṇa, who wielded sway over the whole district of Mârôt, which is, up to the present day, called Vîlanavâṭî. He used to reside in the village of Deḍârâ situated on a hill and 4 miles from Mârôt, where an old fort and a tank still exist. Some Dahiyâs are still called Deḍârâ-Dahiyâs after this village. Of the succeeding generations, Bîbo (No. 34) constructed a tank called

¹ There are several villages which are collectively still called Dahiyâpaṭṭî, as districts of Mârôt and Parbatsar are called Goḍâṭî (on account of their being once held by Gauḍas) and districts to the north of Jodhpur are called Indâvâṭî (owing to their being once ruled over by Încâ Râjpûts). This name Dahiyâpaṭṭî, is sufficient to testify the fact that Dahiyâs held some sort of sway over that part of the country in some time past.

Bibâsar in Parbatsar ; and Hamîra (No. 35) was a great warrior. His deeds are beautifully described in the following verses :—

“महाकाल जमजाल जोधर जैमल्लरा,
काल्हरो कथन संसार कहियो ।
दुरत पतसाहरै साल व्हो वूदडौ,
दूदडा तयै उर साल इहियो ॥ १ ॥
निवड भड निडर नरनाह नरवहरो,
सकज भड स्यामरौ काम सधीर ।
हियै पतसाह साल हाडो हवौ,
हियै हाडा तयै साल हमीर ॥ २ ॥
आवरत कहर असवार आखाड सिध,
काम पहचाड इधकार कीयो ।
दूदडै दूठ पतसाह ओ सुख दियो,
दुरत दूवा उर साल हीयो ॥ ३ ॥”

There is a number of *pâtalis* or figures of *śālis* in an enclosure adjoining the temple containing this inscription. One of these figures bears an epitaph dated V. S. 1300 and containing the name of Vikrama son of Kîrtisimha Dahiyâ.

This shows that Dahiyâs held this part of the country for nearly 300 years, *i. e.*, up to 1300 V. S. The use of the letter *râ*, which is but an abbreviation of *râjâ*, prefixed to the name of Kîrtisimha, and the word *râjñî* before that of his wife show that Kîrtisimha was a ruling prince, and not an *âdâ*² Râjput. The Dahiyâ kings mentioned in our inscription were chieftains, no doubt, feudatory to the Châhamâna overlords, but also wielding sway over a tract of a country. This fact is again corroborated by the following abstract from an inscription of V. S. 1272 discovered in Maṅglâṇâ in the Mârôṭ district :—

“दधीचवंशे महामंडलेश्वरश्रीकदुवराजदेवपुत्र—
श्रीपद्मसीहदेवसुतमहाराजपुत्रश्रीजयतस्यं(सिंह)”

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Śrî Relâṇa-deva (lord) of Raṇastambhapura or Raṇthambhor, and records some arrangements made in connection with a step-well. In this inscription also, the Dahiyâ prince, Jayatasimha, is spoken of as *mahâ râjaputra*, and his forefather Kaduvarâjadeva as *mahâmaṅḍalêśvara*, showing that originally the Dahiyâs were certainly of a higher status than that of *âdâ* Râjputs, to which position they have now sunk.

A NOTE ON A FEW LOCALITIES IN THE NASIK DISTRICT MENTIONED IN ANCIENT COPPERPLATE GRANTS.

BY Y. R. GUPTA, B.A. ; NASIK.

1. Vaṭanagarikâ.

Vaṭanagarikâ occurs in the Pimpri plates, edited by Prof. Pâthak in the *Epigraphia Indica*.¹ On page 85 he says that Lîligrâma and Vaṭanagarikâ are identified by Mr. G. K. Chândôrkar with Nilgavhân and Vaṇî in the Nâsik District. I do not intend to pass any remarks at present on the identification of Lîligrâma with Nilgavhân. But the assertion that Vaṇî is the modern representative of the ancient Vaṭanagarikâ seems to me to be without any foundation.² If

² A Râjput is called an *âdâ* as distinguished from a *jâgirâdâr*. An *âdâ* Râjput is thus one who owns no *jâgir* and is for that very reason looked upon as of inferior status.

¹ Volume X, pages 81 to 89.

² This identification was first proposed by Dr. Fleet when he edited the Vaṇî grant (*ante*, Vol. XI., p. 157), but he afterwards identified Vaṭanagarikâ with Vaṇner (*ibid*, Vol. XXXI, p. 218)—D.R.B.

proof is wanted, it is afforded by the mention of Vaṭanagara in the Kalachuri grant of the year 360 (about A.D. 609),³ which must be Vaṭnêr in the Chândavad *tālukā* of the Nāsik District, where it was discovered. I do not urge that the Vaṭanagarikā of the Pimpri plates must be this Vaṭnêr. Probably it is not. But the name Vaṭnêr is sufficient to show that this must really be the modern form of the ancient name, Vaṭanagarikā. As in the Pimpri plates the name given is Vaṭanagarikā, it appears that this was in all probability smaller than Vaṭanagara of the Vaṭnêr plates. But there is another Vaṭnêr, *viz.*, in the Mālegaon *tālukā* on the bank of the river Mōsam, and probably it is this Vaṭnêr which may represent Vaṭanagarikā, if the identification of Mōsinī with Mōsam, which is all but certain, is accepted.

2. Vallisikā, and 3. Bhogavardhana.

These localities occur in the Ābhōṇe plates⁴ of Saṅkaragaṇa of the imperial Kalachuri dynasty. To a Brāhmaṇ of Kallāvana (Kalvan in the Nāsik District) the village Vallisikā in the province of Bhogavardhana is noted as given, while king Saṅkaragaṇa was encamped at Ujjayinī. Balhêgāon in the Yeola *tālukā*, about 15 miles from Ujjani, may perhaps be the modern representative of the ancient Vallisikā. The shortened form of Vallisikā would be Valhā and then Balhā, and would further run into the modern longer form Balhêgāon. There is a village called Bôḡṭe not far from Balhêgāon, which may perhaps be Bhôgavardhana. I would propose another set of villages for consideration. Vallisikā is most probably Vārsi *l* and *r* being interchangeable, and *a* being changed to *ā* for the ease of pronunciation, as a conjunct consonant follows, and the *ka* being dropped. This village is about 8 miles from Kalvan. Bhôgavardhana very likely must be Bhagurḍi, an ancient village in a dilapidated condition just near Ābhōṇ, *v* taking *saṃprasāraṇa* and the vowel preceding and following it being dropped. It is worthy of note that the plates were discovered not far from it. Again, Bhagurḍi seems comparatively older than Bôḡṭe. Bhagurḍi is 8 miles from Kalvan and $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Ābhōṇe.

It would be of some use to the antiquarians, if I would note one or two particulars about the above plates, not given in the *Epigraphia Indica*. They belong to Parvatrao Bhāusing Thôkê of Ābhōṇa in the Kalvan *tālukā*. The plates weigh 132 *tolas* without the rings and the seal, which are missing. (I have taken impressions and plaster casts from them. They were kindly forwarded to me by Mr. L. S. Potnis, Mamlatdar of Kalvan).

4. Chebhatikā.

Chebhatikā occurs in the inscription of Karkarāja, edited by Mr. D. R. Bhaṅḍārkar. He identifies it with simply Chehḍī, in the Niphād *tālukā*. But it is better to call it by its usual name Chehḍī Khurd, to distinguish it from Chehḍī Budruk close to it in the Nāsik *tālukā*.

5. Dadhivāhala and 6. Paḍalāvadaṭana.

These localities occur in the partly forged Daulatābād grant,⁵ edited by Mr. D. R. Bhaṅḍārkar, which prove that Dhruva usurped the throne, deposing Givinda II. Of the boundaries of the village, which appeared to Mr. Bhaṅḍārkar something like Sāmira, two can easily be identified. The village situated on the west is Dadhivāhala. This would naturally assume the form Dahivāl, *dahi* being the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit word *dadhi*. Dahivāl is in the Mālegaon *tālukā*. The name of the village on the north is given as Paḍalāvadaṭana, the latter part of which would be dropped and the former would become Paḍalād very naturally. It is 4 miles from Dahivāla.

³ *Ante*, July 1913, p. 207.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., p. 183.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 296ff.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., pp. 193 to 198.

BOOK NOTICE.

SIVA-SŪTRA-VIMARŚINĪ AND PRATYABHĪJÑĀ-HRĪDAYA, Nos. 2 and 4 of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies. By J. C. Chatterji, B.A. (Cantab.) Vidyā-vāridhi. Printed at the Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, Bombay. THE Archaeological and Research Department of the Jammu and Kashmir State has been under the distinguished patronage of H. H. the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, preparing for publication a number of Sanskrit and Kashmiri works, which have so far remained unpublished, and which are called the "Kashmir series of Texts and Studies." The works under review form Nos. 2 and 4 of this comprehensive series. The editor has undoubtedly rendered great service to the cause of Kashmir Śaivism by the publication of these two works. The first gives the *sūtras* called *Śiva-sūtras*, and a commentary on the same by Kshemarāja. These *sūtras*, according to tradition, were revealed to Vasugupta, who handed them on to his pupils, who interpreted them in several ways. Kshemarāja, the commentator, says at the very beginning, that there lived on the Mahādeva-giri, the great teacher, by name Vasugupta, who, always devoted to the worship of Śiva, received an inspiration from the same. Once, the great Śiva, being moved to pity by the unsatisfactory condition of the world of mortals, inundated as it was with the doctrines of Duality, wished that the doctrine of Unity should be spread, and hence appeared to this Vasugupta in a dream, and gave him to understand thus:—'On this same mountain, on a great slab of stone, there lies the secret; know it and proclaim it to those who are worthy of the favour.' On getting up, Vasugupta searched for the stone. As he approached it, he turned it round with his hand and found his dream realized. This is the origin of the *Śiva-sūtras*'.

Kshemarāja, who names himself as the pupil of Abhinavagupta, represents one school of interpretation, as opposed to that of Kallaṭa and his followers. It should be noticed here that the *Śiva-sūtras* must not be confounded with the *Spanda-sūtras*, as Bühler seems to do. In his *Kashmir Report of 1875-76*, one manuscript, really containing the *Śiva-sūtras*, which we have before us now, is named *Spanda-sūtra* without any reason.¹ That *Śiva-sūtras* and *Spanda-sūtras* must be the names of two different collections of *sūtras* follows from what Kshemarāja remarks on p. 3 of the 1st volume before us—'तत्पारम्पर्यप्राप्तानि स्पन्दसूत्राणि अस्माभिः स्पन्दनिर्णये सम्यक् निर्णीतानि । शिवसूत्राणि तु निर्णीयन्ते ।'—

The *Śiva-sūtras* are divided into three sections, called *ummesha*, dealing with the three remedies of attaining to Unity of Śiva, without which freedom from this worldly existence is impossible. The

three remedies are technically called *sāmbhava*, *sākta* and *āṇava*. Thus the *Śiva-sūtras* and so the *Vimarśinī* also do not give us any satisfactory idea of what the philosophy of Śaivism is, except only incidentally, but at once proceed to show men, in the words of the editor himself, 'a practical way of realising by experience the fact that man is essentially.....no other than the Deity himself, and of enabling him, in virtue of this realisation, to attain not only to absolute freedom from all that limits him and subjects him, as a helpless creature, to the sorrows and sufferings of limited existence—but also to gain the omniscience like the Deity himself, indeed, as one with him'.

Thus it would be seen at a glance that the *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī* is not at all the book with which one should commence his study of Kashmir Śaivism. One is at first likely to think that the *sūtras* may provide us with an outline of Śaivism from the philosophical and argumentative point of view, as is for instance the case with *Nyāya-sūtras*. But the reader is disabused of this illusion as soon as he goes to the fifth *sūtra*. Besides, the over-abundance of the technical terms of the *Mantra-śāstra* and the uncouthness of style have rendered the book a hard nut to crack, and in the prose of Kshemarāja we miss the fluency and literary finish which characterise many a similar manual of *Vedānta*.

The second volume, however, named *Pratyabhijñā-hrīdaya* is calculated to be more useful to the beginner than the first, by its very nature. As the name signifies, it aims at giving the essence in brief of the *Pratyabhijñā* or the doctrine of 'Recognition,' in twenty *sūtras* with a commentary on them, by Kshemarāja. Thus this book 'bears the same relation to the *Advaita* Saiva system of Kashmir as the *Vedāntasāra* of Sadānanda does to the *Vedānta* system. That is to say, it is intended to be an easy introduction to, and a summary of the doctrines of, the system.'

All the same, one must not be too sanguine about the usefulness of the treatise, in the absence of some preliminary knowledge of Śaivism.

The editor, too, has not come to our help by giving a short sketch in the preface, but he only refers us to his book 'Kashmir Śaivism', which is intended to be a general introduction to the history and doctrine of the system in question, but which, unfortunately, has not seen the light of day as yet.

The *Pratyabhijñā* doctrine, with which both the volumes before us deal, and which is called by the editor, by the general name of Kashmir Śaivism, corresponds really to the *Pratyabhijñā darśana* in

¹ Bühler's *Kashmir Report*, p. clxvii. The same point has been referred to by Sir R. G. Bhaṅḍārka in his 'Report 1883-84. (Section on Śaivism.)

the *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* of Mādhavāchārya, and not to the *Saiva-darśana*, which immediately precedes it in the same work. Mādhavāchārya introduces this 'Recognitive system' thus—'Other Māheśvaras are dissatisfied with the views set out in the Śaiva system as erroneous in attributing to motiveless and insentient things causality in regard to the bondage and liberation of transmigrating spirits. They, therefore, seek another system, and proclaim that the construction of the world or series of environments of these spirits is by the mere will of the Supreme Lord. They pronounce that this Supreme Lord, who is at once other than and the same with the several cognitions and cognita, who is identical with the transcendent Self posited by one's own consciousness, by rational proof and by revelation, and who possesses independence, that is, the power of witnessing all things without reference to aught ulterior,² gives manifestation in the mirror of one's own soul to all entities, as if they were images reflected upon it. Thus looking upon Recognition as a new method for the attainment of ends, and of the highest end, to all men alike without any the slightest trouble and exertion such as external and internal worship, suppression of the breath and the like, these Māheśvaras set forth the system of Recognition.' The very first *Śiva-sūtra* चैतन्यमात्मा is quoted by Mādhava, and the verse which Mādhava quotes and attributes to Vasuguptāchārya, viz.—

निरुपादानसंभारमभिन्तावेव तन्वते ।
जगच्चिन्नं नमस्तस्मै कलाश्लाघ्याय शूलिने ॥

corresponds to the second *sūtra* of Kshemarāja, viz.—'स्वेच्छया स्वभित्तौ विश्वमुन्मलियति'.

Intelligence is the nature and essence of all. Thus the individual soul is the same as the supreme soul. If it is so, why is the recognition of the same fact necessary? In order to make perfect the sameness which no doubt already exists. And a striking instance to illustrate this is given by Mādhavāchārya. A love-sick woman is not consoled by the mere presence of the lover, unless it is so recognized by her. In the same way, the bondage due to ignorance is not put an end to, unless a recognition of the sameness of the lower and the higher soul, which is always existing, is produced by virtue of the instruction of a teacher, etc.³

One more point to be noticed in connection with *Pratyabhijñā-hṛidya* is the *sūtra* No. 8 'तद्भूमिकाः सर्वदर्शनस्थितयः' and the explanation thereof. The different systems of philosophy, or rather the different views held regarding the various problems of philosophy, for instance, by the Chārvākas, the Naiyāyikas, the Bauddhas, the Mīmāṃsakas, the Pāūcharātras, the Sāṅkhyas and so on, are, the *sūtra* says, arising from a more or less partial eclipsing of the real nature of the Supreme Self and of his perfect independence, the final and the most perfect stage being represented by the *Pratyabhijñā* doctrine.

This Kshemarāja, the author of the *Śiva-sūtra-vimarsinī* and *Pratyabhijñā-hṛidya*, lived in the first half of the 11th century A. D.⁴ He was also called by the name of Kshemendra and was the pupil of Abhinava-gupta, and wrote many other treatises amongst which are *Spanda-nirṇaya*, *Spachchhandodyota* and commentaries on several Saiva works.

The get-up of the books is excellent, and the works are, on the whole, carefully and critically edited. Again, the several appendices at the end greatly add to the utility of the volumes. However, we cannot but notice a few defects in the writing of the text. In the first place there is no uniform principle regarding the putting-in of dashes (which are in our opinion generally superfluous) between the different members of a compound word, (see line 8, p. 4, *Śiva-sūtra vimarsinī*.) Secondly, the use of commas and semi-colons is not very discreet and sometimes tends to make a sentence even more illegible than otherwise (e. g., the long sentence on p. 6, *Vimarsinī*). Thirdly, no uniformity is observed in making *saṁdhis*. Thus on p 10 of *Vimarsinī*, we have 'सत् अस्ति इति,' 'कथम् अयं,' and 'बन्ध इत्या... 'संहितया इतरथा च अकार...' On p. 13 of the same we have 'बन्धो ; यावद्.' On p. 17, we have 'अन्तरऽभेदात्...' where the purpose of the *avagraha* sign is not clearly seen. It is to be sincerely hoped that the editor will attend even to these minor points in the publication of the other volumes of his comprehensive series, to make them flawless, so far as possible.

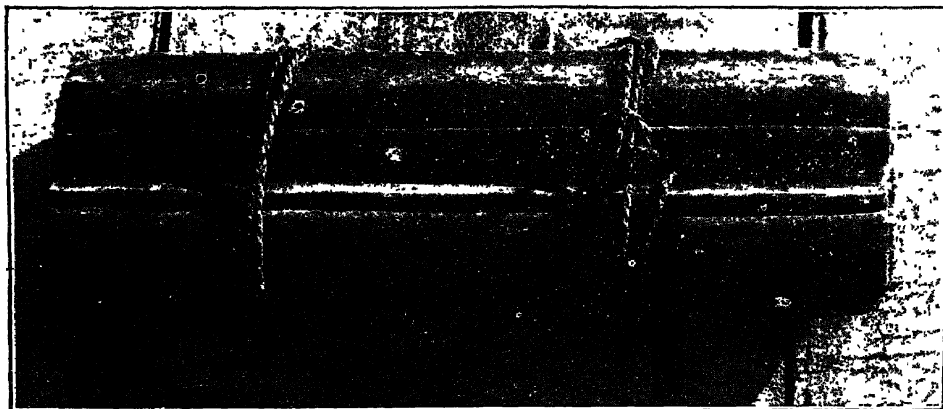
V. S. GHATE.

² This is how Professor Gough renders the word 'अनन्यमुखप्रेक्षित्वलक्षणस्वातन्त्र्य...' which should be rendered thus: 'independence consisting in not having to look up to the faces of others,' i. e., solely depending on himself.

³ नायकगुणगणसंश्रवणप्रवृद्धानुरागा कांचन कामिनी मदनविह्वला विरहक्लेशमसहमाना मदनलेखावलम्बनेन स्वावस्थानिवेदनानि विधत्ते, तथा वेगात्तन्निकटमदस्यपि तस्मिन्नवलोकितेऽपि तदवलोकनं तदयगुणपरामर्शाभावे जनसाधारणत्वं प्राप्ते हृदयंगमभावं न लभते। यदा तु मुर्तिवचनात्तदीयगुणपरामर्शं करोति तदा तत्क्षणमेव पूर्णभावमश्नुते। एवं स्वात्मनि विश्वेश्वरात्मना भासमानेऽपि तन्निर्भासनं तदीयगुणपरामर्शविरहसमये पूर्णभावं न संपादयति। यदा तु गुरुवचनादिना सर्वज्ञत्वसर्वकर्तृत्वादिलक्षणपरमेश्वरोत्कर्षपरामर्शो जायते तदा तत्क्षणमेव पूर्णत्वतामः।' *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* (Ānandāshram Sk. Series), p. 79.

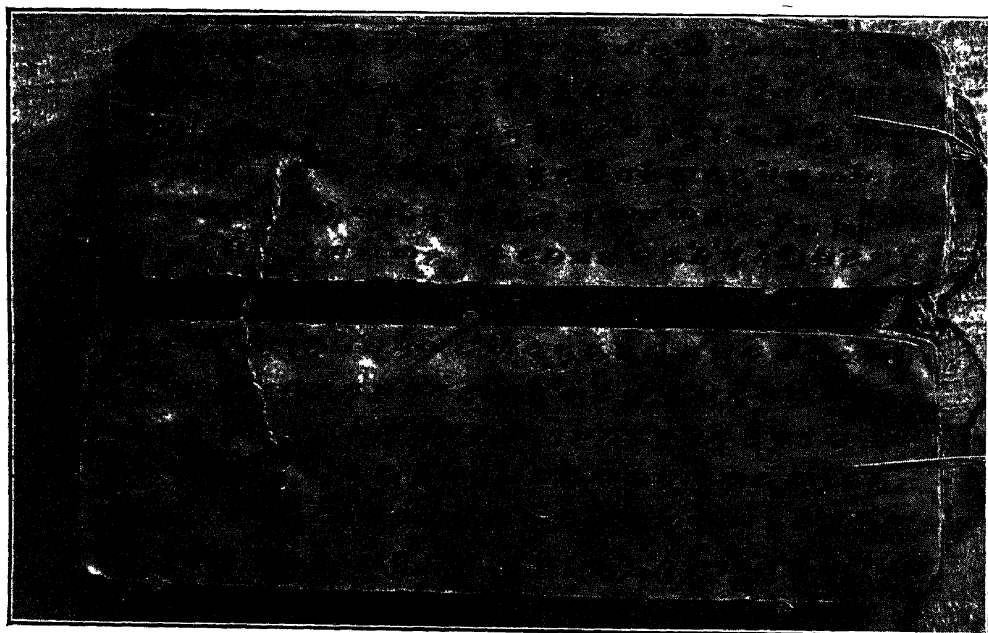
⁴ Bühler's Report, p. 82.

Fig. 6.



Pôthî found in the Ming-oi of Qizil. (*Unopened.*)

Fig. 7.



The same Pôthî. (*Opened.*)

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE
FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR E. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Concluded from p. 254.)

APPENDIX VII.

Synopsis of Malay Currency, 1800-1835.

IN examining the evidence to establish the identity of the Achin five-doit piece I went through the whole of the Malay currency reported by Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 2nd ed., 1813, Vol. II, and by Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, 2nd ed., 1835, Vol. I (s. vv. under East Indies), who includes in his report Milburn's information and that sent him officially. I give here a synopsis of the result. In the following summaries M. stands for Milburn and the figures that follow for the page in his Vol. II; K. stands for Kelly and the figures for the page in his Vol. I.

1.

Spanish Influence Paramount.

Money of Account,

Philippines; Manilla (K. 109, M. 430): Scale.

Proportion		Scale	
372		34 maravedi	= real
8		8 real	= peso (dollar)

2.

Dutch Influence Paramount.

Money of Account.

(a) Rixdollars of 48 stivers, value 3s. 4d. Sumatra; Padang (M. 346): Borneo, Banjarmasin (K. 99).

(b) Rixdollars of 48 stivers, value 3s. 6d. Sumatra; Palembang (K. 112, M. 34).

(c) Rixdollars (value 4s. 7d.) and stivers. Celebes; Macassar (K. 109, M. 409).

(d) Sp. dollars, value 5s. Java; Batavia (K. 100, M. 351); Kaupang (M. 386).

(e) Rixdollars, value 3s. 4d. and Sp. dollars value 5s. 4d. (M. 406). Moluccas; Ternate (K. 120, M. 406).

(f) Scales: value of rixdollar 3s. 4d.

Moluccas; Amboyna (K. 97, M. 396).			Peninsula; Malacca (K. 108; M. 318).		
Proportion.	Scale		Proportion.	Scale.	
192	4 doit	= stiver.	192	4 doit	= stiver
48	4 stiver	= dubbeltje	48	6 stiver	= schilling
12	1½ dubbeltje	= schilling ¹			
8	8 schillings	= dollar	8	8 schilling	= dollar

Moluccas; Banda.

(K. 99).

Proportion	Scale	
768	16 penning	= stiver
48	6 stiver	= schilling
	8 schilling	= dollar
	(.4 penning)	= doit)

¹⁰⁰ Of 192 pie to the rupee, see *ante*, p. 106.

¹ Milburn's scale stops at schillings.

Coins in use.

(a) European and Indian.

Java ; Batavia (K. 100, M. 351) : Sumatra ; Padang (M. 346).

(b) European and Indian valued in stivers.²

Moluccas ; Amboyna (K. 97) : Peninsula ; Malacca (K. 100).

(c) Spanish dollars and other coins.

Moluccas ; Ternate (K. 120), Sp. dollars³ 4s. 7d. (M. 396), ducatoons (4/5 Sp. dollars), crowns at 2% premium on Sp. dollars (K. 120, M. 396) : Celebes ; Macassar, Sp. dollars⁴ 4s. 7d. European and Indian coins : Sumatra ; Palembang (K. 112, M. 347), Sp. dollars 5s. 5d., and holed cash, 500 = 1 parcel, 16 parcels = Sp. dollar = 80,000 cash to the dollar.

3. European Influence.

A Dollar with Native Divisions.

Money of Account.

Peninsula ; Selangor (K. 115, M. 316), 8 tampang = rixdollar : Celebes ; Macassar (K. 107) 7 mas = rixdollar.

Scales

Sumatra ; Sëngkel (K. 118, M. 332).		Sumatra ; Benkulen. (K. 101).	
Proportion.	Scale.	Proportion.	Scale.
64	16 tali ⁵	32	8 tali ⁶
	4 suku	4	4 suku
	= suku		= suku
	= tabil		= dollar
	= 4 Sp. dollar		
	(∴ suku = dollar)		
	Peninsula ; Trengganu. (K. 121, M. 323).		
Proportion.	Scale.	Proportion.	Scale.
25,600	400 pitis ⁷		= kupang ⁸
64	64 kupang		= mas
16	16 mas		= dollar
4	4 dollar		= tabil
	(∴ 6,400 pitis = dollar)		= dollar

Coins in use.

(a) Sp. dollar.

Peninsula ; Trengganu (K. 121, M. 323).

(b) Sp. dollar, value 5s.

Sumatra ; Sëngkel (K. 118, M. 332), Benkulen (K. 101).

B. Dollars with mixed Native and European Divisions.

Money of Account.

Scale.

Java ; Batavia (K. 100).	
Proportion.	Scale.
48	2 stiver
24	3 cash
8	2 tali
(4	4 suku
	= cash
	= tali
	= suku
	= dollar) ⁹

² Milbourn says, p. 318, "in schillings."³ reported (K. 118) as *satalie*.⁴ reported (K. 121) as *patties* ; (M. 323) as *patties*.⁵ Supplied : not in K. 100 ; *suku* = one quarter dollar.⁶ I. e., 4/3 rixdollar.⁷ I. e., 5/4 rixdollar.⁸ reported (K. 101) as *satalie*, *satalier*.⁹ reported (K. 121, M. 323) as *cossang*.

5. Indian Influence.

Money of Account.

Sumatra; Natal (K. 112, M. 334), Sp. dollar of 24 fanam or tali; Java; Batavia (K. 100) 50 pitis¹⁰ = stiver, ∴ 15,000 pitis = rupee of 30 stivers.

Scales.

Sumatra; Tapanuli.

(K. 120).		(M. 334).	
Proportion.	Scale.	Proportion.	Scale.
400	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ kĕping = fanam	400	100 kĕping = suku
24	24 fanam = dollar	4	4 suku = dollar
Sumatra; Benkulen.		Peninsula; Penang.	
(K. 101)		(K. 114, M. 299).	
Proportion.	Scale.	Proportion.	Scale.
24	2 single = double fanam fanam	100	10 pice ¹¹ = kupang
12	6 double = rupee fanam	10	10 kupang = Sp. dollar
2	2 rupee = Sp. dollar	(∴ pice = cent)	

Coins in use.

(a) Sumatra; Natal (K. 112), Sp. dollars and rupees, also 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{3}$, fanam; (M. 335) Sp. dollars and 1, 2, 3 fanam pieces: Tapanuli (M. 334) dollars of 24 fanams.

(b) Java; Batavia (K. 100, M. 351) rupee, value 3s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Scales.

(K. 100).			(M. 351).		
Proportion.		Scale.	Proportion.		Scale.
120	4	doit = stiver	120	4	doit = stiver
30	2	stiver = cash	30	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	stiver = dubbeltje
15	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	cash = dubbeltje	12	3	dubbeltje = schilling
12	3	dubbeltje = schilling	4	4	schilling = rupee
4	4	schilling = rupee			

5. Native System.¹²

Money of Account.

(a) in mas and tahl.

Borneo; Sakadana (K. 119).

(b) Chinese cash.

Peninsula; Bĕntang (Singapore, M. 320): Borneo; Mompara (M. 418).

(c) Scales.

Java; Batavia (K. 100).			Java; Bantam (K. 100, M. 354).		
Proportion.		Scale.	Proportion.		Scale.
400	10	kĕndĕri = cash	10,000	10	pĕku ¹³ = laksanakan
40	4	cash = mas	1,000	10	laksanakan = kati
10	10	mas = tahl	100	10	kati = uta
	(∴ tahl	= dollar)	10	10	uta ¹⁴ = bahar
			25,000	— 30,000	cash = dollar
			(∴ 30	— 40	pĕku = dollar)

¹⁰ Made of lead and tin; proportion 4: 1.

¹¹ Proportion of pice to *kati* of tin, 16: 1.

¹² For Achin (K. 97) see *ante*, p. 253. Milburn, 329, has *manna* for Kelly's 'small mas.' Milburn gives system at Pedir (351), and Analabu (311) as identical with those of Achin, to which these places were subject.

¹³ reported as *pecco*: *pĕku* = Chinese *puk*, a string of cash; see *ante*, p. 215.

¹⁴ *Uta* = string of *kati* here: see *ante*, p. 215.

Coins in use.

(a) European and Indian.

Peninsula; Bântang (K. 320) = Singapore; Java; Batavia (K. 100, M. 354).

(b) Sp. dollars.

Borneo; Sakadana (K. 119, M. 417); Mompara (M. 418).

(c) Native.

Java; Batavia (K. 100), patak and cash.

Scale.

4 cash	=	mas
8 mas	=	patak
(.24 cash	=	patak)

6. Rough Conditions.

No Coinage.

Currency of Accounts.

(a) Tin.

Peninsula; Tocopa (K. 112), bahar of tin (476 lbs.): Junkceylon (K. 106) "pieces of tin shaped like the under part of a cone," (see *ante*, p. 19).(b) Measured linen cloths and paddy¹⁵ (rice in husk).Sulu Archipelago (K. 107, M. 424): Philippines; Magindanao (K. 107, M. 417) in *kangan* (coarse cloth) and paddy.

Coins used by Europeans.

(a) Chinese cash.

Philippines; Magindanao (M. 417), 160-180 to a *kangan*.

(b) Sp. dollars.

Peninsula; Kedah (M. 296), Pahang (M. 320), Pakanga River, Rian (M. 321), Patani (M. 394): Borneo; Pontiana (M. 417) Sambas (M. 419), "Borneo Town" (M. 420).

(c) Sp. dollars and Portuguese coins.

Java; Deli (M. 386).

(To be continued.)

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE ANDHRAS.

BY P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M.A.; VIZAGAPATAM.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in p. 194 of his *Early History of India*, 2nd edition, says, "In the days of Chandragupta Maurya and Megasthenes, the Ândhra nation, probably a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, occupied the deltas of the Godâvari and Krishnâ rivers on the Eastern side of India. . . The capital of the State was then Sri Kâkulam, on the lower course of the Krishnâ." The only authority for this statement seems to be a passage from the *Trilingânusâsanam* of Atharvanâchârya, quoted by Campbell in his Telugu grammar, where he calls the book *Athurvana vyâcurunum*. The passage as translated by Campbell runs as follows:—"Formerly, in the time of Manu Svayambhu, in the Kali age, Hari, the Lord of Andhra, the great Vishnu, the slayer of the Danava Nisumbu, was born in Kakulam, as the son of the monarch Suchandra, and was attended by all the gods as well as revered by all mankind. He having constructed a vast wall connecting Srisailam, Bhimesvaram and Kalesvaram, with the Mahendera hills, formed in it three gates, in which the three-eyed Isvara, bearing the trident in his hand, and attended by a host of divinities, resided in the form of three lingams. Ândhra Vishnu, assisted by angels, having fought with the great giant Nisumbu for thirteen yugas, killed him in battle, and took up his residence with the sages on the banks of the Godâvari, since which time this country has been named Trilingam. The adherents of Ândhra Vishnu who then resided on the banks of the Godâvari spoke *tatsama* words. In the course of time, these words, not being properly articulated by the unlearned, by the change or obliteration of letters, or by being

¹⁵ Spelt *paly* by Milburn.

contracted, a fourth or a half, became *tadbhavas*. Those words consisting of nouns, verbals and verbs, created by the God Brahma, before the time of Hari, the Lord of Ândhra, are called *atsa* (pure)." Campbell does not quote directly from Atharvañchârya, but takes the passage from the Ândhra-kaumudî, which quotes it. A manuscript copy of Atharvañchârya's work is to be found in the Madras Government Oriental Library. Campbell adds in a foot-note that Ândhra Vishṇu or Ândhrarâyudu, as he was also called, is now worshipped as a divinity at Srikâkulam on the river Kṛishṇâ and. . . was the patron of Kaṇva, the first Telugu grammarian." The utter worthlessness of Atharvañchârya's testimony for historical purposes is patent on the face of it. There is no Ândhra king of the name of Suchandra. The first king, according to the *Purâṇas*, of the Ândhra dynasty, was Simuka, which name has as variants in the *Purâṇas*, Sindhuka, Siśuka, Sipraka, but not Suchandra. Secondly, Atharvañchârya quotes in his book a number of authorities, e. g. Vishṇu, Indra, Bṛihaspati, Somachandra or Hemachandra, Kaṇva, Pushpadanta, Dharmarâja, all giving pronouncements on Telugu, but none traceable anywhere. Atharvañchârya also gives a quotation there which, he pretends, is from the *Âtharvañasîkhopanishad*, but it is not found in that *Upanishad*. From this we may infer that the quotations were made up by Atharvañchârya. This author is desperately anxious to prove that Telugu may be used in books and has hence manufactured these quotations. Possibly Atharvañchârya is the pseudonym of a Telugu writer, whose use of Telugu in books was attacked by the purists of the day and who resorted to this method of defending his procedure. This work of Atharvañchârya has not yet been printed, but a *kârikâ* professing to be from the same man has been printed and it reveals the fact that the author has stolen numerous stanzas from Daṇḍin's *Kâvyâdarśa* without even the acknowledgement 'iti'. Thirdly, Atharvañchârya quotes the so-called *Vâlmîkî-sâtras* on Prâkṛit. These *sâtras* have been proved to be the composition of Trivikrama,¹ who lived in the 14th century. Hence Atharvañchârya must have lived later. The statement of Atharvañchârya, that Ândhra Vishṇu lived *on the banks of the Goddvârî*, shows that he was a late writer who lived long after Râjâhmundry became the capital of Telugu Râjâs.

The earliest reference to the Ândhras is the passage in the *Aitareya-Brahmaṇa*² where the Ândhras, Puṇḍras, Śabarâs, Pulindas and other Dasyu tribes living on the borders of the Aryan tribes, are said to be the descendants of the exiled sons of Viśvâmitra. As the Aryan cult did not extend beyond the Vindhya in those days, these tribes must have then lived in the Vindhyan region. Even in the age of Bâṇa (7th century A. D.) the Śabarâs are mentioned in the *Kâdambarî* as living in the Vindhyan forests. The next reliable³ reference to the Ândhras is that in Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII, where he claims "the Ândhras and Pulindas" as people in his dominions, who, among others, followed the *dharma* he taught so vigorously. It is to be noted that the Ândhras are here grouped together with the Pulindas, thus showing that they were still living in the central parts of the Peninsula, not far from the Vindhyan range. Soon after Aśoka's death the Ândhras rose to prominence. Râya Simuka Sâtavâhana, who, according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith, lived about 220 B. C., was the first king of the dynasty. His name, as well as that of a later Ândhra king, Sirî Sâtakaṇi, are cut under figures of persons in the back wall of a cave at Nânâghât.⁴ The next king was Kṛishṇa, whose lieutenant scooped out a cave at Nasik, which was apparently his capital. The next reference to Ândhra kings is found in the inscription of Khâravêla, king of Kaliṅga, in the Hâthigumphâ cave,⁵ where Khâravêla says that in the

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XL. p. 219 ff.

² VII. 18; also *Sâṅkhayana-sâtra*, XV. 16

³ The reference to "the Pânḍyas, Drâviḍas, Uḍras, Keralas and Ândhras" in *Sabhâparian*, XXXI and to "the Ândhras, Pânḍyas, Choḷas and Keralas" in *Râmâyana*, iv. 41 are not useful for historical purposes, from the fact that these *Itihâsas* have been the result of centuries of growth. The references may prove that either the final reduction of the *Itihâsas* was made, or at least the particular *ślokas* were composed not earlier than the 3rd century, B. C. when these states rose to fame and were first mentioned together.

⁴ Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol. V. p. 53.

⁵ *Tr. In Or. Con.* III. p. 174.

second year of his reign (168 B. C.) "Sātakaṇi, protecting the west sent a numerous army of horses, elephants, men and chariots" apparently to help him in his operations against Magadha. This Sātakaṇi was either the third or fifth king of the list of Āndhra kings in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*. The Āndhra territory was hence, still in "the west" of Kāliṅga. Next comes the cave inscription at Pitalkhora near Chālisgaon cut in characters of the 2nd century B. C. and referring to the king at Paiṭhaṇ or Pratiśṭhāna. The centre of Āndhra influence is still in western India.⁶ The next Āndhra king we hear of is Hāla, the 17th king, who, according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith lived *circa* 68 A. D. The *Bṛihat-kathā*, the original of Kshemendra's *Bṛihat-kathā-mañjarī* and Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, said to have been written in the Paśācī dialect by Guṇādhyā, was composed, according to tradition, for the sake of this king's wife, who must, therefore, have been a northern princess. Hāla is the reputed author of *Saptaśatī*, an anthology of erotic verses in the ancient Mahārāshṭrī tongue. This fact and the other one, that the Āndhra inscriptions are all in some form of Prākṛit, prove that the Āndhras spoke some kind of proto-Mahārāshṭrī. In modern usage Āndhra means Telugu; and hence many historians assume that the ancient Āndhras spoke Telugu. Sir Walter Elliot in his discussion of the question in the *Numismata Orientalia*,⁷ hopelessly mixes up the Kāliṅgas, the Triglypton of Ptolemy, Trikalingam, Trilingam, Telugus, and Āndhras and takes an imaginary Kāliṅga-Āndhra tribe to have migrated from the Gangetic region, the Āndhra tribe separating off in Orissa, first settling on the Chilka Lake, then going down the coast to the Godāvāri-Kṛishṇā valley and shooting up into the Deccan, and accomplishing this itinerary in an impossibly short space of time! Not to speak of the blending into one of so many tribes by Sir Walter Elliot, even the assumption that the ancient Āndhras spoke Telugu is an entirely gratuitous one. If the ancient Āndhras had been Telugus, Telugu literature would have been born in the early years of the Christian era, in the palmy days of Āndhra supremacy in India, whereas its birth took place in the 11th century A. D. when undoubted Telugu princes, *i. e.* princes whose mother-tongue was Telugu, whatever their (ultimate) origin, reigned in the Telugu country.

The next reference to the Āndhras is in Pliny (77. A.D.)⁸ where he says that "the Āndhra territory, stronger (than other territories of India) included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants." The Āndhras must have been dominant throughout India at this epoch, as references to them are found in inscriptions in various parts of India. Their sway extended from sea to sea in Central India and up to Sāñcī in the north.⁹ The *Periplus*, which was written at about the same time as Pliny's *Natural History*, says, "Beyond Barygaza (Broach), the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south; and so this region is called Dachinabades, for *Dachanos* in the language of the natives means south. The inland country back from the coast towards the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains; and all kinds of wild beasts—leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts; and many populous nations, as far as the Ganges. This is the first clear¹⁰ reference to the Āndhra country by the name Dakṣiṇāpātha, which still survives as the Deccan.

⁶ *Bom. Gaz.* I. ii. p. 147.

⁸ *Hist. Nat.* VI. 224

⁷ P. 10.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.* ii. 88.

¹⁰ Dakṣiṇāpādā is mentioned in the *Rig-Veda* vii. 33—6 as a place of exile; it meant of course the Vindhyan region, which was in those days outside the pale of the Aryan fire-cult. Dakṣiṇāpātha occurs in the *Paṇḍhāyana Dharma-śūtra* (I. i. 2. 13), coupled with Saurāshṭra. It occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā-Parvan*, xxxi. 17, when Sahadeva is said to have gone to the Dakṣiṇāpātha after defeating the Pulindas and the Pāṇḍyas. In Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇini, I, i. 19, also, the word Dakṣiṇāpātha occurs. In all these places it probably means the Andhra territory, but we cannot be certain that it is so. In the *Purāṇas*, Dakṣiṇāpātha is clearly defined, but we cannot use it in historical investigations, since the question of the dates of the composition of the *Purāṇas* is a hopeless of solution. Similarly the Āndhra country is, in the *Saktisaṅgamatantra*, said to be above Jagannāth and behind Bhramarātika, and the next country is said to be Saurāshṭra (*Vide Śabdakalpadruma* i. sub *deśa*). This *tāntra* work is apparently a recent one and is absolutely unauthoritative.

The *Periplus* mentions Paiṭhān as one of the two principal market-towns of Dachinabades ; and then refers to another market-town on the coast, "the city of Calliena, which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market-town ; but since it came into the possession of Sandanes the port is much obstructed and Greek ships lying there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard." Calliena is certainly the modern Kalyān, near Bombay. Saraganus is probably Śātakaṇi, the title used by most Āndhra kings ; and Sandanes is Sundara, the 20th Āndhra king, in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* list ; if so, the elder Sarganus is perhaps his immediate predecessor, Pulindasēna (a noteworthy name associating the Pulindas still with the Āndhras), also called Purindrasena, during whose time, Sundara was, as usual in ancient India, viceroy of part of the country. Kalyān was in the district administered by Sundara. By this time Śaka Satraps of the Kshaharāṭa clan had risen to power in Gujarat and seized some of the northern territories of the Āndhras, their early leaders being Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. The initial date of the Śaka era is by some historians held to mark the establishment of Śaka power under Nahapāna ; if this is correct, Nambanus, whom the *Periplus* names as the king of the country round Barygaza is probably the same as Nahapāna ; whether this identification is correct or not, it is certain the rise of Śaka power in this age made the port of Kalyān dangerous to foreign ships, the Āndhra viceroy not being able to guard the post efficiently, against Śaka depredations.

The Śakas and the Āndhras were in constant conflict from this time and the Āndhras gradually lost their western dominions and were driven to the east. Viṣivāyakura II¹¹ fought with them in 126 A. D., and his mother Balasiri tells us in the Nāsik cave Inscription¹² that her son "destroyed the Śakas," but we find that the Śakas continued to reign at Ujjain till Chandragupta II. Vikramāditya, extinguished the dynasty about 409 A. D. ; Rudradāman, the Śaka Satrap, fought with his son-in-law, "the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha," Puṣumāyi, son of Viṣivāyakura II,¹³ and desisted from destroying him, because he was his son-in-law, in 150 A. D.¹⁴

This phrase "destroyed the Śakas," used in Balasiri's inscription, like all other phrases therein descriptive of Viṣivāyakura, ought to be taken with many grains of salt, for they form a mere eulogy of the king composed by a court-poet, and secondly, subsequent events have disproved the destruction of the Śakas and the consequent stoppage of the "contamination of the four castes" (also referred to in the eulogy), Puṣumāyi, son of Viṣivāyakura and king while this inscription was incised, having married the daughter of the Śaka Rudradāman. But yet Elliot and others have deduced from this phrase that Viṣivāyakura was the head of a great revolution and gained a national victory ; Cunningham has gone one better and made him found the great Śaka era, in commemoration of the event.

Ptolemy, the geographer, (in his *Geog.*, VII. 17) writing in 151 A. D., after describing Larike, the Lāt or Gujarāt coast, describes the Ariake coast (a name used by the *Periplus* also), which he divides into two parts, Ariake Sadinon and Ariake Andron Peiratōn. The latter phrase is usually translated Ariake of the Pirates, but Sir James Campbell in *Bom. Gaz.*, Thana, ii, 415,

¹¹ From Viṣivāyakura I, the Āndhra kings used metronymic titles, e. g. Vāsīṭhīputra, Māḍharīputra, Gotamīputra, etc., just as in Vedic times people were called Kaṁśīkīputra, Kautsīputra, Ālambīputra, Vaiyāgrahapadīputra, etc. Does this mean that the Āndhras were now definitely drawn into the Brāhman polity and recognized as orthodox Kshatriyas, bearing names like the hallowed ones in the Vedas? It certainly does not warrant Sir Walter Elliot's conclusion that one of the Rājās that bear metronymics, i. e. the third of them, Viṣivāyakura II. Gotamīputra Śātakaṇi, was "a bold adventurer" who seized the throne ; this Sir Walter Elliot has inferred because the mother's name "is found so remarkably associated with that of her son." (*Num. Orient* p. 19). That this deduction is absolutely unwarranted will be readily seen if it is remembered that dozens of Vedic names are metronymic and among the later Āndhra kings, at least seven have a similar title.

¹² *Ep. Ind.* viii, 61.

¹³ Another view regarding Viṣivāyakura and the son-in-law of Rudradāman has been set forth in my *Epigraphic Notes and Questions*, nos. IV and V published in the *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII—D. R. E.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 47.

argues that the phrase means Ariake¹⁵ of the Ândhrabhṛityas. Besides this, Ptolemy mentions (*Ib.* vii. 1. 82) Baithana as the royal seat of Siro Polemaios and Hippokoura as the royal seat of Balcokouros. The former is certainly Paiṭhaṇ, the capital of Siri Puḷumâyi or Puḷumâvi, and the latter place, which is identified with Kolhâpur, by most authorities was the royal seat of Viḷivâyakura II. Puḷumâyi was his son and viceroy (*yuvardja*) at Paiṭhaṇ. In an inscription in a cave-temple at Nasik of Pulumâyi's time occurs the phrase *Dhanakaṭasamanehi*, meaning by the Samanas of Dhanakaṭa. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has suggested that this may be a wrong reading and the original may be read as *Dhanakaṭa-sâminehi* or *Dhanakaṭa-sâmyehi*, by the lord of Dhanakaṭa¹⁶(ka). Bhandarkar is clearly wrong, as Senart points out in *Ep. Ind.* viii. 69, Dhanakaṭaka is a hypothetical name, and the actual names of the place near Amarâvatî being Dhamnâkaṭaka¹⁷ in the fourth century A. D., Dhanakaṭa (*vide infra*), Hiouen Tsang's To-na-kie-tse-kia,¹⁸ Dhânayavâtîpura in an inscription of 1361 A. D., and Dharanikoṭa of modern times. Thus the name Dhanakaṭaka is as much a myth as that Amarâvatî or any place near it was an Ândhra capital. Senart himself guesses that Dhanakaṭa is a misreading for Benâkaṭa, which occurs in another inscription of the same reign. This conjecture of Bhandarkar's is the only source of the assertion made by most writers on Ândhra history that Dhanakaṭaka, near Amarâvatî, was the Ândhra capital from the time of the second Ândhra king, Kṛishṇa. Among others, Burgess¹⁹ makes this statement without giving the authority for it and also needlessly accuses the Ândhra kings of constantly changing their capitals. About 200 A. D. Nâgârjuna is said in a Tibetan life of his, to have "surrounded Dhanakaṭaka with a railing." I-t'ing, the Chinese traveller, says that Nâgârjuna's patron was of the So-to-pho-han-na family; Hiouen Tsang calls him So-to-pho-lo. These names are probably to be equated with Sâtakanî or Sâtavâhana, the proper name of the king being either Siri Puḷumâvi or Siri Yaña.²⁰ It is noteworthy that among the numerous scraps of inscriptions found at Amarâvatî, the only²¹ reference to an Ândhra king is *V[ā]ḍsi[th]i[puta]s[ā]s[ā]m[ī] Siri Puḷumâvisa savachhara*. This itself is sufficient proof that the place is wrongly called Dhanakaṭaka was never the capital of the Ândhras. Another late Ândhra inscription is the one found in the Kṛishṇâ district of the 27th year *raño Gotamiputasa araka siri Yaña Sâtakanisa*.²²

Numismatic evidence, so far as has been obtained, corroborates the above view. The legends of the Ândhra coins are all in Prâkṛit, as their inscriptions are. The earliest Ândhra coins are two, bearing the name of Siri Sata (c. 68 B. C.) and the so-called Ujjain symbol—the cross and balls device, which probably originated in Mâlhwâ. The "bow and arrow" coins of Viḷivâyakura I, Sivâlakura and Viḷivâyakura II (84 A. D.—138 A. D.) were all found only at Kolhâpûr. The later coins of the latter half of the second century and the early part of the third century, *i. e.*, those of Puḷumâyi and his successors (138 A. D.—229 A. D.) have been found *only* in the Godâvari and the Kṛishṇâ districts, which alone formed the dominion of the later Ândhras when the Śakas on the west and the Pallavas in the south hemmed them in. Mr. Vincent A. Smith who has discussed the Ândhra coinage in *Z. D. M. G.* 1903, has remarked that "the Ândhra coinage, although geographically to be classed with the southern issues, is *Northern and Western* in its

¹⁵ Ptolemy mentions *Larike*, *Ariake*, and *Damirike* as being in the west coast of India. *Larike* has been unanimously held to be the *Lâḍika* country, that of the Lâṭs. So *Damirike* was the Hellenized form of a possible *Dramidaka*, (the country) of the *Dramiḍas* or *Dravidas*. *Damirike* has been identified with the Tamil word *Tamiḷayam*, but the uniform ending *ke* indicates an identity of origin and *ke* is therefore the Sanskrit suffix *ka*. *Ariake* has baffled most people. Has it anything to do with *Ariyaka*, supposed to be the original of the title *Araka*, meaning lord, a title given to Siri Yaña (*Ep. Ind.* i. 96) and *Mahâ araka*, equivalent to *Mahâ Âryaka*, an obscure word which occurs in Puḷumâyi's inscription above referred to? The expression is *maha-âarakena odana*. The reading of the latter word and the meaning of both are involved in doubt.

¹⁶ I regret I cannot bring myself to agree with the French savant in this respect. What is read as *Dhanakaṭa* can also be read as *Dhamnakaṭa*; and as, in Nâsik inscriptions, *n* is used instead of *ñ* (compare *e. g.* *Anapayati* of the same Nâsik inscription), *Dhamnakaṭa* can very well be taken to be equivalent to *Dhamnâkaṭaka*. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's view, therefore, still stands incontrovertible.—D. R. B.

¹⁷ *A. S. S. I. Amar. and Jag.* p. 90.

¹⁸ *A. S. S. I. Amar. and Jag.* p. 4.

¹⁹ It is not possible to identify *Raṇa Sivamaka Sada* of Amarâvatî (*A. S. S. I. Amar. and Jag.* p. 61) or *Raṇa*

Mâḍhariputa Ikhâkumâni siri Vîrapurisâdata of Jaggayyapêṭa (*ib.* 110.)

¹⁸ *Anie* xi. 95.

²⁰ *Ib.* pp. 7-13.

²¹ *Ep. Ind.* i. 96.

²² *Ep. Ind.* i. 96.

affinities, and has *nothing in common with the peculiar coinage of the South.*" The gratuitous assumption that the Ândhras were a south-eastern tribe is the cause of this apparent anomaly. It has been proved above that there is not a shadow of evidence to assume that the original home of the Ândhras was the east coast of south India and all reliable documents indicate that their original home was south of the Vindhya, as their coins also prove.

In the third century A. D., the Ândhra dominions in the west passed into the hands of the Sakas whose capital was Ujjain. The eastern Ândhra territory was acquired by the Pallavas, the earliest king of which dynasty, so far as has been made out from epigraphical evidence, was Sivaskandavarmâ. The Pallava capital was Kâñchîpuram and the Ândhra district of the Pallavas was called 'Ândhrâpatha.'²³ This name, translated into Tamil, Vaḍugavaḷi, 12,000, was in use even in the 9th century A. D.²⁴ Dhañakaḍa, which is the same as Dhañākaḍa of the Amarāvati inscription already referred to, was the capital of a Pallava governor in Sivaskandavarma's time, at about the beginning of the fourth century. Now for the first²⁵ time we hear of Dhañyakāḍa as a capital of any kind. In the year 340 A. D. when Samudragupta went round India on a *digvijaya* tour, he vanquished Hastivarmâ of Vēngi (now Pedda Vēgi, eight miles north of Ellore), a Pallava viceroy of another part of the Ândhrâmaṇḍalam wrested from the Ândhra King by the Pallavas. Vēngi was also called Ândhranagaram.²⁶ But the Ândhra kings and the Ândhra tribes have disappeared without any trace from the 3rd century A. D. We do not hear of them in Samudragupta's inscription, nor in the *Raghuvamśa* where a *digvijaya* similar to that of the great Gupta conqueror is attributed to the mythical Raghu. The word Ândhra now became the name of a territory. As such it is mentioned by Hiouen Tsang, who visited the province in the 7th century A. D., about 30 years after the Eastern Châlukya dynasty was founded at Vēngi by Kubja Vishṇuvarddhana. The Chinese traveller says that he went from (southern) Kosala (Berar) to the country of Ândhra ('An-ta-lo), "through a great forest, south, after 900 li or so." He calls its capital Ping-ki-lo (? Vēnginâḍu). He says that not far from the city is "a great Saṅghârâma with storeyed towers and balconies beautifully carved and ornamented." The extensive Buddhist ruins at Gunṭupalli, 16 miles from PeddaVēgi, are perhaps relics of this Saṅghârâma. "These consist of a chaitya cave, a circular chamber with a simple façade containing a *dâgaba* cut in the solid rock, and several sets of *viḥâra* caves with entrance halls and chambers on each side."²⁷ Hiouen Tsang says of the Ândhra country, "The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and produces abundance of cereals. The temperature is hot." This applies very well to the Ellore Taluk, which is the modern representative of the ancient Vēngirâshṭram. Hiouen Tsang also says, "the language and arrangement of sentences differ from Mid-India (where Kosala was) but with reference to the shapes of the letters, they are nearly the same." The language referred to by the keenly observant Chinese traveller, is the Proto-Telugu evolved in the Godâvari-Kṛishṇâ valley, the (later) literary form of which was used by Nannayya Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Telugu *Mahâbhârâtam*, who lived in the 11th century, and, who, so far as I can discover, was the first person to call the Telugu language by the name of Ândhra.

We thus find that the Ândhras were a Vindhyan tribe and that the Ândhra kings originally ruled over western India and spoke Prâkṛit and not Telugu. The extension of Ândhra power was from the west to the east down the Godâvari-Krishṇâ valley. When their power declined in the west, the name Ândhrâmaṇḍalam travelled to their eastern provinces and stuck to it under Pallava as well as Eastern Châlukya rule. The word Ândhra was first a tribal name; then it became the name of a dynasty of kings, who ruled in the west; and then it became the name of a language which evolved in the east sometime before the eleventh century. Whence and when and how Telugu arose, what influences fostered its inception and growth is, however, another and a more complicated story, which will be told in a future article.

²³ A. S. I. 06-07 p. 222.

²⁴ S. I. I., iii, p. 90.

²⁵ The next occasion when Dhañākaḍa is called a capital is in Hiouen Tsang's description of the place, when it continued to be, it is presumed, the capital of a Pallava viceroy.

²⁶ *Dakṣiṇârâcharitam*, vii,

²⁷ *Imp. Gaz., Ind.*, xii, 338.

ROCK EDICT VI OF ASOKA.

BY KASHI-PRASAD JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW; CALCUTTA.

THE passage :

य च किञ्चि मुखतो आत्रपयामि स्वयं
 क्षपकं वा क्षावापकं वा य वा पुन
 महामात्रेषु आचायिके¹ आरोपितं भवति
 ताय अथाय विवाहो निभती व संतो
 परिसायञ्चानंतरं पट्टिवेदेतव्य मे सर्वत्र
 सर्वे काले एवं मया आत्रपितं [1]

(Girnâr, lines 5-7)

has been translated by Bühler as follows:—

“Moreover, if, with respect to any thing which I order by (word of) mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing (matter) is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or “a fraud happens in the committee (of any caste or sect), I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time.”²

In the above translation the word *nijhatî*³ has been rendered as “fraud.” I could not trace Dr. Bühler’s ground for adopting this meaning. No explanation has been offered by him in his articles on the edicts published in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft*, vols. 43 and 44 and the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 2. I do not think there is any warrant for this rendering. The source of the mistake seems to lie in M. Senart’s remarks on *nikati*, an incorrect reading of *nijhatî*: ‘Le sens de “bassesse, fraude,” atteste pour le pâli *nikati* et son prototype sanskrit *nikṛiti*, s’accorde très bien avec de voisinage de *vivado* “désunion, querelle.”⁴ But the reading *nikati*, as Bühler himself pointed out, was wrong, *jha* being quite distinct in all the recensions. If *nikati* meant ‘fraud,’ there is no reason why *nijhatî* also should mean the same. The two are not one and the same word.

Jha in Aśokan phonetics, as in Pâli, represents either *dhya* (ध्) or *ksha* (क्ष) of Saṃskṛta, e. g., the *jha* in the *nijhapayitave*⁵ and *nijhatiyâ*⁶ which, as M. Senart pointed out,⁷ are derived from the Sans. नि + ह्ये, and the *jha* in the *jhapetaviye* of the Pillar Edict V., which comes from the Saṃskṛta *kshai* (क्षै) (Childers). The *nijhatî* of our Rock Edict would therefore represent either **nidhyatî* (**nidhyatti*) or **nikshatti* (**nikshapti*). The context shows that it does not stand for *nidhyatti* or a similar expression connected with *ni-dhyai*, ‘to be attentive,’ ‘to reflect.’ For if in respect of the royal order, there was to be seen, in the parishat *nidhyatî*, ‘attention’ or ‘reflection,’ the king would not have been in a desparate hurry to be told of it “forthwith” and at all hours and in all places. It is evident that some unsatisfactory conduct on the part of the parishat is meant by *nijhatî*. And this sense we do get from the other restoration, *nikshapti* (or *nikshipti*), ‘casting away,’ ‘throwing down,’ or the act of ‘rejection.’ In respect of an order given to the Mahâmâtras if there happened or was going to happen (संतो) in the parishat a division (*vivado*) or a total rejection of the order (*nikshapti*), the king was to be informed forthwith at whatsoever place he might be and whichever hour it might be. The sense becomes still clearer with an appreciation of the real import of the *parisd*.

¹ The *e*-stroke attached to *ka* is unmistakable, the projection being clearly noticeable beyond the abrasion. See the facsimile in the *Ep. Ind.*, II, facing p. 454.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 468.

³ In other recensions *nijhatt*.

⁴ *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, i. 157. It must be at the same time noticed that M. Senart himself in translating the edict (p. 173) does not adopt “bassesse” or “fraude” but “division” as the meaning of the supposed *nikati*.

⁵ Pillar-Edict IV.

⁶ Pillar Edict VII. 2.

⁷ *Les Ins. de Piy.*, ii. 39, 94.

Parisā: M. Senart takes it to be synonymous with *saṅgha*⁸ and Bühler, as the committee of caste or sect. It is obvious that Bühler's importation of caste or sect is too far-fetched and does not suit the context at all. *Tāya athāya* qualifies the whole sentence. The dispute which might arise in the parishat would be a dispute in the matter of an order charged to the Mahāmātras; and in respect of matters charged to the Mahāmātras a discussion could hardly be expected to arise in a council of caste or sect. The same objection applies to M. Senart's *l'assemblée du clergé*. I do not think anybody would suggest that the Mahāmātras figured as members of the *saṅgha*. That the parishat was the parishat of the Mahāmātras is a conclusion which is forced upon us by the context. This conclusion receives confirmation from an independent source, which I propose to notice after commenting on the term *Mahāmātra*.

The confusion with regard to the meaning of this expression has been removed by the recent rendering,⁹ 'the High Ministers.' This rendering is confirmed by the *Arthasāstra*, the Mahāmātras there are the Highest Ministers.¹⁰ I think the term Mahāmātra, "of high (higher) authority," distinguished the Mahāmātra class of ministers from the inferior ministers. Dr. Fleet has noticed in the inscriptions of the Gupta period two grades of offices distinguished from each other by the addition *mahā* to particular offices. For the sake of comparison I would draw attention to a passage of the *Sūtra-nīti*, which lays down that each minister in charge of a portfolio was to have two ministers under him as juniors (ii. 109).

For the council-of-ministers we have a technical expression in the *Arthasāstra*, the *mantri-parishat*.

मन्त्रिपरिषद्ं द्वाद्शानाव्यान् कुर्वन्ति मानवाः (p. 29)

इन्द्रस्य हि मन्त्र (Sic)- परिषदृषीणां सहस्रम् (p. 29)

मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाहूय ब्रूयात् (p. 29)

पञ्चमे मन्त्रिपरिषदा पत्रसंप्रैषणेन मन्त्रयेत् (p. 38)

In the edict we have वा पुन महामात्रेषु आचार्यिके आरोपितं भवति. In the *Arthasāstra* we are told that an *Ātyāyika* business had to be entrusted to the parishat whose decision was to be followed in the matter: आत्ययिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाहूय ब्रूयात्। तत्र यद्बुद्धिः कार्यसिद्धिकरं वा ब्रूयस्तत्कुर्यात्। (p. 29)

"In case of an *Ātyāyika* business the *mantri-parishat* of the ministers shall be called and told (the business). Therein what the majority says or whatever for the success of the matter they tell, shall be done."¹¹

In the light of this evidence as well as the other considerations put forward above there seems to be a strong ground to hold that the parishat of the edict is the *mantri-parishat* of the *Arthasāstra*. The edict, which is purely an administrative one, exhibits the emperor's dissatisfaction at the restiveness of his ministers with regard to his certain commands.¹² That the ministers had such wide powers as to be in a position to offer opposition in certain matters can be gathered also by the data of the Greek writers¹³.

⁸ i. 157.

⁹ Cf. Fleet, *J. E. A. S.*, 1909, p. 997.

¹⁰ At the succession of a sovereign, who is a minor, the Mahāmātras are told. 'He is only the symbol, you are the real sovereign' (ed. Mysore, 1909, p. 254. वज्रमात्रोयं भवन्त एव स्वामिनः). It is they who collectively deal with the annual account sheets of the provinces sent to the capital (p. 64. प्रचारसमं महामात्रास्समग्राः आवयेयुः + +).

¹¹ Cf. also the *Sūtra-Nīti* (II. 3).

सभ्याधिकारिप्रकृतिसमासत्सुमते स्थितः ।

सर्वदा स्थातृपः प्राप्तः स्वमते न कदाचन ॥

¹² This explanation supports the tradition of the *Divyāvadhāna* that Rādhāgupta opposed the gifts of the king to the Buddhist Brotherhood.

¹³ Cf. 'Hence (the "Councillors of State who advise the king") enjoy the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces; deputy governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers and commissioners who superintend agriculture.' Arrian, *Indika*, XII.

I propose to translate the passage as follows :—

“ If, again, in the matter of anything that I myself order by word of mouth—either (an order) to be issued (to be given,¹⁴ *दापकं* or to be proclaimed (*आवापकं*)—or, again, in the matter of anything urgent that is charged to the Mahāmātras, a division or rejection is taking place (*सन्तो*) in the council, without any interval I must be informed at all places and at all hours. This has been ordered by me.”

Mukhato : This signifies that the orders were not always given by word of mouth. In this connexion I would refer to a rule of the *nīti* as surviving in the *Sukranīti*, viz., that orders by the king should not be given otherwise than in writing, and if an order was otherwise given it was not to be obeyed by the public servant, ‘for it is the royal signet which is the king and not the king himself¹⁵.’

FOLK-LORE FROM THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

BY M. N. CHITTANAH.

No. 1. The King and His devoted Minister.

THERE lived once upon a time a king and his faithful minister. They loved and trusted each other much. Their love was so great that when anything ever happened to the king the minister felt as if it had happened to him. Likewise the king also felt in the same way if anything ever happened to the minister.

On one occasion, a dealer in swords and other arms and weapons came to the king and showed him his wares. The king, while examining one of the swords unfortunately cut off his little finger because it was so sharp. He immediately informed his beloved minister of this accident and wanted him to see to come at once. But the Minister, to the utter amazement of the king, instead of running to his aid and comforting and sympathizing with his royal master, sent back his reply in these words.

“ Whatever God does is done well
Though the reason why to tell.”

When the messengers brought to the king this unexpected reply, his anger knew no bounds, and he at once caused his minister to be dismissed and appointed another man in his place.

Some days after, the king went out hunting. While chasing a deer, he lost himself in a thick forest, which was the den of one hundred and one notorious robbers. It happened to be the festival of their presiding and protecting deity, to whom they offered a human sacrifice annually. Every preparation was ready and the only want was the required sacrifice. So they took it as good luck that they chanced to meet the unfortunate king. Thinking him to be the gift of the goddess, who had been pleased to help them in times of difficulties and utter want and disappointment, they hastened to perform the sacrifice. While they were engaged in bringing the king to the altar, the chief robber's glance happened to fall on the king's missing finger. He at once bawled out to his comrades and showed the defect in the sacrifice to be offered.' In sorrow and anguish they let the victim go free.

On returning to the palace, he remembered the minister's wise words at the time of the loss of his little finger, which had saved him now from the hands of the murderous band of robbers and reinstated his wise and learned minister to his former place, passing the remainder of their days in blessed harmony of peace and pleasure.

¹⁴ *dāpakam* might mean a fiscal order. Cf. सर्वान् वा दापयेत् करान्. *Arthasāstra*, p. 57.

¹⁵ न कार्ये भूतकः कुर्यान्नृपलेखादिना क्वचित्।

नाज्ञापयेत्केसनेन विनाल्पं वा महन्नृपः ॥ II. 290

नृपसांचिद्वित्तं लेख्यं नृपस्तन्न नृपो नृपः ॥ II. 292. (*Jivānanda's ed.*)

¹ Among the lower classes of people very great care is taken when a goat, a sheep or fowl is being chosen for sacrifice to goddesses to see that the animal is free from defective limbs. Even now when an animal sacrifice is offered to the lower goddesses, or presiding deities over cholera, small-pox and other epidemics, votaries and worshippers are very careful to obtain a sound animal or fowl.

MISCELLANEA.

THE JOG OR GERSAPPE FALLS.

THE Jôg Falls on the Sharâvati river,¹ which for about eight miles forms the boundary between Mysore and the North Kanara District of the Bombay Presidency, are best known to Europeans as the Gêrsappe Falls, though they are eight miles further up the river than that old village, and about thirty miles from Honâvar on the coast.

In the south of India there are not a few waterfalls of considerable height and volume. The falls of the Ghatprabhâ, near Gôkâk in the Belgaum District, for example, are 170 feet high, horse-shoe shaped, and with a flood-breadth at the crest of 580 feet, discharging in November after the rains an average of nineteen tons of water per second.

But the Jôg on the Sharâvati is by far the grandest, pouring a large volume of water over a vertical cliff with a sheer drop of 830 feet in height, and extending, even in the dry season, to about 720 yards across, whilst in the monsoon the flood is about doubled, rolling over the precipice at a depth of eight feet into a pool some 130 feet deep. In August 1844 Captain Newbold estimated the fall of water at 43,000 cubic feet per second. In November and later the sight of this mighty cataract is still magnificent; while during the rains the huge chasm is filled with the clouds of spray and mist which hang over the cliff. It is divided by rocks into four separate channels. The Râja or Grand Fall is that nearest the right or Kanara bank of the river, and by itself is a fine fall sweeping down in a smooth unbroken volume till lost in clouds of spray. A good way to the left is the second fall, named the Roarer from the noise it makes: it is within the curve on the north-end of the cliff, and falls into a basin whence it rushes down a deep channel and leaps out to join the Râja fall and the joint streams dash down a rugged gorge upon a great rock. The Rocket is outside the north curve and is of great beauty, and falling upon a projecting rock and darting out thence forms a rocket-like curve of 700 feet, throwing off sparkling jets of spray. To the left of this is the fourth cascade styled LaDame Blanche, which

glides gracefully over the precipice in a sheet of foam and spreads out over the face of the rock down to the pool like folds of silver gauze.²

When visiting these falls in March 1880, I found the following lines in the visitors' book at the Kodkani Travellers' Bungalow, close to the falls, which I got copied out: they may be of interest to some readers: the author of them, Mr. Gordon Forbes, was a Madras Civilian, and seems to have been at one time Head Assistant in South Kanara.

J. BURGESS.

GERSAPPE FALLS.

Unnamed yet ancient river! Since the flood
Your tribute—gathered from a thousand rills—
Increasing journeys to the Western main,
Anon, as now in summer heats, waxed low,
Winning slow way amongst the wave-worn rocks;
Anon, ere many moons, above their crests
Rolling triumphant, an all-conquering flood.
Thy varied scenes are like a changeful life:
Turmoil and rest: now harassed and now still.
Thou hast deep reaches where thy waters rest
Calm as a healthful sleep; there drink at noon
The wild herds of the woods; there with deep
shade
Primeval forests curtain thy repose.
Then on with gentle flow and rippling sound—
Dimpled as mirth and musical as joy!
On, lured to swiftness, or provoked to strife
By rough obstruction or inviting slope,—
On, still unconscious to the awful brink,
Where the wild plunge hath made thee glorious.
Mortal! where wast thou when the hand of God
Quarried the chasms in the living rock,
And rent the cliff to give the torrent way?
How pigmy on the brink thy stature shows,
Topping a rampart of a thousand feet!
Bend o'er the cliff when the uplifting clouds
Reveal the terrors of the deep abyss,
Where the blue pigeon circles at mid height,
And in the spray the darting swallow bathes;
Then, with firm foot and brain undizzied, hurl
A fragment from the precipice, and mark—
With fearful sympathy—its long, long fall!
It dwindles to a speck, yet still descends,
Descends and vanishes ere yet the eye

¹ Kanarese *jôgu*, 'a waterfall.'

² Newbold in *Jour. As. Beng.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 416-421; *Bombay Gazetteer, Kanara*, Vol. XV, pt. ii, pp. 284-288; Rice, *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II, pp. 387-391; Murray's *Handbook of India* etc., 5th Ed., pp. 334-5; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, p. 210.

Discerns the signal of its distant splash.
Grudge not the toil to track yon rugged stair,³
Down where huge fragments strew the torrent
bed.

Look up and scan the tow'ring precipice.
Sat ever beauty on such awful front?
Was e'er dread grief so girt with loveliness?
How goodly are thy robes, thou foam-clad
queen.⁴

What hues of heaven are woven in thy skirt;
Thy misty veil, how gracefully it falls—
Forever falls and yet unveils thee not!
Down the black rock in many a show'ry jet,
Like arrowy meteors on the midnight sky,
Prone shoot the parted waters. And lo where
With angry roar athwart the precipice
In mighty furrows rushes to the plunge⁵
A headlong torrent. But majestic most⁶
Thy stately fall, unbroken to the base,
Fair column of white water meekly shrined⁷
In the dim grandeur of thy gloomy chasm,

Imperishable waters! To the place
From whence ye came incessant ye return,
Dissolve, condense and constant reappear;
A river now, and now a restless wave,
Aloft a heaven-obscurer canopy,
A thunder cloud alighting in soft rain,
Or spilt in torrents on the streaming earth,
Again to gather, and perchance again
Shoot from yon heights a sounding cataract.

GORDON FORBES.

THE AGE OF SRIHARSHA.

IN connection with Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's note appended to my note on "The age of Śriharsha" *ante*, p. 83, I have to offer the following observations:—

(a) Rājāśekhara's *Prabandhakośa* was composed more than a century and a half after the reign of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachchandra (A. D. 1170-1193) in A. D. 1348 (Śivadattaśarman's introduction to *Naishadhīyacharitam*, p. 3). The story of the composition and publication of the

Naishadhīya as told by Rājāśekhara has very little historical basis. Of course the names of some historical personages find place in the story. But even here the author is not correct. He names the patron of Śriharsha as Jayantachandra and not Jayachchandra and makes him the son and not the grandson of Govindachandra, king of Vārāṇasī; so Rājāśekhara cannot be accepted as a very reliable authority on Gāhaḍavāla history, and it is not safe to accept his testimony concerning the contemporaneity of Jayachchandra and Śriharsha as decisive without corroborative contemporary evidence. Rājāśekhara may as well have connected a poet of an earlier age with Jayachchandra as Meruṅga has connected Bāṇa, Māgha, and the dramatist Rājāśekhara with Bhoja Paramāra in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.

(b) As for *Arṇava-varṇana* we know of no other *charitā* which is called *varṇana*, and so it is difficult to accept *Arṇava-varṇana* as a *charita* of the Chāhamāna king Arṇorāja.

(c) The Chhinda chief (of Gayā) mentioned in the Gayā inscription of Purushottamadeva, who was a tributary of Aśokavalla, and dated in the year 1813 after Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*, was not a contemporary of Jayachchandra, but flourished a century after Jayachchandra's accession. The date of this inscription is usually taken as corresponding to Wednesday, 28th October, A. D. 1176, with 633 B. C. as the initial year of the era of Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*. As this is the only instance of the use of this era in India, it cannot be considered as of Indian origin, but must have been imported from outside. It has been proved that the era of Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* starting from 544 B. C. took its rise in Ceylon in the middle of the eleventh century and was thence carried to Burma (Fleet's Contributions to *J. R. A. S.* of 1909, 1911 and 1912; Geiger's Introduction to the *Mahāvamsa*, London, 1912, p. 29). From a Burmese inscription at Bodh-Gayā we learn that Burmese monks repaired a *chaitya* at Bodh-Gayā three times, and that the last repair works were

³ The descent on the south side of the fall down to the pool at the bottom.

⁴ The section of the fall called La Dame Blanche,—the fall on the south or Mysore side of the river.

⁵ The fall known as 'The Rocket,'—to the north or right of La Dame Blanche.

⁶ 'The Roarer,' falls into a basin and thence leaps towards the Rāja fall and joins it.

⁷ 'The Rājā,'—also called the Horse-shoe fall, the Main fall and the Great fall,—is the large fall on the north or Kanara side of the Sharāvati river.

begun in January 1295 A. D., and completed in November 1298 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.* vol XI., pp. 119-120). The era of Buddha's *Nirvāna* was, therefore, probably imported from Burma into India in the thirteenth century, and according to the Ceylonese, Burmese and Siamese reckoning the year 1813 after Buddha's *Nirvāna* corresponds to A. D. 1270. We arrive at similar conclusions regarding the age of Aśokavalla, and, therefore, of the Chhinda chief of Gayā, from two other Gayā inscriptions. The first of these two inscriptions is dated in the year 51 of "*Śrimal-Lakshmaṇasena* = *ātīta rājya*," "the year 51 after the end of Lakshmaṇasena's reign." (Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 576), and the second in the year 74 of the same era (*Ibid.*, No. 577). Assuming that Lakshmaṇasena ascended the throne in A. D. 1119, the initial epoch of the Lakṣmaṇa Samvat, Kielhorn gave A. D. 1171 and 1194 as the equivalents of these dates. But in some copies of *Dānasāgara* by Ballālasena, father of Lakshmaṇasena, Śaka 1091 = A. D. 1169 is given as the date of the composition of the work (*J. A. S. B.*, 1896, Part I, p. 23; Eggeling's *Catalogue of India Office Mss.*, p. 545), and in one copy of *Abhūtasāgara* by Ballālasena it is said that the work was begun in Śaka 1090 = A. D. 1168 (Bhandarkar's *Report*, 1887-88 to 1890-91, p. lxxxv). Giving the date of composition in Śaka era was the usual practice with the Bengali authors of those days. Śrīdhara, the author of *Nyāyākandali*, a native of southern Rāḍhā in

Bengal, gives Śaka 913 = A. D. 991 as the date of composition (Bühler's *Kashmīr Report*, p. cxliv; *Vizianagram Sanskrit Series*, No. 6, p. 331). Śrīdharadāsa, whose father was a friend of Lakshmaṇasena, compiled his *Sadukti-karṇāmrīta* in Śaka 1127 = A. D. 1205. Kielhorn, in his synchronistic table for Northern India appended to *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, accepts the date of the composition of *Dānasāgara* as a landmark in the Sena chronology and places the reign of Lakshmaṇasena in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century. But in the list of dated inscriptions of Northern India prefixed to the table he does not make corresponding changes in the dates of the Gayā inscriptions of Aśokavalla. Taking A. D. 1200 as the approximate date of the end of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, the record of 51 should be assigned to A. D. 1251, and that of 74 to A. D. 1274. Thus the dates of Aśokavalla's inscriptions dated in *Lakshmaṇasen-ātīta-rājya* may be reconciled to his third inscription dated in the year 1813 after Buddha's *Nirvāna* in which a Chhinda chief of Gayā is referred to.

(d) Mr. Bhandarkar admits, "It is difficult to determine who was the hero of his *Navasāhasānka-charita*." This difficulty disappears if we reject the tales told by Rājasekhara and identify the hero of Śrīharsha's *Navasāhasānka-charita* with Sindhurāja Navasāhasānka of the Paramāra dynasty, the patron of Padmagupta-Parimala and the hero of his *Navasāhasānka-charita*.

RAMA PRASAD CHANDA.

BOOK-NOTICE.

PAṆḌIT BAHECAR DĀS JIVRĀJ, *Prākritamārgopadeśikā* (in Gujarātī).—Printed at the Dharmābhyudaya Press, Benares, 1911.—Pages 148, 28.—Price 12 annas.

To be fully appreciated, the above book should be considered in connection with the object at which it aims, namely, smoothing the way of learning Prakrit to Indian students, by putting Hemacandra's aphoristic rules into an easy and readable form. As regards this end, the author—a scholar in the Śrī Yaśovijay Banāras Sanskrit Pāthśālā—has no doubt reached it, and has fairly succeeded in giving a

co-ordinated and lucid exposition of the whole Prakrit morphology and of the most important phonetical rules and *ādeśas* in the *Haimavyākaraṇa*. It is an original reconstruction of the latter work, not a mere translation, and its most pleasant feature is the division of the matter into lessons—33 in all, which can be successively studied, one after another, in the easiest way. Each lesson generally contains, besides paradigms and grammatical rules, lists of words to be learnt by heart, and

very useful exercises, consisting of short Prakrit sentences to be translated into Gujarati, and Gujarati sentences to be translated into Prakrit. The practical value of the book is further increased by a complete index at the end of all the Prakrit words occurring in it, each word being explained in Gujarati. We have therefore in this work the substance of an ancient Indian *vyākaraṇa*,—the most authoritative one in the present case,—recast into a modern form, in accordance with much the same practical principles as any European grammar of to-day; and I do not hesitate to recommend it strongly to all Indian students, who wish to learn Prakrit from the rules set down by Hemacandra.

Another important feature of the book, which will not be approved by all, however, is the total banishment of Sanskrit from it. Here Paṇḍit Bahecar Dās Jivrāj seems to have gone either on the assumption that there might be students of Prakrit, who are not acquainted with Sanskrit, or, what is practically the same thing, that the latter language is not necessary for the explanation of the former. I need hardly show that this is not the real situation. It is clear that reference to the Sanskrit is absolutely indispensable not only in describing Prakrit phonetics, but also Prakrit morphology. There are many irregular Prakrit forms, like *socā* (<Skt. *śrutvā*), *pappā* (<Skt. *prāpya*), *bhaṇṇai* (<Skt. *bhaṇyate*), *mocchaṃ* (<Skt. *mokṣyāmi*), etc., which could never be understood by a student, who is unacquainted with Sanskrit. It is probably on the same assumption that Paṇḍit Bahecar Dās Jivrāj has given to phonetics but little importance in his Grammar, and has contented himself with a short description of the principal phonetical changes, added at the end of the book as a kind of supplement. Now, this is just the reverse of the rational proceeding already followed by Hemacandra, and in this case one must confess that the innovation is not an improvement. I would therefore advise the author to take Sanskrit more into consideration in a second edition of his book and to add in brackets all Sanskrit forms, which might be of help in understanding any Prakrit word. Similarly, I would suggest that, in giving the Gujarati equivalents of Prakrit words, that he employ

tatsamas of the same origin as the latter, whenever it is possible; e. g., *putra* instead of *dīkaro* as an equivalent of *putta*, *nagara* instead of *śāher* as an equivalent of *nayara*, etc. This would, in many cases, greatly facilitate for students, the work of learning Prakrit words by heart.

The language, which Paṇḍit Bahecar Dās Jivrāj teaches in his *Prākṛtamārgopadeśikā*, is naturally the same as that described by Hemacandra in the three first, and also in half the fourth, *pāda* of the eighth *adhyāya* of his *vyākaraṇa*, namely the Māhārāṣṭri, mixed with some of the peculiarities of the Jaina Māhārāṣṭri and of the Ardhamāgadhi. Amongst the characteristics of the two latter dialects, we may reckon the *yaśruti* and the dentalisation of initial *ṇ* and medial *ṇṇ*, which Hemacandra and most Jain writers often transfer not only to the Māhārāṣṭri, but even to other Prakrit dialects and to the Apabhraṃṣa. The greater part of the book is devoted to a description of the morphology, and it contains the whole substance of the third *pāda* in the *Haimavyākaraṇa*, each *sūtra* being expanded into one or more very clear rules, and the succession of the various subjects wholly rearranged in the most convenient way. *Ādeśas*, indeclinables etc., are occasionally interspersed.

Within the above limits the book is quite complete and, if there are any deficiencies in it, these generally are not to be imputed to Paṇḍit Bahecar Dās Jivrāj, but to Hemacandra himself. Only I would venture to remark that, since the *Prākṛtamārgopadeśikā* is practically intended for training students to understand the Prakrit of Jain canonical and extra-canonical works, i. e., the Ardhamāgadhi and the Jaina Māhārāṣṭri, its author would have done well to complete Hemacandra's description of the language by the addition of such forms as are peculiar to the Prakrit used by the Jains, and are not to be found in the Māhārāṣṭri, like the *-e* ending of the nom. sing., and also the *-ā* ending of the nom. plur., the *-āe* termination of the dative, the *-mei-*, *-ṇmi* terminations of the locative, the accusative form *rāyāṇam* from the base *rājan*, and the *-imsu* plural termination of the acrost, etc.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE VALUE OF ANTHROPOLOGY.¹

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART., C.I.E.

THE title of the body of which those present at this meeting from a section is, as all my hearers will know, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and it seems to me therefore that the primary duty of a sectional President is to do what in him lies, for the time being, to forward the work of his section. This may be done in more than one way: by a survey of the work done up to date and an appreciation of its existing position and future prospects, by an address directly forwarding it in some particular point or aspect, by considering its applicability to what is called the practical side of human life. The choice of method seems to me to depend on the circumstances of each meeting, and I am about to choose the last of those above mentioned, and to confine my address to a consideration of the administrative value of anthropology because the locality in which we are met together and the spirit of the present moment seem to indicate that I shall best serve the interests of the anthropological section of the British Association by a dissertation on the importance of this particular science to those who are or may hereafter be called upon to administer the public affairs of the lands in which they may reside.

I have to approach the practical aspect of the general subject of anthropology under the difficulty of finding myself once more riding an old hobby, and being consequently confronted with views and remarks already expressed in much detail. But I am not greatly disturbed by this fact, as experience teaches that the most effective way of impressing ideas, in which one believes, on one's fellow man is to miss no opportunity of putting them forward, even at the risk of repeating what may not yet have been forgotten. And as I am convinced that the teachings of anthropologists are of practical value to those engaged in guiding the administration of their own or another country, I am prepared to take that risk.

Anthropology is, of course, in its baldest sense the study of mankind in all its possible ramifications, a subject far too wide for any one science to cover, and therefore the real point for consideration on such an occasion as this is not so much what the students of mankind and its environments might study if they chose, but what the scope of their studies now actually is, and whither it is tending. I propose, therefore, to discuss the subject in this limited sense.

What then is the anthropology of to-day, that claims to be of practical value to the administrator? In what directions has it developed?

Perhaps the best answer to these questions is to be procured from our own volume of 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology,' a volume published under the arrangements of the Royal Anthropological Institute for the British Association. This volume of 'Notes and Queries' has been before the public for about forty years, and is now in the fourth edition, which shows a great advance on its predecessors and conforms to the stage of development to which the science has reached up to the present time.

The object of the 'Notes and Queries' is stated to be 'to promote accurate anthropological observation on the part of travellers (including all local observers) and to enable those who are not anthropologists themselves to supply information which is wanted for the scientific study of anthropology at home.' So, in the heads under which the subject is considered in this book, we have exhibited to us the entire scope of the science as it now exists. These heads are (1) Physical Anthropology, (2) Technology, (3) Sociology, (4) Arts and Sciences.

¹ Presidential Address delivered to the Anthropological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Birmingham, 1913.

It is usual, however, nowadays to divide the subject into two main divisions—physical and cultural anthropology.

Physical Anthropology aims at obtaining 'as exact a record as possible of the structure and functions of the human body, with a view to determining how far these are dependent on inherited and racial factors, and how far they vary with environment.' This record is based on two separate classes of physical observation: firstly on descriptive characters, such as types of hair, colour of the eyes and skin, and so on, and actual measurement; and secondly on attitudes, movements, and customary actions. By the combined study of observations on these points physical heredity is ascertained, and a fair attribution of the race or races to which individuals or groups belong can be arrived at.

But anthropology, as now studied, goes very much further than inquiry into the physical structure of the human races. Man, 'unlike other animals, habitually reinforces and enhances his natural qualities and force by artificial means.' He does, or gets done for him, all sorts of things to his body to improve its capacities or appearance, or to protect it. He thus supplies himself with sanitary appliances and surroundings, with bodily ornamentation and ornaments, with protective clothing, with habitations and furniture, with protection against climate and enemies, with works for the supply of water and fire, with food and drink, drugs and medicine. And for these purposes he hunts, fishes, domesticates animals, and tills the soil, and provides himself with implements for all these, and also for defence and offence, and for the transport of goods, involving working in wood, earth, stones, bones, shells, metals and other hard materials, and in leather, strings, nets, basketry, matting and weaving, leading him to what are known as textile industries. Some of this work has brought him to mine and quarry, and to employ mechanical aids in the shape of machinery, however rude and simple. The transport of himself and his belongings by land and water has led him to a separate set of industries and habits: to the use of paths, roads, bridges, and halting places, of trailers, sledges, and wheeled vehicles; to the use of rafts, floats, canoes, coracles, boats, and ships, and the means of propelling them, poles, paddles, oars, sails, and rigging. The whole of these subjects is grouped by anthropologists under the term Technology, which thus becomes a very wide subject, covering all the means by which a people supplies itself with the necessaries of its mode of livelihood.

In order to successfully carry on what may be termed the necessary industries or even to be in a position to cope with them, bodies of men have to act in concert, and this forces mankind to be gregarious, a condition of life that involves the creation of social relations. To understand, therefore, any group of mankind, it is essential to study Sociology side by side with Technology. The subjects for inquiry here are the observances at crucial points in the life history of the individual—birth, puberty, marriage, death, daily life, nomenclature, and so on; the social organisation and the relationship of individuals. On these follow the economics of the social group, pastoral, agricultural, industrial, and commercial, together with conceptions as to property and inheritance (including slavery), as to government, law and order, politics and morals; and finally the ideas as to war and the external relations between communities.

We are still, however, very far from being able to understand in all their fullness of development even the crudest of human communities, without a further inquiry into the products of their purely mental activities, which in the 'Notes and Queries' are grouped under the term 'Arts and Sciences.' Under this head are to be examined, in the first place the expression of the emotions to the eye by physical movements and conditions, and then by gestures, signs and signals, before we come to language, which is primarily expressed by the

voice to the ear, and secondarily to the eye in a more elaborate form by the graphic arts—pictures, marks and writing. Man further tries to express his emotions by what are known as the Fine Arts; that is by modifying the material articles which he contrives for his livelihood in a manner that makes them represent to him something beyond their economic use—makes them pleasant, representative or symbolical—leading him on to draw, paint, enamel, engrave, carve and mould. In purely mental efforts this striving to satisfy the artistic or æsthetic sense takes the form of stories, proverbs, riddles, songs, and music. Dancing, drama, games, tricks and amusements are other manifestations of the same effort, combining in these cases the movements of the body with those of the mind in expressing the emotions.

The mental process necessary for the expression of his emotions have induced man to extend his powers of mind in directions now included in the term 'Abstract Reasoning.' This has led him to express the results of his reasoning by such terms as reckoning and measurement, and to fix standards for comparison in such immaterial but all essential matters as enumeration, distance, surface, capacity, weight, time, value and exchange. These last enable him to reach the idea of money, which is the measurement of value by means of tokens, and represents perhaps the highest economic development of the reasoning powers common to nearly all mankind.

The mental capacities of man have so far been considered only in relation to the expression of the emotions and of the results of abstract reasoning; but they have served him also to develop other results and expressions equally important, which have arisen out of observation of his surroundings, and have given birth to the Natural Sciences: astronomy, meteorology, geography, topography and natural history. And further they have enabled him to memorise all these things by means of records, which in their highest form have brought about what is known to all of us as history, the bugbear of impulsive and shallow thinkers, but the veryback-bone of all solid opinion.

The last and most complex development of the mental processes, dependent upon all the others according to the degree to which they themselves have been developed in any given variety of mankind, is, and has always been, present in every race or group on record from the remotest to the most recent time in some form or other and in a high degree. Groups of men observe the phenomena exhibited by themselves or their environment, and account for them according to their mental capacity as modified by their heredity. Man's bare abstract reasoning, following on his observation of such phenomena, is his philosophy, but his inherited emotions influence his reasoning to an almost controlling extent and induce his religion, which is thus his philosophy or explanation of natural phenomena as effected by his hereditary emotions, producing that most wonderful of all human phenomena, his belief. In the conditions, belief, faith, and religion must and do vary with race, period and environment.

Consequent on the belief, present or past of any given variety of mankind, there follow religious practices (customs as they are usually called) based thereon, and described commonly in terms that are familiar to all, but are nevertheless by no means even yet clearly defined: theology, heathenism, fetishism, animism, totemism, magic, superstition, with soul, ghost, and spirit, and so on, as regards mental concepts; worship, ritual, prayer, sanctity, sacrifice, taboo, etc., as regards custom and practice.

Thus have the anthropologists, as I understand them, shown that they desire to answer the question as to what their science is, and to explain the main points in the subject of which they strive to obtain and impart accurate knowledge based on scientific inquiry: that is, on an

inquiry methodically conducted on lines which experience has shown them will lead to the minimum of error in observation and record.

I trust I have been clear in my explanation of the anthropologists' case, though in the time at my disposal I have been unable to do more than indicate the subjects they study, and have been obliged to exercise restraint and to employ condensation of statement to the utmost extent that even a long experience in exposition enables one to achieve. Briefly, the science of anthropology aims at such a presentation and explanation of the physical and mental facts about any given species or even group of mankind as may correctly instruct those to whom the acquisition of such knowledge may be of use. In this instance, as in the case of the other sciences, the man of science endeavours to acquire and pass on abstract knowledge, which the man of affairs can confidently apply in the daily business of practical life.

It will have been observed that an accurate presentation of the physical and mental characteristics of any species of mankind which it is desired to study is wholly dependent on accurate inquiry and report. Let no one suppose that such inquiry is a matter of instinct or intuition, or that it can be usefully conducted empirically or without due reference to the experiences of others; in other words without sufficient preliminary study. So likely indeed are the uneducated in such matters to observe and record facts about human beings inaccurately, or even wrongly, that about a fourth part of the 'Notes and Queries' is taken up with showing the inquirer how to proceed, and in exposing the pitfalls into which he may unconsciously fall. The mainspring of error in anthropological observation is that the inquirer is himself the product of heredity and environment. This induces him to read himself, his own unconscious prejudices and inherited outlook on life, into the statements made to him by those who view life from perhaps a totally different and incompatible standpoint. To the extent that the inquirer does this, to that extent are his observations and report likely to be inaccurate and misleading. To avoid error in this respect, previous training and study are essential, and so the 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology,' a guide compiled in co-operation by persons long familiar with the subject, is as strong and explicit on the point of how to inquire as on that of what to inquire about.

Let me explain that these statements are not intended to be taken as made *ex cathedrâ*, but rather as the outcome of actual experience of mistakes made in the past. Time does not permit me to go far into this point, and I must limit myself to the subject of Sociology for my illustration. If a man undertakes to inquire into the social life of a people or tribe as a subject apart, he is committing an error, and his report will almost certainly be misleading. Such an investigator will find that religion and technology are inextricably mixed up with the sociology of any given tribe, that religion intervenes at every point not only of sociology but also of language and technology. In fact, just as in the case of all other scientific research, the phenomena observable by the anthropologist are not the result of development along any single line alone, but of a progression in a main general direction, as influenced, and it may be even deflected, by contact and environment.

If again the inquirer neglects the simple but essential practice of taking notes, not only fully, but also immediately or as nearly so as practicable, he will find that his memory of facts, even after a short time, has become vague, inexact, and incomplete, which means that reports made from memory are more likely to be useless than to be of any scientific value. If voluntary information or indirect and accidental corroboration are ignored, if questions are asked and answers accepted without discretion, if exceptions are mistaken for rules, then the records of an inquiry may well mislead and thus become worse than useless. If leading or direct

questions are put without due caution, and if the answers are recorded without reference to the natives' and not the enquirer's mode of classifying things, crucial errors may easily arise. Thus, in many parts of the world, the term 'mother' includes all female relatives of the past or passing generation, and the term 'brother' the entire brotherhood. Such expressions as 'brother' and 'sister' may and do constantly connote relationships which are not recognised at all amongst us. The word 'marriage' may include 'irrevocable betrothal,' and so on; and it is very easy to fall into the trap of the mistranslation of terms of essential import, especially in the use of words expressing religious conceptions. The conception of godhead has for so long been our inheritance that it may be classed almost as instinctive. It is nevertheless still foreign to the instincts of a large portion of mankind.

If also, when working among the uncultured, the inquirer attempts to ascertain abstract ideas, except through concrete instances, he will not succeed in his purpose for want of representative terms. And lastly, if he fails to project himself sufficiently into the minds of the subjects of inquiry, or to respect their prejudices, or to regard seriously what they hold to be sacred, or to keep his countenance while practices are being described which to him may be disgusting or ridiculous—if indeed he fails in any way in communicating to his informants, who are often super-sensitively suspicious in such matters, the fact that his sympathy is not feigned—he will also fail in obtaining the anthropological knowledge he is seeking. In the words of the 'Notes and Queries' on this point, 'Nothing is easier than to do anthropological work of a certain sort, but to get to the bottom of native customs and modes of thought, and to record the results of inquiry in such a manner that they carry conviction, is work which can be only carried out properly by careful attention.'

The foregoing considerations explain the scope of our studies and the requirements of the preliminary inquiries necessary to give those studies value. The further question is the use to which the results can be put. The point that at once arises here for the immediate purpose is that of the conditions under which the British Empire is administered. We are here met together to talk scientifically, that is, as precisely as we can: and so it is necessary to give a definition to the expression 'Imperial Administration,' especially as it is constantly used for the government of an empire, whereas in reality it is the government that directs the administration. In this address I use the term 'administration' as the disinterested management of the details of public affairs. This excludes 'politics' from our purview, defining that term as the conduct of the government of a country according to the opinions or in the interests of a particular group or party.

Now in this matter of administration the position of the inhabitants of the British Isles is unique. It falls to their lot to govern, directly or indirectly, the lives of members of nearly every variety of the human race. Themselves Europeans by descent and intimate connection, they have a large direct interest in every other general geographical division of the world and its inhabitants. It is worth while to pause here for a moment to think, and to try and realise, however dimly, something of the task before the people of this country in the government and control of what are known as the subject races.

For this purpose it is necessary to throw our glance over the physical extent of the British Empire. In the first place, there are the ten self-governing components of the Dominion of Canada and that of Newfoundland in North America, the six Colonial States in the Commonwealth of Australia, with the Dominion of New Zealand in Australasia, and the four divisions of the Union of South Africa. All these may be looked upon as indirectly administered portions of the British Empire. Then there is the mediatised government of Egypt,

with its appanage, the directly British administered Sudan, which alone covers about a million square miles of territory in thirteen provinces, in Northern Africa. These two areas occupy, as it were, a position between the self-governing and the directly-governed areas. Of these, there are in Europe, Malta and Gibraltar, Cyprus being officially included in Asia. In Asia itself is the mighty Indian Empire, which includes Aden and the Arabian Coast on the West and Burma on the East, and many islands in the intervening seas, with its fifteen provinces and some twenty categories of Native States 'in subordinate alliance,' that is, under general Imperial control. To these are added Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and the Malay States, federated or other, North Borneo and Sarawak, and in the China Seas Hongkong and Wei-hai-wei. In South Africa we find Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Rhodesia; in British West Africa, Gambia, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria; in Eastern and Central Africa, Somaliland, the East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Nyassaland; while attached to Africa are the Mauritius, Seychelles, Ascension and St. Helena. In Central and South America are Honduras and British Guiana, and attached to that continent the Falkland Islands, and also Bermuda and the six colonies of British West Indies. In the Pacific Ocean are Fiji, Papua and many of the Pacific Islands.

I am afraid that once more during the course of this exposition I have been obliged to resort to a concentration of statement that is almost bewildering. But let that be. If one is to grapple successfully with a large and complex subject, it is necessary to try and keep before the mind, so far as possible, not only its magnitude, but the extent of its complexity. This is the reason for bringing before you, however briefly and generally, the main geographical details of the British Empire. The first point to realise on such a survey is that the mere extent of such an Empire makes the subject of its administration an immensely important one for the British people.

The next point for consideration and realisation is that an empire, situated in so many widely separated parts of the world, must contain within its boundaries groups of every variety of mankind, in such numerical strength as to render it necessary to control them as individual entities. They do not consist of small bodies lost in a general population, and therefore negligible from the administrator's point of view, but of whole races and tribes or of large detachments thereof.

These tribes of mankind profess every variety of religion known. They are Christians, Jews, Mahomedans, Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Animists and to use a very modern expression, Animatists, adherents of main religions followed by an immense variety of sects, governed, however loosely, by every species of philosophy that is or has been in fashion among groups of mankind, and current in every stage of development, from the simplest and most primitive to the most historical and complex. One has to bear in mind that we have within our borders the Andamanese, the Papuan, and the Polynesian, as well as the highly civilised Hindu and Chinese, and that not one of these, nor indeed of many other peoples, has any tradition of philosophy or religion in common with our own; their very instincts of faith and belief following other lines than ours, the prejudices with which their minds are saturated being altogether alien to those with which we ourselves are deeply imbued.

The subjects of the British King-Emperor speak between them most of the languages of the world, and certainly every structural variety of human speech has its example somewhere in the British Empire. A number of these languages is still only in the process of becoming understood by our officials and other residents among their speakers, and let there be no mistake as to the magnitude of the question involved in the point of language alone in British

Imperial regions. A man may be what is called a linguist. He may have a working knowledge of the main European languages and of the great Oriental tongues, Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani, which will carry him very far indeed among the people—in a sense, in fact, from London to Calcutta—and then, without leaving that compact portion of the British Possessions known as the Indian Empire, with all its immense variety of often incompatible subordinate languages and dialects, he has only to step across the border into Burma and the further East to find himself in a totally different atmosphere of speech, where not one of the sounds, not one of the forms, not one of the methods, with which he has become familiarised is of any service to him whatever. The same observation will again be forced on him if he transfers himself thence to Southern Africa or to the Pacific Ocean. Let him wander amongst the North American Indians, and he will find the linguistic climate once more altogether changed.

Greater Britain may be said to exhibit all the many varieties of internal social relations that have been set up by tribes and groups of mankind—all the different forms of family and general social organisation, of reckoning kinship, of inheritance and control of the possession of property, of dealing with the birth of children and their education and training, physical, mental, moral, and professional, in many cases by methods entirely foreign to British ideas and habits. For instance, infanticide as a custom has many different sources of origin.

Our fellow subjects of the King follow, somewhere or other, all the different notions and habits that have been formed by mankind as to the relations between the sexes, both permanent and temporary, as to marriage and to what have been aptly termed supplementary unions. And finally, their methods of dealing with death and bringing it about, of disposing of the dead and worshipping them, give expression to ideas, which it requires study for an inhabitant of Great Britain to appreciate or understand. I may quote here as an example, that of all the forms of human head-hunting and other ceremonial murder that have come within my cognisance, either as an administrator or investigator, not one has originated in callousness or cruelty of character. Indeed, from the point of view of the perpetrators, they are invariably resorted to for the temporal or spiritual benefit of themselves or their tribe. In making this remark, I must not be understood as proposing that they should not be put down, wherever that is practicable. I am merely trying now to give an anthropological explanation of human phenomena.

In very many parts of the British Empire, the routine of daily life and the notions that govern it often find no counterparts of any kind in those of the British Isles, in such matters as personal habits and etiquette on occasions of social intercourse. And yet, perhaps, nothing estranges the administrator from his people more than mistakes on these points. It is small matters—such as the mode of salutation, forms of address and politeness, as rules of precedence, hospitality, and decency, as recognition of superstitions, however apparently unreasonable—which largely govern social relations, which no stranger can afford to ignore, and which at the same time cannot be ascertained and observed correctly without due study.

The considerations so far urged to-day have carried us through the points of the nature and scope of the science of anthropology, the mental equipment necessary for the useful pursuit of it, the methods by which it can be successfully studied, the extent and nature of the British Empire, the kind of knowledge of the alien populations within its boundaries required by persons of British origin who would administer the empire with benefit to the people dwelling in it, and the importance to such persons of acquiring that knowledge.

I now turn to the present situation as to this last point and its possible improvement, though in doing so I have to cover ground that some of those present may think I have already

trodden bare. The main proposition here is simple enough. The Empire is governed from the British Isles, and therefore year by year a large number of young men is sent out to its various component parts, and to them must inevitably be entrusted in due course the administrative, commercial, and social control over many alien races. If their relations with the foreign peoples with whom they come in contact are to be successful, they must acquire a working knowledge of the habits, customs, and ideas that govern the conduct of those peoples, and of the conditions in which they pass their lives. All those who succeed find these things out for themselves, and discern that success in administration and commerce is intimately affected by success in social relations, and that that in its turn is dependent on the knowledge they may attain of those with whom they have to deal. They set about learning what they can, but of necessity empirically, trusting to keenness of observation, because such self-tuition is, as it were, a side issue in the immediate and imperative business of their lives. But, as I have already said elsewhere, the man who is obliged to obtain the requisite knowledge empirically, and without any previous training in observation, is heavily handicapped indeed in comparison with him who has already acquired the habit of right observation, and, what is of much more importance, has been put in the way of correctly interpreting his observations in his youth.

To put the proposition in its briefest form: in order to succeed in administration a man must use tact. Tact is the social expression of discernment and insight, qualities born of intuitive anthropological knowledge, and that is what it is necessary to induce in those sent abroad to become eventually the controllers of other kinds of men. What is required, therefore, is that in youth they should have imbibed the anthropological habit, so that as a result of having been taught how to study mankind, they may learn what it is necessary to know of those about them correctly, and in the shortest practicable time. The years of active life now unavoidably wasted in securing this knowledge, often inadequately and incorrectly even in the case of the ablest, can thus be saved, to the incalculable benefit of both the governors and the governed.

The situation has, for some years past, been appreciated by those who have occupied themselves with the science we are assembled here to promote, and several efforts have been made by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, at any rate, to bring the public benefits accruing from the establishment of anthropological schools before the Government and the people of this country.

In 1902 the Royal Anthropological Institute sent a deputation to the Government with a view to the establishment of an official Anthropometric Survey of the United Kingdom, in order to test the foundation for fears, then widely expressed, as to the physical deterioration of the population. In 1909 the Institute sent a second deputation to the present Government, to urge the need for the official training in anthropology of candidates for the Consular Service and of the Indian and Colonial Civil Services. There is happily every reason to hope that the Public Services Commission may act on the recommendations then made. This year (1913) the Institute returned to the charge and approached the Secretary of State for India, with a view to making anthropology an integral feature of the studies of the Oriental Research Institute, to the establishment of which the Government of India had officially proposed to give special attention. The Institute has also lately arranged to deal with all questions of scientific import that may come before the newly constituted Bureau of Ethnology at the Royal Colonial Institute, in the hope with its co-operation of eventually establishing a great *desideratum*—an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology. It has further had in hand a scheme for the systematic and thorough distribution of local correspondents throughout the world,

At Oxford, anthropology as a serious study was recognised by the appointment, in 1884, of a Reader, who was afterwards given the status of a Professor. In 1885, it was admitted as a special subject in the Final Honours School of Natural Science. In 1904, a memorandum was drawn up by those interested in the study at the University, advocating a method of systematic training in it, which resulted in the formation of the Committee of Anthropology in the following year. This Committee has established a series of lectures and examinations for a diploma, which can be taken as part of the degree course, but is open to all officers of the public services as well. By these means a School of Anthropology has been created at Oxford, which has already registered many students, among whom officers engaged in the administration of the British Colonies in Africa and members of the Indian Civil Service have been included. The whole question has been systematically taken up in all its aspects, the instruction, formal and informal, comprising physical anthropology, psychology, geographical distribution, prehistoric archæology, technology, sociology, and philology.

At Cambridge, in 1893, there was a recognised Lecturer in Physical Anthropology, an informal office now represented by a Lecturer in Physical Anthropology and a Reader in Ethnology, regularly appointed by the University. In 1904, as a result of an expedition to Torres Straits, a Board of Anthropological Studies was formed, and a Diploma in Anthropology instituted, to be granted, not for success in examinations, but in recognition of meritorious personal research. At the same time, in order to help students, among whom were included officials in the African and Indian Civil Services, the Board established lectures on the same subjects as those taught at Oxford. This year, 1913, the University has instituted an Anthropological Tripos for its Degrees on lines similar to the others. The distinguishing feature of the Cambridge system is the prominence given to field work, and this is attracting foreign students of all sorts.

In 1909, joint representations were made by a deputation from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to both the India and Colonial Offices, advocating the training of Civil Service candidates and probationers in ethnology and primitive religion.

In 1904, the generosity of a private individual established a Lectureship in Ethnology in connection with the University of London, which has since developed into a Professorship of Ethnology with a Lectureship in Physical Anthropology. In the same year the same benefactor instituted a Chair of Sociology. In 1909 the University established a Board of Anthropology, and the subject is now included in the curricula for the Degrees of the University. In and after 1914, Anthropology will be a branch of the Science Honours Degree. The Degree course of the future covers both physical and cultural anthropology in regard to zoology, palæontology, physiology, psychology, archæology, technology, sociology, linguistics and ethnology. There will also be courses in ethnology with special attention to field work for officials and missionaries, and it is interesting to note that students of Egyptology are already taking a course of lectures in ethnology and physical anthropology.

Though the Universities have thus been definite enough in their action where the authority is vested in them, it is needless to say that their representations to Governments have met with varying success, and so far they have not produced much practical result. But it is as well to note here that a precedent for the preliminary anthropological training of probationers in the Colonial Civil Service has been already set up, as the Government of the Sudan has directed that every candidate for its services shall go through a course of anthropology at Oxford or Cambridge. In addition to this, the Sudan Government has given a grant to enable a competent anthropologist from London to run a small scientific survey of the peoples under

its administration. The Assam Government has arranged its ethnographical monographs on the lines of the British Association's 'Notes and Queries' with much benefit to itself, and it is believed that the Burma Government will do likewise.

Speaking in this place to such an audience as that before me, and encouraged by what was already been done elsewhere, I cannot think that I can be mistaken in venturing to recommend the encouragement of the study of anthropology to the University of such a city as Birmingham, which has almost unlimited interests throughout the British Empire. For it should be remembered that anthropological knowledge is as useful to merchants *in partibus* in dealing with aliens as to administrators so situated. Should this suggestion bear fruit, and should it be thought advisable some day to establish a School of Anthropology in Birmingham, I would also venture to point out that there are two requirements preliminary to the successful formation of almost any school of study. These are a library and a museum *ad hoc*. At Oxford there is a well known and well conducted anthropological museum in the Pitt-Rivers Collection, and the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge contains collections of the greatest service to the anthropologist. Liverpool is also interesting itself in such matters. The Royal Anthropological Institute is forming a special library, and both that Institute and the University of London have the benefit of the splendid collections of the British Museum and of the Horniman Museum readily accessible. The libraries at Oxford and Cambridge are, I need hardly say, of world-wide fame. At all these places of learning, then, these requisites for this department of knowledge are forthcoming.

It were almost superfluous to state why they are requisites. Every student requires, not only competent teachers to guide him in his particular branch of study, but also a library and a museum close at hand, where he can find the information he wants and the illustration of it. Where these exist, thither it will be found that students will flock. Birmingham possesses peculiar facilities for the formation of both, as the city has all over the Empire its commercial representatives, who can collect the required museum specimens on the spot. The financial labours also of those who distribute these men over Greater Britain, and indeed all over the world, produce the means to create the library and the school, and their universal interests provide the incentive for securing for those in their employ the best method of acquiring a knowledge of men that can be turned to useful commercial purpose. Beyond these suggestions I will not pursue this point now, except to express a hope that this discourse may lead to a discussion thereon before this meeting breaks up.

Before I quit my subject I would like to be somewhat insistent on the fact that, though I have been dwelling so far exclusively on the business side, as it were, of the study of anthropology, it has a personal side as well. I would like to impress once more on the student, as I have often had occasion to do already, that whether he is studying of his own free will or at the behest of circumstances, there is hardly any better hobby in existence than this, or one that can be ridden with greater pleasure. It cannot, of course, be mastered in a day. At first the lessons will be a grind. Then, until they are well learnt, they are irksome, but when fullness of knowledge and maturity of judgment are attained, there is, perhaps, no keener sense of satisfaction which human beings can experience than that which is afforded by this study. Its range is so wide, its phases so very many, the interests involved in it so various, that it cannot fail to pleasantly occupy the leisure hours from youth to full manhood, and to be a solace, in some aspect or other, in advanced life and old age.

The processes of discovery in the course of this study are of such interest in themselves that I should wish to give many instances, but I must confine myself now to one or two. The

students will find on investigation, for instance, that however childish the reasoning of savages may appear to be on abstract subjects, and however silly some of their customs may seem, they are neither childish nor silly in reality. They are almost always the result of 'correct argument from a false premiss'—a mental process not unknown to civilised races. The student will also surely find that savages are not fools where their concrete interests are concerned, as they conceive those interests to be. For example, in commerce, beads do not appeal to savages merely because they are pretty things, except for purposes of adornment. They will only part with articles they value for particular sorts of beads which are to them money, in that they can procure in exchange for them, in their own country, something they much desire. They have no other reason for accepting any kind of bead in payment for goods. On few anthropological points can mistakes be made more readily than on this, and when they are made by merchants, financial disaster can well follow, so that what I have already said elsewhere as to this may bear repetition in part here. Savages in their bargains with civilised man never make one that does not, for reasons of their own, satisfy themselves. Each side, in such a case, views the bargain according to its own interest. On his side, the trader buys something of great value to him, when he has taken it elsewhere, with something of little value to him, which he has brought from elsewhere, and then, and only then, can he make what is to him a magnificent bargain. On the other hand the savage is more than satisfied, because with what he has got from the trader he can procure from among his own people something he very much covets, which the article he parted with could not have procured for him. Both sides profit by the bargain from their respective points of view, and traders cannot, as a matter of fact, take undue advantage of savages, who, as a body, part with products of little or no value to themselves for others of vital importance, though these last may be of little or none to the civilised trader. The more one dives into recorded bargains, the more clearly one sees the truth of this view.

I have always advocated personal inquiry into the native currency and money, even of pre-British days, of the people amongst whom a Britisher's lot is cast, for the reason that the study of the mental processes that lead up to commercial relations, internal and external, the customs concerned with daily buying and selling, take one more deeply into aliens' habits of mind and their outlook on practical life than any other branch of research. The student will find himself involuntarily acquiring a knowledge of the whole life of a people, even of superstitions and local politics, matters that commercial men, as well as administrators, cannot, if they only knew it, ever afford to ignore. The study has also a great intellectual interest, and neither the man of commerce nor the man of affairs should disregard this side of it if he would attain success in every sense of that term.

Just let me give one instance from personal experience. A few years back a number of ingots of tin, in the form of birds and animals and imitations thereof, hollow tokens of tin ingots, together with a number of rough notes taken on the spot, were handed over to me for investigation and report. They came from the Federated Malay States, and were variously said to have been used as toys and as money in some form. A long and careful investigation unearthed the whole story. They turned out to be surviving specimens of an obsolete and forgotten Malay currency. Bit by bit, by researches into travellers' stories and old records, European and vernacular, it was ascertained that some of the specimens were currency and some money, and that they belonged to two separate series. Their relations to each other were ascertained, and also to the currencies of the European and Oriental nations with whom the Malays of the Peninsula had come in contact. The mint profit in some instances, and in other instances the actual profit European governments and mercantile authorities, and even native traders, had made in recorded transactions of the past, was found out. The origin of the British, Dutch, and Portuguese money, evolved for trading with the Malays, was disclosed, and several interesting historical discoveries were made; as, for instance, the explanation of the coins still

remaining in museums and issued in 1510 by the great Portuguese conqueror, Albuquerque, for the then new Malay possessions of his country, and the meaning of the numismatic plates of the great French traveller Tavernier in the next century. Perhaps the most interesting, and anthropologically the most important, discovery was the relation of the ideas that led up to the animal currency of the Malays to similar ideas in India, Central Asia, China, and Europe itself throughout all historical times. One wonders how many people in these isles grasp the fact that our own monetary scale of 960 farthings to the sovereign, and the native Malay scale of 1,280 cash to the dollar, are representatives of one and the same universal scale, with more than probably one and the same origin out of a simple method of counting seeds, peas, beans, shells, or other small natural constant weights. But the point for the present purpose is that not only will the student find that long practice in anthropological inquiry, and the learning resulting therefrom, will enable him to make similar discoveries, but also that the process of discovery is intensely interesting. Such discoveries, too, are of practical value. In this instance they have taught us much of native habits of thought and views of life in newly acquired possessions which no administrator there, mercantile or governmental, can set, aside with safety.

I must not dwell too long on this aspect of my subject, and will only add the following remark. If any of my hearers will go to the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford he will find many small collections recording the historical evolution of various common objects. Among them is a series showing the history of the tobacco pipe, commonly known to literary students in this country as the nargileh and to Orientalists as the hukka. At one end of the series will be found a hollow coconut with an artificial hole in it, and then every step in evolution between that and an elaborate hukka with its long, flexible, drawing-tube at the other end. I give this instance, as I contributed the series, and I well remember the eagerness of the hunt in the Indian bazaars and the satisfaction on proving every step in the evolution.

There is one aspect of life where the anthropological instinct would be more than useful, but to which, alas, it cannot be extended in practice. Politics, government, and administration are so interdependent throughout the world that it has always seemed to me to be a pity that the value to himself of following the principles of anthropology cannot be impressed on the average politician of any nationality. I fear it is hopeless to expect it. Were it only possible, the extent of the consequent benefit to mankind is at present beyond human forecast, as then the politician could approach his work without that arrogance of ignorance of his fellow countrymen on all points, except their credulity, that is the bane of the ordinary types of his kind wherever found, with which they have always poisoned and are still poisoning their minds, mistaking the satisfaction of the immediate temporary interests and prejudices of themselves and comrades for the permanent advantage of the whole people, whom, in consequence, they incontinently misgovern, whenever and for so long as their country is so undiscerning as to place them in power.

Permit me, in conclusion, to enforce the main argument of this address by a personal note. It was my fortune to have been partly trained in youth at a University College, where the tendency was to produce men of affairs rather than men of the schools, and only the other day it was my privilege to hear the present master of the College, my own contemporary and fellow-undergraduate, expound the system of training still carried out there. 'In the government of young men,' he said, 'intellect is all very well, but sympathy counts for very much more.' Here we have the root principle of Applied Anthropology. Here we have in a nutshell the full import of its teaching. The sound administration of the affairs of men can only be based on cultured sympathy, that sympathy on sure knowledge, that knowledge on competent study, that study on accurate inquiry, that inquiry on right method, and that method on continuous experience.

CRITICAL NOTES ON KALHANA'S EIGHTH TARANGA.

BY E. HULTZSCH.

THE subjoined list forms the continuation of my "Critical Notes on Kalhana's Seventh Tarāṅga" in Vol. XL. of this Journal (p. 97 ff.). It is concerned with verses 1-1500 of the last Tarāṅga (VIII.) of Kalhana's *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* and registers those readings of my ancient *Sâradâ* MS. (M) which are either preferable to those of Sir Aurel Stein's edition or worth consideration. The abbreviations are the same as before (Vol. XL. p. 97), but the two MSS. P and E were not at hand during the preparation of this list. In M the following verses of the passage VIII, 1-1500 are preserved either in full or partially:—1-24, 733-1369, and 1495-1500, while the leaves containing verses 25-732 and 1370-1494 are lost. It will be observed that, wherever M is available for comparison, it becomes possible to correct some details of the published text. Every student of the eighth Tarāṅga is therefore recommended to consult this list when using Sir Aurel Stein's excellent edition and translation of Kalhana's chronicle.

3. °वम्राहौ M.
 13. व्यन्क्ति M.; read व्यन्क्ति.
 14. Read °स्मृत्यार्द्रधीः with M.
 17. Read °द्वित्र° with D.
 149. Read युक्त्या° with D.
 175. Read °वान्तैस्त्वै° with C and D.
 252. Read perhaps °मत्व्योजो° (°मुद्रोजो° MSS., °मह्योजो° C).
 296. Read perhaps प्रावेद्य° with C, D and °मुखाः स्व°.
 368. Read कुर्वत्या with D.
 375. Read °चक्रिकैः with N.
 490. Read त्वदूयत.
 501. Read चक्रिकाम् (चाक्रिकम् C, D, N).
 538. बढभापुरा° N; cf. my note on VII, 588.
 600. If the reading स्वभायार्तिनयन्तिकम् is correct, Kalhana would have offended against Pāṇini, VI, 1, 125.
 610. Read सान्स्व्यमानः with D.
 708. Read °पालिकाः.
 715. Read °क्रान्त्येव with D.
 738. खळीवी° M.
 737. आसन्नश्रान्त° M. Divide *āsan aśānta°* or *āsan aśrānta°*, while Dr. Stein's translation presupposes *āsanna-śānta°*.
 739. Read °योगिना with M.
 746. मन्द्दोद्योग[: *] M.
 747. °न्वाधांश्चेति M; read °द्वाधां चेति.
 750. Read तथा तं with M.
 After 756 M. adds the following verse :—

विहारवाटिके तुङ्गेशापणे कम्पनापतिः ।

अन्येऽन नन्दवने ससैन्या राजमन्त्रिणः ॥

"The commander of the army (stood) at Vihāra Vāṭika (?) on the Tuṅgêśāpaṇa (cf. VI, 190) and the other ministers of the king in the Nandanavana with soldiers.

760. °स्येच्छट° M.
 764. °चाटलिकां M.

766. विसङ्शेन M.
770. चेद्याप्य M, as suggested by P. Durgaprasad. द्ध्यात्तः M; cf. the footnotes in P. Durgaprasad's edition and in Dr. Stein's translation.
774. कृत्स्नं M; read कृत्स्नो.
777. Read °चक्रिकान् with M.
780. °प्रतापेषु लवन्येष्वथ M.
782. °त्यानवि° M, °त्यान्स्ववि° C, N, °त्यान्स वि° (which seems to be correct) D.
785. विरागभाक् M.
788. यो नास्ति व्यापदा M; read यो नान्तर्व्यापदा.
790. सिम्बाख्यो M. Read °यन्द्वार° with M.
798. धिङ्मुग्ध° M.
800. Read °द्वैर्ययो° with M; cf. VIII, 824.
801. राज्ञो धैर्येण M.
802. पलायिते M.
803. नाम for वासः M. Read °वर्षिणम् with C and D.
812. सबालवृद्धं M.
813. Read प्रातरेवेत्य with M; see Pāṇini, VI, 1, 95.
814. °मैच्छत् M.
816. निर्गतः M.
817. °रव° and तद्भृत्या M.
819. स भृत्यद्रोह° M.
821. °स्यात्र विनिधसन् M.
824. युयुत्सुः M. °वाळादी° M, N.
825. Read °निरोधिनः with M.
827. Read °न्मार्गेषु with M.
831. °वञ्चदिलिका° M.
834. °गोष्ठीं M.
844. °लाश्लिष्टै° M.
845. °लोद्योतिना M.
847. Read °मन्धस्य वल्ग[तः] and चारुचामरे° with M.
848. Read निरुद्धाम्[ः] with M.
849. °कृत्योप° M.
850. Read स न्यदर्शयत् with M.
858. Read °रेभिधां with M.
859. °स्यावृष्टपूर्वस्य M.
861. जुञ्जो M.
862. °करणे M.
863. अन्तरज्ञः M, as suggested by P. Durgaprasad.
864. धर्य° M.
872. °स्तत्तदन्व° M.
874. गेहे M.
898. अक्षोयुवा° M.
899. °काः प्रायं M; read °का प्रायं.
900. तेजा° M.
902. °दिनाद्° M.
908. Read सान्ख्यमाना with M and D

906. °द्धैः M.
 909. तत्र for तच्च M. सोवधीत् M.
 918. Read नमश्शून्यं with M.
 919. °चापानां M.
 920. वैताला° M.
 921. किमन्यचा° M. Read perhaps सुबहू°. °ध्वस्तयूथान्स M ; read perhaps °ध्वस्तयूथान्सव°.
 924. इष्टा M.
 929. कारुड° M.
 934. Read सान्त्वय° with D.
 944. °सिंहाद्यैः M.
 946. °तः पतन् M.
 948. कोपनर्तित° M.
 951. Read केशानल्प° with M.
 952. अकृष्ट° M.
 953. °रुहाम° and °दाङ्गार° M.
 955. स लावन्यान्व° M ; read स लवन्यान्व°.
 960. प्रस्थितो M and C ; cf. the footnote in Dr. Stein's edition. न्यधात् M.

The second half of verse 961, which is missing in other MSS., runs thus in M :—

अविक्रिया तस्य गूढा भृत्येष्वसीदमर्षिणः ॥

“ Inwardly this resentful (king) did not change (in his feelings) towards (his) servants.”

962. °संस्पर्शजं M.
 968. Read स्वीचिकी° with M.
 970. Read °पुरं with M.
 971. °धराङ्गनं M.
 975. निर्गुड° M.
 976. °दीपयत् M.
 980. Read °हेमाण्ड° with M.
 984. Read शावसंहार°.
 986. केपि नि° M.
 989. भस्मीभूता° and सिमित्तिमा° M.
 992. Read वात्र with M.
 993. °वाज° M.
 997. °महं M.
 999. °वैशसे M, as suggested by P. Durgaprasad.
 1002. Here and in verses 1039 and 1043 M reads सिम्भ for सिम्ब, and in verse 1045 तिह्.
 1005. °वाळादीनुल्हणो M ; cf. VIII, 1041, etc.
 1006. °रयुद्ध M.
 1018. बहृशो बहवं (read °वो) हताः M.
 1019. Read °रानीके with M.
 1021. Read perhaps विश्वेदेवा with C and N.
 1023. व्यवसायो M, as suggested in Dr. Stein's translation.
 1031. चेतप्राप्त्ये° M ; read चेतप्राप्त्य°. साक्षेपं M with L.
 1033. M fully confirms Dr. Stein's conjectural readings.
 1048. त्यक्त्वाशिभ्रय° M ; read त्यक्त्वाशिभ्रय° with C and D.
 1049. °पद्यवे M.

M omits verses 1052 and 1053 and continues thus :—

स्वीकृतान्यवलन्यौघं सीकृततुरङ्गमः ।
सोश्ववारैः सह रणं चकार नगरान्तरे ॥
नृपावरोधैस्सौ (स्सौ) धाम्नावालोकितमथाकुलैः ।
भिक्षुणा क्षिप्तिकातीरे स्कन्दा (न्धा) वारं न्यबध्यत ॥

The first of these four lines, which is missing in other MSS., seems to be meant for

स्वीकृतान्यलवन्यौघो वशीकृततुरंगमः ।

“Having won over numerous other Lavanyas (and) having secured horses (for them), he commenced a fight with the horsemen within the city. Then Bhikshu pitched on the bank of the Kshiptikâ a camp which was regarded with apprehension by the king's ladies from the top of the palace.”

1056. राज्ञोद्याना° M.

Instead of verse 1059 M has the two following verses :—

...तस्मिन्हतावष्टःक (ष्टम्भ) विक्षतः ।
डामराणां स कटकौ बभूव विजयेश्वरे ॥
परेषां तु हयारोहस्तितः पृथ्वीहरादयः ।
प्रययुः सेतुमुल्लङ्घ्य जीवास्वस्थाः कथंचन ॥

1066. ब्रौडितो M.

1070. Read °शैत्य with M and C; the reading °शैत्य offends against Pāṇini, VI, 1, 95.

1073. वितस्तायां and °ताद्वलात् M. तजा° M; cf. note on VIII, 900.

1080. °द्वाद्यनुमुलं M and D.

1083. °विच्छिदि° M.

1084. तेलो M. Read क्षत्रिया (as a separate word) with M; cf. L. भिक्षिकास्थानसब्ब° M.

1090. °सिस्तुस्सनिस्सङ्गटाः M; cf. the footnote in Dr. Stein's translation.

1093. पाञ्चान्यौ फाल्गुनस्येव M. Read °भापतुः with M.

1096. °धाट्यपि M; this or °धाट्यथ is the correct reading.

1097. करे M. न तथा मज्जने पयः M.

1101. जीर्ण° M.

1102. लोष्टाशाह्यलकादयः M.

1105. Read तुरङ्गमं with M.

1112. Read शनितो युद्धे राजसूनुसमीरणः and प्रासाम्बु° with M and translate :—

“These two removed in the fight by showers of darts, the distress (produced) by the prince (Bhikshu) as (the two months) Nabhas and Nabhasya (extinguish) by showers of rain the jungle-fire (fanned) by the wind.”

1113. Read वीर° with M.

1117. Read °चिकीर्षुणा with M.

1122. कैश्चि° M.

1127. Read °मुत्तरं with M.

1129. कान्दि° M.

1130. प्ररोहं M.

1131. जन्यकेन M.

1133. मडात्मजौ डम्ण° M.

1147. तथाविधे M.

1148. °त्पतिपत्ते M.

1151. तेनैव for संगम्य M.

1155. पुनश्च for वसन्ते M.

1159. Read निजैरेव with M.

1170. Read कृत्स्ने नगरे with M.
 1171. Read °स्वामितो with M.
 1174. Read °धैव with M and C.
 1175. °वेदमल्लिष्ट° M.
 1185. °तेषु च M and N.
 1186. Read °सेतोस्तम° with M.
 1190. भूमिकृते M.
 1192. °रक्तन M, as suggested in Dr. Stein's translation.
 1193. °दत्तासयत् M.
 1194. भृत्येषु गच्छत्सु M.
 1198. प्रेरयच्च M; read प्रैरयच्च. Read व्यद्वीर्यन्त with M.
 1200. एकोप्यद्रा° M.
 1201. निपात्य and व्यूहे M.
 1202. व्यञ्जित° M.
 1203. °मानस्त्वोकाशं M; read °माण[: *]स्तोकाशं with C.
 1205. Read जाग्रत् with M, N, C, D and स्नान् with D.
 1208. Read perhaps भिक्षां (for क्षिप्रं) प्रपेक्षिरे.
 1221. कश्मीर° and °पुरान्तरे M.
 1223. Read °सस्तां with M.
 1229. °मत्र यातः M.

Instead of verses 1230 to 1236 of the printed text M has 161 other verses. That the latter are genuine follows (1) from their style, which is unmistakably Kalhana's, and (2) from the fact that the published text shows a gap in the narrative between the years [41]99 (verse 1154) and [420]³ (verse 1348), which is filled up by those verses: verse 50 specifies the year 100 (*i. e.* 4200), verse 79 the year [420]¹, verse 117 the year [420]², and verse 152 the year [420]³. This period was occupied by continual fights between Sussala and his enemy Bhikshâchara. Much of this passage is so corrupt that it seems difficult to publish the whole from M alone in an intelligible form. Here I shall note only the following occurrences:—Prithvîhara is killed by Rilhana and Syâma (verse 13 f.); Prajji dies (verse 144); in Vaiśâkha of the year [420]³ Sussala leaves Srinagar for the last time (verse 152).

1237. °देवो गूढं कन्दलयन्नयं M.
 1238. स तं बन्धुं M.
 1241. स्वमान्त्रिभिः M.
 1246. Read perhaps सान्निध्यं for तन्त्रित्यं.
 1248. व्यापादयाम्यहं M.
 1252. भव्यमवर्णयत् M.
 1258. क्षौद्रे M.
 1259. Read सुञ्जिना with M.
 1260. वाह्युवाख्य° M.
 1269. °वतरैः and °वोद्यथौ M, which adds the following verse:—

यावन्मात्रस्य दण्डस्य विधेयस्य विरोधिनां ।
 हिमागमो नरपतेः परिपन्थित्वमायथौ ॥

“The beginning of winter prevented the king from inflicting any punishment on the enemies.”

1270. °नवर्तत M.
 1271. °न्ताक्रमण° M.

1275. निपतेर्द्वर M ; read निपतेर्द्वर. Read क्वन for क्रमेत् with M.
 1296. Read प्रकृतुमैच्छंस्वानार° with M. कंचि° M with L.
 1299. Read स्नात्वा प्रतीक्षे (" Having bathed I shall wait for (you) ") with M.
 1301. साशङ्को M.
 1312. व्यान्न° M, व्यान्नः C.
 1318. करङ्गादञ्जको M ; read करङ्गाद्यञ्जको, as suggested by P. Durgaprasad.
 1320. कटके M.
 1321. तमोसौ M.
 1323. °र्नागदाभिधं M.
 1326. पक्षद्वरिण M.
 1328. °पश्यैः M.
 1331. For the use of *alam* with the gerund, see Pāṇini, III, 4, 18, and Māgha, II, 40.
 1332. जात° M with C and D.
 1334. अधरेणासु° M.
 1339. त्वं वैजन्यफलं M.
 1341. कश्चन M with C.
 1349. Read °ख्येनेदय and see my notes on VIII, 813 and 1070.
 1350. योतुभवः M.
 1351. Read स्थित्वा with M.
 1352. अधमैः M.
 1354. Read विशोधिते with M.
 1355. °नृप° M. °जमदरन्या° M, as suggested in Dr. Stein's translation.
 1356. Read शीघ्र° with M.
 1357. °लकं and संदर्शने M.
 1360. सहस्रयतां M.
 1362. Read इत्युपालभ° and पित्र्यैरमात्यैः with M.
 1364. लोहरे M.
 1366. Read तादृश्या with M.
 1367. Read °स्थितिः with M.
 1368. Read °नाह्वायि° with M ; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 84, and Māgha, V, 15.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE NĀRADA-SMṚITI.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

I should like to draw the attention of orientalist who are interested in the study of the *Smṛitis*, to one of the sources of the *Nārada-smṛiti*. I brought out the point in the course of a series of articles discussing the connection between the *Artha-śāstra* and the *Dharma-śāstras*.

The procedure law of the *Nārada-smṛiti* is greatly based on the *Dharmasthāya* book of the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya. In the preface the *smṛiti* avows that it is based on Manu, while it seldom follows the Code of Manu. The importance of the *Artha-śāstra* in Hindu legal history is so very considerable that we shall be justified in treating the Book on Law (*Dharmasthāya*) as a part of the permanent legal system of the Hindus. The *Mānava-dharma-śāstra*¹ criticises it, the Yājñavalkya² borrows from it, and the *Nāradasmṛiti* adopts its purely secular treatment and its principles of procedure law.³

¹ See *The Doctrine of Equity in Hindu Jurisprudence*, *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Nos. 39, 41, and 42, (1911). (Cf. also the *Archiv für Rechts und Wirtschaftsphilosophie*, V, 4, where the articles have been discussed.)

² C. W. N., 1913, No. 39.

³ of C. W. N., Nos. 44 & 45, 1913. See NS., Introduction, 2, 7, 10, 11, 37, 39, 40, and AS., verses at p. 150 (ed. Shama Sastri); cf. also the laws of evidence in AS., III. 11, with NS. I.; rules about plaint and written statement in AS., III. 1, with those in NS., Intro. II.

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE "ORIGIN AND DECLINE
OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM IN
SOUTHERN INDIA."

I have read with some interest the paper on *The Origin and Decline of Buddhism and Jainism in Southern India* written by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar and published in the pages of this *Journal*. I cannot leave the subject without making a few observations on some statements made by the author which are wrong and consequently likely to become mischievous. I shall not trouble myself with the first part, which is based exclusively on the *Mahāvamsa*, whose authenticity for historical purposes has been questioned by scholars, but shall confine my observations to the latter part. But, before doing so, I shall notice in brief one point. Our author says that the famous Baudha *bhikṣu*, Ariṭṭa, who was the maternal uncle of Dēvānāṣṭriya Tissa, might be the person after whom the village of Ariṭṭappaṭṭi in the Madura District, must have been named. There is as much likelihood as not for such a supposition. If the Brāhmi inscriptions found there call the village by the name Ariṭṭappaṭṭi, we could easily take it to have been named after this Baudha apostle. On the other hand our friend himself states that one of the Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions found in that region mentions a Ariṭṭanēmi. There is now a probability of the place being called after this person also; so then, one cannot be certain as to the origin of the name of the village. It is apparent that, since this fact came in handy enough to bring home a theory of his making, Mr. Ayyar has utilised it here. I do not mean to say that he himself could not have perceived the difficulty in an identification of the kind he has made.

A similar error is committed by coupling the name of an Ajjanandi mentioned in the Tamil epic *Jivakachintāmaṇi* and a similar name found in inscriptions. I would be the first person to accept such an identification if the date of any of the two factors of the identity had been known. Has our author determined the approximate date at least of this Tamil epic poem? Or, does he know the period in which the Jaina *āchārya* mentioned in the stone records lived? If neither of these dates is known, how can we assert that the two Ajjanandis are identical?

From a careful study of the hymn of Tirujñānasambandar, one would perceive that he ridicules the curious names of the Jaina *gurus*, rather than gives a list of his contemporaries of the Jaina persuasion, who lived on the Āṇaimalai hill.

He says "As long as I have the grace of Śiva of the temple at Ālavāy (Madura), I would not feel helpless, before the blind fools of Jainas who hail with the names Sandusēṇaṇ, Indusēṇaṇ, etc., and who like monkeys, go about without any knowledge either of the Āryan tongue or of the refined Tamil." The vein of derision is seen when he talks of the swarthy colour of these people, while he describes Kandusēna, an imaginary personage. The very peculiar satirical tone of Tirujñānasambandar is visible throughout the verses referred to here. He also plays upon the names of the religions that were in vogue at that time, Andanam (Brahmanism), Arugandaṇam (the religion of the Arhantas), Puttaṇam (that of Buddha), Sittanam (of the Siddhas), etc.

Another statement which cannot go unquestioned is: "The time of the three Ālvārs has been definitely made out. They belong to the latter half of the 8th century A. D. and seem to have held high position in life. What Jñānasambandar and Appar are to the Śaivites, Nammālvār and Tirumaṅgai are to the Vaishnavites of the south. The hymns composed by them are equally stirring. Madhurakavi was the minister of the king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ and Nammālvār was the magistrate of the town of Ālvār-Tirunagari in the Tinnevely District. It is easy to conceive the amount of influence they might have brought to bear upon the people." Will Mr. Ayyar be good enough to tell us who has made out the time of these Ālvārs and how it is definite? Where is it said that Madhurakavi, the Ālvār, was the minister of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ or that Nammālvār was the District Magistrate of the district of Ālvār-Tirunagari in the Pāṇḍya kingdom? Was the name of the place in which the latter Ālvār was a magistrate the same as is given by our author in those days, or did it come to be known after the Ālvār at a subsequent time? For aught we can gather from the *Guruparampara* of the Śrīvaishnavas, Madhurakavi, the Ālvār, was a poor Brāhmaṇa born in Tirukkôṭṭr, long before Nammālvār was born, and had travelled far and wide on pilgrimage, and eventually became the disciple and constant companion of his master, Nammālvār. He does not appear to be a master in the art of composing sweet verses and therefore called Madhurakavi, for the only composition of his that we have got at present is only a decade of verses in praise of his master. These verses do not speak much for his capacity for making *sweet* verses. The minister of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ is called Māraṇ-Kāri (Kāri the son of Māraṇ, Māra-sūnn), and

was born in the Vaidya-kula in the town of Karavandapuram (Kalakkāḍu in the Tinnevely District). He was remarkable for his sweet compositions and was also known on that account as Madhurakavi. Except in the matter of identity in the name Madhurakavi, there is nothing to prove that the Ālvār, a Brāhmana of Tirukkōḷūr, was the same as the Vaidya of Karavandapuram.

A curious *dictum* which finds favour with the official epigraphists of Madras is that he who mentions another must be a contemporary of the former. The late Mr. Venkayya held that Tirumangai must be a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Vayiramēgan, because he praises them as the benefactors of certain temples. Similarly, Mānikkvāchaka, who mentions the name Varaguṇa in his work must be the latter's contemporary. If to-day someone writes the biography of another, say Mr. Vincent Smith of the life of Aśōka, could he be called the contemporary of that Baudhdha Emperor?

The most egregious of all the blunders is contained in the statement: 'The proper names of Nammālvār and Madhurakavi suggest that the former must have been the father of the latter. As Madhurakavi appears to have died at some time prior to A. D. 769-70, if Tirumangai was his contemporary, there is every likelihood of the latter having lived in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla,' (p. 217, f. n. 33). What are the proper names of the two Ālvārs according to Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar? how does he claim to have identified the first as the father of the second? Does he not know the former was a Brāhman, while the latter is said to have been a person of the fourth caste? Was not the birth of Nammālvār unknown to Madhurakavi, and the latter, finding the south glowing with a divine light, traced his steps from Ayōdhyā to seek this light? If all this tradition is idle, I should object to our friend utilising from the idle tales those portions which say that Nammālvār was called Kārimāraṇ, that he was a magistrate (?) of Ālvār-Tirunagari, etc. Most certainly Madhurakavi, the Ālvār, was not the father of Nammālvār. I would rather put it that the minister, Māraṇ-Kāri, *alias* Madhurakavi, was the father of Nammālvār, and the latter gave the name of his father to his disciple Madhurakavi, the Ālvār. In that case I am myself prepared to admit that Nammālvār lived about the beginning of the 9th century of the Christian era.¹ It is no wonder that Mr. Ayyar commits so many mistakes, because he follows only in

the footsteps of Venkayya, who is the first to blunder in that manner in the construction of the history of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ālvārs and Āchāryas.

The article is a fine specimen of working facts into preconceived theories and basing argument on *ipse dixit*. A wrong theory is tolerable, because, it is ever subjected to examination, while a wrong fact, if allowed to remain uncontradicted, is likely to prove mischievous in the hands of subsequent students of history, who, because this fact has remained unchallenged, would assume it to be true, and in their turn commit serious blunders. By repetition a wrong fact, even a wrong theory, acquires the status of truth. No more glaring instance of this statement could be quoted than the theory of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, which, when facts against it were placed before Prof. Hultzsch, its author, was accepted by him to be no more tenable, but is still frantically hugged to the bosom by its supporters in India. *i. e.* by scholars like Messrs. Venkayya, Kriṣṇa Śāstri and others.

Trivandram.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

COINS OF AMRITA-PĀLA, RĀJA OF BADAUN.

In my *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I (1906), pp. 244, 249, and Plate XXVI, 6, I described certain rare silver coins of the "bull and horseman" type under the name of Aśata-pāla, and doubtfully connected them with the mintage of the kings of Ohind.

Mr. Richard Burn has proved to me that the correct reading is Amṛita-pāla, and that the coins were struck by the prince of that name, mentioned in the long inscription now in the Lucknow Museum, and edited by Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, pp. 61—66. The inscription was found in the ruins of the south gate of the old fort of Badāun, U. P. It treats of the foundation and endowment of a temple of Śiva, erected apparently at Badāun, which is called Vodāmayōtā. The record gives the genealogy of a Rāshtrakūṭa Rājā named Lathanapāla, the younger brother of his predecessor, Amṛita-pāla, who is described as having been learned, pious, and valiant. It is possible that there may have been a date at the beginning of line 23, but Kielhorn could not read the characters. The script is that of about A. D. 1200.

V. A. S.

¹ Elsewhere I have stated that Nammālvār must have lived about A. D. 1,000, which my subsequent researches have shown to be wrong. I am getting a paper ready on the subject, once again dealing with the Śrīvaiṣṇava chronology in the light of these fresh facts.

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