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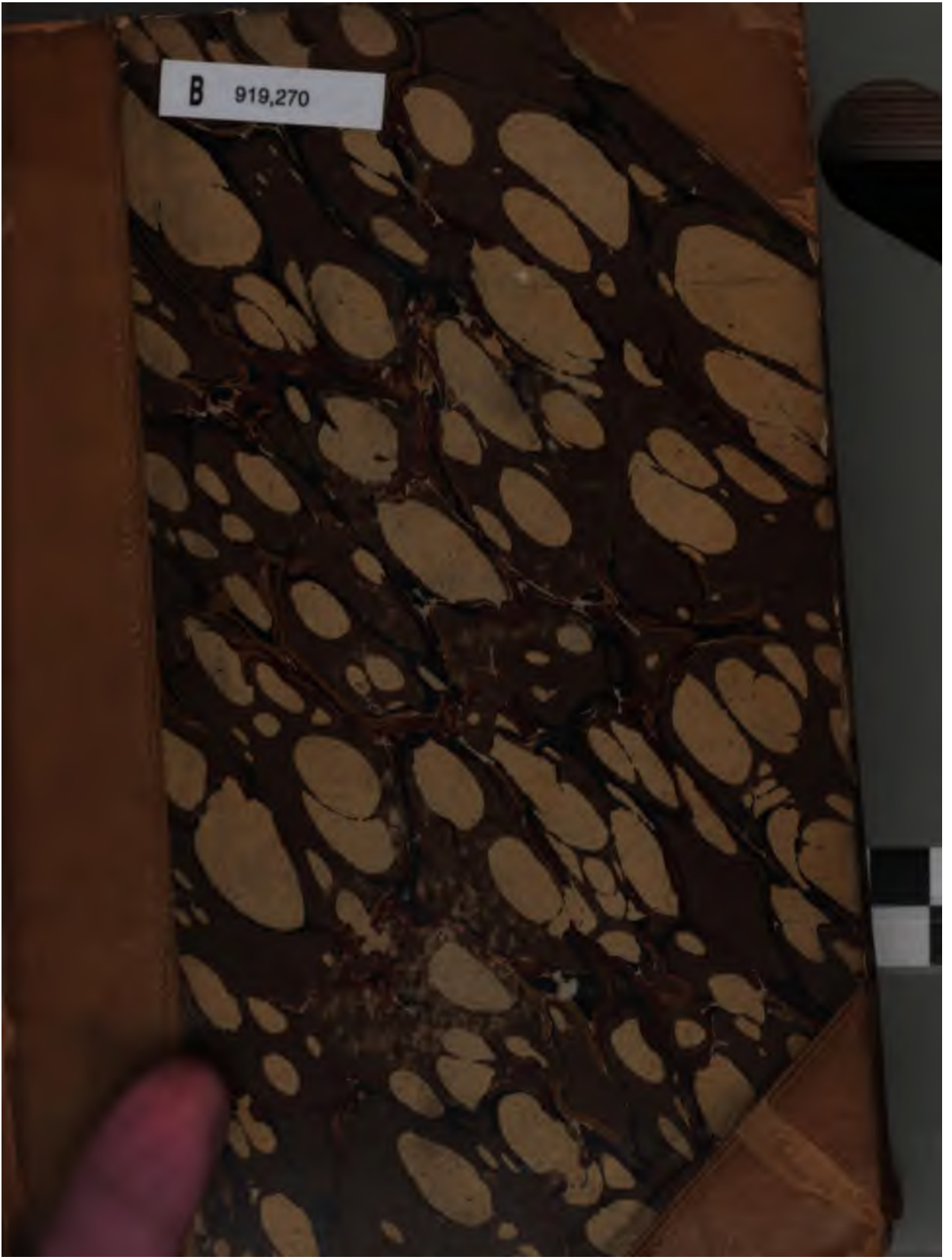
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GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

February 4th, 1880.

LIBRARY REGULATIONS.

THE Council, with a view to the convenience of the Fellows generally, and to the better care of Works that are easily injured, have deemed it expedient to make the following regulations, in conformity with Section XIX. Art. 1 of the Bye-Laws.

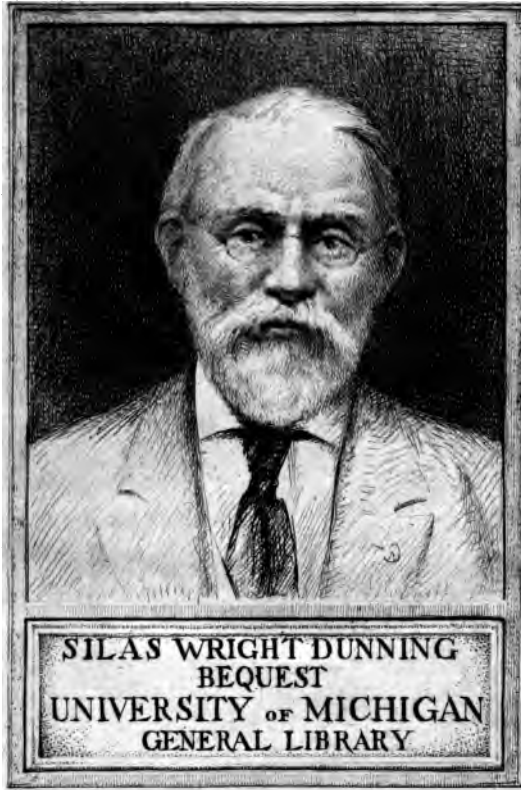
1. The Books shall only be delivered to a Fellow of the Society or to some one producing a written order from such Fellow; and a receipt shall be given by the person to whom the book is delivered (expressing the name of the Fellow for whom it is received), in a book kept for that purpose.
2. Any Fellow failing to return a book on the application of the Council, or returning books torn or defaced, shall be considered as liable for their value; and if they are separate volumes, for the value of the whole work rendered imperfect.
3. All books allowed to circulate may be retained A FORTNIGHT; after the expiration of that time every book shall be immediately returned, so soon as the Fellow shall receive an intimation from the Librarian that it is wanted; and after the expiration of ONE MONTH from the date of its having been delivered from the Library, every book shall be returned.
4. All books shall be returned on the first Monday in September for a fortnight, during which period the Library shall be closed for cleaning.
5. No Fellow shall have in his possession at one time more than SIX VOLUMES, without the permission of the Council.
6. Any Member failing to comply with the above regulations, after receiving notice from the Librarian, shall be fined half-a-crown for every week that a volume is detained beyond the time allowed; and the privilege of having books from the Library shall cease until the fines are paid and the books are returned.
7. All charges of carriage and delivery of books &c. to and from Fellows shall be defrayed by the Fellow borrowing the same.

EXCEPTIONS.

- I. There are certain books which cannot be allowed to circulate. A list of these shall be prefixed to the printed Catalogue of the Library, and a notice of such additions to that list as the Council may from time to time feel it necessary to make shall be fixed up in the Library.
- II. No Map, Section, or Drawing can be allowed to circulate without permission in writing granted by the Council, or by the President or one of the Secretaries.
- III. No book or illustration in loose sheets shall be allowed to circulate.
- IV. No Periodical Publication, and no Volume or part of the Transactions of any Society, shall be allowed to circulate until after the expiration of four months from the date of its having been received at the Society.
- V. All new works shall circulate amongst the Fellows after the expiration of a fortnight from the time of their being received, unless the Council (or, during the recess, the President or one of the Secretaries) shall determine otherwise.

No book lent to the Society is allowed to circulate without a written order from the Proprietor.

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THE JOURNAL
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BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

VOLUME XVI.

—•••—
1883-85.

EDITED BY THE SECRETARY.

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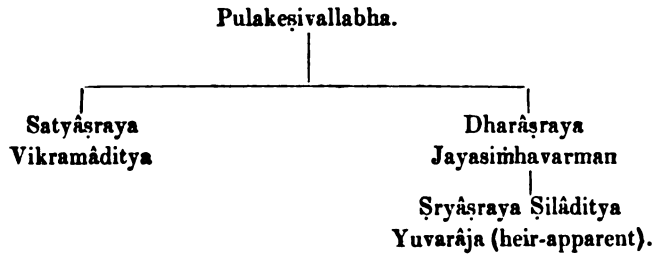
the engraver. ¹⁸ The *anusârâ* on ¹⁹ लाँ has been omitted in the original.
¹⁹ The original has धर्मदो. ²⁰ The original has राजाभि. ²¹ For माख read माघ.
²² The original has सन्धिविग्रहक. ²³ The original has no *anusârâ* on न.



mother and father and of Śrī Nāgavardhana, the chief of great kings, the great lord Bhattāraka, who with irresistible might subdued the Pallava dynasty. His son, Śryāśraya (the illustrious) Śilāditya Yuvarāja (heir-apparent), a sun inasmuch as by means of his glory-banners as bright as the canopy of the rows of beams of the autumnal full moon he brightens all the quarters; possessing the excellent beauty and grace of the moon; proficient in all the arts of the God of Love; possessing the energy of the universal monarch of the Vidyādhara (Jīmūtvāhana); residing in Navsāri, gave with a libation of water the village of Âsatti, situated in the Kandavala sub-division of the Thâharika district, with *udranga* (?) and with all its accompaniments to Bhāgikkasvāmi, an Adhvaryu and Brahmachāri, the son of Svāmantasvāmi, who is the son of Agāmisvāmi of the Kāsyapa stock (*gotra*), being himself the younger brother of Kikkasvāmi, and having for his younger brother Mātṛis-thavira. And all future kings, believing wealth to be as transient as the jet of a lamp blown by the wind, should continue this meritorious gift. Various kings, Sagara and others, have possessed the earth; the merit of a grant goes to that king who possesses it at any particular time. This has been written by the illustrious Dhanañjaya, minister of peace and war, on the thirteenth of the bright half of Māgha in the year (*sainvatsara*) four hundred and twenty-one, 421. Om.

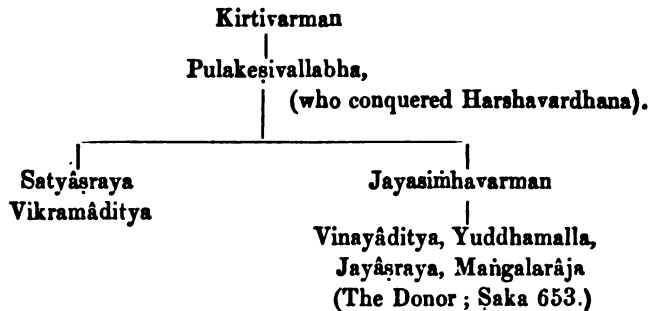
REMARKS.

The genealogical tree of the donor, as far as can be made out from the copperplate, is as follows:—



As we learn from other copper-plates of this dynasty that Vikramāditya Satyāśraya is the son of Pulakeṣivallabha or Pulakeṣi II., and as we find the same here mentioned, there can be no doubt that the Pulakeṣivallabha of this plate is Pulakeṣi II. Vikramāditya Satyāśraya is here called *Mātāpitṛi Śrī Nāgavaradhanapādānudyāta*. As the attribute *pādānudyāta* is generally used with reference

to the preceding king, it may be that Vikramāditya's immediate predecessor was Nāgavaradhana, the cousin of Pulakeṣivallabha, Vikramāditya* being therefore said to bow at the feet of his mother and father and of Nāgavardhana. But as in a copper-plate translated by Mr. Fleet, even Pulakeṣi II. is described as Nāgavardhanapādānu-dhyāta, I do not see any objection to suppose with Mr. Fleet that Nāgavardhana may be the name of a god or *guru*. Vikramāditya's successor was his younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā, and after him comes Jayasimhavarmā's son, Sryāśraya Ṣilāditya Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) who is the donor of this grant. We find no mention of these two in the Deccan Chālukya plates; and our plate, I believe, shows the reason for this omission. According to this plate, Jayasimhavarmā's "glory had been augmented by his elder brother," "ज्यायसा भ्राता सनभिवर्द्धितविभूतिः" which seems to mean that Vikramāditya gave his younger brother rank and glory probably by giving him the province of Gujarāt, Jayasimhavarmā thus being the founder of the Gujarāt Chālukyas. About fifteen years ago I copied a Chālukya copper-plate for the late Dr. Bhāu Daji, which came from a Pārsi gentleman of Balsār. The genealogical tree given in that plate is as follows:—



As Vikramāditya and Jayasimhavarmā are mentioned in this plate as his sons, there can be no doubt that the Pulakeṣivallabha of the Balsār plate is identical with the Pulakeṣivallabha of the Navsāri plate. But Jayasimhavarmā's son is called in the Balsār plate, Maṅgalarāja with the titles or *birudas*, Vinayāditya, Yuddhamalla and Jayāśraya, and is the grantor, making the grant from Maṅgalapuri. There is no

* Another attribute of Vikramāditya is founded on his victory over the Pallavas, a fact to which other Deccan copper-plates also testify.

† *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX., p. 123.

mention, however, of Śilāditya Yuvarāja, though he is stated in our copper-plate to be the son of Jayasimhavarṃā. This omission may be explained either by his death while heir-apparent (as he is styled in our copper-plate), before Maṅgalarāja came to the throne, or by his dethronement by his brother Maṅgalarāja.

A difficult point in our copper-plate is its date, 421, which is distinct both in figures and letters. The date of the Balsār copper-plate is Śaka 653 (A.D. 731), and this appears reasonable, as from copper-plates published by Mr. Fleet,* we find that 592-603 Śaka (A.D. 670-681) is the date of Vikramāditya Satyaśraya. Jayasimhavarṃā may have been a contemporary of his brother, reigning as his viceroy in Gujarāt about the same time as his brother, or perhaps a little later, at the latest Śaka 615 (A.D. 693). After this, according to the Balsār copper-plate, comes Maṅgalarāja, Śaka 653, with apparently a reign of about thirty-eight years. As this is a rather long period for one king, possibly our Śilāditya comes in the middle, his date being about Śaka 620. But as is mentioned above, his copper-plate has 421 distinct both in figures and letters, which shows that there is a difference of nearly 200 years between the Śaka era and the era in which our copper-plate is dated. The copper-plate has simply *saṃvatsara* 421, which is the ordinary way of dating the Gupta era. But the date of the copper-plate does not appear to be according to the Gupta era, though that era was current in Gujarāt about this time and was used by the Valabhi kings; as, according to General Cunningham's tables, the Gupta era is almost settled to have begun about A.D. 166, or Śaka 88, which would bring our Śilāditya at Śaka 509, or anterior even to his grandfather, Pulakeṣi II., which is absurd. As the Gupta era must therefore be left out of consideration, and as we know of no other era to which the date in the copper-plate belongs, the question arises whether this is not a forged copper-plate. In favour of the forgery are the following three points:—(1), the date is hard to understand; (2) the name Śilāditya is foreign to the dynasty; and (3), there was a Valabhi king Śilāditya who was reigning about this time, and in imitation of one of whose plates and of a Chālukya plate this grant was forged. Against the forgery are the following three points:—(1) the form of the letters which are of the probable time of the plate, *i.e.*, about 620 A.D., while a forged copper-plate foisting a Valabhi Śilāditya into a Chālukya list implies a long period, about a century or more, of forgotten history, when the style of letters in Gujarāt materially changes, and differs much from the style of the letters

* Dynasties of the Kānarese Districts, 26—27.

of this copper-plate ; (2), the existence of the name Śilāditya is not a strong point, as a dynasty reigning in Guzarât might have borrowed a name very common to a contemporary neighbour dynasty ; and (3), a forger so ignorant of the dynasty as to introduce an alien name would not be likely to have given a *biruḍa* like आभय which fits so naturally with जयाभय and सत्याभय, the *biruḍas* of other kings of this dynasty. As the point is doubtful, I do not feel in a position to vouch for the genuineness of this plate, unless another bearing a similar date and the name Śilāditya is found.

NOTE.—Since the above was written, I have obtained five more copper-plates of this dynasty ; they are very rusty, and the letters indistinct, but I trust after cleaning them to be able to find the era in which they are dated.

ART. II.—*Coins of the Bence Rasool Dynasty of South Arabia.*
By Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. PRIDEAUX.

[Read 10th April 1883.]

IN the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV., p. 339, Dr. Codrington gave an account of a large hoard of coins which was found in March 1882 by some labourers who were digging a tank in the compound of the Jamat Khana building of the Parsi Panchayet at Broach. Amongst the coins in question were included as many as 217 silver pieces, which Dr. Codrington was unable to attribute to their proper dynasty. Dr. Dymock, whom he had consulted on the subject, was of opinion that they were coins of the Sultáns of Baghdád, who enjoyed power after the decadence of the Caliphate. On reading Dr. Codrington's paper, I felt tolerably sure that the coins did not belong to 'Irák, but to South Arabia, where the dynasty of the Bence Rasool held a predominant position from A.D. 1229 to 1454. Through the kind intervention of the Hon'ble J. Gibbs, C.S.I., Dr. Codrington forwarded 28 of the coins for my inspection, and on seeing them my first impressions were resolved into certainty, and I could no longer doubt that the specimens belonged to a dynasty of which the coinage is so rare that, so far as I am aware, only three pieces were known before the discovery of the hoard. Of these there are two dínárs in the British Museum collection, and a dirhem in my own possession.

The Rasool from whom this dynasty took its name is supposed to have been an envoy of the 'Abbásee Khaleefeh of Baghdád, and it is probably for this reason that we find the name of the last unfortunate representative of that dynasty, the Imám El-Mustaasim B'illah, on all the coinage of the line. The son of Rasool, 'Alee Shems-ed-deen, was appointed governor of Mekkeh by the Ayyoobee El-Mes'ood in 619 A. H., on whose death the son of 'Alee, El-Mansoor Noor-ed-deen 'Omar, made himself master of the Yemen and part of the Hijáz, and firmly established his dynasty. It continued as the dominant power in Southern Arabia until the middle of the ninth century of the Flight,

when the government was seized by the family of the Beneh Tāhir. A list of the princes of the Beneh Rasool will be found at page 122 of Vol. V., *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, and a history of the family is narrated in Ibn-ed-Deyba's chronicle as given in Johannsen's *Historia Jemanae*, and in the manuscript annals of El-Khazrajee,* of which a very meagre abridgement is given in the fourteenth chapter of Playfair's *History of Yemen* (Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XLIX.)

The Broach hoard contains specimens of the coinage of at least five princes of this dynasty, namely, the second, El-Mudhaffar Yoosuf; the fourth, El-Muāyyad Dáwood; the fifth, El-Mujáhid 'Alee; the sixth, El-Afḍal El-'Abbás; and the seventh, El-Ashraf Isma'eel. The British Museum collection contains a dínár of the fourth prince, another of the fifth, while a dirhem of the eighth, En-Náṣir Alḥmad, was sent me by a friend at 'Aden some years ago. Out of the fourteen princes of the dynasty, therefore, two are represented by their gold, and six by their silver, coinage. Both the B. M. coins were struck at 'Aden; the Broach hoard introduces us in addition to four new mints, Ta'izz, Zebeed, El-Mahjam, and Thaabat. 'Aden, Ta'izz, and Zebeed are well-known places, and are in existence at the present day; El-Mahjam is said by Aboo'l-Fidà to have lain at the distance of three days' journey to the north-east of Zebeed, and six days' journey from Ṣan'à. In the time of Niebuhr, the only vestige of its former glory was an old mosque, which was saved from utter ruin in the year 1762 by the Ameer Farḥán, Dawlah of Loḥeia. (*Description de l'Arabie*, tom. II., p. 63.) Thaábát was an ancient fortress which, according to Ibn-ed-Deyba', was nearly rebuilt by El-Mujáhid in A.H. 734, as he erected walls, laid out beautiful gardens, and in other ways embellished it. An interesting peculiarity of this series of coins is that in many instances the mint-place is represented by the figure of a man or animal. The maritime city of 'Aden, for instance, is personified by a fish; Zebeed by a bird; El-Mahjam by a lion; and Ta'izz (and, in one instance, Thaábát) by a seated man. I will

* It is stated by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, on the authority of Dr. Loth (*Catalogue*, Vol. V., p. xxxiii.), that the MS. of El-Khazrajee in the India Office is unique. I believe however that there is a copy in the Library of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, and I have heard of several others.—W. F. F.

† Johannsen: *Historia Jemanae*, p. 164. In the geographical list at the end of the work, this city is called *Tsa'nát*, but in the text the orthography which I have used is employed throughout, and is apparently correct.

now proceed to describe the coins which have been sent to me by Dr. Codrington, and which include specimens of the issues of the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh princes of the dynasty.

EL-MUDHAFAR SHEMS-ED-DEEN YOOSUF, second Sultān.

No. 1 (10*).—'Aden ; year 651.

Obv.—Within a circle—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله محمد
رسول الله ارسله
بالحدي ودين
الحق

Margin—

ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي ليظهره على
الدين كله الاية رضي الله عنهم

Rev.—Within a circle—

عمر
السلطان الملك
المظفر شمس الدين
يوسف بن الملك
المنصور

Margin—

الامام المستعصم بالله امير
المومنين ضرب بعدن سنة
احد خمسين ستماه

Another specimen, struck at Zebeed, year 654.

EL-MU'AYYAD HIZEBR-ED-DEEN DAWOOD, fourth Sultān.

No. 2 (9).—Zebeed ; year 7*5.

Obv.—Within an ornamented circle—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله محمد
رسول الله ارسله
بالحدي ودين
الحق

Margin—As in No. 1.

Rev.—Within a circle as on obverse—

يوسف
السلطان الملك
المؤيد هزبر الدين
داود بن الملك
المظفر

Margin—

الامام المستعصم | بالله
امير المومنين | ضرب
بزويد سنة | خمس...بعماه

* The number within brackets is that by which the coin is represented in Dr. Codrington's paper. I do not repeat the sizes and weights, which are given by that gentleman.

EL-MUJÁHID SEYF-EL-ISLÁM 'ALEE, fifth Sulṭán.

No. 3 (11).—'Aden ; year 733.

Obv.—Area, within a circle, inscription as in No. 1.*Rev.*—Area, within a circle—

داود
السلطان الملك
سيف
المجاهد الاسلام
علي بن الملك
الموريد

Margin—As in No. 1.*Margin*—

الامام المستعصم بالله
امير المؤمنين ضرب
بعدن سنة ثلث فئتين و سبعمانه

Two specimens ; another date illegible.

No. 4. (14).—'Aden ; year 7*8.

Obv.—Within six foil—

الله
بسم
الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا
الله

Inner circle, within plain ring—

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى
والدين الحق

Outer circle, within plain and dotted rings—

ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي ليظهرة علي
الدين كله الاية رضى الله عنهم

Two specimens, on one of which the date is quite illegible.

No. 5 (15).—El-Mahjam ; year 737.

Rev.—Within six foil two fishes head to tail.

Inner circle, within plain ring—

السلطان الملك المجاهد سيف
الاسلام علي بن داود

Outer circle, within plain and dotted rings—

المستعصم بالله امير المؤمنين ضرب
بعدن سنة ثمان... سبعمانه

Obv.—Area and inner and outer circles as in No. 4.

Rev.—Within eight foil a lion rampant.

Inner circle, within plain ring, as in No. 4.

Outer circle, within plain and dotted rings—

الإمام المستعصم بالله
أمير المؤمنين ضرب بالمهجم
سنة سبع ثلثين سبعمائه

Six specimens, dates mostly illegible.

No. 6 (16).—Zebeed ; year 745.

Obv.—Area, and inner and outer circle as in No. 4.

Rev.—Within six foil a bird with wings extended.

Inner circle, within plain ring, as in No. 4.

Outer circle, within plain and dotted rings—

الإمام المستعصم بالله
أمير المؤمنين ضرب بزبيد سنة
خمس و أربعين و سبعمائه

Three specimens ; two dated 745, and one 750.

No. 7 (17).—[Ta'izz] : year illegible.

Obv.—Within eight foil—in-
scriptions in area, and in inner
and outer circles as in No. 4.

Rev.—A man seated in a squat-
ting position.

Inner circle, within plain rings
as in No. 4.

Outer circle, within plain and
dotted rings, the inscription ille-
gible, but the coin doubtless struck
at Ta'izz (cf. No. 13).

EL-ĀFDAL DIRGHĀM-ED-DEEN EL-'ABB'AS, sixth Sulṭān.

No. 8 (8).—Thaabát; year 764.

Obv.—Within a circle ; inscrip-
tions as in No. 2, except that
in one specimen the words **والدين**
occur at the top of the
legend instead of at the bottom.

Rev.—Area, within a circle—

علي
السلطان الملك
الأفضل ضرغام الدين
العباسي بن الملك
المجاهد

Margin—As in No. 1.

Margin—

الامام المستعصم اميرالمؤمنين
ضرب بثمان سنه اربع وستين
و سبعمانه

Three specimens ; two dated 764, and one 765.

No. 9 (4).—'Aden ; year 770.

Obv.—Within a circle—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
ارسله بالهدى

Rev.—Area circle with fish in
arc at bottom :—

علي
السلطان الملك
الافضل ضرغام
الدين العباسي

Margin—

ابوبكر عمر عثون علي و دين
الحق الاية رضى الله عنهم

Margin—

المستعصم بالله اميرالمؤمنين
ضرب بعدن سنه سبعين و سبعمانه

Two specimens, one dated 770, the other 775.

No. 10 (4).—'Aden ; year 773.

Obv.—Area as in No. 1.

Rev.—Circle with fish in arc at
top—

السلطان الملك
الافضل ضرغام
الدين العباسي
بن علي

Margin—As in No. 1.

Margin—

الامام المستعصم بالله
اميرالمؤمنين ضرب
بعدن سنه ثلث
وسبعين و سبعمانه

No. 11 (5).—El-Mahjam ; year 775.

Obv.—Within circle, as in
No. 9.

Rev.—Circle with lion passant
in arc at bottom :—inscription
as in No. 9, but علي بن علي
instead of علي.

Margin—As in No. 9.

Margin—

المستعصم بالله امير المؤمنين
ضرب بالمهجم سنة خمس و
سبعين و سبعمائه

Two specimens.

No. 12 (3).—Zebeed ; year 775.

Obv.—Area within circle, as
in No. 9.

Rev.—Circle with bird with
wings displayed in arc at top ;
inscription as in No. 10.

Margin—As in No. 9.

Margin—

المستعصم بالله امير المؤمنين
ضرب بزيد سنة خمس
و سبعين و سبعمائه

No. 13 (2).—Ta'izz ; year 778.

Obv.—Area within circle, as
in No. 9.

Rev.—Circle with figure of
squatting man in arc at top ;
inscription as in No. 10.

Margin—As in No. 9.

Margin—

الامام المستعصم بالله
امير المؤمنين ضرب بتعز سنة
ثمان و سبعين و سبعمائه

EL-ASHRAF MUMEHHD-ED-DEEN ISMA'EL, seventh Sultán.

No. 14 (13).—Mint-place cut off ; year 78*.

Obv.—Within ornamented cir-
cle, as in No. 9.

Rev.—Within ornamental cir-
cle—

السلطان الملك
الاشرف مهدي
لدين اسمعيل
بن العباس

Margin—As in No. 9.

Margin—

المستعصم بالله امير المؤمنين
ضرب.....ثمانين و سبعمائه

I will conclude the series of the legitimate princes of the Beneë Rasool by describing the coin of En-Násir in my possession which I have mentioned above :—

EN-NĀSIR ŠALĀḤ-ED-DEEN AḤMAD, eighth Sultān.

Mint-place, Zebeed; year 824.

Obv.—Within ornamental hexagon—

بِسْمِ
 اَللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 لَا اِلهَ اِلَّا اَللّٰهُ
 مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اَللّٰهِ اَبَا
 بَكْرٍ

Margin—(nearly illegible) :—

عمر | عثمان | علي | رضي | الله |
 عنهم

Rev.—Area within hexagon—

السُّلْطٰنِ
 الْمَلِكِ النَّاصِرِ
 صَلَاحِ الدُّنْيَا وَ
 الدِّیْنِ اِحْمَد

Margin—

... | المستعصم | بالله | امير |
 المومنين | ضرب بزبيد | سنة ٨٢٤ |

In addition to the coins belonging to the regular series of the Bence Rasool Sultāns, the Broach hoard contained a very remarkable piece struck by one of the pretenders who temporarily attained to power under that dynasty. We learn from Ibn-ed-Deyba,* that on the 24th Rabi'a-el-Akhir, A. H. 762, Moḥammad ibn Meeká-eel, a chief whose father had received from El-Mujāhid the town of Harraq in the district of Aboo-'Areesch in fief, captured the city of El-Mahjam and a third part of the surrounding country, and that he subsequently took possession of Moor and Serdad, and caused public prayers to be read in his name. On the accession of El-Afdal in A. H. 764, that prince despatched a force under the command of the Ameer Fakhr-ed-Deen Ziyád ibn Aḥmad against the usurper, who lost a large number of his supporters, but contrived himself to escape to Sa'ada. After various vicissitudes Moḥammad died in the second year of the reign of El-Ashraf, A. H. 780. Notwithstanding his frequent revolts against established authority, his virtues are said by the historian to have merited the highest praise. The unique piece of this usurper, which is now in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, is especially interesting from the fact that the religious formulæ in the margins are totally different from those employed in the coinage of the legitimate princes of this line. Unfortunately, a segment has been clipped from the margin, and in other places the inscription has been so rubbed as to be hardly legible. It is however possible

* Johanusen: *Historia Jemana*, pp. 164-169.

to see that instead of the Khaleefeh El-Mustaaşim b'illah, who figures on all the other coins, the spiritual allegiance of the usurper was given to another Imám, of whose title only the words *b'amr-illah*, are decipherable. Can this be the Fátimée El-Hákim? Although the inscription on the obverse margin is nearly illegible, there is no doubt that the names of the first four Khaleefehs of Islám are omitted, and it is possible that a careful reading of the text might show further traces of Fátimée or Zeydeé influence. The *Muakibát*, who are mentioned on the obverse of the coin, are the two angels, one of the night, the other of the day, who alternately succeed each other, and incessantly cry *sobhína'lláh* before the throne of God. So far as I am aware, this is the only instance in which they are mentioned in the Mussulmán coinage. The following is a description of this very interesting coin:—

EL-MU'AL NOOR-ED-DEEN MOHAMMAD BIN MEEKA'EEL.

No. 15 (12).—El-Mahjam ; year 763.

Obv.—Within ornamental circle—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله محمد
رسول الله ...
من
معتبات

Margin—Illegible.

Rev.—Within ornamental circle—

الحسين
السلطان الملك
المعال نور الدنيا
والدين محمد بن
ميكانل

Margin—

الا امام ال..... بامر الله امير
المومنين ضرب بالهجم سنة
ثلث و ستين و سبع مائة

ART. III.—*Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics.* [Part 4th.] By J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.A.S.

[Read 12th December 1882.]

THE fourth and last part of this series of papers embraces the period from 1730 A.D. to the present time. The third part ended about the middle of the reign of King D. João V., which reign extended from 1706 to 1750; but as the coinage of this king consists of a large variety of types, I reserved some of them for consideration in this part.

The long interval that has elapsed since the presentation of the third paper, having, however, brought to light several obsolete specimens of inedited designs belonging to times before alluded to, I have been obliged to recede a step to describe them first, attributing them to their proper time and places in chronological sequence, and then resume the course thus interrupted. These frequent additions, often out of order, to the series of coins, indicate once again the many gaps that exist, and the chance one has still by persevering researches of filling them up.

To begin, then, with the coins appertaining to periods already referred to, we have, first of all, a copper piece appropriated to the time of the viceroyalty of D. João de Castro, from 1545 to 1548. This is the *bazarucco*, struck at the rate of 25 pardaos a quintal, whereby that viceroy reduced to the market value the abnormal rate of 36 pardaos ordered by his predecessor.

The specimen in my cabinet (see Plate VI., fig. 1.) is considerably worn out, clipped and slightly corroded, having been for years underground, as shown by its state of patination. It weighs now 65 grains Troy, the original weight was 168 Portuguese grains, the proportion between the two metrical systems being 5 Troy grains equal to 6 Portuguese ones. Mr. Aragão, in the appendix to his before-mentioned work,* says of this coin:—"To the Government of D. João de Castro, by the description given at page 138, ought to be attributed the following coin, which we obtained about fifteen days ago, and now belongs to the royal cabinet of Ajuda.

* *Descrição Geral e Histórica das Moedas, &c.* Lisbon: 1880. Vol. iii., p. 607.

“Y crowned, having on each side four points, and one in the centre. *Reverse*.—St. George’s cross, having in each angle one point. Weight, 168 grains. Æ.—Inedited.”

The author has illustrated this rare coin not only at the page where it is described, but also on the cover of his volume. My specimen was, doubtless, a duplicate of this one when in fine state of preservation. The find of a heap of these coins, mentioned in a book published only a couple of years ago, justifies once more the practice of the keepers of great national collections of coins not consenting to pay more than a fixed sum of money for examples supposed at the time to be unique, as a lot of them often turn up in the course of excavations, as in the present case. The notice of this find, and the description of the coins, although faulty in some respects, is given in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, No. 10, thus:—“During the excavations in making a path round the contour of the great reservoir at Vihar, in Salsette, in January 1855, upwards of a thousand copper coins were dug up in an earthen pot. They were much corroded, but of some of the best of them drawings were made by the Messrs. West. As no notice has been published of these, it may not be uninteresting to have a reproduction of the drawings preserved, which is done in the accompanying plate. Three of them are distinctly Muhammadan, and not of a very early type. Only about half-a-dozen were of this coinage, and most of the others bear a cross on one side with a point between each of the arms; and on the obverse is a small figure like a Maltese cross with a point on each side of it, over which is a line bent down at each end, and the remainder of the field is occupied by a symbol—the intent of which is very doubtful—between two sets of four points. A sixth has a rude outline of a cross on one side of it, the other being plain. Other pieces of copper of similar sizes were quite smooth.”* The figure in the plate of drawings above mentioned is placed in an inverted position, the result being that the crown is described as a Maltese cross having over it a line bent down at each end, and the letter Y as a symbol the intent of which is very doubtful. One other specimen, resembling somewhat the above described, is now in my cabinet. It seems to have been struck at Goa in the reign of D. Sebastião, and is attributable to the viceroyalty of D. Constantino da Bragança. It was picked up amongst the ruins of the old city of Basscin, not far from Bombay.

* Bombay, 1881, p. 66.

Obv.—Y crowned, with points and lines on each side.

Rev.—Three arrows crossing, a bow for each arrow. Copper. Weight, 66 grains Troy. Inedited. (Plate VI., fig. 2.)

King D. Sebastian succeeded to the throne of Portugal on the death of D. João III. in 1557. The bazarucco first described having the Y crowned, refers to D. João alone; while the second with the Y crowned on one side, and the arrows on the other, relates to both the kings, D. João and D. Sebastião, the Y to the former and the arrows to the latter, in memory of the martyrdom of the saint whose name he bore. It is clear, then, that this second bazarucco was issued soon after the death of King D. João. III.

With regard to the copper pieces with a sheaf of arrows on one side and the coat-of-arms on the other, I have already described and illustrated two specimens (see Plates II. and III., figs. 3 and 4 respectively). The first of these weighs 155 grains Troy, and the second 305 grains. Since then I have received four more specimens of the same type, of different sizes, and of corresponding difference in weight. It seems, indeed, that there was a graduated series of the bazaruccos of King D. Sebastião, which has but of late come to light. Of this latter series the largest weighs 130 grains Troy, and the smallest 80. (See Plate VI., figs. 3 and 4.)

A coin following the above in chronological order was described as belonging to either one or all of the three Filippes, who from 1580 to 1640 reigned in Portugal. (See Plate III., fig. 3.) It weighed 166 grains Troy, while a second specimen weighed only 125 grains. Of this type, also, a graduated series has of late been discovered, the smallest weighing only 80 grains Troy (see Plate VI., fig. 5), the largest being the one first described and drawn on the plate above-mentioned, viz.—Plate III., fig. 3.

Finally I have to refer to a coin already described. (See Plate II., fig. 5.) It is a copper piece, having on the obverse the value in reis, viz. 15, with a star above and below the number; and what on the reverse once resembled ccc. is now found to be the crown, having under it the figures I * V., i. e., João V., with a star between them. In the exergue one can read the remains of the year 1717, when the piece was most probably struck at Bassein. (See Plate VI., fig. 6.) Weight, 222 grains Troy. Three specimens of this coin, more or less legible, are now in my cabinet, varying slightly in weight. Although no written

document, hitherto known, refers to this kind of copper coinage, the initials of King D. João V., and the figures reading like 1717 in the exergue, appear to indicate the coin to have been struck during the reign of D. João, V. and issued from the Bassein mint, some years before the fall of that once famous "Court of the North" in 1739 into the hands of the Maráthás.

Another coin, resembling the above in some respects, and most probably issued from the same mint, is also in my cabinet. It is inedited also, as far as I know.

Obv.—The number $7\frac{1}{2}$ within an ill-defined circle with points on the left and below the number, representative of the value of the coin in reis.

Rev.—The initial of King D. João V. under the crown, the next figure, which ought to have been V., being badly struck. The year 1711 in the exergue. Copper. Weight, 115 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 7.)

This coin is evidently the half of the one last described.

Having now completed the description of the copper coins, hitherto inedited, belonging to former times, or not all embraced by the period to which the present paper refers, I pass on to describe the two following silver coins:—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom with the mint mark G-A (*i. e.*, Goa,) on the margin.

Rev.—The cross of the Order of Christ, with the year 1593 in the angles. Billon. Weight, 80 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 8.)

Obv.—The figure of St. Philip standing to the left, with a long staff or cross in the right hand, between the letters M and A, the mint mark of Malacca. The date in the exergue is now invisible.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letters G and A. Silver. Weight, grains Troy $28\frac{3}{4}$. (See Plate VI., fig. 9.)

As all the coins are represented of the exact size, I abstain from declaring their diameter in millimètres or in inches and tenths.

The former of these coins is difficult of appropriation to any viceroy with even a tolerable amount of certainty. It all depends upon the correct reading of the date, which is far from distinct. If 1593, the coin must be the silver *meio xerafim* of the Governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho, who decreed the issue of such a coin with a considerable amount of alloy, and it may have continued to be struck during the vicerealty of his successor, Mathias d'Albuquerque. Manuel de Sousa

Coutinho, whose rule ended in 1591, ordered the issue of the silver *xerafins* only, with its sub-divisions; while Mathias d'Albuquerque, who governed from the latter date to 1597, commanded the coining of money in four metals. Whether among the latter the *xerafim* of base silver or billon is to be included no document exists to inform us. If the year, instead of 1593, be read 1693, then the coin must be the *meio xerafim*, struck in the reign of D. Pedro II., and during the governorship of a triple provisional commission on the death of the Governor D. Miguel d'Almeida. In that case this coin was issued in accordance with the regulations dated 1681, bearing on one side the coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the mint mark G—A, and the cross of the Order of Christ with the year in its angles on the other.

The second coin is most probably the silver *meia tanga*, said in official papers of the time to have been ordered by the Viceroy Conde de Linhares to be struck at Goa early in 1631, when sending pecuniary help to Malacca, then threatened by the Dutch. The letters M—A on the obverse evidently refer to this fact. It is true that no exergual date is visible; but coins of this type, excepting the letters M—A, they being issued for circulation only in India, exist, bearing the year 1640, perhaps the last issue of that type. The effigy of St. Philip is impressed in honour of the reigning sovereign, D. Filippe III. of Portugal and IV. of Spain. It was often the custom among peninsular people of those days of ostentatious piety, to impress the figure of the saint of the king's name instead of his own portrait.

I have already explained the origin and meanings of the terms *xerafim* and *tanga*; but I have also lately seen somewhere that the kings of Persia used to coin their money at a place called Ashraf, from which mint city the *ashrafi* may have derived its name, so being originally the name of a Persian coin it was subsequently applied to two kinds of Indian coinage, in the same way as the monetary names Venitian and Florin are derived from coins struck in Venice and Florence.

To pass on now to describe in chronological sequence the issues of money in Portuguese India from 1730, I must begin with the sub-divisions of the rupia of D. João V., already described and illustrated along with the *pardao* or *meia rupia*, at the end of Part III. (See Plate V., figs. 26 and 27.)



'silver.' Pânini uses the word *rûpya* in the sense of 'struck,' derived from *rûpa* 'form,' 'shape,' &c. (See Vopa-deva. xxii., 2.) The latter origin, *i.e.*, that of *rûpyam* or 'silver,' appears to be the correct one, as no Muhammadan prince would allow any effigy or figure to be impressed on his coinage, with one or two exceptions well known to students of Numismatics. This derivation bears out, also, the argument of analogy from an ancient source. The Greeks, for instance, employed among themselves the generical term 'silver' for money; in like manner the chief silver coin of India has now for more than three centuries received its name from *rûpyam*, or modern vernacular *rupem*, 'silver,' just as the ancient Greek idea of expressing a solemn compact by means of sealing, or placing the stamp or seal upon a piece of metal, guaranteeing the exactness of its weight and purity of the metal, has its counterpart in the Indian *mohur*, a Persian word, originally meaning 'a seal.'

Some of the foreign writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, when describing the Indian coinage, especially of the Moghul Empire, often mention the gold and silver rupees of India, and the East India Company had, not long ago, a gold rupee current in this Presidency. The meaning to be attached to the phrase 'gold rupee' ought evidently to be the value of the gold coin in silver; for, literally speaking, it comes to mean simply 'gold silver coin,' which is absurd.

Mr. E. Thomas, an eminent authority on Oriental Numismatics, says that the origin of the Indian rupee, not with reference to its name, but as far as its weight is concerned, "may be traced up to the very early times, in the Áryan *Sataraktika* or *Sátakrishnala*, the *even* one hundred *rati* weight, which formed the basis of the standard gold and silver pieces of the early Páthan kings of Delhi (A. D. 1228), each of which weighed 100 *ratis*, or 175 grains, and were conventionally termed *Tankas*."*

Of the reign of D. João V., I will now describe the issues of money and the alterations made from time to time, under each of his viceroys, illustrating only the typical specimens of each period, and omitting the sub-divisions or fractions of monetary units, which details one may well dispense with unless these fractions bear a different design.

* *The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1882, Vol. XI., p. 318.

D. RODRIGO DA COSTA.

Viceroy of India from 1707 to 1712.

During the viceroyalty of D. Rodrigo da Costa it was resolved on the 12th of August 1710 that a mark of silver in dollars should have the value fixed at 30 xerafins, individuals carrying to the mint a mark in dollars receiving in exchange 30 xerafins, 1 tanga, and 15 reis. At this rate a xerafim weighed 153 Portuguese grains.

VASCO FERNANDES CESAR DE MENEZES.

From 1712 to 1717.

In 1713 this viceroy determined, by his decree of the 9th of September, that private persons should receive from the mint for each mark of gold, of the kind known as *pão da China* of 23 carats, 96 *S. Thomés* of 56½ grs. each, of the value of 5 xerafins, while the old *S. Thomés*, weighing 68 grs., should circulate for 6 xerafins and 15 reis. This gave origin to the denomination of *novos* and *velhos S. Thomés*, the old ones being those struck before 1713. The excess of 816 grains in the *China* gold was due to the coined gold being reduced to 18 carats, and the object of the decree was to facilitate the issue of colonial money, which was getting scarce.

In 1716 it was resolved that the *tutenag* coinage, called *bazaruccos*, should contain one-fourth of tin, such an amalgam rendering the falsification of the coin more difficult.

The above viceroy was succeeded by the Archbishop D. Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha, pending the arrival of the viceroy. During his rule, from 16th January to 16th October 1717, no alteration was made in the monetary affairs of Portuguese India. He was followed by the Viceroy Conde da Ericeira, from 1717 to 1720. During this time the only mint regulation published was that the coins of 10 *bazaruccos* should weigh 369 grains, and its fractions proportionately.

FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE SAMPAIO E CASTRO.

1720—1723.

During this period a silver rupee of the type already illustrated was issued. (See Plate V., fig. 26.) Also the *tutenag* series of coins, viz., 10, 7½, 5, and 2½ *bazaruccos*, some of which have been represented at the same plate. This viceroy was succeeded by D. Christovão de Mello only for two months, and then by a commission

presided over by the Archbishop D. Ignacio de Santa Thereza, from 1723 to 1725. All this time no change appears to have been recorded in the numismatic annals of Portuguese India.

JOÃO DE SALDANHA DA GAMA.

1725—1732.

In 1726 it was resolved that rupees and their fractions, viz., *pardao*, *meio pardao*, *tanga*, and *meia tanga* should be issued. Specimens of this coinage, although very rare, are extant. The first three are of the type already illustrated. The type, however, often varied at short intervals in obedience to the whim or at the dictation of the officers of the mint, as will be shown more at length hereafter. The *tanga* and *meia tanga* of this period bear designs entirely distinct from the three coins above mentioned.

Obv.—Two palm leaves joined, the royal crown above, the date 1727 beneath.

Rev.—A laurel crown with 60, representing the value in *reis*, in the centre. Silver. *Tanga*. Weight, 16 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 10.)

Obv.—The laureate bust of the king to the right between two palms. 1750 in the exergue.

Rev.—30, indicative of the value in *reis*, the royal crown above. Silver. *Meia tanga*. Weight, 10 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 11.) Both the specimens are in my collection.

There are three other types of the *tanga*, viz.—the bust of the king, name round the margin, and date below on the obverse, and 60 beneath the royal crown on the reverse;—bust and date without a legend on the obverse, and 60 under the royal crown on the reverse; and lastly, the cross of the Order of Christ with the date in its angles on the obverse, and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom on the reverse.

Of the *meia tanga* there is one other design, that of two palms united about the middle, the royal crown above, the year below, on the obverse, and the numeral 30, indicative of its value, within a circle of *grénelis* on the reverse. Mr. Aragão describes, at p. 290 of his work, a *meio pardao*, struck during this viceroyalty, weighing 52 Portuguese grains, and bearing the design similar to the *tanga* last mentioned. At Diu, the coinage of this period bore the following type:—Coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letter D—O, the mint mark of Diu, on the obverse; and the cross of St. Thomas in the field, with the year in the angles, on the reverse.

The only gold coin issued during this viceroyalty was the S. Thomé, bearing, on one side, the coat-of-arms of the kingdom, and the cross of that Saint with 12 and X, indicative of the value of the coin in 12 xerafins, in the two upper angles, and the date in the lower ones, on the other.

The Provisional Commission, which governed from January to November 1732, did not alter the coinage as was established in Goa and other Settlements by former governors. It was followed by

D. PEDRO MASCARENHAS.

From 1732 to 1741.

During this time gold and silver coins were issued, gold and silver from the Goa mint, and silver alone from that of Diu. The silver coinage of Goa did not differ in type from the one above described; the gold one, however, which is illustrated by Mr. Aragão at p. 296, from a unique example, bears on the obverse the legend IH. CR. V. S. P. S. (*IHesus Christus Venit Salvare Populum Suum*) round the margin, the cross of St. Thomas in the middle, having the date 1737 in the lower angles; while the reverse has the usual coat-of-arms of the kingdom. It weighs 112 Portuguese grains.

This viceroy ordered the coining of 30,000 xerafins in silver into *cruzados* and their fractions at Goa for circulation at Mozambique. His successor, D. Luiz de Menezes, from 1741 to 1742, continued the issue of money as before. He appointed a committee of four learned financiers to report upon the causes of the depreciation of the *bazaruccos* in the market, and to indicate means to remedy the evil. They sent in a report replete with Latin quotations, but did not come to any practical conclusion. When economists and Latinists as these work to so poor a result, one may infer that the whole thing, from beginning to end, was *une affaire flambée*, not unlike many of the transactions of that Government.

This viceroy was followed by another Provisional Commission, who governed from 1742 to 1744, and while almost continuously fighting against the Marâthâs, had time enough to attend to the affairs of the mint, from which issued money in gold, silver, and tutenag. The coining of the latter metal or alloy into *rodas* caused considerable trouble in adjusting and readjusting their value to that of *reis*. They not only issued the *rodas* already described and illustrated, but fixed the proportion to *reis* and *bazaruccos* as follows:— 1 roda = 1½ reis = 1½ bazaruccos.

The average price of tin was then 55 xerafins the quintal, which, deducting the expenses of refining the metal, left the balance of 28 xerafins for the coiners to pay the cost of mintage and the seignorage.

D. PEDRO MIGUEL DE ALMEIDA PORTUGAL,

From 1744 to 1750.

During this vicereignty coins in gold, silver, copper and tutenag were issued both from the Goa and Diu mints. The Goa coinage of the period does not differ from that of the former vicerealties, the golden *S. Thomás* bearing the cross of the Saint on one side and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom on the other; while the silver coinage consisted of the *rupia* and its sub-divisions of the type above described. From the Diu mint were issued rupees and their halves, copper *atiás* and tutenag *bazaruccos*. The latter two kinds of money will be frequently mentioned hereafter, and their type was for years of an immutable character, which was not the case with the rupee of this period. Its type was peculiar to the time, and has never since then been once repeated.

Obv.—St. George's cross, ornamented, having the figures of the year 1749 in its four angles.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia* of Diu. Weight, 145 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 12.) In my collection. For nearly a decade, it seems, this design was used for the silver coinage of Diu. It resembles somewhat the silver coinage struck at Goa in the reign of D. Pedro II., and the vicereignty of Francisco de Tavora, from 1681 to 1686. For the resemblance the two rupees bear to each other, although issued at the distance of more than half a century, see Plate IV., fig. 19. The *meia rupia* of Diu, bearing the same design and the year 1749, and weighing 43 grains Troy, is also in my collection. Both the above coins were sent to me from Diu by Mr. L. L. Flores, Advocate General in that old Portuguese Settlement. Of the copper pieces struck at Diu, the following example, out of a large number of specimens, bearing diverse dates, will be sufficient:—

Obv.—Cross of the Order of Christ with the date 1750 in its angles.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letters D—O, the mint mark of Diu. Copper. *Atiá*. Weight, 140 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 13.)

Of the tutenag coinage I have already described some examples, and given a photograph at Plate I., fig. 7.

The year 1750 not only closes the reign of D. João V., but also the most uncertain, vacillating period of the numismatic history of Portuguese India. All those persons who have devoted their time and attention to the study of colonial numismatology of the Portuguese—and their number is unfortunately very limited—have found the subject extremely difficult. One must be groping in the dark, getting light only when, in the absence of genuine specimens, positive data can be patiently extracted from written records preserved in the archives of the Government at the metropolis or in the colonies, or when amongst the ruins of their once numerous settlements one can be so fortunate as to meet with the extremely rare chance of making discoveries of hoards or *trouvaille*. It is only from the end of the reign of D. João V. that one can steer clear from amidst a multitude of numismatic documents in four metals, all, unlike the early coins, dated and bearing perceptible legends. In fact we have hitherto had paucity of materials and scarcity of examples, supplemented as they were by written official documents. Now there is abundance of both, and the difficulty lies in what to choose and what to reject, in order to ensure a methodical arrangement of the subject. All coins, however, both early and late, are remarkable alike for the rudeness of execution and barbarous shape of the characters stamped upon them.

The coins of D. João V., struck at the beginning of his reign, are not only rare, but many of them bear types suggested entirely by the fancy of the minters, without any sanction from a higher authority, or guarantee based on similar designs at home or amongst the neighbouring native princes. The coinage from 1750 onwards was all this time current in the country, until the Monetary Convention of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty caused it entirely to cease to pass as circulating medium since a couple of years ago, and is now so very scarce as to be found only in the trays of collectors of coins.

The monetary nomenclature of the Portuguese in India has, with the exception of the first issues from Albuquerque and his early successors, who had *manues*, *esphas*, *S. Thom's* and *patações*, been derived from a wholly Oriental source, viz.:—*xerafim*, (Persian), *pardao*, *tanga*, *rupia*, (Indian), *bazaruocos*, (Perso-Indian), *rub* or quarter of a *tanga*, (Arabic). But in the matter of designs they have, contrary to the habit of the English, French, Dutch and Danes, always abstained from imitating native prototypes, and from inscribing any Indian character.

In the matter of types, then, the Portuguese coins at home have always furnished the prototypes, being mostly crosses of several heraldic orders, such as of Christ, St. Benedict of Aviz, St. George, besides the Christian symbols of the cross of St. Thomas, the arrows of St. Sebastian, and the wheel of St. Catherine—struck exclusively for India in general, and Goa in particular;—the figures of the patron saints, instead of their own portraits, of the kings bearing the names of Sebastian, Philip, and John; and finally the everlasting coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Even the legends relating to the name and title of reigning sovereigns were more or less similar, as they ought to have been, to those on the coins of Portugal, as was also almost necessarily the usual royal crown. And in one instance, during the reign of D. Filippe II., the silver coin had inscribed round the margin the old Christian legend of *In hoc signo vinces*.

It was in the reign of D. Manuel "the Fortunate," from 1495 to 1521, that this motto first made its appearance in Portugal, but it was not introduced into India until a century later, during the reign of D. Filippe II. of Portugal and III. of Spain. A coin of D. Manuel, now in the collection of His Majesty King D. Luis I. of Portugal, has on the obverse the following legend:—*Primus Emanuel R. Portugaliæ Alg. Citra Ultra in Africa Dominus Guinee, In Commercii, Navigatione Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ India*, and on the reverse:—*In Hoc Signo Vinces*.* This coin was issued soon after the discovery of India, by the route of the Cape of Good Hope, by the Admiral Vasco da Gama, and commemorates two important facts, viz.:—The discovery itself and the subjection of both Africa and Asia in spiritual matters to the Priory Major of the Order of Christ, attached to the Vicariate of Thomar, by the Bull *pro excellenti* of Pope Leo X.

The lordship or dominion of the conquests of Africa and Asia, and the subsequent nomination of one of his subjects to the spiritual supremacy of the Christianity of the two continents, naturally made D. Manuel "the Fortunate" persuade himself that he was entitled to have inscribed on his coins the motto of the first Christian Roman Emperor, which his successors almost steadily continued to claim as their inheritance.

* *Memoria das Moedas Cunhadas em Portugal*; por M. B. Lopes Fernandes. Lisbon: 1856. Vol. i., p. 113.

Apropos of this legend on the Indo-Portuguese coin, one does not know what amount of credit to attach to the tale or tradition about the origin of the motto, but it runs thus:—Constantine, determined to stop the tyranny of Maxentius, who had possession of Italy, judged it to be folly to worship those who were not gods, and thought it incumbent on him to honour the god of his father Constantine, surnamed Chlorus, “the Pale,” one of the two Cæsars, appointed by Maximilian and Diocletian, who died at Eboracum (York) in Britain, on an expedition against the Picts in July 306. Having some Christian principles, Constantine is said to have prayed, and, while praying, seen about midday the luminous trophy of the cross in the sky, with the inscription “In hoc signo vinces.” The army are said to have witnessed it. But Constantine, doubting the import of the apparition, continued to meditate on it till night, which was the night before the last and decisive battle with Maxentius at the village of Saxa Rubra near Rome. During sleep Christ appeared with the sign he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a standard resembling the sign, and to use it as a safeguard against his enemies. He then ordered the shields of his soldiers to be inscribed with the figure of the sacred monogram of the name of Christ, and the same device to be worked in gold and precious stones on his own standard, or *labarum* (from Bretonic *lab* ‘to raise’ or Basque *labarva* ‘standard’ or ‘*labar*’). With this he advanced against Maxentius, defeated him, and Constantine became the sole master of the West.*

He had now his mind turned to the East, and what the Great Alghieri says regarding this, of Constantine ‘the Great’—

Posciachè Costantin l’ aquila volse
 Contra il corso del ciel, ch’ella seguio
 Dietro all’ antico che Lavinia tolse,

(Paradiso, c. 6, v. 1-3.)

may one fairly apply, with respect at least to the tendency of his policy, to D. Manuel ‘the Fortunate’ and his successors. There is this difference however, that whatever may have been the motives of Constantine in his encouragement of the propagation of Christianity, and in his love of the East, D. Manuel was truly sincere, the copying of Constantine’s motto on his coins being but the outcome of his deep faith in Christianity, a faith, moreover, raised to that pitch of

* Cf. Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* i., c. 28-29.

fanaticism which embodied the genuine religious spirit of the times in which he lived.

I have alluded above to the capricious manner in which the moneyers in Goa changed the type of coins, not only during the same reign, but also and often during one short viceroyalty or governorship. In elucidation of this fact are adduced below the description and illustration of some of the unpublished designs during the reign of D. João V.

Obv.—Laureled bust of the king to the right, dividing the legend P.ET.A.R.—IOA.V. (Portugalise et Algarbiorum Rex—Joannes V.) In the exergue the year 1709.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Pardao*. In the collection of Mr. J. M. do Carmo Nazareth, of Pangim. Weight, unknown.

Obv.—Laureled bust of the king to the right, dividing the legend IOAN—NES. V. Date illegible.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, having on the sides G-A. (Goa). Silver. *Meio pardao*. Weight, 43 grains Troy. In my collection. (See Plate VI., fig. 14.)

Obv.—Bust as above—IOANNE—S. V. R. P. (Joannes V., Rex. Portugalise). In the exergue the year 1727.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, having on the left 150, the value of the coin in *reis*, and G.A. (Goa) on the right. Silver. *Meio pardao*. Weight, 43 grains Troy. In my collection also. (See Plate VI., fig. 15.)

There are multiples also of the two coins last described in one or two collections; but the examples given above are representative of the series.

The late Felipe Neri Xavier, whose little *Memoria*, before referred to, although incomplete, is an aid to the study of Indo-Portuguese coins, affording valuable information, especially for the later years of the Portuguese rule in India, regarding the fineness, weight, type and changes in the value of coins hitherto issued, states that he once saw a rupee bearing on one side the coat-of-arms of the kingdom with the mint mark G—A., and the cross of the Order of Christ with the year 1735 in its angles, and the legend Joannes V. R. P. on the other.* Weight, as given by the writer, is 3 drachms and 19 Portuguese grains.

* P. 87.

Now this coin and the two following, belonging to the cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, show plainly how the short interval of six years, included in the viceroyalty of Conde de Sandomil, who ruled in India from 1732 to 1741, was fruitful among the master-coiners of Goa in the issue of three different types. Those of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society are as follows :—

Obv.—The cross of the Order of Christ in the field with the year 1737 in its angles. The legend round the margin is indistinct, the character NNE—V.R.P only being visible, and these stamped in a manner different from that of the other coins.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 180 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 16.)

Obv.—The cross of the Order of Christ as above, with the year 1740. No legend, except V., close to the right arm of the cross. The whole within a beaded circle.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, differently impressed from the above. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 185 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 17.)

It is indeed almost phenomenal in the history of coinages of the world to see so rapid and so repeated alterations in the types of money. Another circumstance not less remarkable in the currency of Portuguese India, was the haste with which the old designs were withdrawn from circulation the moment a new one was introduced. The foreign travellers, Italian, French, English, and Dutch, who visited Goa during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, and whose most important statements relating to the subject I have already quoted, appear, however, to have been struck by the multiplicity of types, some of which must have been concurrent. It is strange, for instance, to hear Jean-Albert de Mandelslo, ambassador of the Duke of Holstein, who visited Goa in January 1639, informing us that he saw at Goa at that time coins of the reign of D. Sebastian, viz., 1557—1578, which were in circulation. However, as his reference to the Goa currency is an interesting one, and his authority, perhaps, not less trustworthy than that of other travellers, here is what he says :—“ In Goa there are various kinds of coins, the smallest of which are the *bazarucques*, with a sphere on one, and two arrows crossing each other on the other side; they are made of a metal formed of pewter and tin mixed together. Eight of these *bazarucques* make one *vintem*,

5 of which make one *tanghe*, and 5 *tanghes* one silver *serafin*, which is according to a royal order worth 300 *reis*, and six *tanghes* make one *pardai*. The *serafin* has on one side the effigy of St. Sebastian and on the other a bundle of arrows. There are also golden *serafins*, formerly coined at Ormus, but of so high a value that it is not approached by that of any other Indian coin, wherefore also the goldsmiths work up in their business all those which fall into their hands. They have also *Santomes* of 16 *tanghes*, and *pagodas* of 14, 15, and 16 *tanghes*. Foreign merchants entering the town, pay 8 per cent. on all wares, and as much when they depart, but the custom house revenue farmers are so reasonable in their estimates of the goods, that the merchants have not much occasion to complain on this subject. They also observe a rule, that when a merchant has paid entrance dues and does not sell all his goods, he may carry them away without paying export dues, so that likewise a foreign merchant who has bought spices or other goods of Malacca, or of China, from a Portuguese, a citizen of Goa, may charge them to the name of the vendor, and exempt himself by this means from paying the export dues.”*

The *bazarucques* of the writer who describes them as “made of a metal formed of pewter and tin mixed together” are the *tutenag* and tin *bazarucos* first coined by the Portuguese at Goa. The question of the introduction and coinage of this amalgam has already been discussed. Further inquiries into the matter have, however, forced the conviction that this kind of low and debased currency was first noticed by the Portuguese at Malacca, where, and in the whole of the Malay Peninsula, perhaps also in the adjacent islands of the Archipelago, this amalgam was used for the purpose of coinage, from time immemorial, under their native princes.† The Portuguese, observing its usefulness in their new settlement of Malacca, gradually introduced it into Western India, and also into Eastern Africa, giving it the generic name of *bazaruccos*, which the English, in their new Dependency of Bombay, changed into *budgrooks*; but of this more hereafter.

The Portuguese called these *tutenag* and tin coins *bazaruccos* generally, the design on them was a cross of one pattern or another on one side, and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom on the other. But then out

* See p. 259 of the Amsterdam Edition in French of Jean-Albert de Mandelslo's Travels. In this work reference is also made to the Gujarât currency.

† Cf. “Tin-money in the trading ports of the Burman Empire,” in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VII, pp. 27, et seq. Lond. 1844-45.

of the same alloy they struck another kind of a serial coinage, which bore on the obverse a wheel, and this coin with its sub-divisions went by the name of 'roda.' I have already referred to this coin, and explained its origin as having been issued in honour of St. Catherine, virgin and martyr, the patron Saint of Goa.

The 'roda' was symbolical of the conquest or recapture of Goa by the Portuguese on the 25th of November 1510, the day consecrated in the Christian calendar to St. Catherine of Alexandria, who is said to have been broken upon a wheel under Maximianus, *circa* 306 A. D.

In heraldry her wheel has 8 spokes, and a corresponding number of hook-like iron spikes, on the outer side. The wheel of the coins does not count so many spokes, but on the arms of the Senate or Municipal Chamber of Goa, and of its Metropolitan See, of both of which ancient civic and ecclesiastical institutions of the city it constitutes a leading emblem in their respective coats, it does plainly exhibit that number. As an illustration of the fact I append below a facsimile of the oval seal of the Metropolitan Chapter of the See of Goa, which bears round the wheel the following legend, beginning, next to a cross of the Order of Christ:—CAPIT. METROP. GOANVM, and closing with another cross of the same kind. The devotion to this saint and her feast day are of traditional importance and magnificence. The Government and the people vie with each other in celebrating the 25th of November with great solemnity. The national epic poet has not forgotten to duly commemorate the eventful day, saying:—

“ Irão soldados inclytos fazendo
 Mais que leões famelicos e touros
 Na luz que sempre celebrada e dina
 Será da Egeyptia Sancta Catharina.”*

O Lusíadas, C. X. e st. XLIII.

* This beautiful verse has been translated into English thus:—

“ His gallant *soldiers* in more blood shall wade
 Then *Lions* pin'd, *Bulls* prickt with love and Ire;
 Upon the *Feast* (as pat as by designe)
 Of *Egypt's Virgin Martyr*, Katherine.”

Fanshaw.

“ His inclyt sold'iery more of fury shows
 than rampant *Bulls*, or *Lions* hunger-bold,
 that *Day* for ever celebrate and digne
 of *Egypt's Martyr-maid*, Saint Catherine.”

Burton.

Both the translations are perfectly correct, and yet how different.

Besides Camões, the *Roman Breviary* contains, in honour of the patron saint of Goa, two hymns in Latin, said to have been composed by the *Congregados*, a religious association of Brâhman priests, members of distinguished families in Goa, who giving up their faith in Brâhmanism, did not pledge themselves to abandon the privileges of their high caste. The *Congregados*, priests of the religious order of St. Philip Nery, and the *Theatins*, of that of St. Cajetan of Theana, both of the Brâhman caste, were missionaries in Southern India and in Ceylon, where they made a considerable number of conversions to the Roman Catholic Church.*

These Nerysts wrote two hymns in honour of St. Catherine, which begin thus :—

- (1) " Claram trophæis virginem,
 Urbis Goensis præsidem,
 Trino decoram stemmate
 Laudemus omnes principem.
- (2) " Virginis magnæ triplici corona
 Sanguinis claræ sophiæ pudoris,
 Quam dedit Nili Pharos alta, palmas,
 Pangimus ore."

The second hymn ends in the following manner :—

" Laus Deo, virtus, decus ac potestas,
 Qui Goæ tale mtribuit patronam,
 Taleque auroræ jubar et refulgens,
 Sidus olympo."

Brev. Roman. Olissiponi, 1876, O. P. D., pp. 2 and 4.

These curious Latin compositions of the Goa Brâhman missionaries will, doubtless, be a novelty to Orientalists ; but they show how often insignificant coins and their not seldom apparently unmeaning impressions have attached to them some interesting historical facts. The verses may not perhaps merit the approval of critics, and I have heard it stated that in Rome the hymns were said to have been written in the " Asiatic " style.

But to return once more to the *basaruceos*, the remarkably long reign of D. João V. was fruitful of complaints and trouble regarding

* Regarding the vital question of Christianity in India, in a review of Mr. Kaye's work (1860), it is remarked that the Rev. Mr. Long had urged strongly the necessity for native missionaries. The Calcutta reviewer writes :—" We believe that if Christianity is ever to take hold on the people of India it will be by native agency." The above case is in favour of this assertion.

the fluctuating character of the value of this low ready money. Although the care and charge of coining was everywhere entrusted to the kings, or their representatives and delegates, the royal prerogative was often not jealously guarded. Goldsmiths, dealers in bullion, *chitin*, (merchants) were authorized by prescriptive right to fabricate money, subject of course to control on the part of the governing power. This right of coining then was in Goa vested in particular individuals or farmers, who strove hard to keep the monopoly as long as they could, and make it within that time as lucrative as possible.

The evil was begun long before this period, the most notable instance being in 1687, during the first governorship of D Rodrigo da Costa, when it was resolved that one *bazarucco* should go to its half, *i. e.*, should suffer in exchange the loss of 50 per cent. To add to the complaint of the trader, who was defrauded by the deterioration of the former standard, a lot of the *bazaruccos* struck at Goa and sent to Mozambique and Mombaça to circulate there, had been returned as unnecessary. But to make matters worse, this very low money often became scarce, when the value of the metal not only rose above that of the metal coined,—for it could never descend below that of the metal sold by weight as mere bullion,—but, not unlike the precious metals, became one of the measures of value, being for a time less subject to variation. This was certainly one of those paradoxes to be met with only in the extremely faulty financial system of the Portuguese in India.

There must have been, however, some reasons to induce the much more practical and far-seeing English people to adopt the *tutenag* and tin coinage in their new Dependency of Bombay. It seems that it was an aim of the English in India to assimilate their issues of money as closely as possible to those of their neighbours in diverse parts of the country; for many different coinages were current in India, whilst currencies of different provinces were of unequal values, hence arose the office of *shroffage*. The English in the early days of Bombay imitated the Portuguese currency, most probably to meet the facilities of commerce. Bruce tells us that the coinage of money was commenced on its own account by the East India Company in Bombay, which was held in independence. In 1671 the Court of Directors gave instructions to have a mint established upon the island, and a few years afterwards the measure was sanctioned by the Crown. A clause in the Charter, granted on the 26th year of the reign of Charles II., dated the 5th of October 1677, empowers the E. I. Company to coin money at Bombay,

to be current wherever the privilege of trade in the East Indies extended, to be called by the name of rupees, pices and budgrooks, and that such money should not resemble British money.*

There was, it is true, no need for the English to go far to find a precedent for the issue of a tin coinage, when they had it at home. Coins were struck in tin in Ireland as well as in England. The English coinage of James II. of half-pence and farthings was in this metal. There was also tin coinage of Charles II., which was not extended to Ireland, and tin coins were issued for Ireland by William and Mary.†

But in Bombay the existence of similar coinage in the surrounding territory, which was then in the possession of the Portuguese, must have suggested their issue, which should be current not only "in the island, but in all the dependencies of the Company in the East Indies," which in the time referred to were, indeed, very limited.

Tavernier, whom I have already quoted elsewhere, says :— " Since the present King of England married the Princess of Portugal, who had in part of her portion the famous port of Bombeje, where the English are very hard at work to build a strong fort, they coin both silver, copper and tin. But that money will not go to Surat.....only it passes among the English in their fort, and some 2 or 3 leagues up in the country, and in the villages along the coast."‡ From this statement of Tavernier, Mr. Thomas, the eminent Oriental Numismatologist, concludes—" It would seem that the Portuguese and Dutch had already introduced a system of imitating the native currencies." § Of the Dutch system of coining money I have not yet completed my studies, and consequently abstain from giving an opinion ; but as far as the Portuguese are concerned, I am quite certain that they never once from the day they first rounded the Cape of Good Hope to the present, imitated any kind of native currency, which was moreover against the Christian principles animating their governmental policy. What they did was simply to allow native coins, shroff-marked, denoting their genuineness in weight and touch, to circulate in their settlements at full value—a necessity of the trade relations with the natives of the country—and also to adopt some of the Eastern names of coins for their own coinage,

* *Annals of the East India Company*, II. 278. Also, *Cæsar Moreau's East India Company's Records*. Lond. 1825, p. 3.

† See the *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series. Lond. 1863. Vol. III., p. 2.

‡ *Opus cit.*, p. 141.

§ *The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay. 1862. Vol. XI., p. 318.

as I have already said. Tavernier himself writes :—“Portugals had got beyond mere local issues and coined fine gold, with European devices, for the dependencies of Goa.”* Then in the same place Mr. Thomas takes *pardaos* to be *patacas*. *Patacas* were and are still dollars; what *pardao* is I have fully explained elsewhere in one or more of the numbers of this series.

With regard to the tin currency of Bombay, Mr. Richard Sainthill writes :—“Ruding in his Supplement, Plate V., and in his second Supplement, Plate 15, gives engravings of some silver and copper coins of Charles II. and James II. of Bombay currency; also a large lead piece of Bombay, which has no date, but from the letters on it (G. R.,) he assigns it with every probability to George I. I have a similar coin, with the date 1741, weight 1 ounce 6 grains; and another with the date 1771, weighing 15 dwts. 15 grains; and I have seen two pieces of similar type and metal, half their size. The coin of 1741 came to me from Dublin; that of 1771 was found a few years since at Kinsale, in repairing a house. These three specimens in lead, being of the reigns of George I., II., and III. from their succession would seem to indicate some established and continuous purpose. It is unlikely that anything honorary would be struck in so worthless and easily injured a metal as lead; yet, as they all bear the authoritative inscription, ‘Auspice Regis et Senatus Angliæ,’ we may presume, in the absence of any information, that they were current coins.”†

This extract, interesting in many points, as it gives not only weights of the coins, but also a successive series of issues and their divisions during three reigns, commits the error, notwithstanding, of calling lead what is but tutenag and tin mixed in a given proportion, on the Portuguese plau, whose imitation it is in metal, though not in type.

It is, doubtless, a worthless metal, and that was the characteristic quality of the ‘material’ which made it so acceptable to the Portuguese in their settlements for petty transactions, the earliest tutenag moneys coined for circulation by the Portuguese in India for this purpose being the pieces called ‘roda’ and ‘bazarucco.’

The *bazaruccada*, as the lot of this worthless coinage was called then, held in all affairs of traffic the same position that *damri* did amongst the natives of Southern India. This *damri* has a curious deri-

* The *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay. 1882. Vol. XI., p. 13.

† The *Numismatic Chronicle*, Lond. 1855-56. Vol. XVIII., p. 77.

vation, being traced up to a Greek source. *Damri* (*Hindustani* دمری) is derived from the Hindu द्रम्म (dramma), worth $\frac{1}{8}$ of a paisa, and the latter is said to be equivalent to the Greek δραχμή, which it does in reality much resemble. But what is the origin of the term *bazarucco*? Mr. H. H. Wilson writes, speaking of *budgrooks*, the English equivalent of the Portuguese *bazarucco*, thus:—"This name has never found a place in any of the accounts of the Indian coins published by the traders to the East Indies, and its meaning and origin are entirely unknown."*

Mr. J. A. Mandelslo, referring to Persia, writes:—"They have a copper coin named *besorg*, 10 of which make 1 *peys*, and again 10 of the latter make one *chay*, the value of which is five *sols* of French money."† To the word *besorg*, then, one may trace the Portuguese *bazarucco*, just as the *xerafim* has already been to *ashrafi*. *Besorg* is most probably a mutilation or a corruption in the mouth of foreign travellers, of the Persian *bāzār* (بازار) 'the market,' and *rok* (روک) 'small money,' 'change,' the compound word meaning 'small money for *bāzār*,' just what the word *bazarucco* would be applied to. With regard to the first component part of the term, *rokra paisā*, or ready money, small change, is still used in our Indian markets. Could this be the surviving equivalent of *bāzārrok*, or at least of *rok*?

The end of the reign of D. João V. also marks another important historical fact—the complete decadence of the Portuguese power in the East, and under a numismatic point of view, the extinction of most of their mints.

When their star was in the ascendant, and consequently they in the zenith of their energy and vitality, the Portuguese held dominion over the Eastern Coast of Africa, the Persian Gulf, the Malabar Coast, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula to the confines of China. The *quinas* then floated over the following fortified towns:—Ormus, Diu, Damão, Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Hanowar, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cranganore, Cochin, Coriate, Calaiate, Colombo, Malacca, Ternate, Tidore, Amboina, Macao, Solor and Timor. Out of these towns, eight had established in them mints, which issued money more or less regularly, in gold, silver, copper and tutenag, but two of them in the last two metals only, until

* Rev. B. Ending's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, &c., Lond. 1840. Vol. II., p. 418.

† *Ut supra*, p. 32.

the forcible abolition through their capture by the Dutch. The following were the mint marks of six of these towns :—

B Bassein.

C—Lo Ceylon.

D Damão.

D, or D—O... Diu.

G, or G—A ... Goa.

M, or M—A... Malacca.

No mark of the Chaul and Cochin mints has yet been made out, although the *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* contains authentic documents relating to their foundation and their operations, besides preserving for posterity interesting decrees and proclamations referring to various coinages and changes in the value of money. At the time these eight mints were striking money, bearing on one of their sides the cross of the Order of Christ, and circulating throughout their Eastern settlements, the Portuguese sovereigns were proclaiming to the world their title of "Lords of the Commerce, Navigation and Conquests of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India," which title their successors have not yet ceased to use.*

In course of time the Portuguese Empire in the East began to disintegrate. The first to get loose was Ormus, that famous city, of which, when describing the devil's throne in Pandemonium, Milton writes :—

"Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,"

And about which a Russian proverb says :—

"Whatever is produced on earth you find at Ormus."

Ormuz was followed by Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin and other places to the south of Goa, about the middle of the XVIIth century, some places about ten years before, and some as many years after the middle of that century. And lastly, in 1739 and 1740, during the reign of D. João V., were Bassein and Chaul lost. The last coin we have of this "Province of the North," as it was called, is a tutenag piece of 1723, with the

* To lovers of historical parallels or analogies it may be of interest to learn that the ceremonial with which this title was proclaimed more than three centuries ago did not fall short in *eclat* and *grandeur* of that of the Delhi Assembly of our own time which proclaimed Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria "Empress of India." And the tenacity with which the Portuguese monarchs hold fast to it is not less remarkable than that with which the English sovereigns from Henry VIII. downwards lay claim to the two letters F. D. (*Fidei Defensor*) after their names.

mint marks D—B (Damão and Bassein). (See Plate V., fig. 25.) Goa was, indeed, the capital city of all these settlements. King D. Manuel was right when, by his *alvará*, dated the 1st of March 1518, he declared that Goa was “*Realenga e nunca seja apartada da Coroa dos nossos reinos,*” the English equivalent being “royal and never be separated from the crown of our kingdom.”* Goa then may be named the metropolitan mint, while the others were provincial ones of this old colonial empire of the Portuguese in the East. I need not mention the African Coasts, although Mozambique, Mombaça, rios de Senna were all supplied with money coined at Goa and Diu, until their separation, in the last century, from the supreme authority at Goa. Now the Portuguese in India were reduced to only two mints, Goa and Diu, that of Damão being temporarily suspended, and then revived again for a short time for issuing copper coinage only, and where the Goa money was uncurrent,—another absurdity of the financial system of the Portuguese in the East! But in their mint towns the Portuguese did not confine themselves to their own coinage; they allowed the approved coinage of the neighbouring princes to circulate in all their settlements, although the names of coins were considerably mangled and altered to the extent of not being easily recognised. An instance of this is to be found in a Gujarati gold piece, which was current at Diu in the early days of the conquest, and was by the Portuguese called *Madra-fazão*. Such a term has all the appearance of a foreign origin and import, and it was indeed the corruption of a gold-mohur of Muzafar Shah, one of the kings of Gujarat, whose coin was in his honour called *Muzafarshahi*, just as the gold mohur of Akbar is still called *Akbari*. To this *Muzafarshahi*, then, has the Portuguese *madra-fazão* been traced back, not without spending some useful time. Besides, wherever the Portuguese got a footing, there they introduced foreign coins. In Ceylon in 1517 they introduced pagodes, pardaos, xerafins and larins.†

* *O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*. Nova Goa, 1846; Vol. I., p. 22. This letter was confirmed by D. João III., the immediate successor of D. Manuel.

† With regard to the word *pagode*, I have already alluded to all the origins possible of this name, but, as an illustration of how fanciful etymologies are sometimes invented by ingenious writers, I give below a few of them:—

“Amongst the names they have given to the Planets that of Mercury is *Pout*, a Persian word, which signifies an *Idol*, from whence comes *Pout-gheda*, a temple of false gods, and *Pagoda* comes from *Pout-gheda*.”—*New Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*, by Mons. de La Lorraine, Lond. 1693, p. 18. “On n’appelle un temple *Indien Pagode*, que par corruption de *Polyhed*, où le mot *Pod* or *Bod* signifie l’objet du culte, la divinité. Le nom de *Bud-tan* donné

KING D. JOSÉ I.

D. FRANCISCO DE ASSIS DE TAVORA,

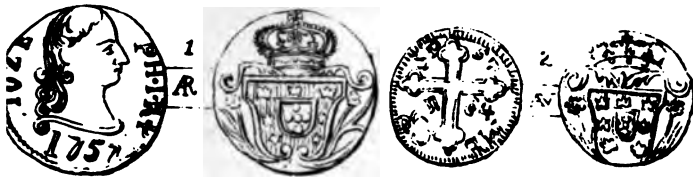
Viceroy from 1750 to 1754.

The first viceroy of king D. José came to India in 1750, when D. João V. was yet alive. But a royal letter, dated the 5th of August 1750, announcing the death of D. João V., and the proclamation of D. José I., reached Goa on the 24th September 1751. On the 19th of November following solemn funeral obsequies were performed at the Cathedral, and José I. was proclaimed king on the 1st of December. The official mourning continued after the four days spent in rejoicing and festivities of the occasion, and the viceroy closed the proceedings by his reply to the king on the 23rd of January 1752. It would seem now-a-days very strange that what is done at present in a couple of months should only a little more than a century ago occupy the long time from August 1750 to January 1752. These long delays in transmission of despatches from Lisbon to Goa, and *vice versa*, account for the silver coinage of 1751 bearing the busts and legends of both D. João V. and D. José I., although D. João V. had ceased to live in the year 1750. One of the first measures relating to the East of the ministry of D. José I., after his accession to the throne, was the separation of Mozambique and its dependencies in Eastern Africa from the Government of India, by the royal letter dated the 9th of May 1752.

The viceroy caused no alteration to be made in the coinage current in the time of his predecessor, money in gold and silver was continuously issued from the Goa and Diu mints of the same standard as that of the former governors, the only difference being in designs, due to the proclamation of a new king.

Of the gold coins of the period, S. Thomés and their fractions, only one specimen of the former, issued from the mint at Diu, is known to be extant. It bears on one side the cross of St. Thomas with the year

au Tibet, veut précisément dire le pays de Dieu, par rapport à la résidence du Dalai-Lama, en qui l'esprit de Toë est censé résider, et où une grande partie de la Tartarie adoro par cette raison."—D' Anville's *Eclaircissements Géographiques*, &c., Paris, 1753, pp. 75—76. "The word pagoda is a corruption of *Bhaga-vati*, 'holy house,' one of the several names by which Hindu temples are known."—The *Penny Magazine*, June 30th, 1832, p. 122. The derivation of the *pagoda*, given by Bartolomeo, who lived in India from 1776 to 1789, and whose MSS. I saw preserved at the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele in Rome, is also from *Bhaga-vati*, and the one adopted by Dr. Bidie of Madras in his paper on the *pagodas* to the Bengal Asiatic Society.



Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—The cross of St. Thomas in the field, with the legend CR DE-ST-ME. round the margin. (CRus De S. ThoME.) The lower limb of the cross divides the year 1764 into two parts. *Grénetis.* Gold. *S. Thomé.* Weight, 75 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 2.) This specimen is in my collection. The fractional specimens of the *S. Thomé* are not obtainable. I remember having seen one of the value of four xerafins in the collection of the Hon'ble Mr. J. Gibbs, with a design resembling somewhat one kind of the silver tangas published during this period.

Of the silver coinage issued from 1756 to 1765, there were *rupia*, *pardao*, *meio pardao*, *tanga*, and *meia tanga*. The designs of the first three did not differ in any essential point from those of the former governors, except that the legend in 1761 was changed into Portuguese IOZE-PRIM (EIRO) instead of the Latin one of 1751. Two specimens of the *meio pardao* of this type are extant, as far as hitherto known.

The *tangas* bore three different designs, and the *meias tangas* two. In fact these designs appear to have been common to several more or less interrupted periods, with very slight variations. Of the present ruler we have the examples of a *tanga* with the bust of the king and the date in the exergue on one side, and the numeral 60, value in reis, under a crown on the other; and of the *meia tanga*, exactly the same type, except the numeral 30 on the reverse, representative of its value in reis. The copper and tutenag coinages were varied and numerous in design, size and standard, to which may be added the novelty of the issue of bronze pieces with the addition of tin in a certain proportion; but this subject does not offer any great interest to the numismatist, as it perhaps did to the merchant of the period, for the innovation suffered such an opposition from the public that the viceroy was at last obliged to give up the bronze pieces and return to the old tutenag ones. It is, however, worth mentioning that of the copper coinage there were ten kinds of pieces, viz. :—2 tangas, tanga, meia tanga, vintem, 15 reis, 12, 10, 6, 5, and $2\frac{1}{2}$; while of the tutenag one there were only three, 15 reis, 10, and 5.

1765—1768.

On the departure of the viceroy Manuel de Saldanha to Lisbon, a triple provisional commission was nominated to govern the country,

their rule being extended beyond one's expectation, owing to the coming viceroy, Conde da Louzã, having died on his voyage to India.

During this government gold, silver, copper and tutenag were coined into S. Thomés, rupias, meia tangas and bazaruccos, with their subdivisions. Of the first there were pieces of 12 xerafins, 8, 4, and 2. Of this series the following specimen is a good example :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—The cross of St. Thomas in the field, having in its upper angles 2—x (indicative of its value in xerafins), and the year 1766 in the lower ones. Gold. Weight, 12 grains Troy. In my collection. (See Plate VII., fig. 3.) Of the copper and tutenag coinage, as well as of the silver ones, I reserve to speak at the end of the reign of D. José 1., as they do not appear to differ much from the types already described.

D. JOAO JOSE' DE MELLO,

1768—1774.

Although money in gold, silver, copper, and tutenag was struck in the Goa mint as well as in that of Diu, it did not present any new type, nor was the standard altered. The tutenag bazaruccos were issued in greater quantity than before, as they were a source of profit to the Government. To the copper pieces bearing the date 1774 I shall refer further on.

On the death of the governor, D. João José de Mello, which took place on the 10th of January 1774, Filippe de Valladares Soutomaior was appointed Governor of Portuguese India, who laid down the reins of the Government on the 24th of September 1774. Of his very short rule we have but a copper coinage of meia tanga, vintem, and mcio vintem, of which more hereafter. If gold and silver as well as tutenag were continued to be coined into current money or not there are no available documents to confirm one's supposition either way.

D. JOSE' PEDRO DA CAMARA,

1774—1779.

This is an important period under a numismatic point of view. We have a series of coins in gold, silver, and tutenag, the latter two struck both at Goa and at Diu. The copper coinage was not issued anew, as that of the former governor's time was enough.

Of the gold pieces there were S. Thomés of 12 xerafins, of 8, 4 and 2 of a new type.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—Cross of St. Thomas, the lower limb shorter than usual. Round the margin the legend OTTO XERAFINS, with a star between the two words. The year 1778 on the sides of the lower limb of the cross. Gold. *S. Thomé*. Weight, 74 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 5.)

Of the silver coinage there were the rupia and its fractions, except perhaps the *meia tanga*, of which minute coinage there was a sufficient quantity issued by former governors. The type of the rupee was altered, the sub-divisions of the rupee following suit.

Obv.—The bust of the king to the right, having before him the word RUPIA, and behind the year 1777. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 162 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 4.)

The year 1777 was the last of the memorable reign of D. José I., more remarkable for the very useful, although violent, measures of his great minister, the Marquis de Pombal, than for any high and estimable quality in the king himself.

Of the tangas and meias tangas of this reign here are two specimens.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—A cross of the Order of Christ, having a star in each angle. Silver. *Tanga*. Weight, 15 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 6.)

The other types of the tanga of this reign were, first, the laureate bust of the king between two palms, with the year in the exergue on one side, and the royal crown with the value of the piece on the other; second, the same obverse, the reverse being an ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom; third, the value of the coin below the royal crown on one side, and the cross of the Order of Christ with the stars in its angles on the other.

Of the *meia tanga*, the following piece is a fine specimen:—

Obv.—Bust of the king to the right, and the year (17)64 in the exergue.

Rev.—30, the value in reis of the coin, above it the royal crown. Silver. *Meia tanga*. Weight, 10 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 7.)

The other variety of this kind of silver piece is the bust of the king to the right, without the date of issue, the reverse being the same as above.

The copper coinage of this reign is also varied in type, numerous in the serial order of fractional pieces, some pieces being voluminous in size, with a corresponding heaviness in weight.

The largest copper piece of this reign is the *tanga*, which had its sub-divisions of *meia tanga*, 20 reis and 10 reis.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—*Tanga* in the field, surrounded by a laurel wreath, having on the top a star. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 10 drachms 30 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 8.)

The other type of the copper coinage is the one dated 1774. It consists of 30, 20, 12, 10 and 6 reis.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—G (Goa) between two stars in the field, having 30 R. (representative of the value in reis) above, and the year 1774 below, all encircled by a laurel crown. Copper. *Meia tanga*. Weight, 5 drachms Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 9.)

Of the *tutenag* coinage of the reign, of which there was also a graduated series of 15, 12, 10, 6, 5, 4, and 2 reis, perhaps even 1 real. The following example will be sufficient :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letters G—A (Goa).

Rev.—The numeral XII., indicative of its value in reis, with the year 1769 below it, all within a wreath. *Tutenag*. 12 *Reis*. Weight, 3 drachms 30 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 10.)

Some years the numeral was represented in Roman figures, and other in Arabic ones.

From the Diu mint were issued copper pieces of graduated value in reis, of which the following specimen is a typical example :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letter D—O (Dio).

Rev.—Cross of the Order of Christ, having in the angles the figures 1768 of the year of its issue. Copper., 5 *Reis*. Weight, 2 drachms 15 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 11.)

From the same mint were also issued tutenag pieces, the largest of which is already illustrated at Plate I., fig. 7. All the specimens above described and illustrated are in my collection.

About the middle of 1777 arrived at Goa the sad news of the death of D. José I., and the accession to the Portuguese throne of D. Maria I., his daughter.

D. MARIA I.,

1777—1799.

D. José Pedro da Camara continued to govern the country until the 26th of May 1779, during which time he commanded the issue of some copper pieces, to be considered in the government of his successor, who was

D. FREDERICO GUILRERME DE SOUSA,

1779—1786.

During this time, money was coined in gold, silver and copper. The gold S. Thomés and their sub-divisions bore the same designs as those to be described hereafter, for, from this date until the cessation of the gold coinage, they were not altered at all. The fractions of the S. Thomés of 12 xerafins were those of 8, 4 and 2 xerafins.

With regard to the silver coinage, the *rupia* and its sub-divisions of *pardao*, and *meio pardao* were issued. Of the issue of the *tanga* and *meia tanga* there is still some uncertainty.

Obv.—The laureate bust of the queen to the right in the centre, with 1781 on one side and RUPIA on the other.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 165 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 12.)

In the same year the Diu mint issued rupees with two busts.

Obv.—The laureate busts of the queen and her husband to the right in the middle, having DIO behind and RUPIA in front. 1781 in the exergue.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia de Diu*. Weight, 161 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 13.)

The whole of the early silver coinage of Queen D. Maria I., issued from the Goa mint, bore the rupee type, changing only the designation of the coin as *pardao* and *meio pardao*, and, perhaps, as 60 and 30 reis for the *tanga* and *meia tanga*. It was from 1782 that the two busts

began to make their appearance on the silver coinage struck in the Goa mint, bearing on the obverse the words Goa and Rupia in front and behind the profiles; while the date of the issue was placed in the exergue.

The double busts, first struck at Diu, represent the Queen, D. Maria I. and her husband, who was also her uncle, D. Pedro III. These double bust coins bear no inconsiderable resemblance in this respect to those of William and Mary of England, issued just a century before. Although the same style of coinage in its general appearance, fineness and weight as when the queen was unmarried, the difference now consisted only in the profiles of the king and queen being shown one over the other, without any legend relating to the two personages, as was also the case with the coins of William and Mary.

These double bust coins were continued issuing even more than a year after the death of D. Pedro III., which took place on the 25th of May 1786. After the death of her husband, the queen's bust appears alone, from 1788, and was so continued for about one year after her decease.

The copper coinage of this period consisted of tanga, meia tanga, vintem, 12, 6, $4\frac{1}{2}$, 3, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ reis. These coins bore on one side the ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom, and their value, as $\frac{60}{\text{Reis}}$ one above the other in the field of the reverse, encircled by a laurel wreath.

During this Government Goa was afflicted with heaps of false money in copper and tutenag introduced from abroad, which compelled the governor, as well as his predecessor from 1774, to reform the standard of coins, to order the recoinage of this coinage, and alter frequently the designs, which accounts for the varied types still extant, attributable often to the same year.

FRANCISCO DA CUNHA E MENEZES.

1786—1794.

Of this governor we have S. Thomés and some sub-divisions as above, rupees with the same fractions, and copper pieces of tanga, meia tanga, and vintem.

The style of S. Thomés was not altered in any way, but the silver coinage, represented by the rupee, was as follows:—

Obv.—Bust of the queen in the middle to the right, with a widows' veil. GOA behind, and RVPIA in front of the bust. The year 1787 in the exergue.

Rev.—The ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 165 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 14.)

The gold coinage, represented by the S. Thomé, had only one type for nearly half a century, or until its abolition in the Goa mint, and it may be illustrated by the following specimen :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom with the shield, ornamented all round.

Rev.—Cross of S. Thomé, having in its upper angles 12-x, indicative of its value, as 12 xerafins, and below the four numerals 1790. Gold. *S. Thomé*. Weight, 75 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 15.)

Of the copper coinage, there is nothing remarkable to notice, except that the reverse bears the full designation of the coin, for instance, *Tanga*, and below it the date 1787, while the obverse has the usual coat-of-arms of the kingdom. There may have been issued other fractions of the tanga, besides the two above mentioned ; as also tutenag pieces might have been struck during the time of this governor, but no specimens are found which may be appropriated to this period.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO DA VEIGA CABRAL,

1794—1807.

During this period the Goa mint was active in coining money in gold, silver and copper of the kind already described, with the addition of S. Thomés of the value of 1 xerafim ; while the Diu mint struck silver rupees, its halves and quarters, copper *atiás* and tutenag bazaruccos, in a series of 20, 10, 5, and 3 bazaruccos. These latter have been sufficiently illustrated, the silver coinage alone requires a short notice here.

Obv.—The ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—Cross of St. Thomas in the middle, the four numerals 1806 in the angles, having 600, indicative of the value in reis, in the top, and Dio at the bottom, ornamentation round the margin. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 115 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 1.)

Of the copper coinage issued from the Goa mint, the following specimen of *meia tanga* is typical.

Obv.—The ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—In the field in two lines 30-Reis. Copper. *Meia tanga*.
Weight, 4 drachms 25 grains Troy (See Plate VII., fig. 16.)

During this Government, Queen D. Maria I. was declared *non compos mentis*, and her son D. João *principe regente* by the decree dated the 15th of July 1799. The latter ruled the kingdom as a reigning prince until the demise of his queen-mother, which took place on the 20th of March 1816, was proclaimed king on the 16th of February 1818, and died in 1826. He had before this held the reins of the kingdom in the name of the queen from the 10th of February 1792 to the 15th of July 1799. This was the most unfortunate time for Portugal and her colonies.

When everything was neglected, it is not to be expected that the mints of Goa and Diu, the only remnants of a once large array of colonial monetary establishments, should merit any special attention to the rulers or authorities of the time. The queen, always surrounded by an *entourage* of dangerously irresponsible mystics, who had fattened on the carcass of the old Portugal, and who, according to a national historian, were like the Termites eating to the bone that once noble people, had been by them declared a *beata*, literally 'blessed,' but truly a fanatic. She eventually became mad; for from fanaticism to madness there is but one step. Her son, the only son of a mad woman, was imbecile, as was very natural; in 1808 he sought safety from the Napoleonic invasion of the peninsula in the flight to Brazil.* If from Lisbon the government of the colonies was far from satisfactory, one can easily imagine what the state of these new settlements must have been now that the court and ministry were at Rio de Janeiro. But to return to the chronicle of the issues of money.

D. JOAO VI.,

As regent from 1799 to 1818.

As king from 1818 to 1826.

The first governor of the regency was the one above mentioned, but he was succeeded in 1807 by

BERNARDO JOSE MARIA DE LORENA.

1807—1816.

This viceroy issued the same kind of coins as his predecessor, only his silver coinage showed a new design, well represented by the Rupia.

* Cf. *Historia de Portugal*; by J. P. Oliveira Martins. Lisbon: 1879. Vol. II., pp. 158, *et seq.*

Obv.—The laureate bust of the prince regent to the right, RVPIA D GOA around, and 1807 in the exergue.

Rev.—Ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom with the oval shield. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 2 drachms 45 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII, fig. 2.)

This type of the silver coinage is said to date from the time of the governor Veiga Cabral, omitting the letter D.

Of the gold coinage, the following is a good example :—

Obv.—The reverse of the coin last described.

Rev.—Cross of St. Thomas, having in the lower angles 18-12, and in the upper 12-x, the value of the coin. Gold. *S. Thomé*. Weight, 75 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig 3.)

A peculiarity of the numismatic history of this time is the irregularity not only in the often unsystematic arrangement of the coins regarding their designs and standard, but also the simultaneous issue of coins bearing busts or profiles of both the mother and son separately.

Although coins bearing the bust of the mad queen were struck and issued until about a year after her death, those of the prince regent were also current. A rupee and a *meia tanga* are extant which bear on the obverse not only the laureate bust of the prince but also the legend D. IOAO P. G. D. P. R. on the silver piece, while on the copper one it runs JOANNES. D. G. PORT. ET. ALG. P. REGENS and the year 1814 in the exergue. But these were most probably not current coins but mere patterns ; for it is very strange that from so recent a time there should exist only two specimens in two metals.

D. DIOGO DE SOUZA,

1817—1821.

During this time money in gold, silver, and copper was coined of all the varieties already mentioned, except the silver *meia tanga*, which had ceased to be struck for some time previous to the present government. The gold *S. Thomés* and their fractions bore the same type above described ; but the silver coinage presented a new design, which is represented by the rupee, as follows :—

Obv.—Bust of the prince regent to the right, the legend GOA—RVPIA behind and in the front of the bust, respectively, and the year 1817 in the exergue.



D. MANUEL DA CAMARA,

1823—1825.

During the three years gold, silver and copper coins were issued from the mint at Goa, but the standard type and module were the same as of the preceding years.

This viceroy died at Goa on the 16th of November 1825, when a provisional commission, composed of three gentlemen, held the reins of the Government until the arrival of the newly-appointed viceroy, which took place on the 9th of October 1826. During this short interval no change took place in the monetary matters of Portuguese India.

In the last year of the rule of this commission, King D. João VI. died, being succeeded by

D. PEDRO IV.,

1826—1828.

Viceroy D. MANUEL DE PORTUGAL E CASTRO.

1826—1835.

This was a period fruitful of political changes, and of considerable activity in the improvement of the colonial coinage, which had now exceeded all measure of rudeness in workmanship. Among political changes was the proclamation of the Constitutional Charter in the city of Goa on the 18th of October 1827, and of D. Pedro IV., king of Portugal, who had succeeded his father, D. João VI., on the 10th of March 1826. This distinguished prince abdicated the crown on behalf of his daughter, D. Maria, on the 2nd of May 1826, which abdication was ratified on the 2nd of March 1828. He then declared himself regent of the kingdom on the 3rd of March 1832 until the 19th of September 1834, or until the pretender to the throne, D. Miguel de Bragança, was completely defeated.

Money was coined in Goa and Diu, gold, silver, bronze and copper in the former place, and tutenag in the latter. The gold specimens of the period are extremely rare. Of silver the following example is typical:—

Obv.—Laureate bust of the monarch to the right, having the year 1831 in the exergue.

Rev.—Coat-of-arms of the United Kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 170 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 8.)

Of the bronze coinage there were only tangas and half tangas.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom in the field.

Rev.—Within a crown AP. (Asia Portuguese) and T under it (Tanga). Bronze. *Tanga*. Weight, 9 drachms 55½ grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 9.)

The *meia tanga* bears the same design, there being the addition of ½ between the letters AP. and T. to indicate its value. The type of the copper coinage did not differ at all from that of the bronze one, except that portion of it which was ordered to be countermarked, on account of the false copper money introduced from abroad into the country.

Obv.—The same as of the coin last described.

Rev.—Also the same, the countermarks being PR. and 809 below it. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 9 drachms 35 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 12.)

There being scantiness of copper pieces in Diu, some of the half tangas struck and current at Goa at this time were marked with the word Dio to the left of the letters abovementioned for circulation at that place. Two specimens of this currency, as well as the specimens above described and illustrated, are in my collection.

With regard to the countermark PR. and 809, it appears that PR. stands for Principe Regente, while 809 is perhaps the year 1809, when the countermarks were first used in Goa.

The viceroy D. Manuel de Portugal, observing the extreme irregularity in the execution of the mintage in Goa, which is evident to any one who may have cursorily examined the colonial coinage of the Portuguese in India, appointed a committee of learned persons, by his decree dated the 30th of July 1828, to report on those irregularities, and to indicate means to improve the condition of the mintage. A report was naturally presented in course of time to the Government, who in 1834 approved the new mint regulations, and commanded the issue of money with designs recommended by the committee. The coins with new designs, however, turned out to be mere patterns, for they were never current. But of this aborted effect of the labours of the committee, and of the causes that led to it, I shall speak more at length hereafter.

D. MARIA II.,

1834—1853.

The first viceroy of Queen D. Maria II. was the last of her great father; but his coinage of this period was confined to the issue of silver

rupees and copper tangas with their respective sub-divisions, which had, however, the misfortune of never forming part of the currency. They were no sooner struck than both the silver and copper pieces were, from political reasons, ordered to be kept in the mint, as mere patterns, of which, as above said, I shall speak further on.

This viceroy was in 1835 followed by Bernardo Peres da Silva, whose extremely short and revolutionary rule made no change in the coinage, and was followed by the first viceroy of the queen again, and then by Marshal Correa, and finally by a Provisional Government from 1835 to 1837. The only monetary document relating to the time of this Government is the order to withdraw from circulation the silver and copper money minted in 1834, and the issue of others instead, bearing the bust of the queen; while the copper coinage, which was now depreciated, was commanded to be struck with the designs of 1832. It was prohibited to receive into the Government Treasury more than one-third of the copper money in payment of the State revenues. This Government was followed by Barão de Sabroso, from 1837 to 1838, who did nothing more than appoint a committee to investigate the causes of the scantiness of the silver money, the depreciation of the copper one, as false coinage in the latter metal was introduced into the country, and to propose measures to facilitate the circulation of gold and silver money. He also ordered the sale of silver plate belonging to the now extinguished convents, except the sacred vessels, and of the product to issue silver coin in rupees and their fractions, and later on the reducing of the plate itself to currency. This governor was succeeded by another Provisional Commission, who ruled from 1838 to 1839, during which short time were issued the following coins in silver and copper:—

Obv.—Bust of the queen to the left, with the legend RUPIA DE GOA around, and the year 1839 in the exergue between two stars.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between two laurel branches linked below. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 165 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 10.)

Of the sub-divisions of the rupee there were *pardao* and *meio pardao*.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom,

Rev.—60-T. in two lines within two palms wreath, or A P above and T below. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 9 drachms 45 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 11.)

The *Tanga* had issued along with it the fractions of half, quarter, 12, 7½, 6, and 3 reis.

This last Government was followed also provisionally by Colonel Vieira, until November 1839, who did not alter the coinage, and was succeeded by the governor Manuel José Mendes, who ruled until 1840, and who also did not interfere with the coinage established by former Governments. Then came another Provisional Government until 1840, who ordered both gold and silver ornaments belonging to convents of Goa and Damão, *inclusive* the sacred vessels which had been profaned, to be coined into gold and silver money.

JOSE JOAQUIM LOPES DE LIMA,

1840—1842.

During this Government gold, silver, and copper were coined, the first into *S. Thomés*, the second into *rupias*, halves and quarters, and the third into *tangas* and halys.

The *S. Thomé*, bearing the date 1841, was the last gold coin ever struck at Goa, the type being nearly similar to the one last described of the value of 12 xerafins.

The silver rupee of Diu bore the same design and date as above mentioned; while the Goa copper tanga was as follows:—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between two laurel branches and the year 1840 in the exergue.

Rev.—60-R. in two lines inside a laurel crown. Copper. *Tanga* Weight, 10 drachms 5 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 1.)

This governor was followed by another Provisional Government from April to September 1842, when the Governor Conde das Antas took possession of the place, which he occupied till April 1843. The only thing he did with reference to the coinage was to order the closing of the mint, sending the materials to the arsenal, to be there kept until the time when they would again be required for coining purposes. He was succeeded by the governor Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha, from April 1843 to May 1844, during which time the Damão mint, which had remained closed for nearly a century, was opened again to mint copper money, consisting of *tangas*, *meias tangas* and 15 *reis*. The description of this last coin is thus:—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between two flowery embellishments, and the year in the exergue.

Rev.—15-R—D. in two lines within a beaded circle. Copper. 15 *Reis*. Weight, 160 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 5.)

JOSE FERREIRA PESTANA,

1844—1851.

The mint of Goa, which had been closed from the 19th of November 1842, was re-opened in 1845 for the minting of silver and copper money, whose types were as follows :—

Obv.—The bust of the queen to the left; the legend MARIA II. PORTUG : ET : ALGARB : REGINA around; in the exergue the year 1845.

Rev.—Inside a laurel crown RUPIA. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 168 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 2.)

Of the silver coinage, besides the rupee, there were issued its half and quarter. The copper pieces consisted of 10, 7½, 6, 4½ and 3 reis. Some of the old tangas, meias tangas, and 15 reis were also recoined with the dies of 1839, on account of the designs having been worn out.

JOSE JOAQUIM JANUARIO LAPA,

1851—1855.

During this period, in the middle of which Queen D. Maria II. died, being succeeded by her son D. Pedro V., the only coins struck in the Goa mint were *rupia* and *pardao*, whose designs were thus :—

Obv.—Diademed bust of the queen to the left, MARIA II. PORTUG : ET : ALGARB : REGINA round the margin; and the year 1851 in the exergue.

Rev.—Ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom, the legend RUPIA DE GOA below. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 170 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 3.)

D. PEDRO V.,

1853—1861.

The Governor left India in 1855, being succeeded in the government of the country by a Council composed of four persons, who made no alteration in any of the coinages, and handed over the reins of the Government on the 3rd of November 1855 to

ANTONIO CESAR DE VARCONCELLOS CORREA.

1855—1864.

During this Government silver coins were issued from both the Goa and Diu mints. From the former, rupee, half, quarter, and tanga or



Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom in the field dividing the marginal legend INDIA PORTUG : and the year 1871 in the exergue.

Rev.—Inside a laurel crown the legend in three lines, TANGA—60—REIS in the field. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 9 drachms 35 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 9.)

This governor, was in 1871 succeeded by Joaquim José de Macedo e Couto, who ruled till 1875. Then came João Tavares de Almeida, who died in July 1877, being followed by a Government Council until the arrival of the Governor Antonio Sergio de Souza, who ruled from November 1877 and died in May 1878, being succeeded in his turn by another Council, pending the arrival of the next Governor, who was

CAETANO ALEXANDRE DE ALMEIDA E ALBUQUERQUE,
1878—1882.

This, the most remarkable of governments in a numismatic point of view, caused all the Portuguese coinage, even the most recent one, to become absolutely obsolete, by withdrawing it from circulation, and substituting for it the silver and copper coinage first struck at Calcutta and then at Bombay, in consequence of the Monetary Convention of the new Anglo-Portuguese Treaty. General Pearse, a distinguished authority on Indian numismatics, having suggested the publication of the text of the Convention in the body of this paper, and being convinced of the importance of this document for the history of Indo-Portuguese coinages, I have much pleasure in quoting it here as follows :—

CONVENTION.

Whereas, by the fifth article of a Treaty of Commerce and Extradition executed at Lisbon on the twenty-sixth day of December 1878, and ratified on the sixth day of August 1879, between His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, it is provided that the High Contracting Parties shall use their best endeavours to establish between their respective systems of moneys, weights, and measures the harmony desirable for the development of commercial relations between their respective dominions; and whereas by the same article it is further provided that the detailed measures to be adopted shall form the subject of a separate Convention between the Governors General of British India and Portuguese India, to be executed within two years from the date when the said Treaty comes into force; and whereas the said Treaty came into force on the fifteenth day of January 1880:

In pursuance of the said article, the following Convention has been made :—

1. The Governor General of Portuguese India shall adopt, in the Portuguese possessions in India, the monetary system of British India, for the time being in force, provided that the coins shall have on one side the effigy of the King

of Portugal, with the legend *Ludovicus I, Portugaliae et Algarbiorum Rex*, around it, or such other effigy and legend as the said Governor General may from time to time desire, and on the other side the value of each coin, the year of the Christian era, and the words *India Portugueza*.

2. Subject to the provisions of clause 7, so long as this Convention remains in force, the following coins and no others shall be struck for Portuguese India :—

- Silver*.—Rupee, weighing 180 grains troy ;
- Half-rupee, weighing 90 grains troy ;
- Quarter-rupee weighing 45 grains troy ;
- Eighth of a rupee, weighing 22½ grains troy ;

The standard fineness of the said silver coins shall be eleven-twelfths of the fine silver and one-twelfth of alloy, subject to a remedy not exceeding the following :—

	Remedy in weight.	Remedy in fineness.
Rupee	Five thousandths ...	Two thousandths.
Half-rupee		
Quarter-rupee	Seven thousandths ...	Three thousandths.
Eighth of a rupee ...	Ten thousandths ...	

Copper.—Half *tanga*, weighing 200 grains troy, and corresponding with the double pice or half-anna of British India ;

Quarter *tanga*, weighing 100 grains troy, and corresponding with the pice of British India ;

Eighth of a *tanga*, weighing 50 grains troy, and corresponding with the half-pice of British India ;

Real, or twelfth of a *tanga*, corresponding with the pie of British India.

In the making of copper coins, a remedy shall be allowed not exceeding one-fortieth in weight.

The value in copper of one Portuguese rupee will be sixteen Portuguese *tangas*, sixty-four quarter *tangas* or pices, or one hundred and ninety-two *rees* or pies.

3. The Portuguese silver and copper coins established by this Convention shall be issued by the authority of the Government of Portuguese India, and shall be coined on behalf of the said Government by the Government of British India, and by no other agency whatever.

The Governor General of Portuguese India engages that, while this Convention continues in force, no coins other than those established by this Convention shall be coined in or imported into Portuguese India.

4. With the view of obtaining in the shortest possible time the desired uniformity of coinage throughout the respective Indian possessions of the High

Contracting Parties, the Governor General of British India engages that the Government of British India shall—

- (a) forego, for the period of three years from the date on which this Convention comes into force, all duty or other charge for melting, cutting, refining or recoining any coin of the existing Portuguese Indian silver currency tendered for recoinage into Portuguese Indian coin ;
- (b) deliver, for the period of five years from the date of this Convention, copper coins of the Portuguese copper currency established by this Convention in exchange for copper coins of the existing Portuguese Indian copper currency which may be brought to the said mint for the purpose of such exchange, at the value represented by such last-mentioned coins in the existing Portuguese currency. The relative representative value of the old and new coin to be thus exchanged on equal terms and without charge for manufacture, shall, if the Governor General of Portuguese India so desires, be determined, once for all, by a mixed commission appointed in the manner provided in the sixteenth article of the above-cited Treaty.
- (c) advance to the Governor General of Portuguese India, in the Portuguese currency established by this Convention, such sums in such denominations of coin and in such instalments (if any), as the said Governor General of Portuguese India may require ; provided

1stly.—That the amount of such advances outstanding at any time shall not exceed in the whole ten lakhs of rupees.

2ndly.—That an interval of two months shall be allowed for compliance with any such requisition, and that no such advance shall be made after the expiration of eighteen months from the date on which this Convention comes into force.

3rdly.—That every such advance shall be, within two months, repaid in coin of the existing Portuguese Indian currency, equivalent thereto in intrinsic value ascertained upon assay at Her Majesty's Mint, or in copper coin of the existing Portuguese Indian currency valued as prescribed in clause (b).

5. The Governor General of British India engages that the Government of British India shall—

- (a) on presentation by or on behalf of the Governor General of Portuguese India of any silver bullion or coin at the Mint at Bombay, or at such other Mint as the said Government from time to time appoints, deliver to the said Governor General or his agent, after such interval as in the judgment of the Mint Master is necessary for the process of coinage, the produce of such silver bullion or coin, in the silver coin established by this Convention, subject, always, to the same duty, charges, fees and regulations as are for the time being in force for the conversion into British Indian currency of bullion and coin presented at the said Mint : provided that, save as provided in clause 4, the said Government shall not be bound thus to deliver more than four lakhs of rupees in any one year ;

(b) coin for the Governor General of Portuguese India the copper coins established by this Convention, to such amounts and in such denominations as the said Governor General may require, upon payment of the value inscribed upon such coins in the silver coin established by this Convention or in British Indian rupees: provided that, saving as engaged in clause 4, the said Government shall not be bound thus to coin more than twenty thousand rupees worth of such coin in any one year.

In lieu of any seigniorage or profits which the Portuguese Government might otherwise claim on account of the coinage on their behalf provided by this clause, the Governor General of British India engages to pay the Governor General of Portuguese India an indemnity of four thousand rupees per annum, commencing from the first day of November, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three, and continuing as long as this Convention remains in force.

6. All silver and copper Portuguese coins, coined under the provisions of this Convention, shall, while this Convention remains in force, be legal tender in payment or on account throughout British India to the same extent, and subject to the same exceptions in the case of coin which has been called in, or is under weight, or has been clipped, filed or defaced, as in the case of the corresponding silver and copper coins issued by the authority of the Government of British India for the time being in British India.

All silver and copper coin which has been issued by the authority of the Government of British India shall, to the said same extent and subject to the same exceptions, be a legal tender in payment or on account, throughout Portuguese India.

7. The Governor General of Portuguese India agrees that, if at any time while this Convention continues in force, the Government of British India should recall the whole body of British Indian coin corresponding to any description of Portuguese coin issued under this Convention, or change the monetary system of British India, he will, if requested by such Government so to do, recall all Portuguese coin of that description, or change in like manner as the case may be, the monetary system of Portuguese India: provided that the expense incurred in recalling such coin or making such change shall be defrayed by the Government of British India.

8. When any silver coin, purporting to have been issued under the provisions of this Convention, is tendered to any officer of the Government of British India, authorized by that Government to act under this clause, and is deemed by such officer to be counterfeit, or to have been reduced in weight otherwise than by reasonable wearing, he may, by himself or another (subject to the rules which the said Government prescribes in this behalf), cut or break such coin and return the pieces to the person tendering the same, and the loss caused by such cutting and breaking shall be borne by such person.

9. When any such silver coin which has been called in is tendered to any officer of the Government of British India authorized by that Government to act under this clause, he may cut or break such coin, and shall receive it at the rate of one rupee per tola: but the expense thus incurred shall, except

when such coin has been recalled under clause 7, be borne by the Portuguese Government.

10. In like manner, when any British Indian coin which has been called in is tendered to any officer of the Government of Portuguese India authorized by that Government to act under this clause, he may cut or break such coin, and shall receive it at the rate of one rupee per tola, and the expense so incurred shall be borne by the Government of British India.

11. The Governor General of Portuguese India engages to appoint an officer who will receive, while this Convention continues in force, from any person tendering the coin next hereinafter mentioned, all silver coin issued under this Convention which may have lost, by reasonable wearing, more than two per cent., and shall pay for the same at the rate of one rupee per tola.

12. Nothing in this Convention shall be held to limit the powers of His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves to establish at any time such system of paper currency as he may deem fit.

The Governor General of Portuguese India has the power for the present to issue the following paper money :—

Five-rupee notes,	payable in copper.	
Ten-rupee notes,	payable in silver.	
Twenty	do.	do.
Fifty	do.	do.
One hundred	do.	do.
Five hundred	do.	do.

The amount of paper money issued will never be above four per cent. of the value of the money in circulation, the Portuguese India Government notes being guaranteed by the Portuguese Government and payable to the bearer.

13. The Governor General of Portuguese India engages that, whenever the Government of British India exercises in respect of British India generally, or of all the territories adjacent to Portuguese India, the powers conferred on it under a certain Act of the Governor General of British India in Council, called 'The Indian Weights and Measures of Capacity Act, 1871,' then he the said Governor General of Portuguese India will enforce throughout Portuguese India provisions similar to those of that Act.

14. This Convention shall come into force on the first day of November, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, and shall remain in force until the expiration of a year counting from the day on which one or other of the Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other of its intention to put an end to it; provided that no such notice shall be given until four years after the date on which the Convention comes into force.

15. The Governor General of Portuguese India undertakes that, in the event of this Convention being put an end to under clause 14 or otherwise, no coins resembling any of the coins struck under this Convention shall be struck in or imported into Portuguese India, or shall be struck under the authority of, or with the sanction of, His Most Faithful Majesty in any other place.

Done at Pangim on the twelfth day of April one thousand eight hundred and eighty.

(Sd.) CAETANO ALBRE. D'ALMEIDA ALBUQUERQUE,
Governor General of Portuguese India.

Done at Calcutta on the eighteenth day March one thousand eight hundred and eighty.

(Sd.) LYTTON,
Viceroy and Governor General of British India.

I need not describe, after this, the two following specimens of this new silver and copper coinage. (See Plate IX., figs. 10 and 11.) I may add, however, that the dies for small silver pieces of the new device intended for circulation in the Portuguese territories in India, prepared at the Calcutta mint, in conformity with the provision of the new treaty, were eventually sent to the Bombay mint, where the coins have since then been struck off. Another circumstance worth noting is that the Goa rupees and other new Indo-Portuguese coins were directed to be treated as legal tender in British India, in pursuance of the article six of the above cited Convention, which acquired the force of law within British India by Act XVII. of 1881.

The new coinage was not issued without opposition. Some thought it more patriotic to have the colonial coinage struck in the National mint at Lisbon, instead of striking it in the foreign mints of Calcutta and Bombay ; others said that it would be preferable to do away with the colonial coinage altogether, and to send the Portuguese money current throughout the kingdom, to be put in circulation in the settlements abroad. But both economically and politically the system now adopted,—for at last good sense prevailed—is the most profitable to the country. I do not really know how one's patriotism lay dormant, while for years the little settlement of Damão allowed the coinage of the native princes around to circulate freely in its territory, but forbade the Goa money to pass current. Even after the new Convention money was in circulation, a clamour was raised on account of the loss entailed on the withdrawal and recoinage of worn-out and uncurrent coins ; while this loss I believe did not amount to more than the usual expense of mintage everywhere, the bulk of receipts being the seignorage duty of 2 per cent on the coinage of rupees. But the greatest gain one

ever extracted from this Convention is the substitution of a beautiful piece of money as a work of art, for the barbarous, irregular, ill-impresed coinage of former years.

But to return to the new coinage, it appears that 4 lacs of rupees were coined at the Calcutta mint in 1880-81 under this Monetary Convention with the Government of Portuguese India, the rest being coined at Bombay. I am indebted to Dr. Graham of the Bombay Mint for the following extract:—"The old Portuguese Indian coin, valued at Rs. 9,97,034, was received at the Bombay mint for coinage under the Monetary Convention with the Government of Portuguese India, and the value of the silver coin struck for the Goa Government during the year was Rs. 9,61,786, which is included in the total coinage of the Bombay mint."*

With regard to the copper money coined in the Bombay mint during the government of Viscount of S. Januario, or in the year 1871, the following is the catalogue of coins, with their nomenclature, number and value:—

Tangas.....	51,114	} The value of this coinage in xerafins was:— 20,837 : 1 : 47, or in Provincial reis 6,251,207.
Half Tangas	50,063	
Quarter Tangas	50,664	
Ten Reis.....	51,175	
Five Reis.....	50,900	
Three Reis	52,189	

This coinage was sent in circulation by the Resolution of the Board of Public Finance, dated the 29th of September 1871, to begin from the 1st of December following.†

To the above list I may add the two following tables of money in gold, silver, and copper, issued from the Goa mint from 1775 to 1856. It is indeed very interesting; and my only regret is that I could not succeed in getting a similar list from the day of conquest of Goa in 1510 to 1775. The two lists are as follows:—

* Proceedings of the Government of India, Department of Finance and Commerce—Accounts and Finance (Mint). Resolution No. 401, dated the 22nd of January 1882.

† For the above note I am indebted to Mr. J. Gracias of the Secretariat, and to Mr. J. M. do Carmo Nazareth of the Board of Public Finance of Goa. Cf. *Boletim do Governo*, No. 93 of 1871.)

Years.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Seignorage.
	Marks.	Marks.	Arrobas of 82 lbs.	
1773	145	223	3,564	696
1776	261	4,098	74,434	12,193
1777	602	661	23,278	4,106
1778	62	70	.....	69
1779	641	5,382	.....	1,589
1780	156	2,210	.....	567
1781	593	5,547	.....	1,584
1782	235	3,444	.....	879
1783	433	5,744	.....	1,495
1784	434	6,326	.....	1,612
1785	405	4,246	.....	1,173
1786	243	12,016	8,429	2,598
1787	393	12,514	.....	3,781
1788	90	983	.....	268
1789	290	1,301	6,667	492
1790	135	1,413	.....	1,391
1791	452	9,531	.....	2,288
1792	426	7,556	.....	1,852
1793	759	2,749	.....	1,159
1794	274	1,757	.....	570
1795	441	442	.....	450
1796	432	1,196	25,600	585
1797	75	1,993	.....	4,299
1798	29	6,907	.....	1,582
1799	256	11,733	.....	2,552
1800	140	10,275	19,200	2,167
1801	12	2,937	6,420	3,477
1802	163	1,099	.....	1,503

Years.	GOLD.			SILVER.			COPPER.		
	Weight.	Value.		Weight.	Value.		Weight.	Value.	
	oz. drs. grs. xerafins. tgs. reis.	Marks.	oz. drs. grs. xerafins. tgs. reis.	Marks.	oz. drs. grs. xerafins. tgs. reis.	Arrobas. lbs. oz. drs. xerafins. tgs. reis.	Value.		
1803	4 3 45	111,838 3 35	3 7 06	3,571	7 06	150,487 2 43	.....	
1804	580 2 6 02	330,489 2 54	7 00	10,038	7 00	393,810 0 43	.....	
1805	342 4 1 32	117,220 3 39	2 4 00	11,165	2 4 00	470,493 1 45	.....	
1806	158 2 1 16	89,758 1 33	0 2 00	7,231	0 2 00	299,976 4 34	.....	
1807	76 3 4 47	42,487 2 11	5 6 24	10,290	5 6 24	371,758 8 28	.....	
1808	132 2 4 11	72,473 4 05	7 2 60	3,363	7 2 60	140,702 1 29	.....	
1809	124 0 1 55	71,615 3 35	3 1 12	1,487	3 1 12	52,326 4 54	.....	
1810	72 7 1 29	41,417 1 09	4 2 00	513	4 2 00	21,005 4 29	.....	
1811	94 6 1 25	52,893 3 44	1 0 00	4,492	1 0 00	186,330 0 20	.....	
1812	105 7 7 34	60,222 0 06	5 2 48	2,413	5 2 48	101,182 0 49	.....	
1813	172 3 4 44	80,053 0 35	6 2 60	356	6 2 60	14,665 0 16	.....	
1814	243 3 0 44	138,762 4 54	0 6 63	1,015	0 6 63	43,248 0 40	.....	
1815	152 0 6 41	86,384 2 00	3 0 60	562	3 0 60	23,571 2 04	.....	
1816	83 2 0 39	47,189 4 25	2 2 36	4,027	2 2 36	168,684 1 43	.....	
1817	176 1 0 14	71,095 1 14	1 6 60	1,493	1 6 60	62,641 2 49	.....	
1818	96 2 5 34	53,049 2 02	2 6 24	1,527	2 6 24	66,028 2 46	.....	
1819	60 2 0 12	35,014 2 57	6 6 44	1,461	6 6 44	61,596 2 24	.....	
1820	31 2 8 16	17,758 8 03	1 5 12	1,369	1 5 12	58,078 1 25	.....	
1821	43 7 1 41	24,884 0 41	2 7 24	289	2 7 24	12,129 1 07	.....	
1822	24 5 7 50	12,927 4 23	1 6 48	529	1 6 48	22,192 4 05	.....	
1823	15 1 7 40	8,799 3 12	3 6 80	1,098	3 6 80	46,941 4 00	.....	
1824	24 5 0 36	14,010 3 04	3 3 24	4,891	3 3 24	291,508 0 49	.....	
1825	29 1 4 06	15,723 2 31	5 1 18	992	5 1 18	36,770 2 38	.....	
1826	61 0 4 36	34,731 2 29	4 0 37	1,458	4 0 37	61,155 2 01	.....	
1827	10 4 0 00	6,114 2 05	5 4 66	2,927	5 4 66	125,961 3 01	.....	
1828	4 0 4 00	2,737 1 28	0 7 00	979	0 7 00	85,179 2 37	.....	
1829	1 1 0 00	640 4 24					.....	

1830	11	2	2	00	0,410	2	89	671	5	4	12	24,987	1	24	.....	.....	.....
1831	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	757	5	3	00	31,708	3	45	.....	.....	.....
1832	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	200	1	0	00	8,035	3	31	.....	.....	.....
1833	3	1	4	00	1,812	2	43	257	4	0	00	7,087	4	13	.....	.....	.....
1834	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	54	6	4	00	2,306	4	22	.....	.....	.....
1838	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	123	3	5	00	4,180	0	46	.....	.....	.....
1839	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,470	0	4	36	157,455	3	28	.....	.....	.....
1840	29	0	6	12	16,069	3	12	905	1	0	36	36,700	0	37	.....	.....	.....
1841	20	3	1	00	11,742	1	85	195	5	3	00	8,189	0	16	.....	.....	.....
1845	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,937	0	8	20	436,220	0	36	.....	.....	.....
1846	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,101	6	0	00	400,474	3	16	.....	.....	.....
1847	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	54	6	3	36	2,306	1	08	.....	.....	.....
1848	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,251	3	5	62	334,175	2	34	.....	.....	.....
1849	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,635	0	5	40	60,217	4	27	.....	.....	.....
1850	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	52	5	7	00	2,109	1	55	.....	.....	.....
1851	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	395	0	0	43	3,272	2	36	.....	.....	.....
1852	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1853	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1854	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1855	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1856	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
									42	15	11	5	5	2,889	3	85	.....
									28	24	00	0	0	1,876	0	00	.....
									10	11	1	0	0	873	2	80	.....
									5	00	12	0	0	337	1	16	.....
									59	21	8	0	0	8,989	3	42	.....
									70	31	6	0	0	4,770	2	28	.....
									199	3	00	2	2	13,418	3	00	.....
									54	00	00	4	4	3,689	4	15	.....
									45	24	12	2	2	3,004	1	12	.....
									9	20	7	0	0	775	2	45	.....

Lastly we have the following short list of money coined at Goa and at Diu from the 13th of August 1856 to the end of December 1869, when the mint was for ever closed.

	Marks.	Value.					
		oz.	drms.	grs.	Xerafms.	Tanga.	Reis.
Money coined for the State of Goa ..	1,185	3	2	6	52,743	3	22
Do. for the Settlement of Diu.	119	5	1	58½	7,254	3	56
Do. for private persons	58,038	1	4	36	2,488	097	2·09

It is evident from the above that for some years the Diu mint remained closed, money for that place being coined at Goa.

Private individuals had the privilege to send bullion to the mint, receiving in return coin, after paying the cost of mintage and the seignorage.

The tables and the lists above given show clearly that the mint of Goa was in active operation continuously from 1775 to 1802, then from that year to 1856, with only two short interruptions—from 1835 to 1837, and from 1842 to 1844. Then again it was in uninterrupted activity from 1856 to the end of 1869, when the mint, which was first opened in 1510, was declared extinct. Now the Bombay mint in 1871 issued copper coin for the territories of Portuguese India, and finally both Calcutta and Bombay mints from 1880 to 1882 under the Monetary Convention quoted above. The amount of the copper money coined under the Convention is not yet known, as the withdrawal of the old copper coin from circulation is not yet completed.*

CARLOS EUGENIO DE ALMEIDA.

This Governor General of Portuguese India, whose number is 128th in the catalogue from D. Francisco de Almeida, the first viceroy of India, who was appointed on the 24th of October 1505, assumed charge of his office in April 1882. He has published some resolutions relating to the withdrawal of old coin and distribution of the new. The time allowed for withdrawing old copper coin ends in October 1883, but it may be prolonged, as was the case with old silver coins.

It remains now to describe two pattern pieces, one dated 1834, and the other 1862.

* For the proportion or ratio between the old and new reis, see Supp. No. 115 of the *Bol. do Gov. do Estado da India*, of the 16th of October 1880.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, having on each side three series of points in the form of a cross, and the legend RUPIA DE GOA round the margin.

Rev.—A star, 600, and R. in three lines in the field inside a wreath of oak and laurel, and the year 1834 in the exergue. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 171 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 12.)

Of this coinage there were also struck the sub-divisions of xerafim, of two different types, and meio xerafim also of two different designs. There was also a copper coinage of one of these types, consisting of the tanga and its fractions of half, 10, 5, and 3 reis. The other pattern piece was as follows :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, the marginal legend LUDOVICUS I. PORTUG. ET ALGAR. REK., and the year 1862.

Rev.—RUPIA-GOA-600 REIS in three lines within a crown of laurel. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 167 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 13.)

Only the rupee was issued. None of these coins, although of far better workmanship, were sent in circulation, on account of objections raised against their weight, and their not conforming with the standard and fractional system of the old coinage. In short it was the spirit of conservatism in opposition to all innovation. The two specimens above described, as well the two drawn at Plate VI., figs. 8 and 9, belong to the collection of Mr. J. M. de Souza Brito, ex-factor of the now extinct Factory of Surat.

Having concluded the subject of coinages, I pass on to sketch a short history of the Portuguese mints in the East. I have already mentioned that the mints of Malacca, Colombo, and Cochin, established soon after the conquest, were forcibly abolished on the capture of those settlements by the Dutch. Those to the north of Goa, viz. :—Diu, Daman, Bassein and Chaul had a different fate. The Chaul mint was probably established in 1664, and in 1667, by a resolution of the Government in Council, foreign copper and tutenag money was prohibited circulation there, as well as at Daman and Bassein with their dependencies. It was closed on its cession to the Marâthâs in 1740. The Daman and Bassein mints, opened between 1609 and 1612 for the issue of copper bazaruccos, and later on of the tutenag ones, were closed in 1739, on the capture of Bassein. The Daman Mint was however, opened again in 1842 for the issue of copper tangas and their

sub-divisions, and was closed again within a decade. It has since then been abolished.

The Diu mint was, from its foundation about the middle of the seventeenth century, kept open until perhaps 1856, when it seems its materials and machinery were transferred to Goa, where money was struck for circulation in that settlement.

The Goa mint-house, situated at a street behind the bishop's palace in the early days of the conquest, was in 1552 placed inside the Fort, and in 1589 was transferred to the Gunpowder Factory at Panelim, where it remained for a short time, and was eventually removed to the *Ribeira Grande* in the city. It was again carried back to Panelim, and from this place to Pangim in 1834. In 1842 the whole establishment was sent to the arsenal in the old city, where it remained until the extinction of the arsenal, decreed on the 25th of November 1869. Such are the vicissitudes undergone by the Goa mint from its foundation in 1510 to its extinction in 1869.

It is a matter for reflection that the Portuguese, who only about a hundred and fifty years ago were still powerful to the extent of Lord Clive using the Portuguese language as his only medium of communication with the native princes,* and of the Bombay Government imitating the Portuguese currency, as shown above, should now in their turn adopt the British system of coinage, and even have their money struck in the British mints. This change of fortune reminds me of that learned Goa financier and Latinist, who having been requested by the viceroy to express his opinion on the exchange of *bazaruccos*, and its variable character, a subject I have already alluded to, replied, among other quotations, with the following :—" *Quisquis habet nummos securo naviget aura, Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio.*" The poverty of Portugal and of her colonies, it seems, has more than anything else contributed to the closing of all her mints in India, and signing a Monetary Convention whereby Portugal has certainly lost one of those privileges, which all nations highly appreciate, viz., striking their own money. But this has been a necessity of her economical position in the world, and the best solution of the financial problem the Portuguese Government had for years strived in vain to solve.

Of the once vast dominion of the Portuguese in the East, all monuments, whether edifices, or archives, are rapidly disappearing. The

* Life of Lord Clive. See *Academy* of the 10th of September 1881.

only documents that will longer defy the action of time are coins. To them I have devoted my attention, which has resulted in this first attempt in a foreign language, to write the history of the Portuguese in India by means of coins ; for in the case of the Portuguese, more perhaps than in that of any other modern nation, one may safely apply the trite saying of Ovid, the motto of some Numismatic Societies—*Factum abiit—monumenta manent*. In conclusion, I append below the words of Swift on the usefulness and authenticity of coins as historical documents :—“ of undoubted authority, of necessary use and observation, not perishable by time, nor confined to any certain place ; properties not to be found in books, statues, pictures, buildings or any other monuments of illustrious actions.”

ART. IV.—*Neryôsangh's Sanskrit Translation of the Khordah-Avestâ.* By Rev. A. FÜHRE, Ph. D.

[Read 16th January 1883].

IT is just a century ago that Anquetil du Perron published his French translation of the *Zand-Avestâ*,* or “the theological, physical, and moral ideas of the law-giver Zarathustra, the ceremonies of the divine service which he established, and several important traits respecting the ancient history of the Persians.” His translation had the only merit of introducing the literary world to the chief contents of the sacred books of the Zarathustrians, and furnishing Europe with all the materials necessary for eager researches in this important field. This work, although utterly incorrect and inaccurate, nevertheless became thus a powerful stimulus to future studies of the *Zand-Avestâ* in a critical and philological way. Burnouf, Spiegel, Haug, and Kossowicz, who inquired, in a scientific way, into the meaning of the *Zand-Avestâ*,

* The term *Avestâ* is only applied to the sacred writings of the Parsis when written in their original language, which may be familiarly described as a sister, or first-cousin of the Vedic Sanskrit, and one of the great grandmothers of modern Persian. With regard to the meaning of the term, Haug (*‘An Old Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary,’* pp. 78-81.) traces it—after considering several proposed etymologies—to *Zand âvista* (pass. part. of â + vid, to ‘know’) in the sense of ‘what is announced, information, knowledge’; it may therefore be considered as analogous to the Sanskrit term *veda*, in its comprehensive sense of ‘knowledge, or code of knowledge.’

Zand signifies ‘an explanation, commentary, meaning,’ *Zand âzaiñti* (from *zan*, to ‘understand’); it appears to have been first applied to notes in the original language of the *Avestâ*, mingled with the text, but afterwards it was specially applied to the Pahlavi translation and explanation of the sacred texts, which in later times has been considered equally sacred. In either case, the usual term for the sacred writings, *Avestâ* and *Zand*, means ‘the learning (or text) and commentary,’ and it does not appear to have been converted into *Zand-Avestâ* till recent times. The application of the word ‘*Zand*,’ as the name of the language in which the *Avestâ* is written, is a modern blunder which cannot now be conveniently rectified, as we are ignorant of the real name; in the mediæval Parsi books, the term ‘*Zand*’ is applied to the Pahlavi writings only.

would never have succeeded in laying a foundation of Zand philology without Anquetil's labours. Among the MSS. brought by him from India to Paris, there were three copies of Neryôsangh's Sanskrit translation of the Yasna, or the prayer-book of the Pârsî priesthood, which translation has been published by Spiegel, in 1861, at Leipzig. Of a Sanskrit translation of the Khordah-Avestâ, and especially of the Yashts by the same author, nothing was known.* Some time ago I discovered in the libraries of our fellow-citizens, Jamaspji Dastur Minocheherji Jamaspâsana and Peshotun Dastur Behramji Sanjâna, three MSS. containing the Pahlavi, Pâzand,† and Sanskrit translations of the Khordah-Avestâ, or the prayer book for the daily use of the Zarathustrian laity. I intend to give to-day a brief outline of the scientific value of this translation for the right understanding of the original Zand text.

* I saw also in the library of Dastur Peshotun different MSS. containing Sanskrit translations of the III.—IX. Fargards of the Vendidad, which translations have not yet been known since. Haug knew only Sanskrit translations of Fargards VIII., 79-80, and IX., 1-4 (ed. Westergaard), see *Essays*, II. ed., page 46. There exists still another work by Neryôsangh, namely, a Sanskrit translation of the Shikand-gumâni, the Pâzand, Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations of which are being prepared for editing by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji of Poona.

† When the Pahlavi translation, or Zand, of the Avestâ became obsolete, it was necessary to underline it with a more modern explanation, which was called *Pâzand*, probably from being usually written beneath, or at the foot (pâ) of the Zand. This Pâzand would be sometimes written in the Pahlavi character, but as that was very ambiguous and difficult to read correctly, the Pâzand was usually written in the well-defined characters used for the Avestâ; and, in recent times, it has often been written in the modern Perso-Arabic character. The language of the Pâzand may be called mediæval Persian, to distinguish it both from the modern language, which is a medley of Persian and Arabic, and from the ancient Persian of the Achæmenian cuneiform inscriptions, which was only a dialect of the language of the Avestâ. It appears to have been the language current in Persia between the fifth and tenth centuries A. D., with some admixture of words derived directly from the text of the Avestâ.

Pahlavi is the only term which can be in any way regarded as the name of a language. Haug 'Essay on the Pahlavi Language,' pp. 33-37, considers Pahlavi to be equivalent to *Parthian*, but applied, after the downfall of the Parthian power, to anything ancient in Persia. The Pahlavi language, in which the Zand of the Avestâ is written, is identical with the mediæval Persian or language of the Pâzand, when it is *read* by the Pârsîs; but in *writing* it they use the *Huzdânash* logograms, so far as they go, and the remaining words are written as they are pronounced.

Neryôsangh tells us in his introduction to the Khordah-Avestâ that his Sanskrit translation is founded upon the Pahlavi version, and not upon the original Zand text. He begins thus :—

नाम्ना सर्वाङ्ग-सत्तया च साहायेन च स्वामिनो अहुरमङ्गस्य महाज्ञानिनः सिद्धिः
शुभा भूयात् । प्रवृत्तिः प्रसिद्धिश्च उत्तमरीनेश्च माङ्गईअस्त्या अपुषि च पादवं दीर्घं
जीवितं च सर्वेषां उत्तमानां उत्तममनसां । इदं परामईअस्तिनामपुस्तकं *मया नैरीओ-
संघेन धवलसुतेन पहलवीजन्यात् संस्कृतभाषायाम् अवतारितं विषमपारसीकाक्षरेभ्य-
श्च अविस्ताक्षरैलिखितं । सुखप्रबोधाय उत्तमानां शिक्षाश्रोतॄणां सत्यचेतसां । प्रणाम
उत्तमेभ्यश्च शुद्धमतेभ्यः सत्यजिहेभ्यः सत्यसमाचरिभ्यः ॥

“In the name, and through the omnipotence and assistance of the Lord Ahurô-mazdâo, the greatly-wise, may there be prosperity, welfare, success, and propagation of the good Mazdayasnian religion, bodily health and long life of all virtuous, right-minded men. This work, called the book of Yashts, has been translated by me, Neryôsangh, son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi commentary into the Sanskrit language, and written from the difficult Pâzand letters with the Avestâ characters for the proper understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded. Salutation to the good men whose thoughts are

Huzvânash has been shown by Haug ('Essay on the Pahlavi Language,' pp. 37-43) to be a term applied to the writing of Pahlavi by means of logograms, each logogram being the synonym of the intended word, in some obsolete language; as in English we write *viz.* for 'namely.' About five hundred of such logograms are used in Pahlavi writings, and the remaining words are written as they are pronounced. One-fifth of these logograms are merely obsolete, but the remaining four-fifths are foreign synonyms in a Semitic dialect, and are probably a remnant of the vernacular Assyrian language, into which the Avestâ was, no doubt, translated during the Assyrian rule over Iran.

Another term applied to the religious writings, preserved by the Parsis, is *Pârsî*. It merely means Persian, and is sometimes applied to the language of the Pâzand, while *Fârsî* is more especially the modern Persian. It would be convenient to use the name *Pârsî* when the writing is in the Perso-Arabic character, and the name *Pâzand* when it is in the so-called Zand character; but the usual practice of the Parsis is to use the term *Pâzand* in both cases.

It appears that Pâzand is not the name of a language, but is merely the explanation, in mediæval Persian, of an obsolete commentary. The application of the term, however, has become extended to all writings in the same dialect of mediæval Persian, whether in Pahlavi, Zand, or Perso-Arabic characters.

* This is merely a transcription of the Zand *paicôshâshâ* "an adherent of the old creed," the meaning of the name "Khordah-Avestâ."

pure, whose language is true, and whose conduct follows the path of justice !”*

Neryôsangh himself has shown us here the way of judging his translation. It is not a new translation of the original text, but only a version of the Pahlavî translation. Neryôsangh’s work does not give us new means for the right understanding of the Zand text, but an important clue to the Pahlavî translation. Therefore we have to look at the latter, being the older and more independent source, as to the more important and more original one, whilst the Sanskrit translation is to be considered as the derived and dependent one. There are also many reasons for stating—without depreciating Neryôsangh’s exactness and accuracy—that he committed a good many mistakes regarding the grammatical forms and etymologies, so that it is always necessary to behold the Pahlavî translation in using Neryôsangh’s versions. Comparing the Pahlavî translation with Neryôsangh’s version, we find that Neryôsangh has generally given the same traditional explanation which also the Pahlavî translation contains, and as it exists in our editions. In many, if not in most of the cases, both translations agree together word for word, in many other cases the differences are unimportant and of no great moment. But if we enter more deeply into the details, we discover many discrepancies which evidently prove that Neryôsangh’s copy of the Pahlavî translation differed widely from ours. The division of the text and translation in paragraphs is in Neryôsangh’s work and in the Pahlavî translation the same, whilst the sub-divisions, at first sight, seem to be rather different, but generally they are only so in appearance. For Neryôsangh has divided the longer paragraphs of the Pahlavî translation into two or more, but for the most part the division is the same in both translations. Although regarding the division the identity in general is to be found, there are many alterations in some particulars ; sometimes, though not very often, the traditional translation is varied to some extent. Not seldom Neryôsangh uses a concrete noun, where the older translation gives an abstract one. Sometimes he renders *kshathra* and *asha* as proper nouns, whilst the

* This form of introduction seems to have been adopted by Neryôsangh in all his Sanskrit translations, see e. g., Burnouf’s ‘Commentaire sur le Yaçna,’ avant-propos, page XV., West’s ‘The Book of Mainyô-i-khard,’ page 61 ; Spiegel’s ‘Neriosengh’s Sanskrit-Uebersetzung des Yaçna,’ page 2 ; and the Introduction to the ‘Pâzand and Sanskrit version of the Pahlavî Ardâ-Vîrâf-Nâmah,’ MS. 18 of Dr. Haug’s Collection at Munich.

Pahlavî translation considers them to be common nouns, or *vice versâ*. In some instances the construction of the words does not exactly correspond to that of the Pahlavî translation, but follows the original Zand text. All that shows that Neryôsangh either has altered in some respects the text, or that the original of the Pahlavî translation which he used, differed in some way from the translation as we possess it now. The younger Gujarâthî translations seem to prove the first part of my premises, as they are in some parts more original treatises of the traditional explanation, and therefore illustrate the fact that such essays are not strange to the ideas of the Parsis. But not only the abovementioned averment of Neryôsangh himself argues against this opinion, so also does the scrupulous closeness with which he adheres to his original. Some of his mistakes are of such a kind that it is difficult to imagine how Neryôsangh could have committed them if he had consulted the original. Therefore we are forced, unless we have stronger proofs for it, to maintain the supposition that Neryôsangh has translated into Sanskrit a copy of the Pahlavî translation which differs in many but not in essential points from that which we know.

This much I have had to notice on Neryôsangh's copy of the Pahlavî version which he translated into Sanskrit; now I shall try to show how he executed his task. Therefore we have to look at his work from two different points of view; we have to see, firstly, what knowledge he possessed regarding the right understanding of the original text which he wished to translate; and, secondly, whether he was sufficiently master of the language into which he intended to translate his original. Before discussing what knowledge Neryôsangh possessed of the Pahlavî dialect, I must notice a peculiar circumstance which deserves attention, and which tends to render probable the supposition of those who are not well acquainted with the literary peculiarities of the Parsis, namely, that Neryôsangh could not have translated at all from the Pahlavî, and that he understood the word "Pahlavî" in some different way from the one employed by us. It is this the manner of reading the proper nouns which Neryôsangh only transcribes. They are most generally not the old Bactrian, not the Pahlavî forms, but throughout the Pâzand forms. He writes अहूर्मेज्द (Pâzand *ahurmezd*), or होर्मज्द (Pâz. *hîrmezd*), not Huzvânash *ahûmâ*, or Pahlavî *âuharmazd*; मिहिर (Pâz. *mihir*), not Pahl. *metró*; सहरेवर (Pâz. *sahrêvar*), and not Pahl. *shatvêrû*, or *shatvairû*;

अशुवाहित (Pâz. *ashvahist*), and not Huzv. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 (artavahesht), and so on. But this is not surprising, since Westergaard* has proved that Pâzand is nothing else but Pahlavî transcribed in later times, with the removal of all Semitic words. The Parsis must have been a long time accustomed to read the Pahlavî texts in Pâzand characters, without caring about the value of the different Pahlavî signs. If they found in the text, e. g. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 (anhômâ), they read it *hôrmezd*; instead of 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 (metrô) they read *mîtir* and so on. Therefore it is not at all surprising that Neryôsangh gave in his translation the Pâzand forms, although he translated from the Pahlavî.

Proceeding to the principal part of my inquiry, namely, as to what knowledge Neryôsangh possessed of the Pahlavî dialect, and how far he was acquainted with the traditional literature of his co-religionists, I have to remark that another work of his, namely, his translation of the Mainyô-i-khard,† from the Pâzand dialect, has already gained our highest respect. There is not the slightest doubt that Neryôsangh well understood the Mainyô-i-khard, and that, according to his qualifications, he has translated it quite correctly. To this translation of the Mainyô-i-khard that of the Khordah-Avestâ is closely related. Everywhere we see that Neryôsangh applies to each word a special meaning, and that he does not in translating alter the sense of the original. I have not the least hesitation in saying that Neryôsangh was a well learned man in his way, and that he possessed the traditional knowledge of his class in an uncommonly high degree.

For purposes of translation not only is there required the knowledge of the language from which the translation is to be made, but it is also necessary to be master, in the same or a higher degree, of that language into which the original is to be translated. Whether Neryôsangh mastered the Sanskrit language in a sufficient degree or not, is hard to say at first sight. It is true that his style seems to argue against such a knowledge, as many have often called the Sanskrit that he has written a barbarous one, and there can be no doubt that such is the case. But we ought not to be too ready to deduce consequences from that fact. We find an explanation of this barbarous Sanskrit in the

* Zand-Avestâ, Vol. I., Preface, page 20.

† The book of the Mainyô-i-khard. The Pâzand and Sanskrit texts, edited by Dr. E. W. West. London, 1871.

abovementioned remarks. Neryôsangh was a learned Parsî, who during his life was occupied with the study of the traditional translations of the holy writings of Zarathustra, receiving from them not only the subject of his essays, but also his manner of translating. The first principle of all translators of this school was to translate as literally as possible, taking care that not a single word of the text was omitted, and not caring at all whether thereby the language into which the translation was to be made, was wrongly interpreted. It is not difficult to show that the Pahlavî translators have also often done injustice to the language; there exist, besides, such barbarous translations of several parts of the Avestâ in the new Persian, although the educated Parsîs under the reign of the Moguls well knew how to write the new Persian. The same is still the case in our times; for the Gujarâthî translation of the Yasna by Aspendiarjî Framjî, published here in 1843, is so closely translated that natives themselves who speak Gujarâthî as their mother language find the translation in some parts quite difficult to understand. The cause of these errors in translating can be neither ignorance on the part of the translators nor of the readers; they are due to the notion concerning translating which prevailed in those days. To this school of translators Neryôsangh also belonged; he therefore cared little, whether the expressions and the figures of speech which he used answered exactly the rules of the Sanskrit grammar or not, when he was persuaded that he had translated his text as closely as possible. He is bound by this principle to follow the exact construction of his original; he observes this rule even if it be contrary to the rules of the Sanskrit syntax. Of course, the Sanskrit which Neryôsangh writes is, owing to the principle which guides the translator, difficult to understand, and it is very often necessary to re-translate it into the Pahlavî, or the Old Bactrian, in order to arrive at the proper sense.

But all this does not yet prove that Neryôsangh did not understand Sanskrit. Also in another point Neryôsangh is to be excused by his principle, namely, for his great neglect of the Indian rules of Sandhi. The Sanskrit and the Old Bactrian are herein quite contrary to each other. Whilst the Sanskrit intends to join together to one all the words within a sentence as completely as possible, the Old Bactrian separates them even exteriorly by a separating stroke. The Pahlavî, however, has no more this separating stroke, and the influence of one word upon the other is here also not allowed. According to the

rules of this language, Neryôsangh has also treated the Sanskrit. In my opinion, we ought therefore, as a general rule, to regard each word being not influenced by a following one, and the rules of Sandhi being not at all attended to. It seems therefore to me that notwithstanding the many defects of the translation which cannot be denied, Neryôsangh knew Sanskrit rather well, and that he could read Sanskrit writings without great difficulty. Particulars seem to prove that Neryôsangh was well versed in the literature of the *Jainas*, as there are to be found in his style some resemblances to the *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya*. We read, e. g. अनन्तर, चाकिनी, अद्भि and उद्वास which are only found in *Hemachandra*. I am inclined to limit Neryôsangh's learning in this respect to a certain ability to read Sanskrit writings; a deeper knowledge of the laws of this language is not to be attributed to him. Many of his new formations which he tried are failures, comp. उत्तमतर, बलिष्ठतर, उत्तमिनी; he is very liberal with denominatives, e. g. साधनय, समाधनयति, अनुरूपय, and so on. Neryôsangh uses the Sanskrit words generally only in one sense, and puts each Sanskrit word for a special Iranian one, it is only rare that he does not observe this rule. The meaning of the words which he chooses is not always the most common one, in some cases it is quite proper to him. Some examples out of many which are easy to collect will be sufficient to prove it. We find निर्मेह in the meaning of Pahl. 𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 (pâdefrûs), "punishment awarded to a soul after death"; स्वाधीन = Pahl. 𐭮𐭮𐭥 (napshman or nafshman) "one's self"; प्राण = Pahl. 𐭮𐭮𐭥 (zôr), Pers. زور means "strength, power, force," as well as Zand zaothra; देव is not "god," but Pahl. 𐭮𐭮𐭥 (shahahâ, more correct shaêdâ) "demon, devil"; कोमल Pahl. 𐭮𐭮𐭥 (narm) Pers. نرم "smooth, fine"; प्रतियत्न = Pahl. 𐭮𐭮𐭥 (pânak) "protection"; प्रकृति signifies "fargard," section, sometimes paragraph; जीव Pahl. 𐭮𐭮𐭥 (jân), Pers. جان "soul, vital spirit."

Here also Neryôsangh is not very scrupulous about the rules of Sanskrit, e. g. क्विचित् is used as a substantive, because it corresponds to the Pahlavi 𐭮𐭮𐭥 (mandûm, mendum) "things, goods"; प्रवृत्ति has the place of Pahlavi 𐭮𐭮𐭥 (robashna) "walking, going," and therefore of the termination tât in the Old Bactrian. It even seems that he does not always draw from the stock of Sanskrit words, as some of the

words which he uses are not to be found elsewhere. To these belongs the word टालयति "he beats," and the derived words टालना "beating," टालयिता "beater"; एकहेलया in one and the same manner, लय्य "piece." Neryôsangh is not to be blamed because he preferred to express Persian ideas by new words than to transcribe them only approximately by common ones, although he chooses sometimes the latter means, when he, e. g. translates Pahl. 𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩 (quanirás), Zand *quaniratha* with कञ्जुहीप, or when he, e. g. for Huzv. 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩 (yazd) introduced the word ईअजद्, or इअजद्, for *koshnumen* the word कञ्जुमनिः, for *hervad* एर्वद्, for *nirang* निरञ्ज, and so on. Not unfrequently Neryôsangh joins Sanskrit and Old Bactrian words in one, e. g. बेरेस्मदान, प्रपादान where the last part is the derived Pahlavî suffix 𐭩𐭮𐭩 (dân), Pers. 𐭥𐭩, or उचमदान, सुदानि, where *dâna*, *dâni* ought to answer the Pahlavî 𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭩 (dândk), Pers. 𐭥𐭩𐭮 "wise, learned."

I have already noticed that the desire of translating as literally as possible has often seduced Neryôsangh to grammatical structures which are contrary to the spirit of the Sanskrit language. The Sanskrit which he writes is to be compared in many cases with our Dog-Latin of the Middle Ages, compare expressions like समाननेवेद् for "although," व्यावृत्त्य "again," ऋते अन्नवीत् "he resigned," अन्वया तिष्ठामि = Pahl. 𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭩𐭮𐭩 "I fall down," अव्यया आसीत् "he went back, retired." Also the construction of sentences is often more Iranian than Sanskrit, e. g., the use of the relative pronouns, comp. टालनां यां, किञ्चित् यत् ते, and many others. It is plain that the writer is accustomed to the modern uninflected languages of the East; he very often omits to make the adjective agree with the substantive in the same case, and the predicate with the verb, comp. some instances as गृहे बद् होर्मङ्गीयं, मनसा अवृद्ध्यं उचमं, सुसखः भवन्ति. The reasons for these mistakes are to be found in the syntax of the new Persian or of the Gujarâthi language. Another circumstance which very often renders the sentences quite difficult to understand is this that Neryôsangh puts those words in the genitive case which are marked with the *idhâfat* in the Pahlavî translation. Very often Neryôsangh does not distinguish quite correctly the meaning of the Pahlavî preposition 𐭥𐭩𐭮 (frâz), and uses therefore the Instrumentalis where, according to the rules of the Sanskrit, the Locative is to be put. Whilst these mistakes are committed

by him, on account of his insufficient knowledge of the Sanskrit grammar, there are also many which prove his insufficient understanding of the original text.

Neryôsangh, *e. g.*, is unable to distinguish the 3rd person singular present from the 2nd person plural present and imperative. Of course, these persons are written in Pahlavi (𐬨) in the same way, but not read; the termination of the former is read *ít*, that of the latter *ét*, Neryôsangh knows only the former, and translates it, he even furnishes us with an absurd rendering. For we are mistaken, if we think that Neryôsangh considered it necessary that his translation had to give always a proper sense. In Pahlavi abstract nouns as well as verbal substantives are formed by the termination of 𐬨𐬀 (*isān*) or 𐬨𐬀𐬀 (*isāno*). Neryôsangh is well aware of this, but he has not always observed these two possibilities as he ought to have done.

After all it is not saying too much when we state that Neryôsangh's language is a jargon. Yet it is not an unlimited jargon, but one regulated by fixed rules, which it is therefore easy to understand, possessing the clue to it through the Pahlavi translation, and the laws of the Iranian language, by which it is to be understood.

The knowledge of the laws of the Sanskrit language is not sufficient for understanding Neryôsangh's writings, and a critic of his work regarding only these, and not the other deciding factors, is partial as well as unjust.

Finally I have to say some words about the three MSS. upon which my essay is founded. The oldest and best MS. (A) belongs to Dastur Jamaspji, the date is given in the *Nikáh*, or marriage-prayer *संवत्सरेषु चतुर्दशशतेषु*, *i. e.*, in Samvat 1400=1342-43 A. D. In order to show the high antiquity of the MS., and the peculiarity of the Zand characters which are not to be found elsewhere, I subjoin here a photograph of the last part of the *Patet Áderbát*, or a formulary of confession, which answers exactly the Buddhist *Pátimokkha*, or "the words of disburdenment." The MS. contains the *ashem vohú*, the *yathá ahú vairyó*, the *Hóma*, *Hormazd*, *Haptán*, *Ardibahist*, *Khordád*, *Ábán*, *Khurshéd*, *Máh*, *Tír*, *Gosht*, *Mihir*, *Srúsh Hádókht*, *Rashnu*, *Fravardín*, *Behrám*, *Rám*, *Dín*, *Ashi*, *Ashtád*, *Zamyád*, *Vanant*, *Afrín-i-Paighambar Zaratusht*, and *Vistúsp-yashts*, the *Patet Áderbát*, the *Nikáh*, or marriage-prayer, and some small fragments of different prayers. Of the other

two remaining MSS., one (B) belongs again to Dastur Jamaspji; it is dated Yazdagird 1142=A. D. 1773, and the other (C) belonging to Dastur Peshotun is, according to the Persian colophon at the end, a copy of Dastur Jamaspji's MS. B., and is dated Yazdagird 1152=A. D. 1783, therefore ten years younger than MS. B. In consulting these MSS. I arrived at the conviction that the case is the same with Neryôsangh's MSS. as with other Pâzand MSS., namely, that all contain essentially the same text. More important modifications are seldom met with, but striking similarities of special mistakes. Several erroneous forms of writing are found in all the MSS. that, *e. g.*, *r* is joined to *g*, when *r* precedes it immediately, comp. बुर्मेति, निर्मेनिन्, मार्मे, and that स and ष are changed most indistinctly, comp. सीत्रं and शीत्रं, तेजस्विन् and तेजस्विन् and सीक्षापित and शीक्षापित, and सुभं and शुभं, and so on.

Regarding the life and times of Neryôsangh little is known. According to the generally accepted tradition of the Parsis, Neryôsangh was the leader of the Parsis emigrating from Persia to India, and the learned Dastur who explained to king Jâdê Râna of Sañjana* the Mazdayasnian religion in fifteen (so-called) ślokas,† and who consecrated the

* This may have been Jayadeva or Vanarāja of *Ānahallavâdd-Pattan*, who ruled in Gujarât A. D. 745—806.

† These 15 (so-called) ślokas form the oldest documents relating to the Parsis in India, and it is much to be regretted that the Sanskrit text as found in all the MSS. at my disposal is very corrupt. The Sanskrit text published in Gujarâthī characters by Aspandīrjī Kâmdīnī of Bharoch in his "Kâdīm Târikh Pârshionī Kasâr," Surat, 1826, pp. 129—146, is not worthy of being looked at. I give at present only the first śloka, as I, expecting better MSS., hope to be able to publish the whole very soon.

सूर्ये ध्यायन्ति ये वै हुतवहमनिलं भूमिमाकाशमायं तोयेषां पञ्चत्वं त्रिभुवनसदनं न्यायि-
ष्मन्त्रैस्त्रिसन्ध्यां श्रीहोर्मज्दं सुरेशं बहुगुणगदिमाणं तमेकं कृपालुं गौरा धीराः सुधीरा बहुबल-
निलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥ १ ॥

"They who thrice a day worship the sun, the elemental five—fire, wind, earth ether, water,—the three worlds through the *Nâyish mantras*, and the divine *Ahurô mazdâo*, the chief of the *suras* (or angels), the highly endowed, the exalted, the merciful one, are we, the fair, the bold, the valiant, the athletic, the Parsis."

The five *Nâyish mantras* or praises are devoted to the Sun (*Khurshêd*), the Angel of the Sun (*Mithra, mihir*), the Moon (*Mâh*), Waters (*Ābân*), and Fire (*Ātaeh*). The prayers addressed to the Sun and Mithra, are to be repeated thrice a day by every pious Parsi. Habitual neglect prevents the soul from passing the bridge *Chinvad* after death. Thrice every month the praise addressed to the Moon is absolutely necessary. The repetition of the praise of the Waters and Fire is meritorious, but not so indispensable as that of the three other *Nâyish mantras*.

first *Ātish-Bahrām* (fire-temple) at Sañjana in Saṃvat 777=A. D. 720, and Yazdagird 87. But historical records for the exactness of this date are still wanting. The high antiquity of the MS. A. and the style of Sanskrit which Neryōsangh uses prove as distinctly as possible that he lived before the twelfth century of our era.*

I think it not necessary to speak more at length of the use which the so recent explanation of the Avestā can take from this translation. It is only through the acquaintance with Neryōsangh that the scientific researches into the Avestā have come to light, and how far they are indebted to him, every body knows who has attentively studied the writings of Burnouf, Spiegel, and Haug. The large extension which the study of Parsiism at present has occupied, will more increase than diminish its value. Much of the blame directed against him in former days is undeserved by him, but well merited by the whole exegetic school, the pupil of which he was. The exegetic value of his translations, of which we have already had proofs, will be more increased by the value of his translation of the Khordah-Avestā, which is an admirable memorial of the mental training of the Parsis of former days.

Before concluding this essay, we may give to-day as a specimen of the MSS. the Zand text (I.), the Pahlavī (II.), and Sanskrit translations (III.) of the *Ahuna-vairyā* formula, the most sacred prayer of the Zarathustrians; for I hope to publish very soon Neryōsangh's Sanskrit translation of the whole Khordah-Avestā.

I.

(a) || 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎

(b) || 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎

(c) || 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎

(a) Yathâ ahû vairyô | athâ ratuš ashâd chîd hâchâ||

(b) Vanheus dazdâ mananhô | skyaothnanâm anhôus mazdâi||

(c) Kshathremchâ ahurâi â | yim dregubhyô dadad vâstârem||

* See, however, Haug's pamphlet "On the present state of Zand Philology," p. 6, note, who places him in the fifteenth century, which date Dr. E. West adopted in his edition of the 'Mainyô-i-khard,' Lond. 1871, page X., in his II. ed. of Haug's 'Essays,' Lond. 1878, page 55, and in his 'Pahlavî Texts,' I., Oxford, 1880, page 196.

II.

(a) Chīgūn akhvu kâmak va chīgūn Aûharzmazd kâmak aētūnō ratyīsh va aētūnō frârūnyīsh min yashrâish kâr va karpak chikâmchâi kâr va karpak aētūnō frârūnyīsh kartanō chīgūn Aûharmazd kâmak.

(b) Zakīh Vohūman daheshnō âigh zak muzd-pâtdaheshnōi vohūman yehabūnēd az valman yehabūnēd mūn yin akhvânō kūneshnō i Aûharmazd âigh zak vādūnyen Aûharmazd avâtō. Aitō mūn aētūnō yemalelūnēd âi zakīh avu Vohūman daheshnō âigh zak muzd [va] pâtdaheshnō avu Vohūman yehabūnd az valman ghu yehabūnd. Aitō mūn aētūnō yemalelūnēd âi zakīh pavan Vohūmano daheshnō âigh zak muzd-pâtdaheshnō pavan Vohūman barâ yehabūnd az valman yehabūnd. Ai Atrōpâti Zartoshtānu gūft âigh min akhvânō kūnashn-par yin khavitūnd.

(c) Khutâê avu Aûharmazd âighash khutâih aētūnō pavan sūt i Aûharmazd dâsht yehevūnēd mūn val daryōshân yehabūnēd vâstar âighshân dâtagūbīh vādūnyen. Nipistō chasrūsh-âmrūtīk gū-beshnō.

III.

यथा स्वामिनः कामः । किल यथा अहुर्मज्जाभिलाषः । एवं आदेशः^१ पुण्यान् वस्मान् कस्माच्चित् । किल यत् किञ्चित् कार्यं पुण्यं तस्य तथा आदेशः^२ कर्तुम् । यथा अहुर्मज्जस्य रोचते नाऽन्यथा किं विशिष्टात् पुण्यात् ॥ a

उत्तमस्य हाता^३ मनसः कर्मणां अन्तर्भूवने अहुर्मज्जस्य । किल तं पुण्यं प्रसारं उत्तममनः । इति गुह्यमनः आमिषस्य अंहः । नो ददाति तेभ्यो ये अन्तस्तस्मिन् कर्मणि स्वामित्वं च यत् अहुर्मज्जस्य रोचते ॥ b

राज्यं च अहुर्मज्जात् तस्य । किल तेन अहुर्मज्जः स्वतनो राजा कृतो भवति । यः दुर्बलेभ्यो ददाति पालनम् । किल दुर्बलानां साहाय्यं च करोति ॥ c

My translation of this prayer is as follows :

“ As' he (*Zarathustra*) is the best Ruler, so also justly (*the best*) spiritual guide,

Being the commander of the works of the pious* in (*this*) life according to Mazda's order :

The power, however, remains to Ahura, who has given him (*Zarathustra*) as a protector for the poor.”

^१ आदेशः B. C. ^२ हाते B. C.

* i. e. of the works which the pious have to do; literally, “ of the works done out of pious devotion.”

The sense is : Zarathustra is the best spiritual guide, as he has established the moral laws for mankind, acting according to the divine commandment, for all power comes from Aburamazda, and Zarathustra is merely his servant upon earth. This interpretation of the text explains fully the eminent importance which the *Ahuna-vairya* formula has in the religious as well as in the social life of the Parsis from the earliest times till now, as it contains in short and clear words the foundation of the whole Mazdayasnian doctrine, namely, the divine mission of its founder, and Mazda's kingdom upon earth.

ART. V.—*New Copper-plate Grants of the Râshtrakûta Dynasty.*

By PAṆDIT BHAGWÂN LÂL INDRAJÎ.

No. I.

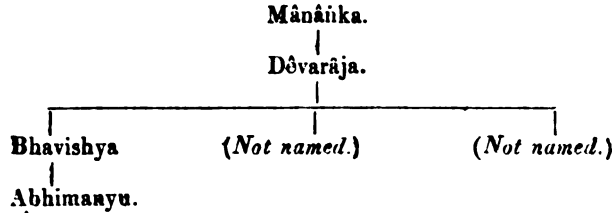
THE present inscription is from some copper-plates that were in the late Dr. Bhau Dâji's collection, and were kindly placed at my disposal for publication by his son, Mr. Vithal Bhau, District Judge of Nausâri. There is no information as to where the original plates were found. They are three in number, each about $5\frac{1}{4}$ " long by $2\frac{1}{4}$ " broad. As usual, the writing begins on the inner side of the first plate, and ends on the inner side of the third plate. The plates are strung on a ring which passes through a hole in the middle of the margin lengthwise. The ring is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It has a flat oval top, on which there is engraved a rude figure of a lion, facing to the proper right. The ring had been cut before the grant came into my hands. The letters are like those of the fifth century A. D.; and they resemble those of the Valabhî plates. The language is Sanskrit throughout,—partly prose, and partly verse.

This set of plates records the grant of the village of Uṇḍikavâtikâ, to a recluse named Japîbhâra, on behalf of the god Dakshinâ-Sîva of Pethapaṅgaraka. The name Dakshinâ-Sîva was probably given to the god on account of the temple being on the south side of Pethapaṅgaraka. The grantee, Japîbhâra, must have been a *Pûsupata* recluse in charge of the temple; and his name was probably given to him on account of the great quantity of his matted hair.

The grantor is a Kâshtrakûta king named Abhimanyu. And it is recorded that he made the grant in the presence of a certain Jayasingha or Jayasinha, the chastiser of Harivatsa-Kotta. Jayasinha appears to have been some high officer of Abhimanyu, raised in position on account of his having chastised a Kotta chief named Harivatsa,—an opponent, it would seem, of Abhimanyu. This shows that there were Kotta chiefs at least as late as about the fifth century A. D.²

² See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 220.

The genealogy of Abhimanyu is given as below :—



The first, Mānānka, is described as being “an ornament of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.” As such an expression is never applied except to one who belongs by birth to the particular dynasty spoken of, there can be no manner of doubt that Mānānka was by birth a Rāshṭrakūṭa king. No historical information is given in respect of either him or his son Dēvarāja. As regards the three sons of Dēvarāja, we are told that “they conquered in battle their haughty enemies, and thus became possessed of royal fortune and of the earth,” *i. e.* the dominions of their conquered foes; this shows that they fought with some hostile king or kings, and enlarged their territory by conquest. The names of two of them are not given. The name of the third was Bhavishya; but there is nothing to show whether he was the eldest or the youngest or the middle one of the three. His son was Abhimanyu, who made the grant from the city of Mānapura.

This inscription supplies several quite new names in the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. It is a matter of regret that the inscription is undated, and that therefore,—the names of these kings not being previously known, and the Jayasīma and Harivatsa, who are mentioned, not being at present capable of particular identification,—we have nothing but the standard of the letters to help us to fix an approximate date. The standard type of letters varied at the same time in different parts of the country, and therefore does not furnish grounds for fixing the date of a grant with anything like exactness. But I think that the characters of this grant are of about the fifth century A. D.; and, if I am right on this point, it follows that these were kings anterior to those of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty who have been hitherto known to us. Mānapura, the city from which the grant was issued, looks very much like the Mānyakhêṭa of somewhat later times. And, as *khêṭa* is generally used to denote ‘a small town,’ the name of Mānyakhêṭa might easily be altered into Mānapura, for the purpose of indicating or magnifying the importance of the place. But we already have a

complete and continuous list of Râshtrakûta kings of Mân्यakhêta from Dhruva I. to Karka III., i. e. from about Śaka 570 (A. D. 648-9) to Śaka 895 (A. D. 973-4),—a list in which it seems hardly possible to insert any fresh names. And this fact, coupled with the early standard of the characters, forces us to the conclusion that the kings mentioned in this inscription must have been anterior to any of the Râshtrakûtas spoken of above. It is to be regretted that nothing is known as to the place where this grant was found; as such information might have helped us materially in elucidating the surroundings of these kings as well as in identifying the places referred to in the grant. These kings may either be ancestors of the Râshtrakûtas of Mân्यakhêta, or may belong to some hitherto unknown branch of the same dynasty. But, in either case, these kings were certainly earlier than the Râshtrakûtas of Mân्यakhêta.

One point in which the present grant differs from all the previously known Râshtrakûta grants remains to be noticed. The usual Râshtrakûta seal has a Garuḍa on it; while the seal of the present grant has a lion. But this appears to me capable of explanation. In some of the later grants the Râshtrakûtas are represented as being descendants of the Yādava stock, and thus as belonging to the Vishṇuvaiṣa or lineage of Vishṇu. This, however, appears to me to be a comparatively late invention. And it is quite possible that the original emblem of a lion was altered into the emblem of Garuḍa, the mark of the Vishṇuvaiṣa, simply to suit this invention. It is also noticeable that this inscription does not open with the usual verse in praise of Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Śiva, with which almost all the Râshtrakûta copper-plate grants hitherto published do open. But this point, again, is not of sufficient force to show that the Râshtrakûtas of this inscription had no connection whatever with the other Râshtrakûtas, but were of an entirely different branch.

TRANSCRIPTION.

First Plate.

- [1] Ôm Svasti Anêka-guṇa-gaṇ-alankrîta-yaśasâ
 [2] Râshtrakû(kû)ṭanâ[m*] tilaka-bhûtô Mânûka iti rājâ
 [3] babhûva [11*] Tasya vîgrahavân=iva dōva-rājâ(jô) Dēva-
 [4] rāj=ê(ja i)ti sūnuḥ [11*] Yasy=anya-bhûmîpatîbhîr=vvijit-âbhi-
 [5] mānair=uchchhrâyi-vaiśa-nihitâ ssva(sva)-yaśah-pa-

* This is rather a nondescript letter, more like ni than bhî. Probably ni was engraved and then corrected into bhî.

Second Plate ; first side.

- [⁶] tākā dri(dri)śhṭā chiram pratidinam nanu driśyatō cha
 [⁷] Gaṅg=ōva punya(nya)-salilā purataḥ=pravṛiddhāḥ³ [11*]
 Tasy=ātma-
 [⁸] jā jita-ripôr=vvijita-tṛi(tri)varggā jâtās=trayas=sakala-
 [⁹] rājaka-bhûminâthâḥ yais=saṅgarèshu samupâtta-ma-
 [¹⁰] dâ[n*] sapatnâ[n*] jivâ hṛitâ saha bhuvâ vipula-nṛipa-
 śri[h*] [11*]
 [¹¹] Têshâ[m*] Bhavishyasya sutô=Bhimanyuḥ

Second Plate ; second side.

- [¹²] śauryy-ô(au)ja-rûpais=sadṛisô=Bhimanyuḥ⁴ [11*] Tēna Māna-
 [¹³] puram=adhyāsanēn=ālaṅkurvvatâ mâtâpitṛôḥ=pu-
 [¹⁴] nya-nimitt-âbhivṛiddhayê Pethapaṅgarakīya-Dakshina-
 [¹⁵] Śivasya Uṇḍikavâṭikâ-nâma-grâmakô Jaṭâbhâra-
 [¹⁶] pravrajitasya udaka-pûrvvakô dattaḥ [11*] Atra na kêna-
 [¹⁷] chin=[n*]irvyâjah karttavyaḥ [11*]

Third Plate.

- [¹⁸] Hârî(ri)vatsa-Koṭṭa-nigraha(hi)-Jayasiṅgha-samaksham [11*]
 [¹⁹] Anyach=cha [11*] Buhubhir=vvasudhâ bluktâ rajabhiḥ Sagar-
 âdibhi[h*]
 [²⁰] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [11*]
 sha-
 [²¹] śhṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggô môdati bhûmi-dah
 [²²] âchchhôtâ ch=ānumantâ cha tāny=ōva narakô vase[t*] [11*]

Translation.

Ôm! Hail! There was a king named Mânûka, an ornament of the Râshṭrakûṭas by reason of his glory which was adorned with numberless good qualities.

(L. 3).—His son was named Dêvarâja, a very king of the gods⁵ incarnate. The banner of his glory, resting on a high staff which is his lofty lineage, has been long observed and is (still) day by day observed,—as if it were the (river) Gaṅgâ, with its pure stream, increasing in its onward course,—by other kings, shorn of their vanity.

³ This *risaṅga* is a mistake.

⁴ This is a verse of only two *pâdas*.

⁵ Indra.

(L. 7.)—To him, who had conquered his enemies, there were born three sons, the masters of the *trivarga*, (and) the lords of all kings,—who, having conquered in battle their haughty enemies, became possessed of great royal fortune and of the earth.

(L. 11.)—The son of Bhavishya, among them, (*was*) Abhimanyu, who was equal to Abhimanyu on account of his valour and might and beauty.

(L. 12.)—By him, adorning Mânapura by his residence (*therein*), there is given, with libations of water, in order to increase the religious merit of his parents, the village named Uṇḍikavâtikâ, to the recluse Jaṭabhâra, (*on behalf*) of (*the god*) Dakṣiṇa-Śiva of Pethapaṅgaraka. No one should object without reason to this.⁶

(L. 18.)—(*This grant has been made*) in the presence of Jayasiṅgha, the chastiser of the Koṭṭa Harivatsa.

(L. 19.)—Moreover :—The earth has been possessed by many kings, Sagara and others ; he who possesses it at any particular time, to him accrues the fruit (*of the grant*) ! The giver of land lives happily in heaven for sixty thousand years ; he who revokes a grant, or advises the revocation, lives in hell for the same number of years.

⁶ *Nirvâṇa* appears to be used here in the sense of 'an objection without cause.' Compare the usual construction *nirvâṇam âbâdhâ na kartavyâ*.

ART. VI.—*Some Rare Coins of Amawec Khuleefchs.* By
 Surgeon-Major O. CODRINGTON, M.D., M.R.A.S.

[Read 10th April 1883.]

AN interesting discovery of coins and some other ancient remains was made by Colonel Sturt, 7th Bombay N. I., in August last, at the hill of "Nadir Shah," the site of a city of that name, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Thull Chotali, in Beluchistan, of which he gives the following account:—"The hill, which is on the site of the ancient city of Nadir Shah, is about 100 feet in height, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile in circumference at the base, and about 100×60 yards at the top. It is generally conical in form, but there are several spurs and fissures; one of the latter on the south side is of considerable depth, the sides being perpendicular and full of holes and caves formed by the action of water. The sides of these fissures show no defined strata, but are earth mixed with quantities of broken pottery, bones of various animals and broken bricks. As the hill rises abruptly from a stony plain, and consists of soil (which has apparently been burnt), bones which are not only strewn over the surface but are embedded in the hill, together with great quantities of broken pottery, I am inclined to believe, as the natives assert, that it was made at some distant period. Others state that the city of Nadir Shah was overthrown by an earthquake, and this hill appeared on the site, but the city must have been much larger, as is evidenced by the quantity of broken pottery and bricks extending for a considerable distance from the hill. It is possible that the hill was made in the first instance, and substantial buildings erected on the top, and that these were destroyed by an earthquake and never rebuilt, otherwise it would be difficult to account for the stones, which are of a considerable size, and must have been brought from some distance, found scattered about the hill and in the nullahs.

"After a heavy shower of rain I went to examine the hill, and found a place from which an earthen jar had recently been taken out, but it was broken to pieces, and the contents, if any, were taken away. On searching the west side I found two similar jars, but they were both empty and so cracked that it was impossible to get them away

whole. The next day I went again, and at the bottom of a hole and close to one of these large jars I found the bottom of a small earthen gurrah or pot, and in it were massed together the coins, 215 in number. We dug out the large jar, but it was empty, as were several others we dug up. I however found the small earthen pot, the two pieces of bracelets I now send, and two pieces of copper or brass, one round, about 3 inches in diameter and cup-shaped, probably the boss of a shield, and the other probably the inside handle of a shield. No coins have ever before been found in the hill, but there were some gold rings and ornaments, it is said, found some time ago, and a large number of coins (2 lakhs, so the story goes,) were found in a similar hill about 14 miles up the valley, but they were melted down, so there is no record of what they were like.

“That both the coins and the large jars are very old there can be no doubt, for the inhabitants have lost the art of making the latter, and there are now none in use here; they were all, with one exception, in an upright position, which might indicate that they were put there.”

124 of the coins were sent to me for examination, all of them, excepting one 'Abbássee of Samarkand, dated 201, were dirhems of Amawee Khaleefehs, of dates from 80 to 132, and as will be seen by the following list, from 19 mints.

ABRASHAHR.

Year 106. بابر شهر سنة ست و مئة
 Annulets oo oo oo oo oo
Weight 44.

ARDESHEER-KHURRAH.

Year 91. A broken coin similar to No. 44 of Brit. Mus. Cat.* of the year 90.


ISTAKHR.

Year 98. A broken coin similar to No. 53 of Brit. Mus. Cat.
 Point. Rev. الصود Weight 44.

BASRAH.

80, 81, 82, and 100. Similar to Nos. 63, 64, 65, 66 of Brit.
 | also with point on reverse. الصود

BALK.

- Year 115. (Fig. 9.) ببالغ سنة خمس عشرة ومئة
 Annulets  with the monogram $\frac{1}{2}$ between each.
 Point Rev. الصدف
 Pellet beneath reverse area. Weight 44.

TEYMERAH.

- Year 90. Similar to No. 69, Brit. Mus. Cat. Weight 43.5.

JEZEEREH.

- Year 131. (Fig. 8.) Similar to No. 72, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 129.
 The annulets being between the 2nd and 3rd serrate circle. Weight 43.

JAYY.

- Year 94. Similar to No. 79, Brit. Mus. Cat., but with points
 obverse وحدة and reverse الصدف Weight 44.

DESTUWÁ.

- Year 98. Similar to No. 83, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 96. Weight 42.

DIMASHK.

- Years 83, 86, 89, 94, 95, 98. Similar to Nos. 88, 91, 94, 99, 100,
 103 of Brit. Mus. Cat.

- Year 104. Similar to No. 108. Brit. Mus. Cat.
 but points Obv. ضرب Rev. الصدف Weight 44.

RÂMURMUZ.

- Year 93. (Fig. 7.) Similar to No. 118, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 80,
 but the Conj. و in its usual position at the end of second line of reverse
 area. Weight 43.5.

RAYY.

- Year 97. (Fig. 6.) Similar to No. 120, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 90,
 but with point Rev. area. يولب Weight 43.

SIJISTÁN.

- Year 91. (Fig. 5.) بسیستان فی سنة احدى وتسعين
 Annulets very small and indistinct.

A coil of four rings on obverse and of two rings on reverse instead of distinct circles. Many of the letters ill-shaped and badly cut.

Weight 42.

Year 127. (Fig. 4). **سجستان سنة سبع وعشرين و مة**

Annulets 

Two circles within and two outside of the annulets.

Point **الصوب**. Letters clearer and better shaped {than on the coin of year 91, but yet inferior to those of any others of this series.

Weight 42.5.

Year 130. (Fig. 3.) **سجستان سنة ثلاثين و مة**

Annulets 

A coil of three rings on obverse with the annulets on the rings, and a circle outside. Some of the letters ill-formed.

Weight 42.

I have noticed this inferiority in workmanship in coins of other years of this mint. Every letter, line and point is usually so very exact in this series that this is more remarkable.

KARMÁN.

Year 92. Similar to No. 142, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 90.

Point Rev. **لم** in second line.

Weight 41.

MÁHEE.

Year 98. Similar to No. 154, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 96.

Point Obv. **لا اله**

Weight 44.5.

MUBÁRAKEH.

Year 108. Similar to No. 155, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Point Rev. **لم**

Weight 44.


MARW.

Year 92. Similar to No. 158, Brit. Mus. Cat.

1. Rev. **الصوب**

Weight 44.

2.) **بمرو سنة اثنين و ثلاثين و مة**



Rev. **لم** in second line.

Weight 43.

MENÁDHIR.

Year 93. (Fig. 2.) Similar to No. 163, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Point Rev. الصمد

Weight 45.

WÁSIṬ.

Year 85. As No. 171, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Seven specimens struck from at least three different dies. One kind having Points Rev. لم and يكن one point Rev. الصمد the third with no points.

Year 86. As No. 172, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Five specimens struck from two dies. On one point Rev. لم on other points Rev. الصمد

Year 87. As No. 173, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Two specimens struck from two dies, one having points Obv. لله and Rev. لم the other no points.

Years 89, 92, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 111. All similar to the coins of those years in Brit. Mus. Cat., but on each is a point Rev. الصمد

Years 101, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121. Similar to coins of these years in Brit. Mus. Cat., but with point لم in second line of reverse.

Years 112, 118, 122, 124, 130. Quite similar to Brit. Mus. Cat. of corresponding years.

Year 114. Four specimens similar to No. 196, Brit. Mus. Cat., but without the points at عشرة

Year 120.

Two specimens with annulets ○ ○ ○ .

Circles on obverse in the usual position, three within and one outside of the annulets. Point Rev. second line لم

Three specimens similar to No. 202, Brit. Mus. Cat., that is with five annulets placed between the second and third circles.

In addition to the above coins found at Thull Chotali, I have two other Amawee Khaleefeh dirhems to describe, viz.,

MEYSÁN.

Year 79. بميسان في سنة تسع و سبعين

The و following بلد on Rev. area commences the third line.

Points. Rev. كفوا يولد

Annulets o o o o o. AR 1·0. Weight 40.

KOOMIS.

Year 92. (Fig. 1.) بقومس في سنة اثنين وتسعين

Point. Rev. Area. يولد

Annulets o o o o o.

(Pierced.) AR 1·05. Weight 43·5.

I am indebted to Lieut.-Colonel W. F. Prideaux for information of both of these mints. Meysán is a place situated between El-Basrah and El-Koofeh, mentioned in Yákut's Geographical Dictionary, tom. IV. p. ۷۱۴. Koomis is a place near Baghdad mentioned in the same work, tom. IV., p. ۲۰۳. The dirhem of Meysán is in the collection of Dr. DaCunha, and I believe Mr. Leggett of Karachi has another. That of Koomis I got from a money-changer in Bombay; I think Mr. Rodgers has another specimen.

Rare Coins of Amawee Khalifehs



AHMAD SHÁH, A.H. 825—838.

No. 3. (Fig. 3.)

Obv.—

ابوالمظفر
احمد شاه
السلطان

Rev.—

المطبع
المتان
بامر الله
Size, .7; weight, 122.

No. 4. (Fig. 4.)

Obv.—

ابوالمغازي
احمد شاه السلطان
۸۲۸

Rev.—

المنصور
بنصرالله
المتان
Size, .65; weight, 78.

No. 5.

Obv.—

* * *
ابوالمغازي
احمد شاه السلطان
۸۳۶ * * *

Rev.—

المويد
بنصرالله
[الملك المتان]
Size, .75; weight, 122.

Other dates ۸۲۶ ۷۲۸

The inscription in upper part of obverse is illegible, and the last line of reverse is doubtful, but little of the letters being on the coin.

No. 6. (Fig. 6.)

Obv.—

ابوالمظفر
احمد شاه
السلطان

Rev.—

الراجي
الرحمن
بتأييد
[۸]۲۷
Size, .8; weight, 166.

One coin of this type has the date very distinctly ۸۶۶, but I have no doubt this is a mistake in the figures, the second one being reversed ۲. Errors of this sort in the figures are not at all uncommon on Oriental coins, and none is more often seen than this confusion of ۲ and ۶. The obverse, it will be seen, is almost exactly the same as No. 3, and the character of the letters and form of legend are like those of this dynasty.

'ALĀ-UD-DĪN (AḤMAD II.), A.H. 838—862.

No. 7. (Fig. 5.)

Obv.—

سلطان
احمد شاه بن احمد
بن الحسن البهمني
۸۳۷

Rev.—

المستوثق
بالله الجبار
المتان الغالب

Size, .95 ; weight, 248.

This coin, which is in the collection of Dr. Da Cunha, bears the date quite plainly 837, that is, during the reign of Aḥmad I., for the date of his death is known to have been the 28th day of Rujub, A.H. 838. But the legend on the obverse, Aḥmad, son of Aḥmad, son of Hasan, leads me to attribute it to Aḥmad II., for Aḥmad I. was the son of Daud, who never I think was called by the name Aḥmad.

No. 8. (Fig. 7.)

Obv.—

علا الدنيا و
الدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه
شاه السلطان
۸۴۶

Rev.—

• • •
المعتصم
بالله المتان صمي
خليل الرحم
ابوالمظفر

Size, 9 ; weight, 249.

There is a word at the top of reverse, but not enough of the letters on any specimens I have seen to enable me to make it out.

No. 9. (Fig. 8.)

Obv.—

احمد شاه
بن احمد شاه
الولي البهمني
۸۳[۵]

Rev.—Area, in circle—

المعوكل
علي الله الغني

Margin ضرب • • • اباد

Other dates, ۸۴۳ ۸۵۴

Size, .8 ; weight, 153.

No. 10. (Fig. 9.)

Obv.—

احمد
شاه بن احمد
شاه بهمشاه
٨٤٦

Rev.—

الوائق
بنائيد الملك الشاه (?)
ابوالمظفر

Size, .75 ; weight, 123 to 127.

Other dates ٨٣٨ ٨٣٦ ٨٤٠ ٨٤٣ ٨٤٤ ٨٤٧ ٨٥١ ٨٥٤

These seem to be the commonest coins of Alá-ud-dín, and are found in considerable numbers.

No. 11. (Fig. 10.)

Obv.—

احمد شاه
بن احمد شاه
بهمني
٨٤٤ *

Rev.—

بالله
المستنصر
الغني ابر
المظفر

Size, .65 ; weight, 83.

Specimens of the last three coins, (Nos. 9, 10 and 11), are figured in the Society's Journal, Vol. VI., Plate IXb. They were found in a stone pot excavated by Mr. E. W. West in No. 13, Kanheri Cave, and are described as appearing but little worn, and covered on both sides with well-defined Arabic inscriptions, which differ in each coin, though all three bear the date 844. In another pot were found at the same time two Guzerat copper coins of about the same age.

HUMÁYUN SHAH, A.H. 862—865.

No. 12. (Fig. 11.)

Obv.—

* * *
همايون شاه بن احمد
شاه بن احمد شاه
الولي البهمني
٨٦٥

Rev.—

المذكول
علي الله القوي
الغني ابوالمغازي

There are three sizes of coin of this type weighing respectively 246, 165 and 122 grains. Sizes, .9, .75, .7.

MUHAMMAD SHAH II., A.H. 867—887.

No. 13. (Fig. 12.)

Obv.—

محمد شاه
بن همايون شاه
السلطان
٨٨٥

Rev.—

بالله
المعتصم
شمس الدنيا
والدين

Other dates, ٨٧١ ٨٧٢ ٨٧٣ ٨٧٥ ٨٧٦ ٨٧٧ ٨٧٨ ٨٧٩ ٨٨٠
٨٨٢ and ٨٢٨ (sic.) ٨٢٥. (sic.).

I have seen four sizes of coin of this kind, weighing 258, 168½,
122½ and 83 grains.

Sizes, .85, .75, .65.

MAHMUD SHAH II., A. H. 887—928.

No. 14.

Obv.—

محمود شاه
بن محمد شاه
السلطان
٨٩٠

Rev.—

المفوكل علي
الله الجبار العنان
المغازي

Other dates ٨٨٨ ٨٨٩

Size, 75; weight, 255.

No. 15. (Fig. 13.)

Obv.—

محمود شاه
بن محمد شاه
بهمني

Rev.—

المفوكل علي
الله القوي
الغني

There are many varieties of this coin bearing the same inscriptions, without dates. I have seen three sizes, viz. :—

Sizes, .8, .75, .55; weights 232, 168, 85.

KALIM-ULLAH, A.H. 932.

No. 16. (Fig. 14.)

Obv.—

كليم الله
السلطان
بن محمود

Rev.—

النصر
المويد
الغني

Sizes, .85, .75; weights, 255, 170.

Doubtful. (SHAMS-UD-DÍN, A.H. 799—800 ?)

Obv.—

شمس شاه [؟]
بن محمد شاه

Rev.—

بنصرالله
ابوالمظفر [ر]

Size, 65. ; weight, 76.

The name on the obverse of this coin is too indistinct for me to say for certain what it is, but I think it is Shams. The similarity in the character and letters to the coins of Dáud and Fírúz also confirms this. The name of the father of Shams-ud-dín is always written محمد not محمود on his coins.

From the weights of the coins it would appear that the large copper coin, which probably was the same as the tanka of Southern India and tangah of the Portuguese, was sub-divided into 16ths, as was the custom with other coinages of India.

ART. VIII.—*New Copper-plate Grants of the Rāshtrakūṭa
Dynasty.* By PAṆDIT BHAGWĀNLĀL INDRĀJĪ.

No. II.

THE plates which form the subject of the present paper were brought to me, from a desire to learn their contents, by Dāyābhāi Jagadīś Pāṭil of Kārēli in the Ōrpād Tālukā of the Surat District. I was told by him that the plates were found while excavating some foundations at Chhārōli, a village better known as Āntrōli-Chhārōli, about ten miles to the N.E. of Surat.

The plates are two in number, each about 8½" high by 13" broad; they are inscribed breadthwise, on the inner sides only. They appear to have had originally two rings, one of which is now not forthcoming. The extant ring has on its seal a figure of Garuḍa, a good deal damaged. The plates are well engraved, and very well preserved. The characters resemble those of the Valabhī and early Chalukya grants. The language is Sanskrit throughout, the genealogical portion being in verse, and the rest in prose.

These plates record the grant of the village of Sthāvarapallikā, in the Kāśakula *vishaya*, to a native of Jāmbūsara (the modern Jambūsar in the Broach District), named Kukkōśvaradikshita, the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Rēvisara (or Raviśvara). Sthāvarapallikā is, I consider, the modern Chhārōli itself, where the plates were found. The situation of Sthāvarapallikā is defined in the grant as being to the west, and partly to the south, of Khairōda, to the north of Pippalāchchha, and to the east of Kāshṭapuri and Vaṭāra.

The grantor is king Kakka, of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. His genealogy is given thus:—

Kakka.
|
Dhruva.
|
Gōvinda,
m. to a daughter of Nāgavarmā.
|
Kakka,
the grantor. Śaka 679.

The first king Kakka is called "a sun to the illustrious lotus-group-like Râshtrakûta family,"—an epithet which can only be applied to one who belongs by birth to that family. The next king, Dhruva, is distinctly mentioned as his son, born to him from his queen. The third king, Gôvinda, again, is distinctly called the son of Dhruva. And the last king here mentioned, the second Kakka, is specifically described as the son of Gôvinda by his wife, who was the daughter of Nâgavarmâ.¹

The kings mentioned in this grant have the same names as some of the members of the already well-known Râshtrakûta dynasty. But a reference to the published genealogy of that dynasty² will show that these four kings cannot be made to fit into that genealogy,—especially since the date of this grant is only four years subsequent to the date of the Sâmagad grant of Dantidurga or Dantivarmâ II.³—unless, indeed, we assume that Karka or Kakka I. of that genealogy had, in addition to Indra II. and Krishna I., a third son, the Dhruva of the present grant.

At the same time there are no grounds for looking upon the present grant as anything but a genuine one. The characters are of the period to which the grant refers itself. And the item of information about the wife of Gôvinda being a daughter of Nâgavarmâ, is not at all what a forger might be expected to invent.

The probability seems to be that these kings are to be referred to their proper place by identifying the first Kakka of this grant with Karka or Kakka I. of the published genealogy,—and that these kings constituted a separate Gujarât branch of the family earlier than the hitherto known Gujarât branch founded by Indra III. But this can only be put forward as a tentative theory, until we succeed in obtaining some further grants of these kings.

Transcription.

First plate.

[¹] Śrīmân=sadâ jayati siddha-sur-âsur-êndra-vrind-ôttamânga-
mañi-chumbita-pâdapadmaḥ Śambu(mbhu)ḥ samâhita-
gûna-

¹ There was an early Kadamba king of this name (Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 86). But it is impossible at present to say who the Nâgavarmâ here mentioned was.

² *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 32; and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 109. Also see *id.* Vol. XII, p. 179.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 108. ff.

- [18] la-bhittir=lli(lli)n^c-āli-nāda-mukharēshu mataṅgajēshu [||*]
 Saṅgrāma-maddhya(dhya)-jita-saṁyya(ya)ta-bhūbhujēn-
 dra-sīmja-nināda-mukhaikṛita-ma-
- [19] ndirasyah⁷ adyāpi yasya Hara-sékharā-chandra-khaṅḍa-
 śubhram yaśah stri(tri)-bhuvanaṁ vimalikarōti | (||)
 Tasmāt=parāsta-para-tārakam=ā-
- [20] pta-saktih(m) Śrī-Kakka-rājam=anurānjita-sarvva-lōkaṁ
 Śaṁbhōh Kumāram=iva bhūdhararāja-pūtri
 Śrī-Nāgavarmma-duhitā janayām-chakā-
- [21] ra [||*] Bhūbhrih-chhikhāmaṇi-karambita-pāda-sōbhō bālō-
 pi lōka-nayan-ōtpala-saukhya-hētuh pradhvasta-vairi-
 timirō gaganam śa-
- [22] ś=iva yah sad-guṇair=nnija-kulam samalamchakāra [||*]
 Saṁbhraṅta-Mandara-vilōḍita-dugdha-sindhu-saṁbhūta-
 phēna-dhava-
- [23] li(lī)kṛit-āsam yasya dvishām=achala-kandara-
 garbhba(rbbha)-bhājām=apy=ānanāni charita[m*]
 ma[linī]chakāra [||*] Satyēna Dharmma-

Second plate.

- [24] tanayam Viduram cha matyā dānēna bhāskara-sutam
 kshamayā Sumērum Bhīmam balēna charitēna cha
 Vāsudē-
- [25] vam rūpēna samrati-patim samamamsta lōkah [||*]
 Sō=yam=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-para-gaja-ghat-ātōpa-vi-
- [26] ghaṭana-prachanḍa-dōrdanḍa-maṅḍita-vigrahō Madana-
 ripu-sīrah-sātaka-śubhra-yaśah-pravāha-dhavalī-
- [27] kṛita-dii-mukhō=nēka-sāmanta-mauli-lālita-charaṅāravinda-
 yugalah paramamāhēsvaraḥ samadhigatapañchamahāsa-
- [28] bda-paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramōsvaraḥ Śrī-
 Kakka-rājah sarvvān=ēva svān=mahāsāmanta-sēnāpa-
- [29] ti-balādhikṛita-chōrōddharaṇika-bhōgika-rājasthāny-ādīn=
 yavā(thā)-niyuktān=anyāmś=cha samājñāpayaty=Astu
 vah samviditam ya-

⁶ This has to be converted into *bhitti-lēn*, &c.

⁷ This *visarga* is a mistake.

- [**] thā mayā Kāśakula-vishay-āmtarggata-Sthāvarapallik-
ābhidhānō grāmaḥ Khairōdād=aparataḥ Pippalāch-
chhād=uttarataḥ Kāshṭapuri(ri)-Vaṭṭārā-
- [**] bhyām pūrvvataḥ punaḥ Khairōda-sīmdhyā(sc. sīma-
madhyā)d=dakṣiṇataḥ évaṁ chatur-āghātana-viśuddhō
Jāmbūsara-sthāna-vāstavya-tach-chāturvvidya-sāmā-
- [**] nya-Vuchchha(tsa)-sagōtra-Kaṇva-sabrahmachāri-bhaṭṭa-
Rōvisara-putrāya Kukkēsvara-dīkshitāya bali-charu-
vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ādi-kriyānām
- [**] samutsarpaṇ-ārttham mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-
phal-āvāpty-arttham=ā-chandr-ārka-āṇṇava-sarit-parvvata-
vasundharā-samakālī-
- [**] naḥ putra-pautr-ānvay-ōpabhōgyō=bhyantara-sidhyā(ddhyā)
bhūmicchhidra-nyāyōna vishuva-samkrāntāv=udak-
ātisarggēṇa pratipādi-
- [**] tō Yatō=sy=ātaḥ prabal-ānila-samīrit-ōdadhi-taraṅga-
chaīchalam jīva-lōkam=avagamy-ānityās=cha sā(sa)-
rvva-sāmpadaś=ch=ēty=avadhā-
- [**] ryy=īgāmi-bhadra-nri(nri)patibhir=asmad-vamśa-jais=cha
sādharānam bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagamy=ānumanta-
vyaḥ pratipālanīyas=cha [|| *]
- [**] Yataḥ prōktam=ēva bhagavatī vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna
[| *] Sva-dattā[m*] para-dattām vā yatnād=raksha
Yudhishṭhira mahi[m*] kshiti bhṛitām śrē-
- [**] shṭha dānic=chhrēyō=nupālanam ||-Shasṭi-varsha-
sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhētā
ch=ānumantī cha tāny=ēva na-
- [**] rakam vasēt || Śamkhāḥ siṅghā(hā)sanam chchhatram
v[ā*]ji-vāraṇa-yōshitali bhūmi-dānasya mahataḥ
sarvva=ētat=vichēshṭitam || Vindhy-ā-
- [**] tavishv=atōyō(yā)su śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ kṛishṇa-sarpā
hi jīyamō brahma-dāy-āpaharakāḥ [|| *] Bahubhir-
vvasudhā bhuktā
- [**] rājabhīh Sagar-ādibhīh yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
tasya tadī phalam || Śaka-nri(nri)pa-kāl-ātita-
samvatsara-śata-shaṭkē ēk-ū(ō)-

[³⁷] n-âśīty-adhikê Âśvayuja-śuddh-â[û*]katâ(tô)=pi sam 600
 70 9 tithi 7* [||*] Likhitañ cha mayâ
 Âdityavarmma-râja-dûtakañ balâdhikrîta-
 [³⁸] Śrî-Tatta-sûnunâ Śrî-Bhô(?tô)çallên=êti [||*]

Translation.

Triumphant always is the first god, the glorious Śambhu,— whose lotus-like feet are kissed by the crown-jewels of the chiefs of the Siddhas and gods and demons ; who possesses all the three qualities (*of sattva, rajas, and tamas*) ; and who is the prime cause of the creation and the preservation and the destruction of all creatures !

(L. 2.)—There was a king on the earth, named Kakkarâja, who had obtained victory in various battles ; and who was a sun to the illustrious lotus-group-like Rîshtrakûta dynasty, and a wintry wind to the lotus-like faces of the women of his irresistible foes.

(L. 3.)—To this spotless king there was born from his queen a son, Dhruvarâjadêva, of incomparable might and majesty ; being raised up on his sword, after killing the forces of the enemy, his glory whitened the whole universe. His sport in the battle-field, decorating the ground with the pearls dropped down from the temples of the elephants torn open by the blows of his sword, brought to mind the actions of a lion. By taking refuge with him, who was an ocean of jewel-like qualities, Royal Fortune (Lakshmi) abandoned all her natural faults of impoliteness and fickle silly habits, and hostility with calmness and learning. His majestic fire which had burnt the forest-like dynasty of his enemies, passing, by hosts of weak grasses (poor enemies) and breaking into pieces the strong rock-like backs of the elephants of his enemies, did not cease burning, even though it had reached the limits of the waves of the waters of the four seas.

(L. 9.)—He had a son named Gôvindarâja, verily like the god Gôvinda inasmuch he had a body possessing grace (Lakshmi), and

* This symbol might be interpreted as 9, being identical with one form of the Gupta 9. (See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol VI. p. 44, col. 4.) But we are barred from this by having a different symbol for 9 in the number of the years. It seems therefore to be a variety of the Gupta or Valabhi symbol for 7.

a lotus-like hand with good *chakra* marks (as *Gōvinda* holds a *discus* and a *lotus* in his hands) and as he had foiled strong kings by blameless heroism (as *Gōvinda* subdued the king, the demon *Bali*, by [three] unobjectionable steps), and as he baffled the pride of (his) boon-companions (as *Gorinda* baffled the pride of the serpent [*Kāli*]). On hearing in battle-fields the sound of his bowstring, as deep as the thunder of clouds, swans (really believing it to be thunder) left the earth and their fading hope of life, as his irresistible enemies abandoned their lost lands and (all) hope of life.⁹ He was a wish-fulfilling tree to those that were friendly to him ; to friends he was the great mountain of dawn ; to the lotus-eyes of people he was the moon ; and he was a lion towards intoxicated elephants noisy with the hum of bees sitting on their temples wet with ichor. The glory of him, whose palace resounded with the sound of the chains cast upon enemies taken as captives in the battle field,—(that glory), as pure as the crescent on the forehead of *Hara*, still brightens the three worlds.

(L. 14.)—From him the daughter of *Srī-Nāgavarmā* gave birth to *Srī-Kakkarajā*, who drove back the leaders of his enemies, who was powerful, and who delighted all people,—as *Pārvati* gave birth from *Śambhu* to *Kumāra*, who defeated his enemy (the demon) *Tāraka*, who holds (his weapon) *Śakti*, and who has delighted all the worlds. Young though he was,—having the beauty of his feet mingling with the jewels in the crowns of kings, and giving pleasure to the lotus-eyes of people, and destroying (his) darkness-like enemies,—he adorned his family by his good qualities, as the moon adorns the sky (with its rays falling on the chief mountains ; though new, giving delight to lotuses like the eyes of people, and destroying her enemy the darkness). His valour, which while it brightens the quarters by.....white as the foam of the milky ocean churned by the moving *Mandara*, blackened the faces of his enemies who had taken refuge in the caves of mountains.¹⁰ He was regarded by the people as *Yudhisṭhira* for his truthfulness, as *Vidura* for his common sense, as *Karṇa* (the son of the Sun) for his gifts, as *Sumēru* for his firmness, as *Vāsudēva* for his heroism, as *Love* on account of his beauty.

⁹ Indian poets believe that, fearing death as soon as they hear the first peal of thunder on the approach of the rains, swans fly away from India and go to the *Mānasa* lake in Tibet. The gist of the verse is to compare the sound of the bowstring to the thunder of the clouds.

¹⁰ This verse is intended to bring out *Virōdhālamkāra*.

(L. 20.)—This same Śrī-Kakkarāja,—whose body is adorned with staff-like arms strong in tearing the hosts of his enemies' elephants; who has whitened all the quarters by the flow of his glory which is as white as the crescent on the head of Śiva; whose feet are served by hosts of tributary kings; the great Śaiva; who enjoys the five great titles; the great *Bhaṭṭāraka*; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord,—commands all his great nobles, commander-in-chief, chief military officer, head of police, equerry, and foreign secretary, and all others as employed :—

(L. 24.)—“Be it known to you that, for the religious merits of my parents and myself, I have given, at the autumnal equinox, according to the rule of *bhūmichchhidra*¹¹ and the *abhyantarasi-dhi*, with a libation of water, the village of Sthāvarapallikā in the Kāśakula country, to the west of Khairōḍa, to the north of Pip-palāchchha, to the east of Kāshṭapurī and Vāṭṭara, and again to the south of the middle of the Khairōḍa boundary. (*The village*) thus marked with these four boundaries, has been given to Kukkésvara *Dīkshita*, the son of the *Bhaṭṭa Rāvisara* (*Raviśvara*), an inhabitant of Jāmbūsara, learned in the four *Vēdas*, of the *Vatsa gōtra*, and a student of the *Kaṇva* (*Sākhā*), for the purpose of keeping up the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, and other rites, to last so long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, the mountains, and the earth remain, and to be enjoyed by sons, grandsons, and descendants.

(L. 30.)—“Therefore (*this grant*) is to be assented to and preserved by future good kings and by my descendants, recognising that the reward of a grant of land belongs in common (*to him who makes it and to all who preserve it*), believing this world to be as transient as the waves of the sea driven by a mighty wind, and bearing in mind the inconstancy of riches.”

(L. 32.)—And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the *Vēdas* :—“O Yudhiṣṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant! The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant of land*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Conchshells, a throne, an umbrella, horses, elephants, and women, are but mock-

¹¹ This phrase means including the land and the sky belonging to the village granted.

ries in comparison with the great gift of a grant of land! Verily those, who confiscate grants of land made to Brāhmaṇs, are born as black snakes dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees in the forests of the Vindhya (*mountains*) devoid of water! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, Sagara and others; he who possesses it at any particular time, to him goes the merit of a grant!"

(L. 36.)—The year six hundred, increased by seventy-nine, after the time of the Śaka king; in the bright fortnight of Āśvayuja; or in figures, 679, the 7th day.

(L. 37.)—This grant, which has the king Ādityavarmā as its messenger, has been written by me, Śri-Bhōdalla, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Śri-Tatta.

Indrabhattāraka is the Eastern Chalukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasimha I. (Śaka 549 to 579 or 582), and the father of Vishnuvardhana II. (Śaka 579 to 586, or Śaka 582 to 591.) All the grants of that dynasty, published and unpublished, that have come to my notice, mention Indrabhattāraka as not having reigned. And, though a grant of Rājarāja, dated Śaka 944,—another of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva, dated Śaka 1056,—and another of Vīra-Chōḍā or Vishnuvardhana, dated Śaka 1222,—state that he reigned for *seven days*, the truth seems to be that he did not actually succeed in ascending the throne at all; and the disclosure made by the present inscription explains the circumstances under which this was the case. He was prevented from doing so by the attack of a confederacy of chiefs, of whom the *Adhirāja* Indra mentioned in this inscription was one; and he was probably slain in one of the battles that ensued. And the figurative expression, that the *Adhirāja* Indra mounted upon the elephant Supratika of the north-east quarter, overthrew the elephant Kumuda of the south-west or southern quarter, shews that this attack upon the Eastern Chalukyas was made from the north-east of their kingdom of Veṅgi. It is possible that this *Adhirāja* Indra is identical with the Gāṅga *Mahārāja* Indravarmā of Kaliṅganagara, of whom I have two unpublished inscriptions of about the same period with the present grant,³ who is described in his inscriptions as having acquired the supreme power over the whole of Kaliṅga by means of the quivering of his sword, and whose territory, therefore, lay just to the north-east of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom.

*Transcription.*⁴

First plate.

- [¹] Ōm Svasti Vijaya-Kāndāli-vāsakāt dēva-dvija-
 [²] guru-charaṇa-samārādhana-ādihigata-nirati-
 [³] śaya-puṇya-nichayasya sakaḷa-dinmā (īma)ṇḍal-ā
 [⁴] lā (lā) ūkāra-bhāta-yaśasaḷ Śri-Prabhākara-vikhyāta-

Second plate ; first side.

- [⁵] mahārājasya sūnuḷ m[ā*]tāpitṛi-pād-ānuddhyā-
 (dhyā)taḷ
 [⁶] śruti-smṛiti-vihita-padārth-āvaḷōdha-janita-pra-

³ Noticed by me in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X. p. 243, Nos. 2 and 3.

⁴ From the original plates.

rāja Prabhākara, and is issued from (*the city of*) Kāndāli. And it records that, at the request of the *Adhirāja* Indra, he bestowed the village of Chūyipāka, as an *agrahāra*-grant, upon forty-three families of Brāhmaṇas who studied the *Atharva-Vēda*, descendants of *Upādhyāyas*, and belonging to a variety of *gōtras*. The object of the grant was evidently to establish a regular colony of *Ātharvaṇikas*; the names, *gōtras*, &c., of the individual grantees, however, are not recorded. The village of Chūyipāka is specified as being in the Tālapāka *viśhaya*, and in the middle of the four villages of Viḷendi, Reṅguta, Kampāru, and Tukura. But I am not able at present to suggest any identification of these places, or of Kāndāli whence the charter was issued, or of the Manalkudi that is mentioned in line 14.

The grant is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the twenty-fifth year of some reign, and, apparently, on the third day of the month Vaiśākha. From the evidently subordinate rank of Pṛithivimūla, as denoted by the title of *Rājā* applied to himself and of *Mahārāja* applied to his father, it is difficult to say whether the date is referred to the commencement of the power of Pṛithivimūla, or to the commencement of the reign of the paramount sovereign to whom he was subordinate. Also, because that paramount sovereign is not mentioned in this inscription, and because no reference is made to the Śaka or any other era, the exact date of the grant cannot be fixed at present. But the period of it can be determined with sufficient certainty. The *Adhirāja* Indra, at whose request the grant was made, is mentioned as having fought in company with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Taking into consideration the locality from which this grant comes, and its approximate period as indicated by the palæographical standard of the characters and the use of numerical symbols in the date,—there can be no doubt that this

to render into English by terms which always vary according to the idiosyncrasies of the translators, and which never suffice to give a faithful and literal idea of what the original words mean. The only title that properly and fully corresponds to our idea of 'king,' is *mahārājādhirāja*, 'supreme king of *Mahārājas*'; and it is almost, if not absolutely, always coupled with two other titles,—*paramēśvara*, 'supreme lord,' and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, 'most worshipful one.' The connection of the three titles was so universal, that a Bēwā grant of Trailōkyamalla, dated Sainvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles, and contents itself with describing him as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-śty-āli-rāj-* [d*] *vaḥ-tray-ōpēta-mahārāyo*, 'the *Mahārāja* who is possessed of the three kingly titles (*lit.* succession) commencing with *paramabhaṭṭāraka*.'

Indrabhaṭṭāraka is the Eastern Chalukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasimha I. (Śaka 549 to 579 or 582), and the father of Vishṇuvardhana II. (Śaka 579 to 586, or Śaka 582 to 591.) All the grants of that dynasty, published and unpublished, that have come to my notice, mention Indrabhaṭṭāraka as not having reigned. And, though a grant of Rājarāja, dated Śaka 944,—another of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva, dated Śaka 1056,—and another of Vira-Chōḍā or Vishṇuvardhana, dated Śaka 1222,—state that he reigned for *seven days*, the truth seems to be that he did not actually succeed in ascending the throne at all; and the disclosure made by the present inscription explains the circumstances under which this was the case. He was prevented from doing so by the attack of a confederacy of chiefs, of whom the *Adhirāja* Indra mentioned in this inscription was one; and he was probably slain in one of the battles that ensued. And the figurative expression, that the *Adhirāja* Indra mounted upon the elephant Supratika of the north-east quarter, overthrew the elephant Kumuda of the south-west or southern quarter, shews that this attack upon the Eastern Chalukyas was made from the north-east of their kingdom of Veṅgi. It is possible that this *Adhirāja* Indra is identical with the Gāṅga *Mahārāja* Indravarmā of Kaliṅganagara, of whom I have two unpublished inscriptions of about the same period with the present grant,* who is described in his inscriptions as having acquired the supreme power over the whole of Kaliṅga by means of the quivering of his sword, and whose territory, therefore, lay just to the north-east of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom.

*Transcription.**

First plate.

- [¹] Ōm Svasti Vijaya-Kāndāli-vāsakāt dēva-dvijā-
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Second plate ; first side.

- [⁵] mahārājasya sūnuḷ m[ā*]tāpitṛi-pād-ānuddhyā-
 (dhyā)taḷ
 [⁶] śruti-smṛiti-vihita-padārth-āvabōdha-janita-pa-

* Noticed by me in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X. p. 243, Nos. 2 and 3.

* From the original plates.

- [⁷] jñā-vivéka-niravagīt-ānupāli(li)t-[ā*]śésha-varuṇ-ásra-
 [⁸] ma-dharmmaḥ par-ānugraha-mātra-prayōjana-pra-

Second plate ; second side.

- [⁹] tipann-aisva(éva)ryya-guru-bhāra[h *] parama-mahéś-
 varaḥ śrīmān
 [¹⁰] Pri(pri)thivimūla-r[ā*]jaḥ Tāṇupāka-vishaya-nivāsi-
 na[h*]
 [¹¹] sarvvān=éva rāshṭraku(kū)ṭa-pramukhān=évam=ājnāpa-
 [¹²] yati yathā [|*] Vīditam=astu bhavatām śrutābhija-

Third plate ; first side.

- [¹³] na-vṛitta-sampat-prabhā-bhāsur-ōdāra-purusharatna-nikara-
 prasū-
 [¹⁴] ti-hētu-prakhyāta-Manalkudi(? ḍi)-vāstavya-dvijāty-anvaya-
 [¹⁵] payōdhi-sambhūta-śitaraśmēr=asakkṛi(kṛi)rd(d)-avāpta-
 chaturddanta-
 [¹⁶] saṃgrāma-vijayasya Mitavarmmaṇaḥ priya-
 tanayēna

Third plate ; second side.

- [¹⁷] sarabhasam=Indrabhaṭṭāraka-samutpātan-ābhilāsha-samudi-
 [¹⁸] ta-pramudit-āsésha-nṛpati-kkṛi(kṛi)ta-tumula-sama-
 [¹⁹] r-ādhiru(rū)ḍa(ḍha)-Supratik-ānēkap-ābhimukha-samada-
 Kumu-
 [²⁰] da-dvirada-nipātan-ādhighata-bhuvanatala-vi^otata-

Fourth plate ; first side.

- [²¹] vipula-viśuddha-yasāsā śrīmad-Indr-ādhirājēna sva-
 m[ā*]tā-
 [²²] pitrōḥ puṇy-āvāpti-nimitta[m*] vijñāpitēna mayā Viḷendi-
 [²³] Reṅgaṭa-Kampāru-Tukurāṇām chaturṇṇā[m*] grāmā-
 ṇā[m*]
 [²⁴] maddhyē(dhyē) Châyipākō nāma grāmaḥ upāddhyā-
 (dhyā)ya-kula-sambhū-

Fourth plate ; second side.

- [²⁵] tēbhyō nānā-gōtrēbhyas=t[r*]i-chatvārimśad-Ātharvvaṇi-
 ka-kulē-

* The v is imperfect in the bottom stroke.

- [²⁶] bhyô=grahârikkrî(krî)tya datta[h*] [||*] Sa sarvvô-
(rvvai)r=êva paripâlanî(nî)yô vi-
[²⁷] śêshêṇa hastikôśa-vîrakôśâbhyâm [||*] Api cha [I*] Sva-
dattâm
[²⁸] para-dattâ[ṇ*] vâ yô harêta vasundharâm gavâm śata-
saha-
[²⁹] srasya hantu[h*] pibati kilbisham [||*] Shasṭi-varsha-
saha-

Fifth plate.

- [³⁰] srâṇi svarggô môdati bhûmi-da[h*] âchchhêtâ ch=ân-
mantâ cha tâny=êva narakô
[³¹] vasêt [||*] Tâṁ=êva rakshatâ(tô) yatnât nibôdhal*
kkrî(krî)tinali=phalam naika-kalpa-
[³²] sahasrâṇi divi dêvai[h*] sa di(di)vyati [||*] Babubhir=
vvasudhâ dattâh⁷ bahubhi-
[³³] ś=ch=ânupâlîtâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[h*] tasya tasya
tadâ phalam [||*]
[³⁴] Âjñapti[h*] sva-mukham [||*] Prava[r*]d[dh*]amâna-
vijaya-râjya-sam(m-)⁸ va(-va)tsarâṇi pañcha-vi[m*]śa
20 5
[³⁵] Vâsâka-divasam || 3⁹

Translation.

Ôm ! Hail ! From (*his residence*) situated at the victorious (*city of*) Kândâlî, the glorious Râjû¹⁰ Prithivimûla, the most devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahôśvara,—who meditates on the feet of his parents ; who in a way quite free from reproach protects the laws of all the classes and stages of life by (*his*) wisdom and discrimination which have been produced by (*his*) perception of the objects enjoined by revelation and tradition ; (*and*) who has undertaken the heavy burden of lordship only for the purpose of conferring benefits upon others,—the son of the famous Mahûrâja Śrî-Prabhâkara, who

⁶ This *risarga* is a mistake.

⁷ This *risarga*, again, is a mistake.

⁸ This final *m*, a mistake for an omitted *anusvîra*, is engraved below the line.

⁹ Correct into *divasam* 3.]

¹⁰ See note 2, p. 114 above.

attained an unsurpassed accumulation of religious merit by propitiating the feet of gods and Brâhmanas and spiritual perceptors, (*and*) whose fame became the ornament of all the regions,—thus issues his commands to all (*people*), headed by the *Rûshîrakûtas*, dwelling in the Tâlpâka *vishaya* :—

(L. 12.)—“Be it known to you! By me, to whom the request has been preferred, in order that his parents may acquire religious merit, by the glorious *Adhirâja* Indra,—who acquired great and pure fame, spread abroad over the surface of the earth, by overthrowing the infuriated elephant Kumuda¹¹ that came against the elephant Supratîka¹² which was mounted (*by him*) in the tumultuous combat waged by all the kings who were gladdened by having assembled together in the desire to uproot by force Indrabhattâraka; (*and*) who is the dear son of Mitavarmâ, who was the moon that arose from the ocean of the twice-born family that inhabited the famous (*town of*) Maṇalkudi,¹³ the cause of the production of a multitude of noble jewels of men resplendent with famous ancestors and (*good*) conduct and prosperity and splendour, (*and*) who more than once acquired victory in the contests of elephants that have four tusks,—(*by me*) the village named Chûyipâka, in the middle of the four villages of Viḷendi and Reṅguta and Kampâru and Tukura, has been given, as an *agrahâra*, to forty-three families of Brâhmanas who study the *Atharva-Vêda*, born in the families of *Upâdhyâyas* (*and*) belonging to many *gôtras*. It is to be preserved by all,—especially by the *Hastikôsa* and the *Vivakôsa*.”¹⁴

(L. 27.)—Moreover,—He incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Recognise the reward of the virtuous man who carefully preserves this (*grant*);

¹¹ The elephant of the south-west or southern quarter.

¹² The elephant of the north-east quarter.

¹³ Or perhaps Maṇalkudi; but the letter *ḍa*, as separate from *da*, occurs very distinctly in line 19.

¹⁴ I do not know of any other mention of these two officials, who evidently kept the purses and made disbursements on account of respectively the establishment of elephants and heroes who were to be rewarded for deeds of valour

120 GÔDÂVARÎ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE RÂJÂ PRITHIVIMÛLA.

he disports himself with the gods in heaven for many thousands of *kalpas* ! Land has been given by many, and has been preserved (*in grant*) by many ; he who for the time being possesses the land, to him belongs the reward (*of the grant that has been made*) !

(L. 34.)—The specification is (*the command of*) his own¹⁵ mouth. The twenty-fifth (*of*) the years of the augmenting victorious reign, (*or, in figures,*) 20 (*and*) 5 ; the 3rd day of Vâsâka.¹⁶

¹⁵ i.e. Prithivimûla's.

¹⁶ Apparently intended for the month Vaisâkha.

ART. X.—*Note on the Coinage of El-Harar in East Africa.* By
Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. PRIDEAUX, F.R.G.S.

THE town of El-Harar, a place known only by repute until the visit of Captain R. F. Burton in January, 1855, lies, according to that traveller's dead-reckoning, 220° S.W. of, and 175 statute miles from, Zayla'—257° W. of, and 219 miles distant from, Berbera. This would place it in 9° 20' N. lat. and 42° 17' E. long. Its altitude was shown by the thermometer to be about 5,500 feet above the level of the sea.* It is about one mile long by half that breadth, and is surrounded by an irregular wall, pierced with five large gates and supported by oval towers. Its population in 1855 was estimated by Burton at 8,000 souls, of whom 2,500 were Somálee, 3,000 Bedaween, and the remainder natives of the place.† At the time of Burton's visit, El-Harar was under the government of an Ameer, who claimed descent from the Khaleefeh Aboo-Bekr, though, according to Bruce, the family was of Jabartee, or Negro Muslim, extraction. About ten years ago the Khedive of Egypt sent a force to El-Harar, which supplanted the native dynasty, and brought the city and surrounding district under the government at Cairo. The language spoken in the town, which is known by the name of Hararee, appears, so far as can be judged from Capt. Burton's grammatical sketch and vocabulary, to have a very considerable affinity with the Amharic. The points of difference, which are chiefly in pronunciation, are not greater than those which exist between the speech of Devonshire and the speech of Dumfriesshire. It seems probable, from many indications which it is unnecessary here to specify, that the town was founded by a colony of Muslim emigrants from Southern Abyssinia about the middle of the fifteenth century. The Somálee and Galla languages are, in my opinion, radically dissimilar from the Hararee.

Since the visit of Burton, El-Harar has been nearly a *terra clausa* to Europeans. In 1879, the young Italian, G. M. Giulietti, went to El-Harar from Zayla', and gave a good description of the geology, the fauna, the flora, and other characteristics of the country in

* Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*. Lond., 1856, p. 304.

† Burton, *ib.*, pp. 325, 329, 330.

the pages of the *Bolletino* of the Italian Geographical Society.* This enterprising traveller was murdered by the Dankalees in April 1881, whilst on a journey which he subsequently undertook with the view of developing the resources of the Italian colony at Assab. In the present year (1883) Signor Pietro Sacconi, the head of an Italian trading house at El-Harar, communicated some interesting notes on the condition of the place to the editor of *L'Esploratore*. He described it since it had been under the government of the Egyptians in very unfavourable terms. At the commencement of the year small-pox was decimating the population, and hyenas nightly prowled through the streets to feed upon the dead. "Poverty was unknown in Harar whilst it had a Sultan of its own, and the hyenas were kept far away from the city by occasional hunts, in which the whole population took part." The town was occupied by 5,000 Egyptian troops, who lived upon the country, as no remittances to pay them had been received for four years. The Governor, to appease the natural discontent of his troops, levied extra tribute on the tribes, and paid his men in cattle and other things obtained on these occasions. In January last, a military expedition was dispatched from El-Harar against the Geri and Berteri Somâl. This lamentable policy naturally led to reprisals on the part of the tribes, and according to recent accounts the innocent traveller has been one of the first victims. In his last letter he wrote that he intended, on July 8th, to leave El-Harar for the country of the Ogadain Somâl, accompanied by nine servants, and provided with an ample supply of merchandize. The news of his death was communicated by a correspondent at El-Harar to M. Antoine d'Abbadie in the following words:—"On the 21st instant (August 1883), we learned that he had reached the Wigaden (Ogadain) frontier, going towards the Wabi; but after crossing the valley of Sulul, about a day's journey from the Wabi, in a thickly-inhabited place called Kurnagot, he was murdered with three of his followers. I heard the account given before the Divan by one of them who escaped." M. d'Abbadie added that the Government of El-Harar would do nothing because the deed of blood took place two days' journey beyond its frontier.†

* *Studi Biografici e Bibliografici sulla Storia della Geografia in Italia*, 2nda edizione, Roma, 1882, p. 635.

† *Athenæum*, March 17th 1883; May 19th 1883; Sept. 29th 1883; Oct. 13th 1883. Further accounts, received since the above was in print, give August 12th as the date of the murder. The traveller's diary was burnt.—*Ath.*, Nov. 24th, 1883.

On the other hand, a very different description of the existing state of things was given by the Egyptian Governor, Nahdi Pasha, in an address which he delivered before the Société Khédiviale de Géographie at Cairo on March 23, 1883.* Nahdi Pasha gave several particulars of the region from personal knowledge. He described commerce to be carried on by money payments (without, however, specifying the currency) and exchanges in kind, such as Venetian glass, Paris jewelry, and bits of brass or copper. There were now several Europeans in El-Harar, some twenty Greek merchants, four French Jesuits, one French and one Italian mercantile house. Nahdi Pasha concluded his remarks by inviting European travellers to El-Harar and the country of the Gallas, pointing out that they were preferable to the dangerous and unhealthy regions of the Soudan and Central Africa. Security, he added, was to be found there, together with much matter of interesting research,† and he would be delighted to prove personally useful to new-comers as he had been to former visitors and merchants. If the Governor is to be depended on, it is seldom that so fair an opening has been afforded to English travellers in those generally inhospitable regions; and should any officer at Aden feel disposed to avail himself of the favourable opportunity now offered to explorers by the principal authority in the district, it may be hoped that no scruples on the part of Government will stand in the way of those who may wish to follow in the footsteps of Burton and Giulietti, and under more promising auspices, assist in opening out an almost illimitable field of geographical and philological research.

Great uncertainty exists with regard to the monetary system of El-Harar whilst the city was under the government of the Ameers. Burton says:—"The only specie current in Harar is a diminutive brass piece called Mahallak—hand-worked, and almost as artless a medium as a modern Italian coin. It bears on one side the words:—

ضريبة الهرر

(Zaribat el-Harar, the coinage of Harar.)

On the reverse is the date, A.H. 1248. The Ameer pitilessly punishes all those who pass in the city any other coin.‡"

* Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society, June 1883, p. 365.

† "M. Bardey, a French merchant residing at Harar, is stated to have discovered there an Arab MS. of the sixteenth century, giving an account of the conquest of Abyssinia. The valuable work has been forwarded by him to the French Institute."—*Athenaeum*, March 17th 1883.

‡ Burton, *ib.*, p. 384.

Some time ago, I received from my friend, Major F. M. Hunter, of Aden, two tiny silver pieces of El-Harar, but, unfortunately, instead of throwing light upon the coinage of the place, they only render it more obscure. It is indeed in the hope of receiving, rather than of imparting, information on the subject that I have summarized the knowledge which, as far as I am aware, is up to now available. The legends on the two coins are identical, and the mint place, the name of the prince, and the date are very legible, but there is a word on the obverse which has unfortunately got rubbed, and which I am unable to read. The following is the description of the coins, according to the British Museum classification:—

SULTÁN MOHAMMAD 'ALEE. Year 1288.

No. 1.	<i>Obv.</i> —	السلطان محمد·علي مده . . (illegible).
	<i>Rev.</i> —	مدينة الهرار ١٢٨٨ سنة

AR. .4; weight, 2·64.

No. 2. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 1.*Rev.*—Similar to No. 1.

AR. .35; weight, 1·52.

The coin No. 2, though only $\frac{5}{100}$ inch smaller than No. 1, is slightly thicker, which causes the difference in weight.* It is obvious, however, that neither of them will fit in with Burton's or Crutten-den's system. The date A.H. 1288 corresponds with March 1871-March 1872, and the coins are interesting as probably belonging to the mintage of the last independent chief of the country. I trust that with the advance of English enterprise in the direction of El-Harar, other specimens may be discovered which will effectually set at rest the intricate questions of the autonomous currency of this little African town.

* I am indebted to Dr. H. E. Busteed, of the Calcutta Mint, for the weight of these diminutive pieces.

ART. XI.—*On the Seals of the late Satara Kingdom.*
By Surgeon-Major O. CODRINGTON, M.D., M.R.A.S.

[Read 10th November 1883.]

THESE seals, which had been kept at Satara since the annexation of the Satara kingdom, were deposited in the Society's Museum in 1875 by order of Government, with directions that they should be kept with great care in a permanently closed case, and that they should not be destroyed or alienated to any one.

There are altogether 149 seals. 32 have gold bodies and silver faces, the remainder are altogether silver, except 3 or 4, which have copper or brass faces.

As a rule their shape is pyramidal, with a boss at the top, to which is attached a small looped handle. The face is a tolerably thick plate of metal, the body is a thin case of gold or silver over a mass of lac. They are arranged in pairs, a large one bearing the names, &c., of a person, and a smaller one engraved with one of the following short sentences:—

मोर्तब शुद्.	}	Let it be so ordered.
मोर्तब खुध.		
मरतब शुद्.		
मोर्तब शुद्.		
मरताब.		
मोर्तब शुद्.	}	Here shines the limit. Here shines forth the limit.
मर्वादेयं राजते.		
मर्वादेयं राजते.		
मर्वादेयं विराजते.	}	The limit of the writing.
लेखनसीमा.		
लेखनः सीमा		

लेखनावधि.	}	The limit of the writing.
लेखनावधि.		
लेखनालंकार.	}	The ornament or decoration of the writing.
लेखनावधी मुद्रा.		
पद्मावधिरत्न भाति		The mark of the limit of writing.
श्रीपद्मावधिरत्नं भाति.		Here shines the limit of the document.
राजने लेखनावधी.	}	Shines the limit of the writing.
राजने लेखनावधी.		
श्रीमर्बाहा घोभते मम.		Shri. Here shines my limit.
श्रीमर्बाहेवं धने वर्बा.		Here is the glorious limit full of wealth.

Most of the inscriptions are in Marathi, but some are in Sanskrit, and a few in Arabic and Persian.

Except two pairs, one joined with a silver ring and one with a black silk string, all the seals were unconnected when they were sent here, but I have managed to arrange most of them in pairs, guided by their pattern and workmanship, and by the character of the letters.

In use the large seal, or '*Sicca*,' was placed at the top of the writing on documents of importance, such as sunnuds, grants, or treaties. The small one, or '*Mortab*,' was impressed at the end of the same documents to mark the end of the writing, and was also used without the '*Sicca*' on *Yads* and letters of minor importance.

In the case of documents bearing the *Sicca* of the Raja, the seals of the ministers of the departments of the State concerned were added just below the Raja's; for instance, in the Poona Alienation Daftar, I saw documents marked in this way with the seals of the Raja above and of the Peishwa and Pratinidhi below.

The pairs of seals were fastened together by a string, on which were usually little silken caps or covers for each, and a bag to enclose the whole, as may be seen depicted in Grant Duff's "History of the Mahrattas," Vol. III., page 503.

The seals have a convex face, and as there is on many a projecting edge of metal at the sides, it is not easy to get a clear impression of the whole inscription on some of them. In the usual way of

stamping the seals on paper, ordinary Indian ink and a cloth pad is used, and but a poor impression, generally more or less smudged, is got, but I have succeeded in getting very perfect ones on white blotting paper by using printer's ink and making firm pressure on an Indian-rubber pad.

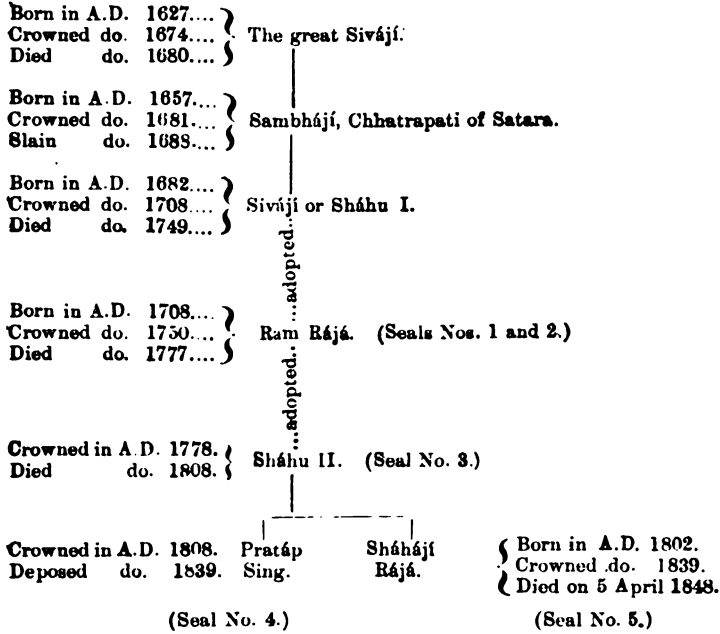
For very much of the information about the persons named and the genealogies, as well as for special kindness in searching in the Poona Alienation Daftar, I am indebted to Mr. Rámchandra Náráyen, Alienation Assistant. The reading and translating of the Sanskrit and Marathi was done by Mr. S. Y. Bhándáre, whose work has been looked over and approved by the highest authorities. Dr. Dymock was good enough to help me with the Arabic and Persian, and was successful in getting a reading of one seal which several Munshis had not been able to make out.

I have arranged the seals according to families or offices, which in the case of the persons concerned are almost synonymous terms, as the offices were nearly always hereditary.

Of the Rájás themselves, there are no seals in the collection earlier than those of Rám Rájá. The older ones have been sent elsewhere, I suppose. An engraving is given in Grant Duff's book, before referred to, of the seal of Sivájí, taken, it is said, in a note, from the original at Satara, so it would appear that it was there in the time of the author, *i. e.*, of Rájá Pratáp Sing, and probably some more were also. Judging from the number of ministers of whom there are no seals, and from so many being represented in this collection by two or more seals, I conclude that the number must have been very much larger.

I presume it was the custom for the seals of deceased or deposed officials to be returned into the treasury. Certainly it was that new seals were made by order of the Rájá and given by him to the minister on appointment, and on subsequent renewals of appointment, as there are several letters and memos. existing regarding the ordering of new seals by the Rájá for his ministers.

It will be seen that the legend is usually prefaced by the marks of the sun and moon, indicative of perpetuity, and with श्री, the symbol for prosperity, and in many cases it ends with निरंतर, 'constantly,' or 'for ever,' the former invoking prosperity and the latter continuity.

The Satara Rajas.

Rájárám has been omitted from the list of Rajas, for although Grant Duff states he was formally seated on the throne in 1690, he appears not to have been so seated in his own right as rajah, but as the regent for his nephew, Sháhu. It may be noticed that none of the seals in this collection bear his name.

No. 1.

श्री. ०

गौरीशंभुवराम्राज्यसाम्राज्यसंपन्न ॥
शिवसूनोरियं मुद्रा रामराजस्य राजते ॥

Here shines the seal of king Rám, the son of Shiva(ji), along with (*i.e.*, the seal), the universal empire and prosperity obtained by the blessing of Gauri and Shiva.

मर्यादेयं राजते.

Here shines the limit.

This is the seal of Rámrajá, adopted son of Sháhu. He was the grandson of Tárábái, wife of Rájárám.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse. 'The holder of universal empire,' &c., is another reading.

A short gold seal, with octagonal face; weight $5\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab similar pattern; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 2.

श्री. ०

श्रीशंभोपाद्कमलसेवाभिरुद्यावहा मुद्रैषा
शाहुराजस्य रामसूनोर्विराजते ॥

Here shines forth the seal of King Rám, the son of Sháhu, the seal full of prosperity (*lit.*, bearing prosperity), on account of the services rendered to the feet of the glorious Shiva.

मर्यादियं राजते.

This is another of the same Raja.

The inscription is also in Sanskrit verse. It is much the same as the previous one, but the Raja is called the son of Sháhu in this.

A short gold seal, with octagonal face; weight $6\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab similar; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The two seals seem much alike, and of about the same date. I therefore describe them both as belonging to Rám Rájá, although it is possible one may be that of Rájárám.

In No. 1 the Rájá is called son of Shiva, but his name is written Rám Ráj; in No. 2 he is called the son of Sháhu.

No. 3.

श्रीमच्छिवाससाम्राज्यभियो विरलजन्मनः
शाहूनरेन्द्रसिंहस्य मुद्रिकेयं विराजते. ॥

Here shines forth the (small) seal of Sháhu, the mightiest of (*lit.*, lion amongst) the kings or lords of men, of noble (*lit.*, rare) descent, and who has obtained universal empire and prosperity from (by the favour of) the glorious Shiva.

मर्यादियं राजते.

A gold seal, with octagonal face; weight $6\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab similar; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

Sháhu Máháráj Dhakley, *alias* Abá Sáheb Máháráj, was the son of Trimbakjí Bhonslay of Wawí, descended from Vitojí, great uncle of Sivájí. He was adopted by Rám Rájá, and enthroned under the title of Sháhu Máháráj, but was a prisoner under the Peishwa all his rei

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse. The first word is indistinct.

No. 4.

० श्री ०

गौरीनाथवरप्राप्ता चाहूराजाल्मजन्मनः ॥
मुद्रा प्रतापसिंहस्य भद्रा सर्वत्र राजते ॥

Everywhere shines the auspicious seal of Pratáp Sinha, the son of King Sháhu, obtained (*i.e.*, the seal) by the blessing of the Lord of Gauri (*i.e.*, Shiva).

मयादेयं विराजते.

Here shines forth the limit.

A gold seal, with octagonal face; weight 8½. Mortab similar; weight 4 tolas.

Pratáp Sinha, the eldest son of Sháhu II., was, like his father, a prisoner of the Peishwa Bájiráo, until he was captured after the battle of Ashteh, 20th February 1818. He was then formally enthroned at Satara by the British Commissioner, and a treaty concluded with him by which he was to hold his territory under certain conditions, and the British were to defend it against external aggressions. Pratáp Sinha having violated this treaty was deposed in 1839.

The inscription is in Sanskrit metre.

No. 5.

० श्री ०

स्वस्तिश्रीशिवसंप्रासाभियः श्रीचाहूजन्मनः ॥
श्रीमच्छाहाजीराजस्य श्रीमुद्रेयं विराजते ॥

Here shines forth the glorious seal of the illustrious King Sháhájí, the son of the famous Sháhu, who (*i.e.*, Sháhájí), has obtained prosperity from (by the favour of) the blessed Shiva.

मयादेयं राजते.

Sháhájí, *alias* Appá Sáheb, the third son of Sháhu II., succeeded to the *raj* when his brother Pratáp Sinha was deposed.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse.

A tall and large gold seal, with octagonal face; weight 20½. Mortab same pattern; weight 4 tolas.

No. 6.

श्री.०

श्रीराजाशाहाजी छत्रपती स्वामीचरणीतस्पर
बळवंतराव राजकुवर उमराव बाहादर निरंतर.

The prince Balvántráo Umráo Bahádur, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhájí, the Lord of the Umbrella.

लेखनसीमा.

The limit of the writing.

This is the seal of the boy whom Rájá Sháhájí took under his protection some time before his death, conferring upon him the name of Balvántráo Bhoslay and the title Rájádnya.

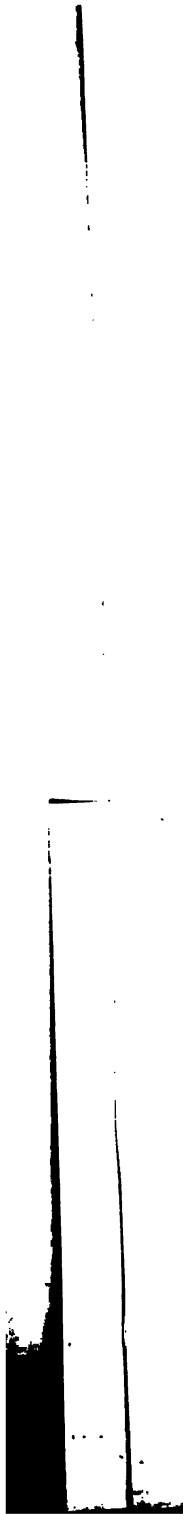
A tall gold seal, with round face; weight $12\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. **Mortab** same pattern; $2\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

No. 7. ایسوبائی والدہ شاہو راجہ سنہ احد

Yesubái, mother of Sháhu Rájá; year one.

Daughter of Pilájí Rájey Sirkey Malleyker, wife of Sambhájí. She was taken prisoner with her son at the fall of Raigadh, A.D. 1707, and carried off to the camp of the Emperor Aurungzeb. She remained with her son there, under the protection of Begum Sáheb, the Emperor's daughter, during many years of captivity, continuing at Delhi as a hostage for her son on his release by Azum Shah.

A small round seal with silver handle and brass face; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.



No. 8 श्रीशिवनरपतिहर्षनिधान सामराजमतिमत प्रधानः

The wise minister Sámraj, the Receptacle of Delight (*i.e.*, much liked by) of the illustrious Shiva (ji), Lord of Men, (*i.e.* king).

मरतबशुद्ध

Let it be so ordered.

A small seal with silver handle and oval brass face; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of similar pattern; weight 1 tola.

"A.D. 1656. The principal minister of Sivaji at this period was a Brahmin, named Shamraja Punt, whom he now dignified with the title of Peishwa; and as is common amongst Mahrattas with persons filling such a high civil station, he likewise held a considerable military command." (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 150.) "Samraj was sent with a large force to invade the possessions of the Seedee in 1658, but was defeated by Fatehkhan with great slaughter, in consequence of which he was recalled and removed from the office of Peishwa." (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 166).

The श is wrongly put for धा in the word निधान. The second letter in मतिमत is indistinct, and the adjective form is not correctly grammatical. The seals were made by order of the Raja, which may account for the expressions 'wise minister' and 'receptacle of delight' being used, that being the Raja's opinion of the persons named, and not their own (perhaps).

• श्री ०

No. 9 शाहनरपति हर्षनिधान मोरेश्वरसुत भैरव प्रधान.

Bhairava, the son of Moreshwar, the Minister of King Sháhu, the Receptacle of Compassion.

Bahiro Pant, second son of Moro Trimal Pingley, was appointed Peishwa by King Sháhu on the death of his brother Nilkantráo A.D. 1708. In 1713 he commanded an expedition sent to protect the Concan and to repel Ángria, but was defeated and made prisoner, and in consequence was deprived of his office in 1714. He was succeeded by Báláji Vishvanáth, the founder of the second line of Peishwa, whose seal unfortunately is not in this collection.

A silver seal with heart-shaped face and hexagonal handle; weight $4\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab handle same pattern, but no face.

No. 10 श्रीशिव श्रीराजाशाहनरपती हर्षनिधान माधवराव बल्लाळ प्रधान.

(A bow to the) glorious Shiva. Mádhavaráo Ballál, the Minister of the King Sháhu, the Lord of Men, the Receptacle of Delight.

लेखनसीमा.

Mádhavaráo Ballál was invested as Peishwa by Rám Rájá in 1761, and enjoyed that office until his death in 1772, during the reign of the same Raja. As it appears he was but five years old at the time of the death of Sháhu I., and died six years before the accession of Shahu II., the description of him as minister of king Sháhu seems inexplicable. "Although the military talents of Mahdoo Ráo were very considerable, his character as a sovereign is entitled to far higher praise, and to much greater respect, than that of any of his predecessors." (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 228.)

The letters underlined are erroneously put long.

A silver seal with heart-shaped face and round handle; weight $6\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 11.

ॐ श्री ०

राजाराम नरपति हर्षनिधान नारायणराव बल्लाळ मुख्यप्रधान.

Náráyanráo Ballál, the Chief Minister of H. H. Raja Rám, the Lord of Men, the Receptacle of Delight.

लेखनसीमा.

Náráyanráo succeeded on the death of his brother Mádhavaráo, and held the office of Peishwa only one year, when he was assassinated at the instigation of his uncle Raghunáth, as narrated in Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 216. He was then only eighteen years old.

A gold seal with round face and fluted handle; weight 11 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The last letter is reversed न. There is a story about this, viz.:—The seal was brought by the maker of it into the Rájá's presence and an impression made of it on paper, when this error was discovered. But as the letter न represents adversity it was allowed to remain reverted, and thus express prosperity.

No. 12.

ॐ श्री ०

श्रीराजाराम नरपति हर्षनिधान नारायणराव बल्लाळ मुख्यप्रधान.

Náráyanráo Ballál, the Chief Minister of the illustrious Rájá Rám, the Lord of Men, the Receptacle of Delight.

लेखनसीमा.

A gold seal with oval face; weight 6 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $2\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

The legend is the same as on the last seal, except that श्री is added before the king's name. The final letter is reversed as on the last seal.

THE PANT SACHIV FAMILY.

One of the eight hereditary ministers of the old Mahratta Empire.

The first Pant Sachiv, appointed by Sivájí in 1674, was Anájí Dattu, whom Sambhájí Maharaja executed at Pratabghur in 1680. He was succeeded by Rámchandra Nilkantha, who afterwards resigned the office, which then remained vacant for some time, until the appointment of Sankrájí Pant, after whose time the office became hereditary in the family.

Náro Pant.

(Seal No. 14.) | Shankrájí Pant.

A.D. 1697 to 1707.

(Seal No. 15.) | Náro Pant.

A.D. 1707 to 1737.

Adopted his nephew.

Chimnájí Pant.

A.D. 1737 to 1757.

Sadáshivaráo.

A.D. 1757 to 1787.

Ragunathráo.

A.D. 1787 to 1791.

Shankrájí Pant.

A.D. 1791 to 1798.

Adopted.

Chimnájí.

A.D. 1798 to 1827.

⋮
Adopted.

(Seal No. 16.) | Raghunáth.

A.D. 1827 to 1839.

⋮
Adopted.

(Seal No. 17.) | Chimnájí.

A.D. 1839 to 1871.

|
Shankar Ráo.

No. 13.

श्री० हु० तपासनि जील्हा भोर०

The royal or Government revision or inquiry, (*i.e.*, the audit of the revenue accounts), Zillah Bhore.

This seal appears to belong to the office of the Pant Sachiv. हु० is the contraction of हुजुर royal.

The letter underlined is wrongly put long.

A short silver seal, with heart-shaped face; weight 4½ tolas.

श्री. शंकराजी नारायण

Shri Shankarájí Náráyan.

No. 14.

पन्नाबधिरयमाति

Here shines the limit of the document.

Shankarájí Náráyan was appointed Pant Sachiv in 1697. He committed suicide in 1707, from remorse, it is said, in consequence of having taken a solemn oath to maintain the cause of Tárábái against his lawful prince.

A small silver seal, with oval face pointed at the side; weight 2½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 2½ tolas.

No. 15.

श्रीमच्छंकरराज नारायण

Náráyan, the son of the illustrious Shankar.

मोर्तबसह

This is Náro Pant of the genealogy, third son of Shankarájí Náráyan. He succeeded his father in the office.

A small silver seal with oval face and foliated handle; weight $2\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 1 tola.

No. 16.

श्रीराजाप्रतापसिंह छत्रपती चरणीतत्पर रघुनाथराव चिमणाजी सचिव निरंतर.

The Minister Ragunáthráo Chimnájí, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Pratáp Sinha, the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

श्रीपञ्चावधिरय भाति.

Here shines the limit of the document.

He was appointed Pant Sachiv in 1827 and died in 1839.

The long ती is wrongly put for the short ति.

A silver seal with heart-shaped face and plain round body; weight $7\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

Joined together by silver ring.

No. 17.

० श्री ०

श्रीराजाशाहाजि छत्रपती चरणी तत्पर चिमणाजीरघुनाथ सचिव निरंतर.

The Minister Chimnájí Ragunáth, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhájí, the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

श्री. पञ्चावधिरयं माति.

The adopted son of Ragunáthráo Chimnájí. Appointed in the year 1839.

ती of छत्रपति is written long here also. On the small seal म is engraved instead of भ in भाति.

A silver seal, with heart-shaped face; weight $8\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of the same pattern; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

THE PANDITRAO FAMILY.

One of the eight ministers of the Raja of Satara.

Sivájí bestowed this office in 1661 on Raghunáth Bhata.

Sambhájí in 1683 appointed Kalájí Kalusha, who was killed in 1688, after which the office remained for some time vacant. Sháhu I. appointed his family priest.

Mudgalbhat,
A.D. 1715.
|
(Seal No. 18.) | Raghunáth,
A.D. 1754.
|
Rámchandra.
|
(Seal No. 19.) | Raghunáth,
A.D. 1796.

No. 18. श्रीमुद्गलदयावासशाहुराजप्रसादजा
मुद्रापंडितरायस्य रघुनाथस्य राजते.

(Here) shines the seal of Raghunáth, the Chief or Prince of the Learned, obtained by the favour of King Sháhu,—(the royal favour itself) being gained through the mercy of the illustrious Sage Mudgal.

लेखनवधि.

The limit of the writing.

Raghunáth, son of Mudgalbhat, was appointed by Sháhu I.

A small seal with oval face and foliated body; weight $3\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The second letter of the word मुद्गल appears more like द्ग. "Mudgal is said to be the name of a Rishi said to be the author of the Rig-Veda." (M. Williams.) "A sage of this name is recorded in the Mahabharata to have lived a life of poverty, piety and self-restraint," &c. (Dowson's Classical Dictionary.) It is also said to be a name of the god Ganpati.

No. 19. श्रीमुद्गलदयावासशाहुराजप्रसादजा
मुद्रा पंडितराजस्य रघुनाथस्य राजते.

Here shines the seal of Raghunáth, the Prince (i.e., the best) of the Learned—the seal obtained by the favour of King Sháhu, which (i.e., the king's favour) itself was gained by the grace of the illustrious Sage Mudgal.

लेखनालंकारः

The ornament or decoration of the writing.

This is believed to be the seal of Raghunáth, son of Rámchandra, who was Panditráo in the time of Sháhu II., but there is nothing in the legend to show that it is not another seal of Raghunáth of the time of Sháhu I.

The inscription is similar to the last, except that the word is पंडितराज instead of पंडितराय.

A silver seal with oval face ; weight 5 tolas. Mortab of same pattern, but round face ; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

THE CHITNIS* FAMILY.

Jiváji, *alias* Malharáo,
died in A.D. 1742.

↓
Rámráo,
died in A.D. 1805.

(Seal No. 20.) | Malharráo,
died in A.D. 1823.

(Seal No. 21.) | Narharráo,
alias Balvantráo,
died in A.D. 1843.

No. 20.

श्री

श्रीराजा शाहू छत्रपती चरणी तत्पर मल्लारी रामराव चौदनिवीस निरंतर.

The Secretary Mallári Rámráo, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

~ लेखनसीमा

He was appointed during the reign of Sháhu II.

छत्रपति is again engraved with long ती.

A silver seal with octagonal face and ornamented body ; weight 5 tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 21.

श्रीराजा प्रतापसिंह चरणी तत्पर मल्लारसुत बळवंतराव चिटणीस निरंतर.

The Secretary Balvantráo, the son of Mallar, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Pratáp Sinha.

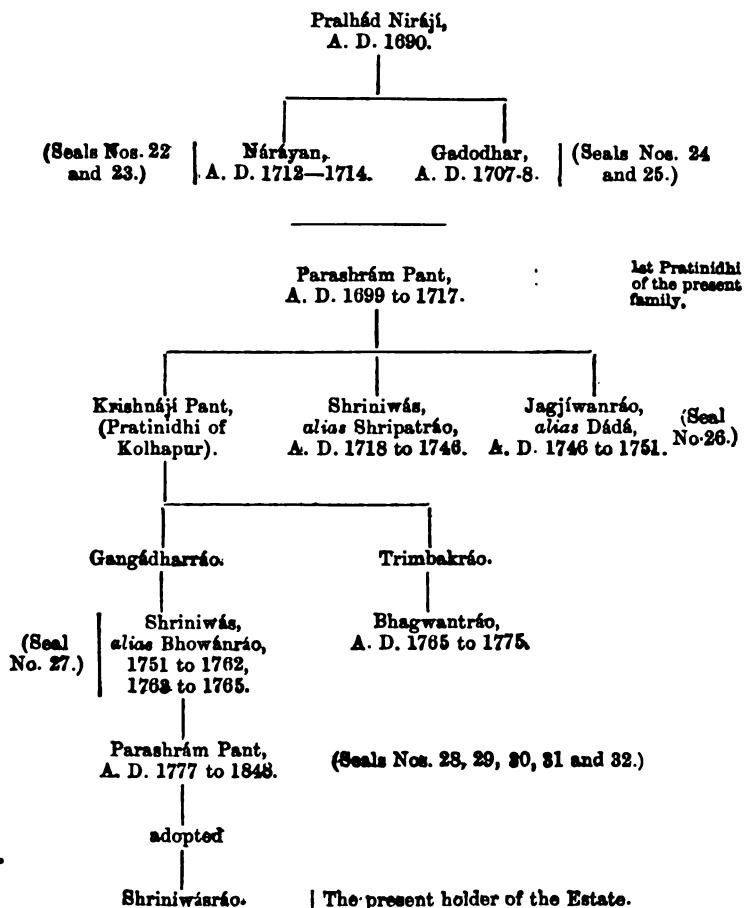
~ लेखनसीमा

Balvantráo succeeded his father in office during the reign of Pratáp Sinha.

A tall silver seal with octagonal face ; weight 5 tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

* Clerk of Correspondence appointed by the great Sivájl.—Grant Duff, Chapter VII., page 237.

THE PRATINIDHI.



The present family is descended from Trimbak Krishna Kulkarni of Mouje Kinhai in the Koregaon Taluka. His son, Parashrá́m Pant, was appointed Pratinidhi by Rájá Rám in 1698, but in the following year was made Peishwa instead. In 1700 he was again appointed Pratinidhi by Tárábái, widow of Rájárám, whose chief general he was in the civil war of that time. He was taken prisoner by Sháhu in 1707, and the office of Pratinidhi confirmed on Gadodhar Prahád, the son of the Prahád Náráyan. On the death

of Gadodhar in 1710, Parashráam Pant was restored, but the office was again taken from him the following year and conferred on Náráyan Pralhád. The office was however again restored to him in 1713-14, and made hereditary in his family.

No. 22.

ॐ श्री ०

शाहुभूपविश्वासनिधि प्रल्हादजन्मनः
नारायणस्य मुद्रेयं बाळेंदुरिव राजते.

Here shines, like the newly-risen moon (*lit.*, the young moon), the seal of Náráyan, the son of Pralháda, the Receptacle of the Confidence of King Sháhu.

राजते लेखनावधी

Náráyan was appointed Pratinidhi A.D. 1712.

Here the attribute विश्वासनिधि by the strict rules of Sanskrit grammar qualifies Pralháda, but it is no doubt meant to apply to Náráyan. The cerebral ळ is wrongly put for the dental ल.

A silver seal, with octagonal face and handle, rudely ornamented ; weight 4½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight 2 tolas.

No. 23.

श्रीमच्छंभुकभक्तस्य शाहुप्रतिनीधेर्मता
नारायणस्य मुद्रेयं प्रल्हादतनुजन्मनः ॥

This is the honoured seal of Náráyan, the son of Pralháda, the Vicegerent of Sháhu, the devotee (*i. e.*, devotee attached to) of the glorious Tryambak (*i. e.* Shiva).

लेखनावधि

The limit of the writing.

According to Grant Duff, Náráyan was killed by Zulfikar Khan in 1698 ; but these seals would show that this was not so, as Sháhu, whose vicegerent he is here said to be, was not released from captivity until after the death of Aurangzib in 1707, and not formally seated on the throne until 1707-8, and really he held the office of Pratinidhi under Sháhu from 1712 to 1714, during a time when Parashráam Pant was deprived of it.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse. The long नी in प्रतिनिधि is in defiance of grammar and meter put for the short नि.

A short silver seal, with eight-foil face ; weight 3½. Mortab same pattern ; weight 1½ tolas.

No. 24.

श्रीशंकर ॥ श्रीशाह छत्रपति कृपानिधी ॥ प्रल्हादसुत गदाधर प्रतिनिधी.

(A bow to) Shri Shankar (i.e. Shiva) Gadodhar, the son of Pralhád, the Vicegerent (of) the illustrious Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

लेखन: सीमा.

The limit of the writing.

Was appointed Pratinidhi by Shahu on his obtaining possession of Satara and formally seating himself on the throne (Grant Duff, Vol I., page 418), but was soon after deprived of the office, which was then given to Parashráam Pant.

The final vowels in two words are wrongly put long धी instead of short धि.

A silver seal with oval face, octagonal handle; weight 5 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 2¼ tolas.

No. 25. श्रीशंकर श्रीशाह छत्रपती कृपानिधी प्रल्हादसुत गदाधर प्रतिनिधी.

(A bow to) Shri Shankar (i.e. Shiva) Gadodhar, the son of Pralháda, the Vicegerent of the illustrious Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

मोर्तबसुद.

The same Pratinidhi.

This is quite the same legend as the last, but the final vowel of छत्रपति is here wrongly put long, and that of the last word rightly short.

A short silver seal, with octagonal handle, rudely ornamented; weight 4½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 1½ tolas.

No. 26.

० श्री ०

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजा शाहछत्रपतिस्वामि
कृपानिधि तस्य जगजीवन परशुराम प्रतिनिधी

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Jagajivan Parashurám, the Vicegerent of H. H. the illustrious King Shahu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

The youngest son of Parashráam Trimbak succeeded his brother Shrinivas in 1746-47. (Grant Duff, Vol. II., page 32-41.)

The final vowel of the last word is here again long instead of short.

A gold seal with round face and handle, ornamented with flowers, &c. ; weight $4\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. No Mortab.

No. 27. श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजाराजमल्लत्रपति स्वामि कृपानिधि
तस्य श्रीनिवाससंयाधर प्रतिनिधी.

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Shrinivás Gangádhār, the Vicegerent of King Rijá Rám, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

मोर्तबसुद्ध.

Shrinivás Gangádhār, or Bhowánráo, succeeded his great uncle Jagjivan. Peishwa Raghunáthráo displaced him, and raised his own infant son to the dignity of Pratinidhi. (Grant Duff, Vol. II., page 169.) On the very day he died a son was born to him, who was named Parashráam.

The same mistake is again to be noticed on this seal.

A silver seal with octagonal face and handle, of rough workmanship; weight $5\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 28.

~ श्री ०

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजा सङ्कुलत्रपति
स्वामि कृपानीधी तस्य परस्वरान श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधी

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Parashráam Shrinivás, the Vicegerent of H. H. the King Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

This is the seal of Parashráam Shrinivás under Sháhu II., and would be better placed after No. 30.

The account of his quarrel with his mother and the Peishwa, his confinement and deliverance by his Telin mistress, his subsequent rebellion, capture and imprisonment are narrated in Grant Duff, Vol. III, pages 339-342.

All the the seals of the Pant Pratinidhi begin with श्रीआई आदि पुरुष. The first part आई is the shortened form of Ambai, i.e., the goddess Amba or Bhawáni, the special family deity of the Pratinidhi, and still held in great veneration by their descendants at Oandha. The second part आदिपुरुष 'the original person or the supreme soul' is generally applied to Shiva or Vishnu. The final vowels of two words ending in धि are wrongly put long.

A short gold seal with octagonal face ; weight 5½ tolas. Mortab, handle without face.

No. 29.

ॐ श्री ०

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजाराम छत्रपति स्वामि
कृपानिधि तस्य परशराम श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधि.

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Parashráam Shrinivás, the Vicegerent of H. H. Rájá Rám, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

राजते लेखनावधी

(Here) shines the limit of the writing.

Parashráam Shrinivás was born the same year as Rám Ráj died, i. e., 1777. This was therefore his seal when only a few months old.

The errors noted on the last seal are not found here, but on the small seal the common mistake is seen.

A gold seal very like the last, with octagonal face ; weight 4½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight 2 tolas.

No. 30.

ॐ श्री ०

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजाराम छत्रपति स्वामि
कृपानिधि तस्य परशराम श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधि.

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Parashráam Shrinivás, the Vicegerent of H. H. the illustrious Rájá Rám, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

राजते लेखनावधि

It is strange that two seals should have been required for this infant, during the short time between his birth and the death of Rám Ráj.

The legend is identical with the previous one. The error on the small seal is corrected.

A gold seal with octagonal face and handle ; weight 6½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight 2½ tolas.

No. 31.

० श्री ॐ

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजाप्रतापसिंह छत्रपति
स्वामि कृपानिधि तस्य परशराम श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधि.

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Parashráam

Shrínivás, the Vicegerent of H. H. the illustrious King **Pratáp Sinha**, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

राजते लेखनावधि.

(Here) shines the limit of the writing.

Parashram remained in the hands of the Peishwa and was deprived of his jaghir until the reduction of the Peishwa and re-settlement of the country in 1818.

This again is the same person under **Pratáp Singh**.

A gold seal with octagonal face and handle; weight $6\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 32.

० श्री

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजा शाहाजि छत्रपति
स्वामि कृपानिधि तस्य परशराम श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधि

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! **Parash-rám Shrínivás**, the Vicegerent of H. H. the illustrious King **Sháhájí**, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

राजते लेखनावधि

This is the Pratinidhi's seal under **Sháhájí**, the last Raja. He died in 1848.

श्री for धि is again seen on the small seal.

A gold seal, with octagonal face and handle; weight 6 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

THE MUTÁLIK* FAMILY.

Shevdeo Pant.

Emájí Pant.

Shevdeo Pant.

Antájí Pant.

Vásudeo, *alias*
Bává Sáheb,
died in A.D. 1783.

adopted.

* Mutálik, or duty of the Pratinidhi.

(Seal No. 33.)

Antáji, *alias*
Dádá Sáheb,
died in A.D. 1822.

|
Náryanráo, *alias*
Tátia Sáheb,
died in A.D. 1834.

⋮
adopted

⋮
Antáji, *alias*
Dádá Sáheb.

|
Náryanráo.

No. 33. श्रीभवानीप्रसन्न. श्रीराजासाहूछत्रपती महिपाळकतस्थ
भाताजी वासुदेव आज्ञाधारक,

May the glorious Bhawání be propitiated! Atáji Vāsudeo, obedient (*lit.*, the holder of orders) to the illustrious Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Protector of the World (*lit.*, the earth).

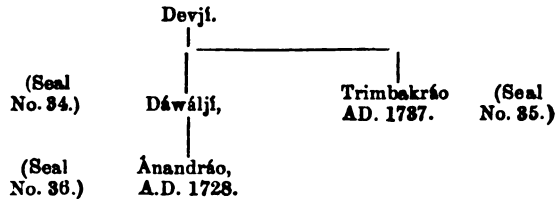
मोतेबसुद.

This appears to be the seal of Antáji, the adopted son of Vāsudeo, who was Mutálik during the reign of Sháhu II.

The छ in महिपालक is wrongly written.

A silver seal, face with eight-leaved margin and round body ; weight $4\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

THE SOMAVANSHI FAMILY.



No. 34.

श्रीराजासाहू(हु) छत्रपति स्वामिचरपितत्यर रावलजी
सोमोशी सरलस्कर नीरतर.

Dáwálji Somoshi (*i.e.*, of the lunar race), the Chief of the Army, devoted to the feet of H. H. the illustrious king Sháh(u), the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

लेखनसीमा

This is the person on whom Sháhu conferred the rank of Sur Lashkar in 1715. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 439.)

Here शाह is wrongly put for शाहु जि should be long सोमोली is a corrupt form of सोमवंशी. The last word should be निरंतर.

A silver seal, with octagonal face and handle; weight $4\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No 35.

श्रीराजाशाहुचरणीतस्वर श्रीबकराव सोमवंशी सरलस्कर.

Trimbakráo Somavanshi (*i.e.* born of the lunar race or family), the Chief or Commander of the Army, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhu.

मोर्तबसुद

The first syllable of the name is written long by mistake, and the nasal sign is omitted.

A small silver seal, octagonal face and handle; weight 4 tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight 2 tolas.

No. 36.

श्रीराजाशाह चरणि तस्वर आनंदराव सोमवंशि सरलष्कर.

Anandráo Somevanshi (*i.e.*, of the lunar race), the Chief of the Army, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháh(u).

मोर्तबसुध.

Here शाह is again written instead of शाहु and जि and शि should be long.

Silver seal, octagonal face and body; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

THE NIMBÁLKAR FAMILY.

Another principal chief, under the Bijapur government, was the Naik of Phultan, whose title was Rao Naik Nimbálkar, or Phultan Rao. The original name of this family is said to have been Powar, the name Nimbalkar is derived from the village of Nimbálik, now called Nimluk, where his ancestor resided. The origin of his Deshmukhee claims, on Phultan Desh, is unknown. The family is considered one of the most ancient in Maharashtra.

Nimbálkar was made Sur-Deshmukh of Phultan before the middle of the seventeenth century, by the king of Bijapur, as appears by original sunnuds of that date. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., Chapter II., pages 85-86.)

(Seal No. 37.)	Vángojí Naik. | A.D. 1570 to 1630.
(Seal No. 38.)	Mudháji Naik. | A.D. 1630 to 1644. | Killed by the King of Bijapur.
(Seals Nos. 39 and 40.)	Bajáji Naik. Prisoner at Bijapur until A.D. 1651 to 1676. Vángojí Naik. | A.D. 1676 to 1693.
(Seal No. 41.)	His nephew, Jánojí Naik. | A.D. 1693 to 1748.
(Seals Nos. 42, 43, and 44.)	Mudháji Naik. A.D. 1748 to 1765. His widow Sagunábái. | A.D. 1765 to 1774. adopted Málojí Naik. | A.D. 1774 to 1777. adopted
(Seals Nos. 45 and 46.)	Jánráo Naik. | A.D. 1777 to 1825. adopted Bajáji Naik (or Bánají). A.D. 1827 to 1828. His mother Sáhebbi | adopted
(The present Jaghirdar.)	Mudháji Naik A.D. 1841.

No. 37.

वज्जगोजि नाईक.

Vanágoji Naik.

This is the oldest seal in the collection, being that of the "Wangojee Naik, better known by the name of Jugpal, who lived in the early part of the seventeenth century, and was notorious for his restless and predatory habits. The sister of Jugpal was the grandmother of the famous Sivajee." (Grant Duff., Vol. I. p., 86.)

A figure of a plough is under the inscription. The letters underlined are in the Modi character.

Small silver seal with square face and body; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. •

No. 38.

मुधोजी वलुगोजी नरक

Mudhojí Vanágojí Naik,

मरताब.

Son of Vanagojí.

The letters underlined are in Modi character and न is used instead of न् in the last word.

Small silver seal with square face and sides; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same general pattern but with heart-shaped face and round body; weight 1 tola.

No. 39.

बजाजी महाराजी नाईक.

Bajáji Mahádáji Náik.

मोतबसुवर.

The son of Mudhojí, contemporary of Siváji.

A letter is in Modi character on this seal also.

The reading of the second name is doubtful to me, the first letter seeming to be more like क but the Pundits have given महाराजी.

Small silver seal, square face and octagonal body; weight 2 tolas. Mortab same pattern, one heart-shaped face and round body; weight $\frac{3}{4}$ tola.

No. 40.

श्री. बजाजी मुधोजी नाईक.

Shri Bajáji Mudhojí Náik.

मोतबसुवर.

The same Náik.

On this seal the second name is undoubtedly मुधोजी.

Small silver seal with square face and eight-sided body, carved and ornamented; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern but face heart-shaped; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 41. श्रीरामचरणी तत्पर जानाजी वणगाजी नाईक नींबाळकर.

Jánáji Vanagáji Náik Nimbálkar, devoted to the feet of Shri Rám.

Jánojí Nimbálkar is mentioned in Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 95, as fighting for the Peishwa in 1756.

By Shri Rám, probably the deity of that name is meant.
Silver seal, square face, eight-sided body, rudely ornamented ;
weight 3 tolas. Mortab heart-shaped face and rounded body ;
weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 42.

श्रीमाहाराजचरणी तत्पर मुधोजी नारक. नीरतर.

Mudhojí Náik, devoted to the feet of His Highness (*lit.* the great king).

लेखनसीमा

Mudhojí, son of Janojí.

The name of the king is not given. The र underlined is used instead of र and the नी ought to be short.

Silver, eight-sided body, rudely carved, face square and brass ;
weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

Mortab same pattern, face heart-shaped, brass ; weight 1 tola.

No. 43.

मुधोजी जानोजी नार्क

Mudhojí Jánojí Náik.

This is the same man.

The letters underlined are in Modi.

Silver, square face, round ornamented body ; weight $2\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

No. 44.

श्रीरामचरणी तत्पर मुधोजी जानोजी नार्क देशमुख नीबाळकर.

Mudhojí Jánojí Náik Deshmukh Ni(m)balkar, devoted to the feet of Shri Rám.

श्रीमर्बादा घोमते मम.

Shri. Hero shines my limit.

This again is the same, the name is given in full. A plough is engraved on this seal.

Silver, of rude workmanship, face square, body round and thin ;
weight 3 tolas.

Mortab of same pattern, with heart-shaped face ; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 45.

श्रीरामचरणी मालोजीसुत जानाजी नाईक नीबालकर देशमुख

Jánojí Náik Ní(m)balkar Deshmuk, the son of Málojí, devoted to the feet of Shri Rám (*i.e.* the deity).

मोर्तबसुद्.

This is supposed to be the same as Jánráo on the next seal.

The इ of नाईक should be long. नीबालकर is written instead of निबालकर with sometimes छ and sometimes ल.

Silver, square face, eight-sided body, rudely ornamented ; weight $6\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

Mortab, heart-shaped face, rounded body ; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 46.

श्रीरामचरणि तल्लर मालोजीसुत जानराव नाईक नीबाळकर.

Jánráo Náik Nimbálkar, the son of Málojí, devoted to the feet of Shri Rám.

मोर्तब सुद्.

Jánráo son of Maloji.

Silver, square face, eight-sided ornamented handle ; weight $5\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

Mortab same pattern, heart-shaped face, six-sided handle ; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

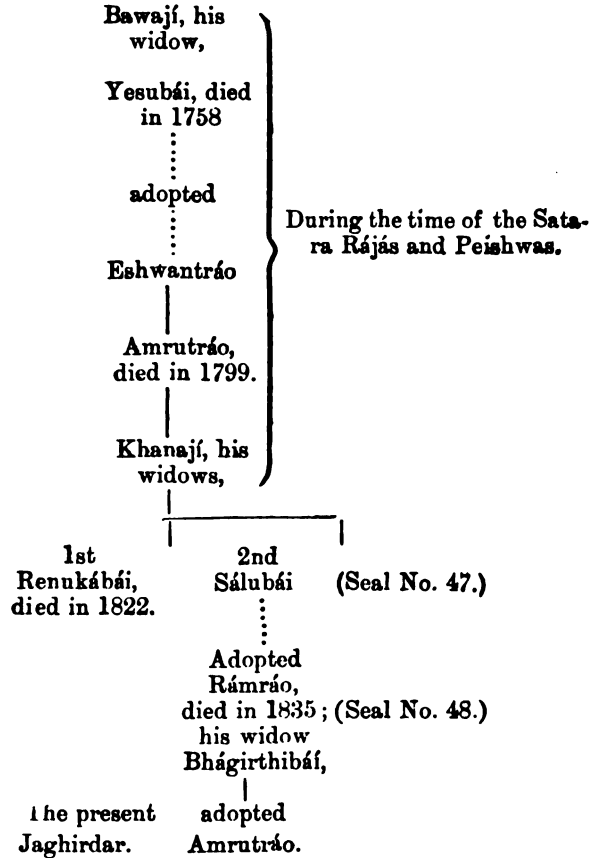
THE DUFLAY FAMILY.

"The Duflays were Deshmookhs of the Pergunna of Jhutt, not far from Beejapoor ; their original name was Chowan, and they acquired the surname of Duflay from their village of Duflapoor, of which they were hereditary Patels. They held a munsub, but no title from the Beejapoor kings." (Grant Duff, Vol. I., pp. 87, 88.)

Lakhmojí

Shetiají

} During the time of the
Mahomedan kings of
Bijapur.



No. 47. श्रीरामलिंग स्वर्णि तत्पर साळुबाई डफळे देशमुख प्राच्यार प्रांत
विजापुर. नीरतर.

Sálubái Daffe Deshmukha (of) the four districts of the province (of) Bijapur, devoted to the feet of the glorious Rámling. For ever.

Sálubái, widow of Khánájí.

This lady held the Deshmukhi of the four districts, named **जत**, **Jat**, **करजगी** Karajgi, **बारडोल** Bardol, **होनवाड** Honwad. प्रा is a contraction for the word pargana or district; according to another reading of the inscription the word प्राच्यार is taken as meaning 'Eastern.' The first syllable of नीरतर is wrongly written long.

Large silver seal, heart-shaped face, plain round body; weight $5\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 48. श्रीरामलिंग. श्रीराजा प्रतापसिंह छत्रपती चरणी तत्पर रामराव
उफळे देशमुख पो। जत करजगी. नीरतर.

(A bow to) Shri Rāmling. Rāmrao Daffe Deshmukha pargana Jat and Karajgi, devoted to the feet of the illustrious king Pratáp Sinha, the Lord of the Umbrella.

Rāmrao was the adopted son of Sālubái.

पो is here taken to stand for pargana, but it may be a contraction for पैवस्ती 'inhabitant.' The final syllable of छत्रपति is written long.

Large silver seal, with heart-shaped face, eight sided, with ornamented body; weight $8\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

AKALKOTE.

On the return of Sháhu to the Deccan after his release from captivity by the Emperor of Delhi, he was attacked at the village of Parud by the partisans of Tárábái, under Syájí Lakhanday, the patel. Syájí was killed and his followers defeated. His widow threw herself and her three boys at the feet of Sháhu, imploring his forgiveness and protection. The king told the mother that if she would give up the oldest son, Ranojí, a boy of about 10 years old, he would provide for him. The mother gave her son up, and he being a good looking lad, grew in favour with the Rájá; the name of Faté Sing was given to him on the occasion of his first success in the field, and in 1712 Sháhu took him into his family, gave him the family name of Bhonslay, and afterwards bestowed on him the Akalkote State in hereditary jaghir.

Faté Sing died in 1760.

Faté Sing, *alias* Bábá Sáheb,
A. D. 1749 to 1760,
Adopted his nephew,
|
Sháhají, *alias* Bábá Sáheb,
A. D. 1760 to 1789.
|
Faté Sing, *alias* Abbá Sáheb.
A. D. 1789 to 1822.
|

Málojí, *alias* Bábá Sáheb,
A. D. 1822 to 1828.

Sháhají, *alias* Appá Sáheb,
A. D. 1828 to 1857.

Málojí, *alias* Bábá Sáheb,
A. D. 1857 to 1870.

Sháhají, *alias* Bábá Sáheb,
A. D. 1870.

No. 49.

श्रीशिवशंभुस्वामिनि शाहभूपे (च) पार्थिवोत्तसे ॥
परिपनुचेतोवृतः फतेसिहस्य मुद्रेयं ॥
(परिसर्पनुचेतोवृतः)

May this seal of Fattesinha (the favourite) (serve or go to the feet of the best of kings Shivájí, Sambhájí and Sháhu. or, This (is) the seal of Fattesinha, whose mind bows to the glorious Shiva, Shambu and the head ornament of princes, King Sháhu.

लेखनावधी मुद्रा

The mark of the limit of the writing.

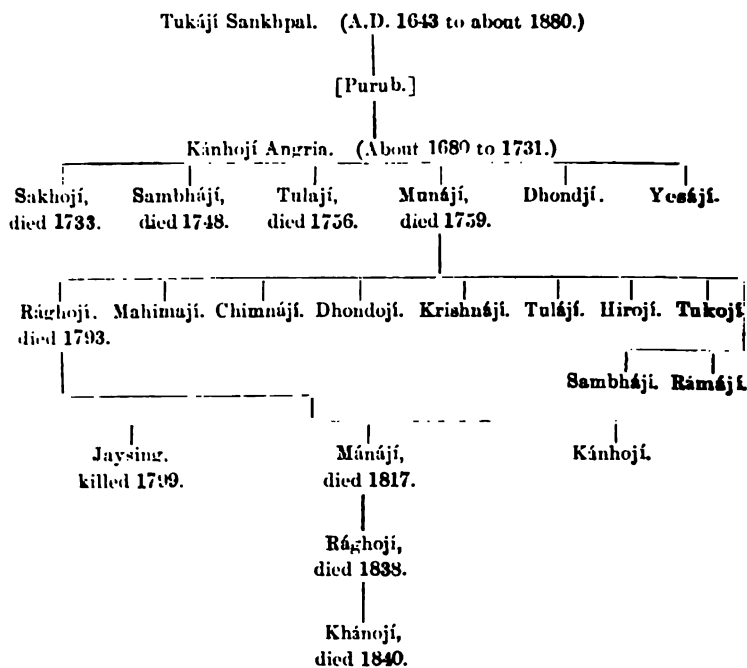
Silver seal with oval face and rounded plain body ; weight 5 tolas.
Mortab of same pattern ; weight 2 tolas.

This is the Sanskrit Áryá metre. In the first part some such letter as च is wanted to make up the metrical feet. In the second part the expression underlined is quite wrong ; it gives no sense, letters being omitted and some transposed. That written in brackets is, as suggested by Prof. Bhandárkar, the expression probably meant.

ANGRIA.

The founder of the family was Tukájí Sankhpál. According to Goose, a well-informed writer, Tukájí was a negro born in an island in the Gulf of Ormuz, a Musalmán by religion, who in 1643 was shipwrecked near Cheul. He helped Sháhji in his war with the Moghals, married the daughter of Shahji's minister, and had a son named Purab, who was the father of Kánhojí. Kánhojí, who is said to have got his name Angria from Angarvádi, a village near Harnai in Ratnágiri, was in 1698 appointed second in command of Rájárám's fleet. In 1698, on the death of Sidojí Gujár, the admiral of the

fleet, Kánhojí, succeeded to the command. He soon showed himself a most daring and enterprising leader, plundering the ships of all nations, and sacking all undefended towns from Trávankor to Bombay. He made Kolába, the small island fort close to Alibág, his head-quarters, and established stations at Swarndurg and Vijaydurg in Ratnágiri. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI., pp. 145-6.) According to other accounts, Kánhojí was the son instead of grandson of Tukájí. He was for about 30 years the terror of all shipping on the coast, and successfully resisted all attacks made on him by Moghals, Marathas, Dutch, Portuguese and English, and defeated the united forces of two and three of these Powers on more than one or two occasions.



Angria.

No. 50.

श्रीराज्राम चरनी साधर मुकोजीसुत कानाजी भागरे नीरतर

Kánáji Á(n)gare, the son of Tukojí, devoted to the feet of the illustrious Rájá Rám. For ever.

श्रीमयादिबं धने वयां

Here is the glorious limit full of wealth. (Stream of wealth.)

Kánají Angria, the son of Tukají, sat on the *gadi* of the Kolaba State in A.D. 1698, and died in 1729. He was second in command of the fleet of Rajaram in 1690. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 368.)

राज is wrongly written for राजा, नी for नी in चरणी. The nasal n of आंगरे is omitted.

The last word of the small seal is very peculiar.

Small silver seal, with oval face and eight-sided body, alternate sides ornamented; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab, oval face and rounded body; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

BHONSLE.

No. 51. मका बाई भो.

Maká Bai Bhonsle.

In the middle of the seal is the figure of a plough, above it being the sun and moon and मका बाई, and below it भो, probably a contraction for Bhonsle.

Silver, the face oval on a ring; weight $1\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

No. 52. श्रीरामराजे भोंसले देशमुख प्रांत वार्द.

Shri Rámráje Bhonsle, Deshmukha Prant (province) Vai.

मोर्तब सुद.

There is a figure of a plough beneath the inscription.

Silver, octagonal face and body, no carving; weight 3 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{3}{4}$ tola.

No. 53. श्रीरामराजे भोंसले देशमुख प्रांत कर्नाड.

Shri Rámráje Bhonsle, Deshmukha Prant, (*i.e.*, province) Karad.

मोर्तब सुद

These three seals belonged to the Deshmukhs of Prant Vai, an office belonging to the Rájás of Satara. As the Rájás attached great importance to these Deshmukhi Watans, they chose to affirm these seals to certain documents, although they had their proper seals as Rájás of Satara.

This seal is quite like the last one, except that another province is named.

Silver seal, with octagonal face and body; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 54.

०श्री०

शाहा शाह चरणी बृहभाव मारवेवसुत बसवतराव.

Yeshwantráo, the son of Mábadev, firmly attached to the feet of King Sháhu.

मोर्तब सुव.

This person held the offices of Khasnavis (Private Secretary) and Potnavis (Private Accountant).

Here बृ is wrongly put in the word बृहभाव

Well-made silver seal, with round face and body; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

Mortab of same pattern; weight 1 tola.

No. 55.

श्रीराजा शाह चरणी तस्पर आ देवमुख पा वार्डे माहासाजी
गणेश नीरंतर

Máhádájí Ganesh, Deputy Deshmukh of Pergana Vai, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhu. For ever.

लेखनावधी.

Máhádájí Ganesh was Deputy Deshmukh of Prant Wai.

In this शाह is again written instead of शाहु ण of चरणी is in Modi character, आ is an abbreviation for अजाहत which means 'deputy,' पा is abbreviation for pergana; the नीरंतर is a common error in these seals.

Silver seal, octagonal face and body; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 56.

۴۹ — شہابی گنس سری Mahádájí Gunesh.

This is probably a private seal of the same person.

Silver, ring handle, face oval, brass; weight 1 tola.

No. 57. श्रीस्वामिनो हस्तकस्येयं देवमौख्याधिकरिण

बाबासुन मदीयस्य मुद्रा वैरटिकेकवा.

This is the seal of me, the son of Baba, the attendant of his illustrious Highness, who has been invested with the authority of a Deshmukha (*i.e.*, Revenue Collector).

This is in Sanskrit shloka metre; it is curious that neither the name of the Deshmukh, nor that of the illustrious Highness, is mentioned as far as can be made out. It is supposed to be the seal of a Deputy Deshmukh.

The meaning of the last six letters cannot be made out, although the most learned have been consulted. There is probably some transposition of letters, as they are very distinctly engraved as here given.

Handsome silver seal, with round face and well carved body; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 58. श्रीशिवचरणी तत्पर प्रबाग आनत नीरंतर.

Prayága Ana(n)ta, devoted to the feet of the glorious Shiva.

मोर्तब सुद.

This man was appointed commandant of the Fort of Satara during the reign of Sháhu I. His descendants now enjoy in inam the village of Kalamba, Taraf Parali, in the Satara Collectorate.

The ग in प्रबाग is ill-shaped.

Silver seal, oval face, rounded rudely carved body; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

Mortab of same pattern; $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 59.

श्री

राजाशाहु छत्रपति स्वामी चरणि तत्पर पंताजी शिवडे नीरंतर.

Pantáji Shivade, devoted to the feet of H. H. the illustrious King Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella.

मोर्तब सुद.

The dignity of Ráj Adnya was conferred upon this person by a royal mandate, dated 1st Rabi-ul-Awal, A.D. 1727-28.

Silver seal, octagonal face and body; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 60.

श्रीभवाणीशंकर प्रसन्न. श्रीराजाशाहु स्वामी छत्रपती चरणी तत्पर

हरी मोरेस्वर नीरंतर.

May the glorious Bhawáni and Shankar (Shiva) be propitiated! Harí Mores(h)war devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

लेखनसीमा.

No royal mandate has been found conferring the dignity of Ráj Adnya on this person, but in a memo. prepared under the orders of Pratáp Singh, now lying among the records at Poona, Harí Moreshwar is shown to be one of the Ráj Adnyas.

स्व is written in error for श्व and there are the usual errors in quantity also.

Silver seal, oval face, round body; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 61.

श्रीहरी. माधवराव चरणी तत्पर बाबुराव कृष्ण(ण) निरंतर.

(A bow to) Shri Hari! Báburáo Krishna, devoted to the feet of Mádhavráo. For ever.

This man was Mamlatdar of the Fort of Satara. By a *sanad*, dated 10 Saban, A. D. 1797, he was dismissed from his appointment. He is spoken of as the agent of Nana Furniweis in the account of this in Grant Duff, Vol. III., p. 157.

The name after बाबुराव is written clumsily as above, but that Krishna was intended is evident from the next seal.

Silver, heart-shaped face, rounded body, roughly carved; weight $5\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 62. श्रीहरी बाजीराव चरणी तत्पर बाबुराव कृष्ण निरंतर.

(A bow to) Shri Hari (a deity). Báburáo Krishna, devoted to the feet of Bájiráo. For ever.

This seal appears to have been his when he was devoted to the Peishwa.

A silver seal of similar shape and pattern to No. 61; weight 6 tolas.

The 'shna' in Krishna is written in an archaic form, and is not very legible at first sight. It is however much more distinct than on the preceding seal. निरंतर is as usual written with the first syllable long.

No. 63. श्रीर्विजयते. श्रीमंवापस्वइंद्रभजनावसर्षवः

मुद्गानंतारमपुत्रस्य वासुदेवस्य राजते.

The Fortune prospers. Here shines the seal of Vésudeo, the son of Anantáram, who has obtained prosperity by the worship of the two feet of the glorious Ambá (i.e., the goddess Bhawani).

I have not been able to identify Vasudeo, son of Anantarám.

A silver seal, well ornamented, face oval, with 10-leaved edge, rounded body; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern, but wanting face.

As the inscription stands the name of Vasudeo's father is Anantáram, but such a name is not known. It is probable that the r put after v properly belongs to the r, the name would in that case read अनंतराम Anantarám, a name which though not common is analogous to other ordinary names as Dhurgarám, Shantarám, &c.

No. 64. श्रीराजारामचरणी तत्पर धावजीसुत बाबाजीपारट नीरंतर.

Báwá(bá)ji Párata, the son of Dháwají, devoted to the feet of the illustrious Rájá Rám. For ever.

This person is unknown also.

बाबाजी is no doubt a mistake for बाबाजी, पारट Párata is an unusual surname.

A silver seal, round face and plain body; weight 2 tolas.

No. 65. श्रीपांडुरंग चरसिद्धिभाव चागोजीसुतपीळाजी आवध.

Pílájí Jád hava, the son of Chá(n)gojí, firmly attached to the feet of Shri Pándurang (*i.e.* the deity).

मोर्तब सुह.

A Sillidar of this name is mentioned in Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 427, as assisting to save Balaji Vishvanath from the Senapati Chunder Sen Jadao.

The जि should be जी in चरणी, पिलाजी should be spelt with ल.

A silver seal, octagonal face and body, roughly carved in pattern; weight 3 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 1½ tola.

No. 66. श्रीमार्तंड चरसुणी चित खंडोजी बिन इमाजी योजुत.

Khandojí Thorat, the son of Damájí entirely (*lit.*, fully, wholly,) at the feet of the glorious Marta(n)d (*i.e.*, the Sun) or Khandobá.

मोर्तब सुह.

Unknown.

The letter underlined is indistinct, and the word चित is unusual.

Silver seal, oval face, body round and well ornamented in leaf pattern; weight 3 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 1½ tola.

No. 67. श्रीराजा शाह छत्रपती चरणी तस्पर यशवतराव पालकर

हावालदार नीरंतर.

The Hawáldár (*i.e.*, the head officer under a Subhedar or Revenue Collector) Yashwa(n)tráo Pálkar, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháh(u), the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

मोर्तब सुह.

It seems doubtful whether this was the seal of Yashvantráo Dábháde, who was appointed Senápati when a child on the death of his father Trimbakráo, A. D. 1731. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 510.)

Here Shah is again put for Sháhu, and the usual errors in quantities are made. ष is a mistake for श in बघर्षतराव.

Silver seal, round face and plain round body; weight 3½ tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight 1½ tola.

No. 68. श्रीशाह नृपवर्ष चरसुर्गि भातिसारर सेवक आनदराव
जाधव नीरतर.

The servant Ána(n)drao Jádhav, most respectful to the feet of the best of kings, the illustrious King Sháh(u). For ever.

मोर्तब सुह.

Unknown.

Silver, round face, body well carved in leaf ornament; weight 3½ tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight 1½ tola.

The letters underlined are miswritten as on other seals.

No. 69. श्रीमार्तंड चरसुर्गि चीतः खडाजीसुत सदीबाजी थारत.

Satiyáji Thárat (for Thorat), the son of Khadáji (Khandojí,) entirely devoted to the feet of the glorious Mártrand (i.e., the Sun).

मोर्तब सुह.

चीत is the same word as on seal No. 67. The last word should be थोरत.

Silver seal, of rude workmanship, oval face, and eight-sided plain body; weight 2½ tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight 1 tola.

No. 70. فتح افضل خان محمد شاهى بنده درگاه الهى سنه ۱۰۶۳

Fath Afzal Khán Muhammad Sháhi, 'the servant of God; year 1063.

This is probably the seal of Afzal Khan, the commander of the Bijapur army, who was so treacherously murdered by Siváji in October 1659, i. e., A. H. 1070. Grant Duff, in his account of this, Vol. I., p. 175, says that Afzal Khan's sword was still a valued trophy in the armoury of Siváji's descendant.

The workmanship and form of letters on this seal are far superior to the others in the Persian character in the collection.

Silver seal, round body, and heart-shaped copper face, beautifully cut; weight $4\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 71. ۱۰۵۹ شمس را روشني از نور محمد باشد

The sun has his light from the rays of Muhammad. Year 1059.

Small seal, silver body and oval agate face; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

Probably this was the seal of a man named Shams, whose patron was named Muhammad as well as his Prophet.

No. 72. ۴۳ مدننگ خانه زاد بادشاه عالم گير غازی

1111

Madan Sing, slave child of King Alamgir the Brave; Year 43.

Year 1111.

Madan Sing, illegitimate son of Sambhaji, was together with Sháhu and Yesubai captured at Raigurh in 1690, and kept a prisoner in the camp of Aurungzib. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 414.)

A. H. 1111 was the 43rd year of Alamgir's reign.

Silver ring, body round, brass foil; weight 2 tolas.

No. 73. ۱/۲/ ۷۱ شيخ قیلان غلام غوث

The fortunate Shaik Ghulam Ghose.

Silver seal, oval face, plain round body; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 74. دانجی بن گووندراو

Danji, son of Govindráo.

Small silver seal, round face, and eight-sided body; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 75. हुजूर अदालत.

The Royal or Government Court.

Silver ring, round face.

No. 76. जसी सरसुभा.

The Sar Subhá (i. e. the principal province) Japti.

Silver ring, round face.

This seal may have been impressed upon certain accounts of the management of some land and villages under attachment by the Sar Subhá.

- No. 77. श्रीखजीना लस्कर.
Shri. The Treasury-Guard.
Silver ring, heart-shaped face.
- No. 78. श्री मोर्तब सुध.
Shri. With the seal.
Heart-shaped face and silver wire handle.
ध is here written in error instead of ह्.
- No. 79. लेखनाळंकरण भाति.
(Here) shines the ornament or decoration of the writing.
Silver, oval face, rounded handle.
ळ is an error for ल.
- No. 80. पत्रावधिरखं भाति.
Here shines the limit of the writing.
- No. 81. मर्यादेखं जाजते.
Here shines the limit.
- No. 82. लेखनाळंकरण भाति.
(Here) shines the decoration of the writing.
- No. 83. श्रीमर्यादेखं विराजते.
Here shines forth the glorious limit.
Gold handle and heart-shaped silver face; weight 4½ tolas.
- No. 84. श्रीमर्यादेखं.
Here is the glorious limit.
Gold handle and heart-shaped face; weight 3½ tolas.
- No. 85. مرتب شد
Silver, oval face, round handle; weight 1½ tola.
- Area—
- No. 86. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله بادشاه شاه محمد معين الدين غازي
شاه عالم بهادر شاه غازي
There is but one God and Muhammad is the Prophet of God.
The King is Shah Muhammad Muayan-ud-deen Ghazi Shah Alum Bahadur Shah Ghazi.
Note.—The first phrase is written لا الا الله ل is omitted from رسول and ا from بهادر

Inner circle—

صاحب قرآني ملكة و سلطنة پادشاه بحكم الله و خدا محمد رسول
الله

A Fortunate Prince, he possessed and reigned king by the grace of God and the Lord Muhammad the Prophet of God.

Note.—صاحب is misspelt ساہب , ء is put for ح in بحکم and ل is omitted from رسول

Outer circle—

خليفة رهنمائي زله الحاجي ساهنساہی و عبادت اراي حقا آغا
الله شفا لاربي سفير رحيم

Khalif, Prophet, Protector of the Needy (Pilgrims), King of Kings, the ornament of Religion, verily like the Lord God, an undoubted Physician (cure), a kind Mediator.

Note.—There are many misspellings and some doubtful words in this part.

Very large silver seal, with oval handle and copper face; weight 15 tolas.

This seal is very puzzling, being extremely difficult to read, owing to misspellings and misshaped letters. Dr. Dymock is the only person who has made anything of the whole legend. Besides this there is the difficulty, whose seal was it? There can be no doubt, I think, that it is not a real one of any king, nor was it made by nor probably intended for use amongst persons having much knowledge of the language or character in which it is written, such errors as those in spelling the words Allah and Sahib for instance being so very gross. I am inclined to think it an imitation of the seal of one of the Mogal emperors or princes. The name is given as Shah Muhammad Muayan-ud-deen, but I know of no such person. Aurangzib's name was Muhi-ud-deen محي الدين, which seems nearest to this phonetically, but he had not the name Muhammad, and was generally known from quite early in his reign as Aurangzib, and certainly was so known in the Deccan. His son, afterwards Bahadur Shah, was named Muhammad Mauzam محمد معظم and he was for a long time Viceroy in the Deccan, under the name of Sultan Mauzam. His son, again, Jehándár Shah, had the name Mauz-ud-deen معزالدين.

The impression of no seal like it could be found in the Poona Daftar, but there are some of that of Sultan Mauzam with this legend.

محمد معظم شاه عالم بن المگیر پادشاه فازی (بن) شاه اکبر
۱۰۸۷ سنہ ۱۹

I think that probably Sultan Mauzam is the king or prince intended to be named on this seal, as he was so long in these parts viceroy of the Emperor, his father, and on the whole his name and titles are nearer to what is here given than those of the others, but at the same time it must be admitted that although there are many errors in the spelling, yet phonetically each word is tolerably correct, and that Muayan-ud-deen is perhaps in sound more like to Muhi-ud-deen than to Mauzam.

JOURNAL
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

No. XLIII. Vol. XVI.

ART XII.—*On the Auchityālaṃkāra of Kshemendra, with a Note on the Date of Patanjali.*—By Prof. PETERSON, D. Sc.

In the course of a visit paid recently to Rājendrasūri, a Jain religious teacher at the time in Ahmedabad, I noticed that his list of books, which he kindly let me look over, contained an entry Auchityālaṃkāra. Bühler, in his review of my First Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (Indian Antiquary, January 1884) pointed out that I had omitted from my list of the known works of the Kashmir poet Kshemendra a small treatise on rhetoric called Kavikanthābharaṇam, our first copy of which Bühler himself obtained. "An examination of my apograph of this manuscript by Mr. J. Schönberg,"¹ Bühler goes on to say, "has shown that it contains, besides the Kavikanthābharaṇam, another small treatise on Alāṃkāra called Auchityavichāracharchā." Rājendrasūri's Auchityālaṃkāra turned out to be the work here referred to: and through his courtesy in lending it I am able to offer in the following paper a short account of the valuable data for the history of Sanskrit literature which, within very small compass, it offers in rich profusion. A more extended notice of the book itself, and of the Kavikanthābharaṇam, which here also, as in the previous case, is presented in the same manuscript, I hope to give in my forthcoming Third Report. From the fact just alluded to it is perhaps to be conjectured that the two books were generally regarded as supplementary the one to the other.

¹ Mr. Schönberg has since published an account of the Kavikanthābharaṇam. Wien, 1884.

A word of preface is perhaps desirable as to the importance to us of a work like this. The poet Kshemendra tells us himself that one of his books, the *Samayamātrikā*, was finished during the reign of king Ananta, in the 25th year of the Kashmirian cycle = A.D. 1050 (Bühler's Report, p. 46). He was a most learned and voluminous writer, and, what is more to our purpose, he invariably gives his references when quoting illustrations of the breach or observance of the rhetorical rules he is discussing. We obtain from him then many names of Indian poets and their works, for all of which we get Kshemendra's own time as a lower date, after which they cannot have flourished or been written. Kshemendra's favourite method, as has been hinted, is to give first one or more examples of verses which comply with his rule, and to follow with one or more examples of verses which do not. It must be said for him that he deals out praise and censure as a true critic who is no respecter of persons. In more than one instance indeed he illustrates the two sides of the canon he is dealing with by different verses from the same work of his own. These verses by Kshemendra himself are not included in the analysis which follows.

I. AMARAKA. 1. आलोलामलकावली. Böhrling 1035, from *Amarusatakam*. १ तन्वंश्याः सुतरां रतांतसमवे. ४ हरिहरस्कंसादिभिर्वैतैः.

2. गंतव्यं यदि नाम निश्चितमहो गतासि केवं त्वरा
द्विचाण्येव पशानि तिष्ठतु भवान्पश्यामि वावन्मुखं ।
संसारे षट्क्रमाप्रवाहविगलद्वारा समे जीविते
को ज्ञानाति पुनस्त्वया सह मम स्वाहा न वा संगमः ॥

"If you must go you shall go; but why so soon? Turn and stand while I gaze on your face. Your life and mine are but two drops of the water that will rush out of the bucket when it turns the top of the wheel: and when that is done who can say whether you and I, in the lives to come shall ever meet again." *

षट्क्रमा may also mean a waterclock, when the figure would resemble our one of the 'sands of life.' But I think प्रवाह shows that the sense is as I have indicated. It would be curious if the same figure underlies a common, English colloquialism.

This verse is quoted also in the *Kavikānthābhāraṇam* (Schönberg, p. 13).² Our two examples show that this poet Amaraka is not to be

* "For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be
d up again." II Samuel. xiv. 14.

² In both manuscripts read दिवानि in the *Kavikānthābhāraṇam*, and पशानि before us. Professor Bhandarkar suggests पशानि Momena.

distinguished from the author of the Amaruśatakam. Aufrecht (Z. D. M. G. 27 7) thinks Amaru was the original form afterwards sanskritized into Amaru.

II. BHATTA INDURAJA. 1. आशय वारि परितः. Kāvya Prakāśa, p. 453 (Calc. Ed. 1876). β किं नाम साधितमनेन महार्पणेन. ४ पातालमूलकुहरे. Aufrecht (Z. D. M. G. 27, 94) cites this verse from the Śārngaddhara-paddhati under Śrīśuka. 2. आशये वडवानलः.

III. ŚRĪMAD UTPALARAJA. अही वा हारे वा. Böttlingk 844, from Bhartrihari.

IV. KARPAṬIKA.

1. क्षीतिनाभ्युषितस्य माषशिमिवक्षितार्पणे मज्जतः
शांतोऽग्निः स्फुटिताधरस्य धमतः क्षुत्क्षामकंडस्य मे ।
निद्रा कापि विमानितेव स्थिता संतज्य कूरं गता
सत्यात्मप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

“As I sat perishing with cold, and plunged like the moon in Māgha (the moon surrounded by clouds) in a sea of thought, the fire sank low, and my blistered lips and hunger-parched throat were of no avail to keep it alight. Sleep has left me and gone like an insulted wife : and the night, like land given to a good holder, is no whit spent.”

This is the verse which Kalhana in the Rājataranginī (III. 181), puts into the mouth of the poet Mātrigupta,* who is there said to have composed it impromptu, in reply to the king's enquiry as to why he alone of all the palace servants was not asleep. Its appearance here is noteworthy. Kshemendra in another passage of this small book quotes Mātrigupta by name. It is impossible, I think, to say whether we are to take Karpaṭika as the real name of the author of one of the works which are summarised for us in the Rājataranginī or as a synonym of Mātrigupta, referring to his condition as a suppliant for the king's favour. The verse occurs also in Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitāvalī, where it is ascribed to Mātrigupta, with the much better reading क्षीतिनाभ्युषितस्य माषशिमिवत् dried up with cold like a peaspod.

V. KĀLIDĀSA. 1. अथ स विषयव्यावृत्तात्मा. RV. IV. 70. 2 इदमसुलभं Vikram. Act II. α इदमसुलभवस्तुप्रार्थनादुर्निवारः. γ मलयवातांशालित. Both good readings.

3. इह निवसति मेरुः शीखरः श्माधराणां
इह विनिहितभाराः सागराः सम आन्धे ।
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तंभविभ्राजमानं
धरणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

* Compare Bhau Daji's Paper in Vol. VI. of this Journal, p. 213.

The heading to this verse is वया कुंतेपरशोत्वे कान्तिसस्य. I have not found the verse in any known work of Kālidāsa, and can only suppose that Kanteśvaradautyam is the title of a lost work by the prince of Indian poets. 4. कुरुपूजनस्य. KS. VIII. 87. Kshemendra's testimony to the authenticity of the eighth canto. a कुरुपूजनस्यवर्षपत्निकानि- 5. क्लोवं प्रथो संहर. KS. III. 72. 6. जातं वंशे. Meghadūta V. 6. Cf. note on No. 4. 8. लक्ष्मकायाः 7. बालेदुवकायि. KS. III. 29. 8. वनप्रकर्षे सति. KS. III. 28.

VI. KUMĀRADĀSA.

1. अत्रि विजिहीरि दृद्रोपगुह्यं त्वज्ज नवसंयमभीरु वज्जनं ।
अरुणकरोद्गम एष वर्तने वरतनु संप्रवसंति कुङ्कुटाः ॥

Böhtlingk 562, from Ind. Stud. 3, 414, where it was quoted from Aufrecht. MS. विजिहीरि. As long ago as 1859 Aufrecht, in his edition of Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Ujādi Sūtras, pointed out that the fragment of a verse वरतनु संप्रवसंति कुङ्कुटाः given by Ujjvaladatta in his comment on I. 82, occurs also in the Mahābhāshya, in the note on p. I, 3, 48. (Kielh. Ed. p. 283.) Aufrecht at the same time gave the whole verse as he found it quoted by Nārāyaṇa on Kedāra-bhāṭṭa. The discovery that Kshemendra quotes this verse and assigns it to Kumāradāsa will one day I hope prove a valuable datum for the Mahābhāshya itself. Unfortunately we do not yet know Kumāradāsa's own date. But the following verses by him are quoted in the Śārngaddharapaddhati and Subhāshitavali: and are presented here as, with the present example, presenting strong internal evidence that a writer who quotes Kumāradāsa cannot have lived at the date now widely accepted for Patanjali.

1. पश्यन्हनो मन्मथबाणपातैः
सक्तो विधातुं न निमील्य चक्षुः ।
रुरु विधात्रा हि कृतौ कथं ता-
वित्वास तस्यां सुमतेर्वितर्कः ॥

From Aufrecht, Z. D. M. G. 27. 17. 2. बाले नाय विमुञ्च. Aufrecht, who points out that it occurs in the Amaruśatakam. 3. वनप्रकर्षादुपचीवमान. Cited by Aufrecht.

4. शिशिरसीकरवाहिनि मारुते चरति क्षीनभवाद्दिव सत्वरः ।
मनसिजः प्रविदेश विद्योगिनीहृदयमाहितशोकहुताश्रमं ॥

“When the wind blew cold with showers of icy spray, Love took fright, and fled for shelter to the heart of the forsaken lover where the fire of sorrow burned.” Quoted and translated by Aufrecht, who compares the Anacreontic *μεσοθυκτίοις τοῦ ἄρου*.

5. भ्रांत्वा विष्वानथ दक्षिणाशामालंभ्य सर्वत्र करप्रसारी ।
 ऋत्विक्ततो निःस्व इव प्रतस्थे वसूपलब्धौ धनस्य शसं ॥

“ The wandering Sun has gone to the South country and there scattered his rays : now like a poor priest (who with the hope of bucksheesh in his heart has been holding out his hand to every passer-by) he goes to the North country to repair his beams (goes to the rich man's house to get wealth.)” This last example is from the Subhāshitāvali. It has a very modern ring.

VII. MĀLAVA KUVALAYA.

1. द्युतसुमनसः कुंशः पुष्पोद्गमैरलसा द्रुमा
 मनसि च गिरं गृह्णंतीमि किरंतिं न कोकिलाः ।
 भय च सवितुः शीतोह्लासं लुनंति मरीचयो
 न च जरटतामालंबंते क्रमोदयदायिनीं ॥

VIII. GAUDA KUMBHAKĀRA. 1. लांगूलेन गभस्तिमान्चलवितः. A description of Hanumân crossing the straits.

IX. GANGAKA.

1. स कोपि प्रेमाद्रैः प्रणयपरिपाकप्रचालितो
 विलासोऽक्षणां देयास्सुखमनुपमं वो मृगकृशां ।
 यदाकृतं वृष्टा पिकथति मुखं तृणविवरे
 निरस्तव्यापारा भुवनजयिनः पंच विशिखाः ॥

Kshemendra quotes this verse as a praiseworthy âśīrvachanam by “ My own teacher Gangaka.”

X. CHANDAKA.

1. कृशः काणः खंजः भ्रवणविकलः पुच्छरहितः
 क्षुधा क्षामो रूक्षः पिठरककपालार्दितगलः ।
 व्रणैः पूतिक्लिन्नैः कृमिपरिवृत्तैरावृततनुः
 शूनीमन्वेति आ तमपि मदयस्येष मदनः ॥

Böhtlingk 1895 from Bhartṛihari.

2. कृष्णेनांब गतेन.....पायास्स वः केशवः. 3. खगोत्क्षिप्तैरत्रैः.

4. युद्धेषु भाग्यचपलेषु न मे प्रतिज्ञा
 दैवं नियच्छति जयं च पराजयं च ।
 एषैव मे रणगतस्य सदा प्रतिज्ञा
 पश्यंति यत्र रिपवो जघनं हयानाम् ॥

“ In battles Fortune goes now here, now there, and for them I will not answer. Fate gives victory and defeat to whom she will. This one thing I promise, that when I go down into the fight the enemy shall not look upon my horses' backs.”

XI. DĪPAKA. 1. अथि विरहविचिन्ते. 2. पुण्ये घामे. Böhrlingk 4102 from Bhartṛihari. a सितपदच्छमपालीकपाली. B धूषोपकंड. γ प्रवृत्तो. 3. इयेनांमिप्रहशरितोत्तरकरो.

XII. DHARMAKĪRTI.

Of this poet Aufrecht writes as follows in the sixteenth volume of Weber's Indische Studien :—

“ Dharmakīrti is one of the oldest writers on Alamkāra. A work of his, called Baudhdhasaṅgati, is mentioned by Subandhu in the Vāśavadattā (p. 235, ed. Hall). In all probability he is the Buddhist philosopher of that name who according to Wassiljew wrote a commentary on Dinnāga's Pramāṇasamuechaya, as also the work Pramāṇavarttika, Pramāṇavinīśchaya, and Prasannapāda. A half verse by the philosopher Dharmakīrti is quoted in the chapter of the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha that deals with Buddhism. Ānandavardhana quotes Dharmakīrti in the Dhvanyāloka : the Śārngadhara-paddhati gives one, and the Saduktikarṇāmṛitam eight of his verses.”

Six of the verses referred to here will be found in Aufrecht's paper. A seventh is the verse लावण्यद्वविणव्ययो, which, as Aufrecht notes, had already been given by Böhrlingk from the Kūvalayānanda, without, of course, any author's name. Kshemendra in the book before us is now found to corroborate the statement of the Saduktikarṇāmṛitam as to the authorship of this verse, and so far to corroborate generally the statements of the Saduktikarṇāmṛitam as to the authors cited.

लावण्यद्वविणव्ययो न गणितः क्लेशो महान्स्वीकृतः^१
स्वच्छन्दस्य सुखं जनस्य वसतश्चिताउवरो^२ निर्मितः।
एषापि^३ स्वयमेव तुल्यरमणाभावाद्बुराकी हता
कौथंश्चेतसि वेधसा विनिहितस्तन्व्यास्तनु तन्वता^४ ॥

“He recked not of the store of beauty he spent on her or of the toil he took : he made her a fire of torment for people who were dwelling at their ease : she herself is doomed to sorrow as one who can never find a mate : say, what did the Creator propose to himself when he made this woman ?”

The verse is quoted in censure of the employment of the word तन्वताः

^१ स्वीकृतः. So also Aufrecht. Böhrlingk अजितः.

^२ Böhrlingk स्वच्छन्दं चरतो जनस्य इदये. So also A with वसतो for चरतो.

^३ A and B स्वगुणानुरूपरमणाभावात्.

^४ B. तन्वामिमां तन्वता.

which Kshemendra says has nothing to recommend it but the jingle with the words तनुं तनुते. The poet should have used some such word as सुन्दर्याः. This shows that the reading of our book (and of the Sadukti.) is undoubtedly the right one, as may be said also, I think, of the other variants presented.

Other two verses—अमीषां प्राणानां and असतो नाभ्यर्थाः—which in the Skm. are ascribed to Dharmakīrti “belong,” says Aufrecht, “to Bhartrihari. Their appearance in the anthology under Dharmakīrti is to be accounted for on the theory that the compiler of the Saduktikar-nāmṛitam took them from Dharmakīrti’s book on rhetoric without troubling himself to trace them further.”

Kshemendra in this book assigns six verses which now stand in Bhartrihari’s Śatakas to other authors, and claims at least one for himself, a state of things which makes us hesitate to accept Aufrecht’s theory here. The alternative theory, that the book which passes under Bhartrihari’s name is a late compilation, deserves renewed consideration.

XIII. BHATTA NĀRĀYAṆA. 1. महाप्रलयमारुतभुम्भित. 2. यो यः दृष्टं.
Both from the Venīsaṃhāra.

XIV. PARIMALA.

1. आहारं न करोति नांबु पिबति स्त्रैण न संसेवते
धौते यत्सिकतासु मुक्तविषयश्चंडातपं सेवते ।
स्वस्थाशब्जरजःप्रसादकपि कालाभोन्मुखस्तन्मरौ
मन्थे मालवसिंह गूर्जरपतिस्तीव्रं तपस्तप्यते ॥

“He neither eats nor drinks, and he abjures the society of woman : he lies on the sand, puts from him all worldly pleasures, and courts the hottest sun. Oh Lion of the House of Mālva, it seems to me that this Gūrjara King is doing penance in the forests of Marwār that he may be found worthy to touch the dust of your feet.”

2. तत्र स्थितं स्थितिमता वरदेव देवा-
द्वत्येन ते अक्रितश्चिन्मियंत्यहानि ।
उत्कंपिनि स्तनतटे हरिणेषणानां
हारान् प्रनत्तंयति यत्र भवत्प्रतापः ॥

“There, O good king! thy servant got a footing, as fate would have it, and there he remained so many days, curious at heart—there, where thy fame sets dauncing the pearls on the quivering breasts of the deer-eyed women.”

3. मन्त्रानि द्विषतां कुलानि समरे त्वस्वयङ्गधाराकुले
 नाथास्मिन्निति बन्दिवाचि बहुशो देव श्रुतायां पुरा ।
 मुग्धा गूर्जरभूमिपालमहिषी प्रत्याशया पाथसः
 कांतारे चकिता विमुच्यति मुहुः पत्युः कृपाणे वृशौ ॥

“The silly Gurjara Queen, as she wanders terror-struck in the forest ever and anon casts her eyes on her husband’s sword to see if there be no water (धारा) there, bethinking herself in her heart how often in the days that are gone she has heard the bards say ‘Great king, the hosts of your foes have gone down in the battle through which your sword’s edge (धारा) swept.’”

4. हा शृंगारतरंगिणीकुलगिरे हा राजचूडामणे
 हा सौजन्यसुधानिधान हह हा वैदग्ध्यदुग्धोदधे ।
 हा देवोज्जायिनीभुजंग युवतिप्रत्यक्षकर्षे हा
 हा सद्गंधव हा कलामृतकर कासि प्रतीक्षस्व नः ॥

“O Hill of the River of Love, O Crest Jewel of Kings, O Home of all Goodness, O Milky Ocean of Cleverness, O Lover of Ujjayinī, O thou that wert a living God of Love to young women, O Kinsman to all the Good, O Brewer of the Nectar of the Arts, where, O King, art thou gone : wait for me.”

These verses show that Parimala’s lost poem probably presents an almost contemporary record of one of the earlier struggles between the sovereigns of Mālva and Gujarāt.

I will only conjecture here that the theme of the poem was that expedition in Gujarāt despatched by Tailapa, under a general of the name of Barapa, “against Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anahilapattana, who for some time was hard pressed, though according to the Gujarat chroniclers the General was eventually defeated with slaughter.”^o The striking verse in the Kāvyaaprākāsa राजवाज-सुता न पाठयति मां (p. 450, Calc. Ed. 1876) wears every appearance of being from the same work, for which we should be on the look out.

XV. PARIVRĀJAKA.

1. तपो न तप्तं वयमेव तप्ता
 भोगा न भुक्ता वयमेव भुक्ताः ।
 जरा न जीर्णा वयमेव जीर्णा-
 स्तृष्णा न याता वयमेव याताः ॥

This seems a better form of the verse which Böhlingk, No. 4631, भोगा न भुक्ता : gives from Bhartṛihari.

^o Bhandarkar : Early History of the Dekkan, p. 59. See also the Rās Māla, Chap. IV. to which Bhandarkar refers.

XVI. BHATTA PRABHĀKARA.

This poet is already known only from Aufrecht's citation from the Śārngadhara-paddhati of what is surely one of the prettiest compliments to beauty even a poet ever devised.

सा दृष्टा यैर्न वा दृष्टा
मुषिताः सममेव ते ।
हृदयं हृतमेकेषा-
मन्येषां चक्षुषीः फलं ॥

"She spoils indifferently those who see her and those who see her not : these lose their hearts, those might as well have never had their eyes."

1. शिग्मातंगपदाविभक्तचतुराषाया मही साध्यते ।
सिद्धा सापि वदंत एव हि वयं रोमांचिताः पश्यत ।
विप्राय प्रतिपाद्यते किमपरं रामाय तस्मै नमो
बस्मादाविरभूत्कयाजुतमिदं यत्रैव चास्त्वं गतम् ॥

XVII. ŚRĪ PRAVARASENA. Two verses are quoted, which both occur in this writer's Setubandha. I, 2, and III, 20.

XVIII. BHATTA BĀṆA. Three verses by Bāṇa, the author of Kādambarī, are quoted. Two of these, 1. अयस्युपेन्द्रः and 2. स्तनयुगं, are from that book, and call for no remark. But the third is of extraordinary interest for us. It is the verse

3. हारो अलार्द्रवसनं नलिनीदलानि
प्रालेयशीकरमुचस्तुहिनांशुभासः ।
अस्थेन्धनानि सरसानि च चन्दनानि
निर्वाणमेष्यति कथं स मनोभवाम्निः ॥

which now stands in the Amaruśatakam (No. 98). In his note Kshemendra tells us that this verse is part of a description of the state to which Kādambarī was reduced by the absence of Chandrapīḍa. It would appear then that Bāṇa, in addition to the work known to us, treated the same theme, or part of the same theme, in verse : and with this clue we can assign to their place in such a composition more than one of the verses cited by Bāṇa in the later anthologies.

XIX. BHATTA BHALLAṬA.

सृष्ट्योरास्यमिवात्मतं धनुरिदं मूर्छद्विषाश्चेवः
शिक्षा सा विजिताहुंना प्रतिलयं सर्वांगलम्ना गतिः ।

अंतः क्रौर्यमहो घाटस्य मधुनो हा हरि गीतं मुखे
व्याधस्यास्य यथा भविष्यति तथा मन्वे वनं निर्वृगम्.

The use of singing or music as one of the weapons of the hunter is often referred to. Aufrecht quotes ten verses by this poet from the Śārngaddharapaddhati.

XX. BHAVABHŪTI. 1. पुरा यत्र स्रोतः पुलिनं. Uttara R. Act. 2. योयमन्धः पताक्रेयं Uttara R. Act. IV. 3. ब्रह्मास्ते न विचारणीयचरिताः Uttara R. Act. V. α तिष्ठन्ति वर्त्ततां. β ब्रुञ्जं स्त्रीरमने. γ अकुतोमुखान्वापि. δ इंद्रसूनुनिधने. In the heading to the second of these examples the poet is in both MSS. called Bhavabhūpati.

XXI. MĀGHA.

बुभुक्षितैर्घ्याकरणं न भुञ्जते
न पीयते काव्यरसः पिपासितैः।
न विद्यया केनचिद्वृत्तं कुलं
हिरण्यमेवार्जय निष्फलाः कलाः।

“The hungry cannot feed upon grammar, or the thirsty satisfy themselves with the nectar of poetry. No man ever exalted his house by learning. Get money. Learning leads to nothing.” Note in the Śīśupālavadhā. Böhrling 4484, from the Subhāshitarṇava.

XXII. MĀTRIGUPTA.

नाथं निशामुखसरोरुहराजहंसः
कीरीकपोलतलक्रांततनुः शशांकः।
आभाति नाथ तदिदं दिवि दुग्धसिंधु-
डिंडीरपिंडपरिपांडु यशस्त्वरीयम्॥

Note that Kshemendra would seem to distinguish between Mātrigupta and Kālidāsa. Compare Max Müller ‘India: what can it teach us?’ p. 133.

XXIII. RĀJAPUTRA MUKTĀPĪḌA.

नीवारप्रसराप्रमुष्टिकवलैर्यो वद्वितः शैशवे
पीतं येन सरोजपत्रपटके होमावशेषं पयः।
नं कृपा मधमंधरालिवलयव्यालोलगङ्गं गजं
सोत्क्रंष्टं समथं च पश्यन्नि मुहुर्दरे स्थितं तापसः

“From afar the hermit gazes with mingled love and fear at the mighty elephant, whose throat is encircled by swarms of bees heavy laden

with the juice that exudes from its temples, and remembers how this is he whom at first he nourished with the tender tops of the rice-plant, and who drank from a leafy cup the milk that was over from the sacrifice."

XXIV. YASOVARMADEVA.

उत्पत्तिर्भेदकुले यद्भीष्टं तत्पदं समाक्रांतं ।
भोगास्तथापि देवात्सकृदपि भोक्तुं न लभ्यते ॥

Yasovarman, according to Aufrecht (Z. D. M. G. 36, 521) wrote a drama, Rāmābhyūdaya, which is cited by Abhinavagupta.

XXV. BHATTA LATANA.

घीष्मं द्विषतुं जलदागममर्थयंतां
ते संकटप्रकृतयो विकटास्तडागाः ।
अब्धेस्तु मुग्धराफरीचटुलाचलैर्द्र-
निष्कंपकुक्षिपयसो ह्यमप्यचित्यं ॥

XXVI. RĀJĀŚEKHARA. 1. एतस्याः समरसंस्वरः. Bālarāmāyaṇa Act V. (p. 121 Ben. Ed.) B प्रस्यंपचः पायसां. (Ed. श्लेषप्रदः पायसां.) प्रस्यंपच is given by BR. (compare also Böhlingk's Smaller Dictionary) from schol. on P. 3. 2. 33., as a word for which a reference was not then available. ४ मणयः सर्वेषु.

2. कर्णादीदशनांकितः शितमहाराष्ट्रीकटासाहतः
श्रीडांश्रीस्तनपीडितः प्रणथिनीभूभंगविभासितः ।
लाटीबाहुविदेष्टितश्च मलयस्त्रीतजनीतकितः
सोयं संप्रति राजशेखरकविर्बाराणसीं वाञ्छति ॥

Rājāśekhara was perhaps not such a rake as he professes to be. The verse may go to show that similar autobiographical couplets, of which tradition has preserved a great many, may oftener be genuine than is sometimes supposed.

3. श्विताचक्रं चंद्रः. 4. ज्यायान् धन्वी, Bālarāmāyaṇa Act IV. (p. 87).
β ताडकाताडकेण. γ कर्णाभ्यर्णस्फुरितपलितः. 5. नाले शौर्यमहोत्पलस्य.
6. पौलस्यः प्रणयेन, Bālarāmāyaṇa Act II. (p. 36). 7. माणं मुंच.
8. यस्वार्वेती हट, Bālarāmāyaṇa Act I. (p. 19). 9. संबंधी पुरुभुजां.
10. स्त्रीणां मध्ये.

XXVII. MĀLAVA RUDRA.

1. अभिनववधुरोषस्वारः करिषतनूनपा-
दसरलजनाश्लेषकूरस्तुपारसमीरणः ।
गलितविभवस्याज्ञेवाद्य युतिर्मसृजा रवे-
र्विरहवनितावक्त्रह्रैव्यं विभसि निद्याकरः ॥

Given as by Bhāta in the Subhāshitahārāvali.

- 2 एतस्माज्जलधेमिसांजुकणिकाः काञ्चिद्गृहीत्वा ततः
पाथीशः परिपूरयति जगतीं रुद्धांबरा वारिभिः ।
भ्राम्यन्मंदरकूटकोटिघटनाभीतिभ्रमसारकां
प्राप्त्यैकां जलमानुषीं त्रिभुवने श्रीमानभूश्च्युतः ॥

Aufrecht writes the name of this poet Malavarudra. But compare Mālava Kuvalaya and Gauḍa Kumbhakāra above.

XXVIII. ŚRĪ VAKRA.

1. देवो जानाति सर्वे यद्यपि च तद्यपि ब्रूमहे नीतिनिष्ठं
साह्रं संधाय जालांतरधरणिभुजा निर्वृतो बांधवेन ।
म्लेच्छानुच्छिद्धिं भिद्धिं प्रतिदिनमयशो हंद्धिं विश्वं यशोभिः
सोदन्वन्मेखलायां परिकलय करं किं च विश्वंभरायाम् ॥

This one verse is so far all that has been found of a poem—by a poet himself also otherwise unknown—which must contain a contemporary account of one of the early leagues of the Hindu princes against their Musalman invaders. Compare what has been said above of Parimala's lost work. Jālāntara here is I presume Jullundur.

XXIX. VARĀHAMIHĪRA.

- क्षीणश्चंद्रो विशति तरणेर्मंडलं मासि मासि
लब्ध्वा काञ्चित्सुनरपि कलां दूरदूरानुवर्ती ।
संपूर्णश्चेत्कथमपि तदा स्पृह्योहोति भानो-
र्नो शौर्जन्याद्विरमति जडो नापि दैन्याद्वपरंसीन् ॥

"The waning moon enters the orb of the sun at each month's end, and having there renewed his fires goes each day further from his helper: nay, when his fulness comes, as come it will, vies in the eastern sky with the setting orb of day. Verily, verily the cold-blooded man never leaves off his ingratitude and his meanness."

Given in Vallabhadeva's Sabhāshitāvali as by Dhārādharma.

XXX. BHAGAVĀN MAHARSHI VYĀSA.

- सत्यं मनोरमा रामाः सत्यं रम्या विभूतयः ।
किं नु मत्तांगनापांगभंगलोलं हि जीवितं ॥

"Doubtless woman is a pleasant thing and wealth too: but life abides no longer than the glance shot from the corner of her eye by a love-sick girl."

Böhtlingk 6733, from the Subhāshitārnava, with मनोरमाः कामाः in a.

XXXI. ŚYĀMALA. सुंबनसक्तः. The only Śyāmala we know of is the Śyāmala who was Bāṇa's cousin. Hall's Vāsavād. Introd. p. 41. .)

XXXII. ŚRI HARSHA. 1. उद्दामोत्कलिकां, Ratnāv. Act II., B, अविरलेः. 2. कंडे कृत्वावशेषे, Ratnāv. Act II. 3. नटं वर्षवरेः, Ratnāv. Act II. α भक्त्या. 4. परिभ्रानं, Ratnāv. Act. β परिमलनम्. δ विसिन्धी-पद्मसदनम्. विभ्रांतविमहकयो, Ratnāv. Vishk.

To the twelve compositions by Kshemendra which were already known¹⁰ Schönberg, in his paper on the Kavikanthâbharana, added other eight, which he found quoted or referred to in that book. His list is as follows :—

- 13 Śāsivānsa,
- 14 (Padya) Kādambarī,
- 15 Chitrabhārata,
- 16 Lāvāṇyavatī,
- 17 Kanakajanakī,
- 18 Deśopadeśa,
- 19 Muktvāvali,
- 20 Amṛitataranga,

Three of these are quoted in our book also, where the Chitrabhārata is called a Nāṭaka, and the Lāvāṇyavatī and the Muktvāvali are called Kāvya. In addition the following new names occur, Avasarasāra, Baudhāvādānalatā, Nītilatā, Munimatamīmānsā, Lalitaratnamālā, Vinayavalli, Vātsyāyanasūtrasāra. Of the books in the earlier list the Chaturvargasamgraha is the only one quoted under the same name.

I should make some small amends to the Society for a dull paper if I could adequately describe the scene where I got this book, and the impression that scene made upon me. In an upper chamber of a by-street in Ahmedabad were gathered over a hundred of the common people listening eagerly to their word of life, as that was communicated by Rājendrasuri to his more immediate disciples. A little company of women sat apart, but not so as to be out of hearing of the teacher.

¹⁰ (1) Brihatkathāmanjarī. (2) Bhāratamanjarī. (3) Kalāvīlāsa. (4) Rāmāyanakathāsāra. (5) Daśavatāracharita. (6) Samayamātrikā. (7) Vyāsāshṭaka. (8) Suvṛittatilaka. (9) Lokaprakāśa. (10) Nītikalpataru. (11) Chāracharyāśataka. (12) Chaturvargasamgraha.

At the end of our conversation a young Rajpoot, a rich young man as I could judge from his dress, who had been an intent observer of all that passed between his teacher and myself, rose from the crowd, put his folded hands to his head, and told me in his own language that he had one request to make to me. Between Râjendrasûri and another teacher then in Ahmedabad there were vital differences—as to the kind of garments men desiring salvation should wear, and as to whether in the evening hymn they should recite the three verses only, or four. Would I undertake to solve his doubt?

I put him off with a jest which I have sometimes regretted since. But I came away with new wonder at the strangeness of human life: and, as I hope, with fresh sympathy for all of the one family who in every place are thus seeking after God, if haply they may find Him.

NOTE ON THE DATE OF PATANJALI.

“Patanjali's date, B.C. 150, may now be relied on.”—Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 7. So too Kielhorn, though he was more directly concerned with the question of the authenticity of the text of the book, maintains that “we are bound to regard the text of the *Mahābhāshya* as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about 2000 years ago.” (*Indian Antiquary*, IV., p. 107, and V., p. 241.) I will state very briefly why I think the question must still be regarded as open. Kalhaṇa's verse :—

चंद्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्धादेशं तस्मात्तदागमं ।
प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यं स्वं च व्याकरणं कृतम् ॥

Rājatarangiṇī, I., 176, (p. 7, Calc. Ed., 1835), appears to me to have exercised what can only be described as a pernicious influence on this controversy. In itself it contains no indication that Kalhaṇa so much as had *Patanjali's Mahābhāshyam* in his mind when writing the passage. But if we grant, for the sake of argument, Prof. Weber's contention (*Ind. Stud.*, 5, 166), that the transaction Kalhaṇa is referring to is clearly the same as that spoken of in Bhartṛihari's *Vākyapadīya*, and grant also, under the same reserve, that it follows that Kalhaṇa here is speaking of Patanjali's work, the verse even then cannot bear the weight which is sought to be put upon it. It is not open to us to quote Kalhaṇa as corroborating Bhartṛihari's statement, when it is clear that, writing in the 12th century, he is, if he is referring here to Patanjali at all, dishing up for us and doctoring a story which he must have got directly or indirectly from Bhartṛihari or from the same sources as Bhartṛihari. Still less is it justifiable to transfer to Kalhaṇa the credit that would attach to any statement made in the *Vākyapadīya* as to the date at which this mysterious transaction took place. It is Kalhaṇa, and not Bhartṛihari, who here seems to connect Abhimanyu of Kashmere with Patanjali's commentary : and I do not understand why so much weight should be attached to this one statement, occurring as it does in a part of the *Rājatarangiṇī* which, as Bühler puts it (*Report*, p. 59), is full of improbabilities

and absurdities. A similar reasoning holds good of Kalhaṇa's second verse :—

देशान्तरासामस्य व्याचक्षाणः क्षमापितिः
प्रवर्तयत विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यं स्वमंडले ॥

Rājatarangīni IV., 487 (p. 58, Calc. Ed.)

I notice that Max Müller (Note, p. 335), suggests a doubt as to whether Kalhaṇa is here referring to Patanjali's Mahābhāṣyam. But if we grant that he is, here too his statement must be checked by the passage in Bhartṛihari. And as soon as that is done it becomes at once apparent that on Kalhaṇa alone rests the responsibility of dividing the story as it stands in Bhartṛihari into two parts and separating the two by centuries. Bhartṛihari tells us that to Chandra and his school was due the revived study of the Mahābhāṣya. Kalhaṇa puts Chandra in the first century, for Abhimanyu's greater glory, and as he cannot ignore the fact that something of the kind occurred in the reign of king Jayāpīḍa (A.D. 755-786), he invites us to believe that twice in the history of Kashmere did the king of the country interfere to set the Mahābhāṣya on its feet again. Of the two passages the second appears to me to be far more deserving of credit than the first : and the विच्छिन्नं (which need not be construed with स्वमंडले)¹ refers to the state from which Chandra had (recently ?) rescued the book, not to a state into which it had been permitted in Kashmere to fall centuries after his benevolent activity.²

¹ As for example Kielhorn does. "The King having sent for interpreters [reading with the Paris edition व्याचक्षाणन्] brought into use in his realm the Mahābhāṣya, which had ceased to be studied' (in Kashmere, and was therefore no longer understood)." Indian Antiquary, V., p. 243. It may be worth noting that प्रवर्तयत is the ordinary expression in the case of the first patron of a book. Thus for example in the colophon to a MS. of Hāla in my possession Sātavāhana is called the प्रवर्तक of the Kālāpa grammar. Our word therefore should be translated, as Kielhorn does here, or as Max Müller in his Note, p. 335, "introduces" : and this verse in itself does not suggest that what Jayāpīḍa did was to " re-establish " (Max Müller, p. 334) the Mahābhāṣya.

² In his reply to this paper Professor Bhāndarkar takes this sentence to mean that I understand Kalhaṇa to put Chandra in Jayāpīḍa's reign, and that I accept that as a fact on Kalhaṇa's authority. This of course leads straight to the absurdity of Bhartṛihari's having mentioned a fact which took place 105 years after his death. As my words have been made matter of public comment I must leave them as they were written. But I take this opportunity of saying that, for my own part, I entirely repudiate the construction Bhāndarkar puts on them. I am concerned here only with what Kalhaṇa's meaning

Better texts of the Rājātarangīni, and a careful collation of the two verses, as they ought to be read, with Bhartrihari would, I think, strengthen this position. I have little doubt that the Parvata of Bhartrihari's verse is, as Max Müller suggests, no other than the hill of Chittore, which was a centre of learning for the southern country. (Compare my First Report, p. 47). I think it is not impossible that the words लब्धादेशं तस्मात्तदागमं, which form the crux of Rāj. I., 176, conceal Bhartrihari's own phrase पर्वतादागमं लब्धा. If Kielhorn's conjectural emendation लब्धा देशान्तरात्तदागमम् be ever confirmed, it will become still more obvious that the two verses have one and the same origin. They will then almost textually agree.

But if we are thus really dependent on Bhartrihari's statement, which contains no note of time, we are entitled to range further than Goldstücker and Bhandarkar do in their search for events and names which will suit certain passages in the Mahābhāshya itself, where Patanjali, as they hold, is referring to contemporaneous or recent history.³ I will not discuss the question here as to whether these instances really do, in Goldstücker's words, "concern the moment at which Patanjali wrote." (Pāṇ. p. 230.) I think it is forgotten in that argument that Patanjali could trust to the practical acquaintance with the language or literature which his pupils possessed, much as an English grammarian might without risk of confusion illustrate, *after having given the rule*, our past and present by two such phrases, as "In six days God made Heaven and Earth," and "This people perishes with hunger."

Four passages in all, so far as I know, have been adduced from the Mahābhāshya itself as supplying definite chronological data for the time of Patanjali. The first is the note on Pāṇ., v. 3, 99. Goldstücker, it is true, who brought this passage to light, did not contend that it proves more than that Patanjali did not live before the first

was: and I still think that he got his विच्छिन्नं from the story he read in Bhartrihari, and that his प्रावर्तयन् refers to something that happened in Jayāpīḍa's time. He may have mixed the two things up together hopelessly: but I desired to suggest that his own words do not necessarily preclude the supposition that he himself understood that there was an interval between the historical विच्छिन्नत्वं of the Mahābhāshya and Jayāpīḍa's action.—[Note added when publishing.]

³ Goldstücker treated this subject in his 'Pāṇini: his place in Sanskrit Literature,' pp. 227-239. The references for Bhandarkar are Indian Antiquary, I. p. 299, II., pp. 59, 69, 94 and 238.

king of the Maurya dynasty, who was Chandragupta, and who lived 315 B.C. : or, possibly, "if we are to give a natural interpretation to his words," that he lived after the last king of this dynasty, or, in other words, later than 180 before Christ. If the passage stood alone then, and there were no such thing as cumulative effect in arguments of this kind, the inference sought to be drawn from Patanjali's note on Pāṇ., v. 3, 99, might be allowed to pass without challenge. But it will not be denied that this suggestion as to a date *before* which Patanjali may not be supposed to have lived, when taken in connection with a date (Abhimanyu's time), removed from it by two centuries only, and regarded, on what grounds we have just seen, as a date *after* which he may not be supposed to have lived, has done much to strengthen the conviction that here or hereabout we must look for the time of Patanjali. Yet I think it can be shown, beyond all manner of doubt, that this passage has nothing whatever to do with the matter in hand, and that, as far as it is concerned, we are as free—or shall I rather say hampered?—with regard to the upper date to be assigned to Patanjali, as I have contended we still are with regard to his lower date.

Pāṇini's rule is जीविकार्थे चापण्ये. On which the note is अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । नोर्वै-
हिण्यार्थेनिरर्थाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत् । ताम्र न स्यात् । यास्वेताः संप्रति पूजायोः ।
ताम्र भविष्यति. Goldstücker's explanation of this passage is as follows:—
" 'If a thing,' says Pāṇini, 'serves for a livelihood, but is not for sale it has not the affix ka.' This rule Patanjali illustrates, with the words 'Siva Skanda Viśākha,' meaning the idols that represent these divinities, and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them, while they are not for sale. And, 'why?' he asks, 'The Mauryas wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities.' Good. Pāṇini's rule may apply to such (idols as they sold); but as to idols which are hawked about (by common people) for the sake of such worship as brings an immediate profit, their name will have the affix ka."

"Whether or not," Goldstücker goes on to say, "this interesting bit of history was given by Patanjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which they sell, because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made—as poor people do—I do not know."

In the rest of the passage Goldstücker draws his inference in words that I have already given.

Could Patanjali have thus anticipated the *super grammaticam* story? I thought not: and it was my conviction that there must be some mistake here which led me to examine closely the passage Goldstücker quotes. As a result, I think I can show that Goldstücker misunderstood and mistranslated that passage from top to bottom. I need hardly say that it requires all the courage Max Müller recommends thus to challenge that mighty and indignant shade. But I have put Goldstücker's explanation fairly before the reader. I will now say how I understand the passage. If am right my translation will, I think, justify itself: and I shall, I hope, be judged to have done some small service with regard to a question on which much depends. अपण्य इत्युच्यते then tells us that a doubt is about to be suggested with regard to the word अपण्ये occurring in the sūtra under comment. "Siva, Skanda, Viśākha," are *not* three words illustrating Pāṇini's rule. They form the clause or sentence referred to by the इदम् preceding. For तत्रेदं न सिध्यति is the doubt of which we have been forewarned, and must be translated: "In that case [if अपण्ये is to be part of the rule] the following expression is not obtained [i.e., must be declared to be bad grammar, while, as a matter of fact, it is in common use, and so it is the correctness of the sūtra that is in peril.] But if शिवः स्कंदो विशाखः, or स्कंदो विशाखः as Kaiyata, as I think rightly, reads, be an expression that *prima facie* throws doubt on the correctness of the sūtra, we must look in it for an indication that the Skanda of this passage is an idol, and not the god of that name. स्कंदः in itself cannot be a form of doubtful authority. The doubt is as to whether in a particular connection the form स्कंदकः should not be used. The word we are in search of can neither be शिवः nor स्कंदः. It must, therefore, be विशाखः, and we have next to see whether that word, when used as an adjective to स्कंदः, of its own force suggests that the reference is to an image or representation, as when we talk of a sitting Madonna or a sleeping Venus. But a reference to any dictionary will show that such a meaning is one of the best authenticated senses of the word विशाखः. स्कंदो विशाखः means, "A Skanda in act to shoot," and that is the phrase given here as affording an example of a form which apparently under this rule would have to be condemned. "Why?" (किं कारणं sc. न सिध्यति), "It is for gain that Mauryas make images." The Skanda in act to shoot must be an image: and as it is notorious that images are vendible things it ought not to be possible to speak of a स्कंदो विशाखः, but only of a स्कंदको विशाखः.

So far the doubt. And now the Doubter answers himself. भवेत् "Good."

Vendible images made by the Mauryas are, as a class, by the operation of the word अपप्ये in this sūtra, taken out of one of the categories of things falling under the general rule which enjoins the omission of affix ka. ताम्बु न स्यात् "Let it be admitted that so far to them the rule कनो लृप् should not apply, but that the affix ka should be used. यास्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थाः But whatever images among these even, are from the beginning intended for worship and not for sale, ताम्बु भविष्यति to them that rule will apply, and the affix ka will be barred."

The extent of the difference between Goldstücker's explanation of this passage and that now offered may be gauged by the last clause here, "and the affix ka will be barred," which stands for Goldstücker's "their names will have the affix ka." But Kaiyyāṭa puts beyond all dispute the question, as to what is the subject of the clauses ताम्बु न स्यात् and ताम्बु भविष्यति, when he says, यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते ताम्बु न भवति शिवकान्ठिक्रीणीत इति. The न स्यात् of Patanjali means that the word in question should have the affix : the भविष्यति that it will *not*.

Two points in this explanation require a further note, though fortunately any judgment with regard to them does not affect the argument. I have so far not met with any native support for the particular construction put above on the words स्कंदो विशाखः. That— with or without शिवः—these words refer to the clause immediately preceding, and not to the sūtra, and contain therefore a form or forms whose currency throws doubt upon the sūtra, I believe to be certain. But the shastris I have been able to consult—in particular Mr. Rājārām Shāstri, the learned grammarian attached to Elphinstone College—agree in thinking that the context of the whole passage is sufficient to show that idols are meant here: and they take the three words Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha, in the current acceptation of three names of images. That theirs is an old view is shown by the way in which the passage is treated in the Siddhānta Kaumudi, where विशाखः is quietly dropped, and वासुदेवः substituted for it. I put forward that part of my explanation therefore only tentatively, and am quite prepared to find that there I am wrong. It might have been the more prudent course to hold it back : but I confess I believe it is right, and am unwilling to abandon it.

The India Office photozincograph of Kaiyyāṭa and one of Kielhorn's MSS. omit शिवः. *Kaiyyāṭa's own note on this passage is attached to the phrase यास्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थाः । ताम्बु भविष्यति in which, as Nāgojībhaṭṭa puts it, Patanjali "indicates an example for the sū-

* [As does also the MS. of the Mahābhāṣya in the Alwar Library.—*Note added when publishing.*]

tra"—सूचस्वोदाहरणं इत्ययति—that is, I take it, states circumstances under which it will come into play without giving an actual example. If Kaiyyāṭa then—whose note runs in full यास्वेता इति । याः परिगृह्य गृह्यमदन्ति तास्वित्यर्थः । यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते तासु न भवति । शिवकान्विक्रीणीत इति—illustrates his own note of *that part of the passage* by an example of the converse case (यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते &c.) he is not to be taken as repeating Patanjali's illustration of the doubt that went beforehand, and confirming the reading there. In such a context a different illustration seems called for. The whole result is that "Skando Viśākha" is a phrase which may or may not be right, according to the context, while "Śivakān vikrīṇīti" is imperative. I do not therefore think that we are to see in Kaiyyāṭa's example शिवकान्विक्रीणीति proof that he read शिवः in his text of the Mahabhāṣya. I am more disposed to see in it the source of the subsequent corruption of that text.

The quotation just made from Kaiyyāṭa will illustrate the other point on which a doubt may be entertained as to the correctness of the translation I have given. What is the subject of अदन्ति in Kaiyyāṭa's sentence? Goldstücker supplied "common people," whom he next contrasted with the royal dynasty of the Mauryas. But is it not the Mauryas themselves who are here represented as setting apart for purposes of peripatetic worship some of the images they make? I believe that to the present day the makers of idols contrive that their profession shall pay the same double debt. That seems to me the more natural construction: and so also in Patanjali's note यास्वेताः seems to me to mean "whichever among these." I do not however dispute that एताः here may refer to images in general (अर्चाः) and not to images made by Mauryas (मौर्यकल्पितार्चाः), or that अदन्ति may mean "people wander" and not "they wander."

I will only add that संप्रति पूजार्थाः must be taken as two words, though both Goldstücker and Kielhorn (Ed. p. 429) take them as one. संप्रति does not qualify पूजा, and there is no question here of "such worship as brings an immediate profit" (Goldstücker's translation). What is insisted on is that the affix ka will be barred in all cases where the images have from the beginning been meant for worship and not for sale. Compare Nāgojibhaṭṭa's gloss—

संप्रति पूजार्थाः । संप्रति स्वनिर्माणकालमेव कलजनिका या पूजा जीविका-
प्रदत्त्वेन तदर्थो इत्यर्थस्तदाह । या परिगृह्येति.

There is, therefore, I contend, no such contrast between the Mauryas and common people as Goldstücker discovered in this passage: and

with that vanishes the only foundation for his belief that the Mauryas intended here are the dynasty of that name. They are a guild or caste of idol-makers, as Weber pointed out was apparently Nāgojibhaṭṭa's explanation. (Compare Weber, *Indische Studien*, p. 150). I ought to add that Weber also noted that अर्चाः must not be translated, as Goldstücker does, by "religious festivals." I am not quite certain how far Weber intends his translation to be a correction of Goldstücker's. I notice that he puts, "Auf diese passt die Regel *nicht*," for Goldstücker's "Pāṇini's rule may apply to such." But he does not, as in the other case, call attention to this as a correction: though, if it is meant for a correction, it is a very important one. I mention the matter, because I am of course anxious to yield priority to a scholar eminent no less for his fairness than for his learning and achievements for any part of the foregoing explanation which he may see reason to claim as his own.

Of the three remaining passages in the Mahābhāṣya which are relied on, that cited by Bhandarkar इह पुष्पमित्रं याजयामः—is I think the only one which, as matters stand at present, really concerns us. Goldstücker it is true has shown that Patanjali illustrates a vārttika of Kātyāyana according to which the imperfect should be used when the fact related is 'out of sight, notorious, but could be seen by the person who uses the verb,' by the two clauses अरुणद्यवनः साक्रेतं । अरुणद्यवनो माध्यमिकान् "the Yavanas besieged Ayodhya: the Yavanas besieged the Mādhyamikas." To these two passages the doubt I have hinted above as to the validity of the major premiss in this argument appears specially applicable. Is it not a perfectly reasonable view to suppose that the vārttika is illustrated by clauses which, *taken along with it*, serve their purpose apart altogether from the time at which the grammarian lived? To suppose in other words that the user (प्रयोक्ता) whose relation to the time and circumstances of the action is specified is not necessarily, or even probably, Patanjali. Is this not indeed just what Nāgojibhaṭṭa means when he says that we are to gather from the clause itself that the speaker is contemporaneous with the action—अरुणदित्युदाहरणे तु तुल्यकालः प्रवर्तत इति बोध्यम्.

But further discussion of this point here may well be waived in the absence so far of any information as to the events referred to. Ilavoc has already been made of Goldstücker's Buddhist sect of Mādhyamikas: and we do not know either that the 'Yavanas' besieged 'Sāketa' in the time of Menanders, or that they did not besiege that city more than once in the centuries that followed. In the case of Bhandar-

kar's example it seems to me to be more probable than not, that the whole context—the illustration itself I regard as open to the same reasoning as the other two—points to the conclusion that Patanjali lived at the time, and perhaps at the court, of Pushpamitra. But if that be so there were more Pushpamitras, or Pushyamitras, than the king who reigned in the second century before Christ. There was a Pushyamitra, who lived at the time to which recent speculation appears to the present writer to be slowly but surely referring Patanjali.⁵ In the Bhitari Lat inscription it is mentioned that Skandagupta, “the son of Kumâragupta, who was the son of Chandragupta, who was the son of Samudragupta, who was the son of Chandragupta, who was the son of Ghatotkacha, who was the son of Mâharâja Śrī Gupta,” the founder of the later Gupta dynasty, *conquered Pushyamitra समुद्रितबलकोषस्युष्यमित्रं च जिप्त्वा*. This point has been hitherto obscured from the fact that in Bhao Daji's revised translation of this inscription, published in the tenth Volume of our Journal, p. 59, ‘Pushya’ is, perhaps by a printer's error, enclosed in brackets as if it were doubtful or conjectural. It is not so in Bhao Daji's own transcript which follows: and Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī, to whom I owe this reference, and who it was that obtained the transcript on which Bhao Daji worked, assures me that the reading is clearly as I have given above. (Bhao Daji read समुद्रितबलकोषस्युष्यमित्रं गृहीत्वा). The Pushyamitra against whom Skandagupta had to move all his forces, and employ all his treasure, must have been a formidable opponent: and it seems to me that it is open to any one who admits that Patanjali is referring to a living Pushyamitra to prefer this one to that.

⁵ I can only refer here to the discovery that Kshemendra does not distinguish between Pāṇini the grammarian and Pāṇini the poet, and to the evidence adduced by Max Müller from the works of the Chinese pilgrim I'tsing, Note, p. 347: and my Reports I. p. 39, and II. p. 61.

ART. XIII.—*A Note on Bâdarâyaṇa, the author of the Brahma Sûtras.*—By the Hon'ble KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

In his very useful history of Indian Literature, Prof. Weber has endeavoured to conjecturally fix the date of Bâdarâyaṇa, the author of the Brahma Sûtras. His argument in his own words is as follows : “ Bâdarâyaṇa bears also the additional title of Vyâsa, whence, too, the Brahma Sûtra is expressly styled Vyâsa Sûtra. Now in the Śankara Vijaya—a biography of the celebrated Vedânta commentator Śankara, reputed to be by one of his disciples¹—we find it stated that Vyâsa was the name of the father of Śuka, one of whose pupils was Gauḍapâda, the teacher of Govindanâtha, who again was the preceptor of Śankara ; so that the date of this Vyâsa might be conjecturally set down as from two to three centuries prior to Śankara, that is between 400 and 500 A.D.” Professor Weber, however, is not quite confident about the correctness of this conclusion, and he proceeds thus : “ But the point must remain for the present undetermined, since it is open to question whether this Vyâsa ought really to be identified with Vyâsa Bâdarâyaṇa, though this appears to me at least very probable.”² I am unable to accept either the conclusion here stated, or the argument by which it is deduced. And I propose in this paper to throw together a few observations on this subject.

And in the first place, who is this Vyâsa, the father of Śuka, to whom reference is made in the Śankaravijaya? He is expressly stated in the stanza relied upon by Professor Weber to be the son of Parâsara and Satyavatî, and that circumstance, coupled with the fact of his being mentioned as the father of Śuka,³ conclusively establishes that the Vyâsa whom we are dealing with here is the celebrated Krishna Dvaipâyana

¹ This is a mistake, as the passage occurs only in the work of Mâdhava, not of Ānandagiri. The former was not a disciple of Śankara.

² P. 243. (Trübner's Ed.)

³ Śuka, the son of Vyâsa, it may be mentioned, is referred to in Patanjali's Mahâbhâshya under Pânini, IV., 1, 97. See Kielhorn's edition, p. 253. He is also referred to by Śankarâchârya himself in the Bhâshya on Brahma Sûtra IV. 2, 14 (p. 1101 Bibl. Ind. Ed.)

Vyāsa, or Veda Vyāsa. And if this Vyāsa is to be identified with Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Brahma Sūtras, as Professor Weber considers very probable, and as is, indeed, necessary for his argument, it follows that the correctness of the date fixed by Professor Weber for the Sūtras depends on the assumption that Krishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa was the author of those Sūtras. If he was not, the ground is cut off from under the only argument propounded by Professor Weber in support of that date.

Now Professor Weber himself has pointed out one important argument against the authorship suggested. In one passage of his commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, to which attention was drawn many years ago by Colebrooke,* Śankarāchārya states that at the time of the transition from the Dvāpara to the Kali age, an ancient sage and vedic teacher named Apāntaratamas was born as Krishṇa Dvaipāyana by direction of Viṣṇu. Professor Weber, commenting on this circumstance, observes that from the fact of Śankara's not mentioning expressly that this Krishṇa Dvaipāyana was the author of the Brahma Sūtras, "Windischmann concludes, and justly, that in Śankara's eyes the two personages were distinct."[†] I also entirely concur in Windischmann's view, and in fact, a similar view occurred to me, when I first read the passage in question now nearly seventeen years ago. It appears to me to be very difficult to believe, that if Śankarāchārya had thought Vyāsa to be the author of the Sūtras he was commenting on, he could in the course of that very commentary have spoken of Vyāsa merely as "an ancient sage and vedic teacher," without any reference whatever to Vyāsa's authorship of the Sūtras he was expounding. The only reasonable explanation of that circumstance appears to me, as it did to Windischmann and Weber, to lie in the supposition that Śankarāchārya did not consider Krishṇa Dvaipāyana to be identical with his author Bādarāyaṇa. This view of the matter does not, it is true, appear to have struck Colebrooke. But he really does not go very much into the question, and leaves it, to all intents and purposes, undetermined. He points out the general ground that it is "not unlikely" that the arranger of the Vedas would also set forth concisely the essence of their teaching. But he also shows, on the other hand, that this teaching is different from that of the Mahābhārata, of which

* Essays, Vol. I., p. 327.

† P. 243, note. Some further evidence of the same nature is set out in the sequel.

also the same Vyāsa is supposed to be the author.⁶ And having set forth these conflicting considerations, he does not proceed to weigh and adjudicate upon them.

True it is, that the only legitimate conclusion to be directly deduced from the passage above adverted to, is that in Śankarāchārya's opinion Bādarāyaṇa and Veda Vyāsa were two different personages. And it may be said that Śankarāchārya is not infallible, and that his opinion is not conclusive as to the fact of the identity or otherwise of the two persons named. I admit this; but admitting it, I still contend that under the circumstances of the present case, we can fairly go beyond the direct conclusion to which reference has now been made. For what is it that we have got to pit against Śankarāchārya's opinion on this point? We have a tradition which is, doubtless, so widespread in our own day that it may be almost called universal. But the tradition is not likely to be older than the date of Śankarāchārya, and as a matter of fact we cannot trace it back even up to his date, whatever that date may be.⁷ We see the tradition recorded in the Life of Śankarāchārya which is attributed to Ānandagiri,⁸ one of his pupils. If that work could be trusted,⁹ the argument above set out would require very serious re-consideration, and the conclusion based upon it would certainly be very much shaken. For then the tradition would be seen to date back to a period very nearly contemporaneous with the career of Śankarāchārya himself. But about seven years ago I gave reasons at considerable length for holding that that work was not really a work of any one contemporary with Śankarāchārya, but was the production of a much

⁶ Essays, Vol. I., p. 328. Compare the remarks on this subject in Windischmann's Sankara, pp. 83, *et seq.* I may add that, in my opinion, the inference drawn by Windischmann, and referred to above, is really a good deal stronger than he himself seems to have thought it to be. See p. 84 (*sed hinc non sequitur, &c.*)

⁷ This subject has been discussed at large in the Preface to my Mudrā-rākshasa. See also Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII., p. 95 *et seq.* I hope to be able to supplement that discussion at an early date with some further facts.

⁸ See pp. 331-2 *inter alia*.

⁹ See Indian Antiquary, Vol. V., p. 287. I do not understand what is meant by calling this work, as Mr. Pope calls it, "the only real authority" on "Śankara's work." (See Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 222). To me, his works appear to be "the only real authority"—that is, the only trustworthy authority,—on his work, especially having regard to the mass of fiction that has gathered round his great name.

later age. To those reasons I still adhere. Again, we see the same tradition contained in the gloss of Govinda Ānanda on the Bhāshya of Śankarāchārya. But that again takes us back comparatively a very short space of time.¹⁰ The most valuable evidence about the antiquity of the tradition, that is known to me, is furnished by the Introductory verses in the Bhāmatī,¹¹ a commentary on the Brahma Sūtra Bhāshya by that very eminent writer, Vāchaspati Mīśra. Vāchaspati's age, however, is yet unascertained. He has stated in his work that he wrote it during the reign of a king named Nṛiga,¹² but research has so far failed to find out anything about this Nṛiga, or even as to the time when he flourished. It may be hoped that the information which Vāchaspati has been good enough to give about himself may yet afford a clue which shall enable us to fix his age with precision. But at present we have only Professor Weber's assertion that he flourished in the tenth century,¹³ an assertion for which I do not know what cogent evidence is forthcoming. There is also the circumstance, brought to notice by me many years ago, that a story related in Mādhavāchārya's Śankaravijaya, when historically interpreted, yields the conclusion that Vāchaspati probably flourished at the latest within a century after the death of Śankarāchārya.¹⁴ But, both these pieces of evidence for determining Vāchaspati's date are weak in themselves, and do not, taking them at the best, determine the date with any definiteness. That being so, I think we are not compelled, by any knowledge we possess touching the date of Vāchaspati

¹⁰ Mādhava's Vedāntādhikaraṇamālā speaks of the Sūtras as Vyāsa's, but that, too, is a comparatively recent work.

¹¹ See p. 1 (Bibl. Indica.)

¹² P. 766 and Cf. the authorities referred to in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V., p. 291, note ¶. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I., p. 354.

¹³ P. 246. Probably Prof. Weber takes the date from Prof. Cowell's Preface to the *Nyāyakusumānjali*, p. x. But the conclusions arrived at in that Preface will have to be modified considerably, if the date of Śankarāchārya as fixed by me is correct. Besides, Prof. Cowell's argument is quite consistent with the story I mention further on in the text,—although his conclusion tentatively expressed is not.

¹⁴ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I., p. 299. I find that Prof. Bāl Shāstri refers to this story in the Preface to his edition of the *Bhāmatī* in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Apart from the mythological aspect of the story, there is nothing improbable in it. And notwithstanding the view expressed by Dr. Buhler, I am still of opinion that such information as this, when capable of historical interpretation, is not to be summarily cast aside. Cf. *Mudrārākshasa*, p. L. n. 56.

Misra, to abandon a deduction which we may otherwise consider a legitimate one, from the internal evidence furnished by the works of Śankarāchārya. But, on the other hand, it is desirable, under the circumstances of the case, to look for other evidence bearing upon the point before us.

And such evidence is, I think, forthcoming. We are in a position to adduce other passages from the works of Śankarāchārya, which strengthen, to a greater or less extent, the conclusion derived from the one passage above referred to. The twelfth aphorism of the first Pāda of the second Adhyāya of the Brahma Sūtras says: "By this those [doctrines] which are not received by the learned have also been answered." And Śankarāchārya, commenting upon this aphorism, explains "the learned" to mean "Manu, Vyāsa and others."¹⁵ Now is it likely that Śankarāchārya would give this explanation, if he thought Vyāsa to be the author of the Brahma Sūtras? I think it is most unlikely, for otherwise the aphorism, amplified according to Śankara's explanation, would run something like this, "What has been said above furnishes an answer to all those doctrines which such learned men as Manu and myself have rejected." I confess that this seems to me a *reductio ad absurdum*. Again, the forty-seventh aphorism of the third Pāda of the second Adhyāya is as follows: "And there are Smṛitis to the same effect"; on which Śankarāchārya has this commentary: "And there are Smṛitis of Vyāsa and others saying that the supreme soul suffers no pain in consequence of any pain suffered by the individual soul."¹⁶ Here we go one step beyond the point at which the previous passage carried us. For if Śankara thought Vyāsa to be the author of the Brahma Sūtras, the result of the exposition above set out would be that, in Śankara's judgment, Vyāsa, in this aphorism, was speaking of another work of his own as a Smṛiti, and citing it as an authority. Is this probable? Still another passage of a somewhat similar description occurs in the commentary of Śankarāchārya on the fourteenth aphorism of the first Pāda of the third Adhyāya. This aphorism is in words the same as the last, and the comment of Śankara runs thus: "And there are also Smṛitis of learned persons such as Manu, Vyāsa and others....."¹⁷ Here we have Vyāsa, on the hypothesis above stated, referring to himself as an author of a Smṛiti, and quoting himself as an authority, in his own aphorism, and Śankara in his exposition of that aphorism calling him further a 'learned person.'

¹⁵ P. 440, (Bibl. Indica. Ed.)

¹⁶ P. 690.

¹⁷ P. 764.

I need not advert at any length to the various passages of a similar nature to the last, in which, according to Śankarāchārya's exposition, the Bhagavadgītā is referred to as a Smṛiti and cited as an authority.¹⁸ Those passages are not to be very much relied on, because although Śankarāchārya speaks of Vyāsa as the author of the Bhagavadgītā,¹⁹ and expressly names him on many occasions when quoting from the Gītā, still these passages of Śankara's writings are, of course, open to the observation, *valeat quantum*, that the authority relied on in them is not so much that of the compiler of the Bhagavadgītā, as that of Kṛishṇa, whose utterances the Bhagavadgītā embodies. It is not, perhaps, very unlikely that, to take an illustration in some respects analogous, Plato, for instance, if he were giving a continuous exposition of his own philosophy, should in support of his doctrines rely on an opinion of Socrates, as embodied in one of his own Dialogues. I do not say that this explanation would get over all difficulties in the case before us.²⁰ I do not think it would; but I think it is enough, nevertheless, to make us cautious against relying too much on the class of passages which we are now dealing with. As far as they go, however, and with the caveat now entered, they are not altogether devoid of relevancy in our inquiry. There are also one or two other passages occurring in the course of the commentary of Śankarāchārya on the twenty-ninth and thirty-third aphorism of the third Pāda of the first Adhyāya, and on the twenty-ninth aphorism of the third Pāda of the second Adhyāya, which are also useful as affording some corroborative evidence in support of the proposition here put forward.²¹ But it is not necessary to expatiate further either on this latter group of passages or those containing references to the Bhagavadgītā.

In further support of the view here propounded, we may refer to the

¹⁸ See the note in my Bhagavadgītā, p. 2 (Sacred Books of the East).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 6, note. Compare the observations on this topic in the commentary on the Śāndilya Sūtras (Bibl. Ind. Ed.) p. 12. Śankara in quoting the Gītā sometimes employs the phrase "as said by Vyāsa" and sometimes "as said by Kṛishṇa."

²⁰ See especially the apparent contrast between the Gītā and the Sūtras at p. 456. The analogy about Plato would be complete if we supposed Plato to have laid down some proposition in such a work as is indicated in the text then added in support of it words like these, for instance,—“And there is authority in support of this proposition,—” and a commentator on Plato had explained these words by saying, “The authority is contained in what is said by Plato in another place.”

²¹ Pp. 298, 313. 660.

Bhāshya on the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad. I have on several occasions ventured to entertain some doubts as to whether this Bhāshya is really a work of Śankarāchārya. I cannot say that I have got over those doubts as yet, but as it is a case of only doubts on the one side against a generally accepted tradition on the other,²² it may be permissible, at least provisionally, to utilise the evidence furnished by the Bhāshya in question. It appears, then, that in that commentary, when a reference is made to the Brahma Sūtras, the author is named simply as Sūtrakāra—the author of the Sūtras—while when the Bhagavadgītā is referred to, the author is named as Vyāsa. The contrast appears to me to be a suggestive one in reference to the point we are now considering. In connexion with this, it is to be further noted, upon the class of passages last adverted to, that when Vyāsa is intended to be named, he is spoken of now as Vyāsa, now Veda Vyāsa, now Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana, and now simply Dvaipāyana, but never once as Bādarāyana. And on the other hand, too, it is remarkable, that when the Brahma Sūtras are referred to, the author is named as Bādarāyana, or as Sūtrakāra, but is never once mentioned under any of the names employed to designate Veda Vyāsa. And it may perhaps be added, for what it is worth, that while Bādarāyana is always spoken of as Āchārya, Vyāsa is never referred to under that description, but with the more honorific title of Bhagavān, when any title is mentioned at all.

If now we take a view of the evidence here collected, as a whole, and consider what deduction can legitimately be drawn from all these passages put together, it appears to me difficult to resist the conclusion that, in Śankarāchārya's opinion, Bādarāyana and Veda Vyāsa were not identical. And we have already argued, that if that is the true conclusion to be drawn from Śankara's writings, the tradition which identifies the two personages is not sufficiently ancient to constrain us to abandon that conclusion, and that Śankara's statement of the fact regarding the authorship of the aphorisms he expounded, is the nearest approach we can make to contemporary evidence upon the point.

And now with the aid of this conclusion, let us turn back to the extract from Professor Weber's History of Indian Literature, which has been set out at the beginning of these observations. The argument of that extract turns upon the proposition that the Vyāsa named in the list of names therein given is identical with the author of the

²² The tradition is not questioned by Max Müller, for instance, in his volume on the Upanishads (Sacred Books of the East).

Brahma Sûtras. One answer to this proposition is afforded by the foregoing remarks. For while, on the one hand, it is plain, as already pointed out, that the Vyâsa in the line of teachers mentioned is Veda Vyâsa, on the other hand we have now shown that Veda Vyâsa is not the author of the Brahma Sûtras. Another answer will be afforded by the following considerations :—If the Vyâsa in the list of names in question is the author of the Brahma Sûtras, it is improbable, I think, that Śankarâchârya, who comes so near him in the line, should have had to propose alternative interpretations of some of the Sûtras. Between the author of the Sûtras and their expounder, there are, on the hypothesis mentioned, only three teachers, and those standing in direct succession one to the other. In such a case, I think, it is most improbable that there should be different interpretations proposed by the commentator of one and the same aphorism,²³ or, what we also find in Śankara's commentary, different arrangements of the aphorisms into Adhikaraṇas or topics, not to mention those cases where it seems possible to contend that Śankarâchârya reads in the Sûtras doctrines which are not really to be found there, but which are to be found in the philosophic system that goes under his name.²⁴ The force of the improbability here alleged will be appreciated, when it is remembered that, as Colebrooke says, "The Śârîraka Sûtras are in the highest degree obscure, and could never have been intelligible without an ample interpretation."²⁵ His further observations are also worthy of note on this point. He goes on to say, "Hinting the question or its solution, rather than proposing the one or briefly delivering the other, they but allude to the subject. Like the aphorisms of other Indian sciences, they must *from the first* have been accompanied by the author's exposition of the meaning, whether orally taught by him or communicated in writing." The italics are mine. And I think these remarks of Colebrooke, coupled with the facts above adduced, must be treated as furnishing ample grounds for refusing to accept the correctness of the tradition embodied in the Śankaravijaya and relied upon by Professor Weber, a tradition, too, be it remembered,

²³ See *inter alia*, pp. 784, 712. See also p. 391, and compare Colebrooke's *Essays*, Vol. I., p. 329.

²⁴ Professor Bhāṇḍârkar thinks, and as far as I have looked into the question, I am disposed to concur with him in thinking, that the theory of the universe being *Mâyâ*, or delusion, is not in the Sûtras, but only in Śankarâchârya's *Bhâshya*.

²⁵ *Essays*, Vol. II., p. 331.

which is not entitled to much weight by reason of any credentials that can be brought forward in its favour. The tradition is, in truth, merely recent hearsay, the source of which it is not now possible to trace.³⁶

If the main points made in the course of these remarks are correct, it follows that the date which Professor Weber proposes to assign to the Brahma Sûtras stands now without any foundation, and this quite independently of the question of the true date of Śankarâchârya, on which I shall have to say something elsewhere supplementary of the arguments I have already adduced on the subject.³⁷ It is now open to me still to adhere to the arguments I have put forward in regard to the age of the Brahma Sûtras.³⁷ And, indeed, if I am right in holding, as I do, that Śankarâchârya must be taken to have flourished somewhere about the middle or end of the sixth century A.D., the facts to which attention has been drawn here about the interpretations of the Brahma Sûtras by Śankarâchârya would appear rather to corroborate the conclusion I have arrived at, viz. that the Brahma Sûtras date back to a far remoter age than that which Professor Weber assigns to them in the extract from his history quoted at the outset of this paper. I am bound, however, to add, that if the view here expressed about the identity of Vyâsa and Bâdarâyana is correct, the argument which I used on a former occasion,—based on Pânini's aphorism पाराशर्येणिललिभ्यां निबु-
नदसूत्रयोः—must now be altogether abandoned, and must not be treated, even as it was treated by me on that occasion, that is to say, as provisionally admissible.³⁸ Even then, I had put forward the argument hesitatingly, and expressed the opinion that the correctness of the tradition about Vyâsa and Bâdarâyana being identical was very doubtful. That tradition was the main basis of the argument; and if the conclusion now reached about that tradition is correct, the whole of that argument based upon Pânini's Sûtra must be entirely and absolutely thrown overboard.

³⁶ I have shown (Mudrârâkshasa, Introd., p. lii.) that Śankara himself refers to Gaudapâda as his परम गुरु. In the Bhâshya on the Śvetâsvatara Upanishad, Gaudapâda is described as शुक्रशिष्यो गौडपादाचार्यः (p. 296). Is it not possible that this शुक्र has been uncritically identified with the son of Vyâsa by the tradition embodied in the stanza under discussion?

³⁷ Bhagavadgîtâ (Sacred Books of the East), p. 30, *et seq.*

³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 32-3.

ART. XIV.—*The Date of Patañjali. A Reply to Professor Peterson ; by RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A. &c.*

THE late Professor Goldstücker, from an examination of a passage occurring in Patañjali's Mahābhāshya, or the great commentary on Kātyāyana's Vārtikas, *i.e.* short critical *dicta* on Pāṇini's grammatical *Sūtras*, arrived at the conclusion that the author of the great commentary lived in the middle of the second century before Christ. From another passage, the evidence afforded by which is totally of a different kind, I arrived, more than twelve years ago, at precisely the same conclusion. Two other passages in the work and everything else of a historical nature occurring in it harmonize with our conclusion ; and it has now been accepted by a good many scholars. Professor Peterson of Elphinstone College has recently called it in question, and is inclined to refer Patañjali to the time of Skandagupta of the Gupta dynasty who was reigning in 46 of the Gupta Era.¹ This date corresponds, according to what I consider to be unimpeachable evidence as regards the initial date of the Gupta Era, to 465 A.D. but according to others it corresponds to 336 A.D. and 313 A.D. Professor Peterson asserts that "recent speculation" has been "slowly but surely" referring Patañjali to this date. One of the references he gives in support of this assertion is to the following statement of It-sing, the Chinese pilgrim, given by Professor Max Müller in his note on the Renaissance : "There is a commentary on it (the Vṛitti Sūtra, *i.e.* the Kāśikā Vṛitti) entitled Chūrṇi, containing 24,000 ślokas, it is a work of the learned Patañjali." To speak of Patañjali's Mahābhāshya as a commentary on the Kāśikā is to speak something that is absurd. The author of the Kāśikā himself tells us that his work is based, among other works, on the Bhāshya, which can be no other than the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali, and there is internal evidence at every step to show that it is based on that work. And there can be no question whatever that the Mahābhāshya is not a commentary on the Kāśikā. The absurdity of the statement is also patent from what It-sing himself states with regard to the dates of the

¹ General Cunningham's Arch. Report, Vol. XII. p. 68.

several grammarians. Jayāditya, the author of the *Vṛitti Sūtra*, i.e. the *Kāśikā*, according to Professor Max Müller, died thirty years before It-sing wrote, or about 660 A.D., while Bhartrihari, the author of a commentary on the *Mahābhāshya*, died forty years before or about 650 A.D.; so that the author of the *Kāśikā* died ten years after the author of a commentary on a commentary on his own work, that is, he was so fortunate as to have these two large and very learned works written in elucidation of his own during his own lifetime by men who died before him. And yet this is the evidence that, according to Professor Peterson, is "slowly but surely" referring Patañjali to a date much later than that assigned to him by Professor Goldstücker and myself. When It-sing speaks of Patañjali's work as a commentary on the *Vṛitti Sūtra* and of Jayāditya as the author of the *Vṛitti Sūtra*, he is confounding the *Vārtika Sūtras* of Kātyāyana with the *Kāśikā* or some work of Jayāditya, or has been misunderstood and mistranslated.

Professor Peterson's other reference is to the verses quoted as from Pāṇini in the several anthologies noticed by him in his Reports on the search for manuscripts during the last two years. These verses are precisely similar in character to those to which dates between 600 and 1,000 A.D. have been assigned; and therefore he says, "it is impossible to admit a gap of a thousand years between them." He therefore brings Pāṇini down to about that period. He does not deny the possibility of there being two Pāṇinis. But he thinks "there is no evidence for such a supposition." If the similarity between the verses attributed to Pāṇini and others is a sufficient reason for referring both to the same period, ought not the utter dissimilarity between them and the language of the sūtras, as well as the great difference between the Sanskrit the rules of which the sūtras give and the Sanskrit of the verses, to be considered a reason sufficiently urgent for assigning to the sūtras a period separated by a long interval from that in which the verses were written. If the argument based on the similarity is valid, that based on the dissimilarity is equally so; and as I proceed I shall show that the latter is so powerful, and there are so many circumstances which harmonize only with the conclusion deducible from it, that the only option left to us is to suppose that the Pāṇini of the verses was altogether a different man from the Great Grammarian. It does not advance the cause of research to forget the points clearly made out by Goldstücker more than twenty years ago. A substance of his arguments and my expansion of them I have given in my Early

History of the Dekkan, and since the matter is of importance in the present discussion I quote it here.

“ Professor Goldstücker has shown from an examination of the Vārtikas, that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pāṇini but are taught by Kātyāyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pāṇini’s time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures “ On the Sanskrit and Prakṛit languages,” and given from the Vārtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, *viz.*, either that Pāṇini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible, wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Pāṇini as found in the Bhāṣhā or current language, not the Chhāndasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead. Professor Goldstücker has also given a list of words used by Pāṇini in his sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Pāṇini’s time but was known to Kātyāyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that had elapsed between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pāṇini’s time or were not old to him came to be considered by Kātyāyana to be as old as those which were old to Pāṇini.”

To this I may now add, what I showed in the Preface to my Second Book of Sanskrit seventeen years ago, that according to Pāṇini’s rules the Aorist expresses (1) past time generally, or the simple completion of an action, (2) the past time of this day and not previous to this day and (3) recent past time; and thus resembles in every respect the English Present Perfect. But in the later language the distinction between that tense and the other two past tenses is set aside and the Aorist is used exactly like these. Now, the language of the verses ascribed to Pāṇini and generally the language of what Professor Max Müller calls the Renaissance period is grammatically the same as that of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and is the language of participles instead of verbs; and even from theirs it differs in making extensive use of compounds and neglecting the distinction between the Aorist and the other past tenses. The Sanskrit of Pāṇini’s time is more archaic than

that of Kātyāyana's time, and Pāṇini's rules are nowhere more scrupulously observed than in such an ancient work as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.² The many forms and expressions which he teaches, and which must have existed in the language are nowhere found in the later literature; while specimens of them are to be seen in that Brāhmaṇa and like works. Between therefore the archaic language of the sūtras and the language which Pāṇini calls Bhāshā and of which he teaches the grammar, on the one hand, and the language of the Renaissance period on the other, there is such a wide difference that no one will ever think of attributing a work written in the style and language of this period to the Great Grammarian. I have in my first lecture assigned Yāska and Pāṇini to the same period of Sanskrit Literature; and therefore, in my opinion, the style and manner of a work written by Pāṇini, the grammarian, must resemble those of the Nirukta; but in the few verses attributed to Pāṇini there is no such resemblance whatever. Should the entire work be discovered and found as a whole to be written in an archaic style, there will be time enough to consider its claim to be the work of Pāṇini; but at present we must reject that advanced on behalf of these artificial verses.

I will here briefly state the other arguments I have elsewhere used to prove Pāṇini's great antiquity. In the Early History of the Dekkan I have mentioned that while in the sūtras of Pāṇini there are a great many names of places in Afghanistan, Panjab, and Northern India, there is none of any situated in Southern India. But Kātyāyana inserts such names in his emendations of the sūtras, and from this circumstance I have concluded, as Goldstücker has done in other cases, that Southern India was unknown to the Āryas of the North in the time of Pāṇini, while it was known in the time of Kātyāyana. The Aśoka inscriptions contain a good many names of places in the South, which shows that the Āryas were familiar with that part of the country in his time, *i. e.* in the middle of the third century before Christ. Pāṇini therefore must have flourished before the third century at least. In a paper published in the first number of the Indian Antiquary I have given reasons for identifying a town of the name of Sangala, destroyed by Alexander the Great, with Sāṅkala mentioned by Pāṇini under IV., 2, 75.

² I have shown this so far as the Aorist is concerned in the preface to my Second Book of Sanskrit, and I learn from Dr. Kielhorn that one of his German pupils has recently done the same as regards the cases, in his dissertation for his Ph.D.

Sākala therefore existed in Pāṇini's time, which it could not have done if he lived after Alexander the Great. Pāṇini must therefore have flourished before him. In a review of this paper Professor Weber stated that certain Greek geographers speak of the existence of a town of that name even after the time of Alexander. But I believe it is a town of the name of Śākala that they mention, and Śākala, we know, was a flourishing town in Panjab up to a very late period, and was different from Sangala which was situated on the west of the Rāvi, while Śākala was situated on the east. Sangala was destroyed by Alexander, and there is nothing to show that it was re-built. In a copper-plate grant of the Valabhī dynasty, dated 326, a translation of which was published by me in that same number, and a Nāgarī transcript in the tenth volume of the Journal of this Society, puns on the technical terms of Pāṇini are used in describing a king, who is represented as thoroughly versed in the *tantra* or art of the Śālāturiya, as well as in that of government. By the Śālāturiya is, of course, meant Pāṇini, he being a native of the town of Śālātura. Such a use of the name of Pāṇini and of his technical terms argues a great deal of everyday familiarity with his work on the part of the writer, and of those for whom he wrote, which would not have been possible unless he had for a very long time been in undisputed possession of the place he has occupied in Sanskrit literature. Now the date 326 refers to the Gupta-Valabhī Era and corresponds according to my view to 645 A.D., and according to the views of others to 493 and 516 A.D. Thus then in the first half of the seventh century or about the end of the fifth, Pāṇini was an author of established repute, with whom everybody was familiar, and consequently, even then, of great antiquity. And the "recent speculation" also that Professor Peterson speaks of, instead of modernizing Pāṇini tends in the same direction. For, we now know that Bhartṛihari lived before 650 A.D., and from the account that he gives of the fate of the Mahābhāshya, it appears, as I shall mention further on more particularly, that that work was written several centuries before him. And Pāṇini, of course, must have lived a long time before Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāshya. A very large variety of arguments such as these clearly prove Pāṇini's high antiquity. The modern verses, therefore, attributed to him must be regarded as written by another author of that name.

In his Second Report Professor Peterson quotes a verse ascribed to Rājasekhara in which Pāṇini, the author of the Grammar, is represented

to be the author of a poem entitled *Jāmbuvatījaya*. He also speaks of Professor Aufrecht's having seen it stated in an anonymous verse that the poet Pāṇini was the son of Dākshī. In themselves both these statements prove nothing as to the age of Pāṇini. The Great Grammarian may have been a poet, and may have written a work called *Jāmbuvatījaya*. But if the verses brought to light are from that work and consequently the work is of the nature of those belonging to the period of the Renaissance, then at once the tradition which represents the author of that work to be the same as the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* must be rejected as conflicting with the clearest evidence, internal as well as external. It is a tradition of the same nature as that which represents the author of the *Nalodaya* to be the same as the author of *Śakuntalā*, or which refers Kālidāsa to the first century before the Christian era, or which makes Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti contemporaries, or which identifies Hāla with Kuntala, and both with Śālivāhana.

This, then, is what comes of the "recent speculation" which is "slowly but surely" referring Patañjali to the fifth century of the Christian era. And if I can show that the evidence on which the author of the *Mahābhāshya* is referred to the middle of the second century before Christ not only remains totally unshaken by anything that Professor Peterson has directly urged against it, but is corroborated by facts, recently brought to light, the Professor's "recent speculation" will be utterly powerless by itself to modernize Pāṇini and his commentators. Professor Peterson himself sees this, and hence he makes only a passing allusion to it, and does not bring it forward prominently.

The first thing against which Professor Peterson directs his attack is the statement of Kalhaṇa, the chronicler of Kāśmīr, that Chandrāchārya and others introduced the study of the *Mahābhāshya* into that country in the reign of Abhimanyu. His statement is considered as deserving of no credit, on the general ground that the part of the *Rajatarānginī* where it occurs is, according to the Professor, full of improbabilities. In regard to such a professedly historical work as the *Rajatarānginī* the correct principle to go upon is, in my opinion, to accept such statements as are not improbable in themselves, and do not go against stronger and more reliable evidence. If we adopt the principle laid down by Professor Peterson we shall have to reject everything that is said in this part of the work, even his statement that Kāśmīr was ruled over a little before this time by three princes of

Turushka extraction, Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka. But inscriptions and coins prove this statement of Kalhana to be true, and confirmation of this nature shows that he is entitled to our credit, except, I repeat, in those cases where stronger evidence proves him to be wrong. And in the present case not only is there nothing that goes against his statement, but the passage in Bhartṛihari's Vākyapadīya confirms it, since, there also, we are told, that Chandrāchārya revived the study of the Mahābhāshya. Of course, Bhartṛihari does not say that Chandrāchārya did that in the reign of Abhimanyu ; but since the main portion of the statement is confirmed, it is in every way reasonable that we should believe in the remaining part. Professor Peterson says that Kalhana's authority is the statement in the Vākyapadīya, but this is a mere assumption, and the fact that Bhartṛihari does not mention the name of Abhimanyu would rather show that it was not the Vākyapadīya that Kalhana followed. In another place the Rājatarāṅgiṇī states that a subsequent king, Jayāpīḍa, who is said to have reigned from 755 A.D. to 786 A.D. reintroduced the study of the Mahābhāshya which had ceased to be studied in his realm. The word विच्छिन्नं which occurs in the verse and signifies "cut off," "interrupted," and which, consequently, I have translated by "ceased to be studied," shows that the Mahābhāshya continued to be studied in Kaśmīr for some time after Chandrāchārya had revived its study, but had fallen into disuse in that country. Hence it was that Jayāpīḍa brought Pandits from other parts of India, and re-introduced the study of the book. For this statement, also, Professor Peterson thinks the passage in the Vākyapadīya to be Kalhana's authority, and believes that the author of the Kaśmīr chronicle divided the passage into two parts, and assigned Chandrāchārya to the reign of Abhimanyu for "the greater glory" of that monarch. But why he should be so partial to that monarch, removed as he was from his time by centuries, it is difficult to conceive. The Professor thinks this latter statement of Kalhana about Jayāpīḍa's revival of the study of the Mahābhāshya "to be far more deserving of credit," and understands by विच्छिन्नं that cessation of the study of the work in the whole of India and not in Kaśmīr alone, from which, according to the Vākyapadīya, Chandrāchārya "had (recently?) rescued" it. For these several assumptions, however, the Professor gives no grounds, and to me this looks like a process of manufacturing history to order, and not interpreting history. But in this way Professor Peterson falls unawares into a trap which he has prepared for himself. He evidently seems to think

that the revival of the study of the Mahâbhâshya by Chandrâchârya, mentioned by Bhartṛihari, took place in about 755 A.D., in the reign of Jayâpîḍa; but Bhartṛihari who mentions the fact died, according to It-sing, the Chinese traveller, about the year 650 A.D.; so that according to the Professor's reading of history Bhartṛihari makes mention of a fact that took place about 105 years *after his death*. Thus then Kalhaṇa did *not* assign one part of what took place in the time of Jayâpîḍa to Abhimanyu's reign "for the greater glory" of that monarch, and not only is there nothing that conflicts with that author's placing Chandrâchârya in the reign of Abhimanyu, but all that we know is in perfect harmony with it. Hence the statement of Kalhaṇa must be accepted. Now, when Abhimanyu reigned it is somewhat difficult to determine, since the Kaśmîr chronology of this early period is not clear. Abhimanyu, according to Kalhaṇa, got possession of the Kaśmîr throne after the three Turushka or Indo-Scythian princes. Kanishka, the first of these, is referred to the first century, and is by some considered to be the founder of the Śaka era which begins in 78 A.D. On this supposition the last of these princes reigned up to about 178 A.D. But I am inclined, for reasons elsewhere given, to place Kanishka about a century later, so as to bring the last Indo-Scythian prince about the end of the third century.³ Thus the study of the Mahâbhâshya was revived by Chandrâchârya about the end of the third century at the latest.

Professor Peterson next discusses the sense of the passage in the Mahâbhâshya in which the name *Maurya* occurs. This has been understood to be the name of the dynasty that ruled over Pâtaliputra and the whole of Northern India at the end of the fourth and in the third century before Christ. Professor Peterson criticises Professor Goldstücker's translation, says that no contrast between the Mauryas and common people, which he thinks led Goldstücker to understand the dynasty by that name, is here meant, and takes the word *Maurya* to mean a guild or caste of idol-makers, which is the interpretation put upon the word by Nâgojibhaṭṭa.

That Goldstücker misunderstood the grammatical import of the passage and that Professor Peterson gives it correctly is true. I myself published a translation of it in 1873, in accordance with the native commentators, and stated that Goldstücker's translation was wrong. But in other respects Professor Peterson's translation is incorrect, and

³ Early History of the Dekkan, p. 20.

the grounds for taking "Maurya" as the name of a dynasty that was extinct in Patañjali's time still remain. The contrast between a royal dynasty and common people is not that ground; but there is another contrast which Professor Peterson has lost sight of, and which consequently has been neglected in his translation. That translation* is:—

"In that case [if अवश्ये is to be part of the rule] *the following expression* is not obtained [i.e. must be declared to be bad grammar, while as a matter of fact, it is in common use, and so it is the correctness of the sūtra that is in peril]. स्कन्दो विशाखः "A Skanda in act to shoot." "Why?" "It is for gain that the Mauryas *make* images." तासु न स्यात् "Let it be admitted that so far to them the rule कनो लुप् should not apply, but that the affix ka should be used. वास्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थाः But whatever images *among these* even, are *from the beginning* intended for worship and not for sale, तासु भविष्यति to them that rule will apply, and the affix ka will be barred." The Italics are mine with the exception of those in the first expression.

Professor Peterson rejects the reading शिवः before स्कन्दः, why, I do not understand, unless the reason be that it goes against the translation which he has worked himself into believing to be correct. विशाखः he translates by "in act to shoot" and his authority is a certain explanation of the word with a second-hand quotation in support from a commentary on the Amarakośa, contained in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, and copied from that as a matter of course by Monier Williams. But Böhtlingk and Roth have not found a single instance of the use of the word in that sense in the whole extent of the literature which they have examined. Still Professor Peterson thinks Patañjali has used it in that sense. But after all what Böhtlingk and Roth and Monier Williams say is that विशाख expresses "an attitude in shooting"; and not "one in that attitude"; so that if the sense is to be admitted here at all, स्कन्दो विशाखः would mean "Skanda who is an attitude in shooting," which of course will not do. Patañjali, however, uses the word as expressive of a certain god who is always mentioned together with Skanda. Under Pañ. VIII. 1. 15, he gives इन्द्रं स्कन्दविशाखौ along with इन्द्रं पर्वतनारदौ as an instance of a copulative compound of the names of things or persons always mentioned together, which admits

* Mahābhāṣya on Pañ., V., 3. 99. अवश्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मेरुर्हिरण्यधिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । वास्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थस्तासु भविष्यति ॥

of the use of the word *Dvandva* or "pair" instead of *Dvau*, or "two." It is clear from this that Patañjali himself means to speak of them as two individuals always associated together, and forming a pair, and the dual also expresses that they were two.

Now Professor Peterson's translation of *मौर्वैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्थाः प्रकल्पिताः* is "It is for gain that the Mauryas *make* images." "Make" is *present* tense while the original *प्रकल्पिताः* is *past* tense, that being the *past* passive participle of the causal of कृप्. Again *प्रकल्पिताः* means "devised," "planned," "used as means," and not simply "made." A closer translation of *हिरण्यार्थिभिः* than that we have in the expression "for gain" ought to be given; for an important point is involved in that. Patañjali applies several times the expression *अधिनश्च हिरण्येन भवन्ति* "seek for gold" to kings; and the presumption it gives rise to is that here too those to whom he applies it must be kings. In the last sentence Professor Peterson's translation of the nominative *एताः* by "among these" is wrong. It is only the genitive *एतासाम्* or the locative *एतासु* that can be so translated. Similarly *संप्रति* cannot mean "from the beginning" as the Professor takes it to mean; it can only signify "now," "in these days," &c.

The sense of the passage is this. Pāṇini lays down a rule that the termination *ka* which is appended to the name of an object to signify something resembling that object (इवे), provided that something is an image (प्रतिकृतौ), is dropped (कनो लुप्), when the image is used for deriving a livelihood (जीविकार्थे) and is not vendible (अपण्ये). Now, Patañjali raises this question. The addition of the condition that the image should not be vendible renders such forms as Śivah, Skandah, Viśākhah, grammatically not justifiable (सचेद्—विद्यास्य इति). He must here be taken to mean that these forms are current, and that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to them. "Why not" (किं कारणम्), he asks. "Because the Mauryas, seeking for gold or money, used images of gods as means" (मौर्वै—प्रकल्पिताः). Here the author must be understood to say that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to the images now called Śivah, Skandah, and Viśākhah, because such images were sold by the Mauryas. They are therefore vendible objects, though as a matter of fact they are not for sale, and though the selling of such images of gods is discreditable. It is the act of the Mauryas that has rendered them vendible objects. Hence the termination cannot be dropped in accordance with the rule, and they should be called Śivakah, Skandakah and Viśākhakah, but they are called

Śivah, Skandah, and Viśākhah. "It may be (भवेत्) that the rule about the dropping of *ka* is not applicable (न स्वार्त्) to them, i.e. to those (साद्य) images of gods which were sold by the Mauryas. But as to these (एताः) [viz. those called by the names Śivah, Skandah, and Viśākhah, the correctness of which is in question] which (साः) are at the present day used for worship (संप्रति पूजार्थाः) the rule is applicable to them (साद्य भविष्यति)." That is, the termination *ka* should be dropped in their case and the forms whose correctness was questioned are correct.

The forms are correct, because they signify images of gods which are now worshipped and are not vendible. They were thought to come under the class of vendible objects because such images were used by the Mauryas for raising money; but the vendibility of some does not make those that are worshipped vendible, and consequently the names of those images do come under Pāṇini's rule and drop *ka*. In understanding the passage thus I have set aside Nāgojibhaṭṭa's comment which I think can be shown to be wrong. He appears to me to say that the words, Śivah, Skandah, and Viśākhah express images sold by the Mauryas, and as such they are vendible objects and consequently should have the termination *ka*, i.e. the forms should be Śivakah, &c., and not Śivah, &c., as given in the Mahābhāshya which are incorrect, while those, which, in conformity with Pāṇini's sūtra drop *ka*, are such as express images, intended for that sort of worship which immediately after their manufacture brings in gains and enables a man to earn his livelihood. Now this makes no difference as to the province or operation of Pāṇini's rule; but that the passage itself has been misunderstood by Nāgojibhaṭṭa appears to me clear. He interprets संप्रति पूजार्थाः as "bringing in gains immediately after manufacture," which interpretation is far-fetched, as are those of all commentators when they do not understand the point and still wish to explain a passage somehow. He also neglects the word एताः. But the great mistake he makes is his forgetting that when Patañjali supposes an opponent and makes him raise an objection by the expression न सिध्यति, "this is not justifiable by that rule," he very generally makes him object to the rule by bringing forward correct forms which that rule does not explain. Eventually, he interprets the rule in such a manner that those forms also are explained by it. In accordance with my interpretation this is exactly what is done here by Patañjali. If the passage were put in the form of a dialogue between the Doctor (Siddhāntin) and his opponent (Pūrvapakshin), it would stand thus:—

Op. Pāṇini inserts the condition that the image should not be vendible. Then, the forms Śivah, Skandah, Viśākhaḥ are not correct according to his rule. [These forms express images of those gods, and should have the suffix *ka*].

Doc. Why?

Op. Because the Mauryas, desirous of raising money, used as means the images of gods, [i.e. they bartered them; and these are such images, and consequently belong to the class of vendible objects].

Doc. Those images may not come under the rule, [because they bartered them, and consequently they may not drop *ka*]. But these, [viz., those in question] which at the present day are used for worship, come under the operation of the rule [and consequently the *ka* is dropped].

Does this passage contain history? The past tense in the third speech itself shows that whoever the Mauryas were, they existed at a time which preceded the present time expressed in the last sentence of the fourth speech. And the present time must clearly be the time when Patañjali wrote. The Mauryas could not have been idol-makers, for, if they were, there was no necessity for referring them to past time. Nāgojibhāṭṭa, no doubt, says they were idol-makers. But Nāgojibhāṭṭa was a Śāstri or Pāṇḍit, who lived about a hundred and fifty years ago, and though a man of very great learning and acuteness, did not care at all for history or had no conception of it, and as I have already observed, like other commentators, he often cuts the gordian knot of a difficulty instead of untying it. And what authority is there in the whole range of Sanskrit literature for taking the word in that sense. It is used in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa to express a certain class or demons. But these demons can have nothing to do here. The word therefore must be understood in the only other known sense, and that is, that it was the name of a royal dynasty founded by Chandragupta about 320 B.C. And Patañjali's expression *Hiṃsyaṅrthibhik* does certainly not discountenance the hypothesis, as I have already observed; for he has used the same expression in an un-compounded condition in speaking of kings generally. What is this fact that the author of the Mahābhāṣya mentions regarding the Mauryas? It may be, as Professor Weber has stated, that the Mauryas coined money by stamping the images of gods on the pieces; or it may be anything else.

Professor Peterson next proceeds to consider the historical value of the passages pointed out by Professor Goldstücker and myself,

the events mentioned in which we regard as contemporaneous with Patañjali. In Goldstücker's passage, Patañjali gives भरुणखवनः साकेतम्, "The Yavana besieged Sāketa," as an instance of Kātyāyana's rule that the Imperfect should be used to express an event, (1) known generally to people, and (2) not witnessed by the speaker, but (3) capable of being witnessed by him. The event mentioned in the instance must be understood as having these three attributes. The Yavana's siege of Sāketa was known to all, and could be actually witnessed by the speaker if he wished, but was not, as a matter of fact; that is to say, the event took place during the life-time of the speaker. But who is the speaker? Is he necessarily to be supposed to be contemporaneous with Patañjali or Patañjali himself; or is his time an irrelevant matter? Professor Peterson thinks it is irrelevant, and the speaker may be supposed to have lived any number of years before Patañjali. Then how is it to be made out by Patañjali's pupil, for whose edification he gives the example that the verb *Aruṇad* here expresses an action that could be witnessed by the speaker? What Professor Peterson says amounts to this, that the pupil should know as we now know it, that the verb expresses such an action, from the fact that this is an example of the rule that the Imperfect is used to denote an action that could be witnessed by the speaker. Then what was the necessity of a historical example? Patañjali might have given such an instance as this:—देवदत्तो मथुरामगच्छत्. "Devadatta went to Mathurā." That this was a fact well known, not witnessed by the speaker, but capable of being witnessed by him, his pupils should have gathered from the fact that it was an example of the rule. And what is the point of the counter-examples that he gives? He puts the question, "Why does the Vārtikakāra say, 'the event must not be witnessed by the speaker?'" [परोक्ष इति किमर्थम्]. The answer is, "In such instances as 'the sun has risen' [उद्गाहादित्थः], the Imperfect is not to be used but the Aorist," for this fact is known to people generally and is capable of being witnessed by the speaker; but it is not such as is *not* witnessed by the speaker. Again, "Why does he say the event must be known to people generally?" [लोकविज्ञात इति किमर्थम्]. "Because, in such instances as 'Devadatta made a mat' (चकार कटं देवदत्तः), the Perfect must be used and not the Imperfect"; for this event is not witnessed by the speaker and is capable of being witnessed by him, but it is not a thing that is known to people generally. And lastly, "Why does he say it must be capable of

being witnessed by the speaker?" [प्रबोक्तुर्दर्शनविषय इति किमर्थम्]. "Because in such instances as 'Vāsudeva killed Kāṁsa' (अघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः), the Perfect should be used, and not the Imperfect"; for the event is generally known to people, and is not witnessed by the speaker; *but it is not capable of being witnessed by the speaker, as it took place a long time ago.* It will thus be seen that these counter-examples are such that their possessing two of the three conditions, and not possessing one is a fact that is known to the persons whom Patañjali is addressing, and is not to be made out by them simply because he says so. Similarly the fact that the example, "the Yavana besieged Śāketa," possesses the three necessary conditions, must be known to the pupils independently of the rule, and then only can they see that the Imperfect is properly used. If the existence of the three conditions in the example were a thing to be made out from the wording of the rule only, अहन्कंसं किल वासुदेवः would also serve as an example of the rule instead of अरुणघवनः शाकेतम्; for we might suppose the speaker to be contemporaneous with Vāsudeva, since the rule requires it to be so. The counter-examples would be pointless if there were no way of knowing, independently of the rule, that one of the conditions was absent. And we shall see, if we compare these examples, that the means of judging whether the conditions of a rule are realized in an example are supplied by the pupil's acquaintance with the world, and with history and mythology. When the conditions are verbal, it is the eye and the ear that discover whether they are fulfilled. This is what Patañjali supposes, and not a previous acquaintance with the language, as Professor Peterson thinks. Even in the English example he has given, "In six days God made heaven and earth," we know that this use of the past tense is proper, because we know from the Book of Genesis and not from the rule about that tense that God did create heaven and earth in six days, *i.e.* it is a past action.

I will here endeavour to state clearly the relation between the rules and examples given by a grammarian. Every rule lays down a certain condition, and prescribes what should be done when the condition is satisfied. An example intended to illustrate such a rule can serve its purpose only then when the pupil or reader sees, independently of the rule, from his knowledge of the world, including that of history, that the condition mentioned in the rule is satisfied and what is prescribed is done. In those examples in which the names of possible individuals such as *John, Caius, and Devadatta* are used, the condition

can only be satisfied by the *possible* and not *actual* existence of its requirements. "John is writing a book" is an appropriate example of the use of the Present Progressive because the condition that the action of writing should be of a nature to be *progressive* and *present* is satisfied in so far as it is possible for the action to have both characteristics in this case. But this possibility is independent of the rule, and is to be made out by the reader or pupil through his knowledge of the world. For, if instead of this example, we have "John is loving Jane and hating Tom," we see it is not appropriate, though the rule is the same. The reason is that the condition is not satisfied, as the actions of *loving* and *hating* are not of a nature to admit of *progressiveness*, and this we know independently of the rule. In the same way the example, "Gibbon is writing the history of the Decline and Fall" would be inappropriate as given by grammarians of the present day, because the condition that the action should be *present* cannot be satisfied, for Gibbon is not living now. But as given by a grammarian living while Gibbon was writing his work, it would be appropriate; for that condition would then be satisfied. A grammarian of the present day, can use the fact only for illustrating the use of the Past tense and say, "Gibbon wrote the History of the Decline and Fall." It will, therefore, be seen, that when examples containing the names of *actual* or historical and not *possible* individuals are used, the condition of the rule can only be satisfied by its requirements having an *actual* or historical, and not *possible*, existence.

Thus, then, in the case before us, in which we have a historical example, the requirements of the condition must have an actual or historical existence, and Patañjali's pupils must see from their acquaintance with the world, and not from the rule of Kātyāyana, that the siege by the Yavana was known to people generally, that it was not witnessed by the speaker, but that it was capable of being witnessed by him. Now if the speaker was an indefinite person who lived nobody knew when, it was not possible that the pupils should be able to find out whether the condition that the siege should be capable of being witnessed by him was satisfied in the example, and therefore he must be supposed to be contemporaneous with them and with Patañjali, or Patañjali himself. Professor Peterson thinks Nāgojibhaṭṭa supports his view. But Nāgojibhaṭṭa puts himself in the position of a modern reader, and not in the position of Patañjali's pupils; and infers from the Vārtika and the example that the speaker belongs to the same

time as that when the siege took place. We know nothing of this siege and when it was undertaken ; and have consequently to infer from the passage the chronological relation between it and the speaker. But Nāgojibhaṭṭa does not say that the contemporaneity of the siege and the speaker is the only inference that is valid, and that the " user " is not necessarily Patañjali or contemporaneous with him. On the other hand, he remarks, " The killing of Kāṁsa is not even capable of being witnessed by a speaker living in these days (इदानींतनप्रयोक्तुः), while in the example *Arunad &c.*,⁵ the speaker is contemporaneous with the action." The word इदानींतन ' living in these days ' which he has used in connection with the speaker in the *counter-example*, " Vāsudeva killed Kāṁsa," is to be understood as applicable to the प्रवक्ता or speaker in the *example* also ; so that Nāgojibhaṭṭa must be taken to mean that the speaker of *these days* is contemporaneous with the action. " These days " are of course the days when Patañjali wrote.

Again, even if the contemporaneity of the siege of Sāketa by the Yavana and of Patañjali be admitted, it proves nothing, according to Professor Peterson, as regards the age of Patañjali. " There is nothing to show that the Yavanas besieged Sāketa in the time of Menander, or that they did not besiege that city more than once in the centuries that followed." But the question has certainly advanced a stage and it were very much to be wished that the Professor had taken it up there. Of the Indo-Bactrian princes Demetrius and Menander have been represented by the Greek historians to have made the largest conquests. The former is said to have reigned between 205 and 165 B. C.⁶ According to Strabo, as Goldstücker has stated, Menander pushed his conquests up to the Jumna (Yamunā) river. The Indo-Bactrian dynasty became extinct in B.C. 85, according to Lassen. In the Gārgī Saṁhitā, the Yavanas are mentioned as having conquered Sāketa, Pañchāla, and Mathurā, and penetrated even to Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra. Of the Indo-Bactrian kings, Menander was the one who seems to have come in close contact with the Indians. There is a work in Pāli entitled Milindapanho which gives an account of a religious conversation between a Yoṇa king of the name of Milinda and a Buddhist sage of the name of

⁵ माष्ट्ये जघानेति । कंसबभौ हि नेदानींतनप्रयोक्तुर्दक्षीणयोग्योऽपीत्यर्थः । अरुणदित्युदाहरणे तु तुल्यकालः प्रवक्तेति बोध्यम् । From a MS. in my possession.

⁶ Kern's Ed. of Varāhamihira, Preface.

Nāgasena. Milinda has been identified with Menander. There is, therefore, every probability that it was Menander that laid the siege to Sāketa alluded to by Patañjali. But if Professor Peterson is not satisfied, no Greek invasion of India could have taken place after 85 B.C. ; so that the "centuries that followed" during which the Yavanas could, according to him, have besieged the city are reduced to about 60 years. That the Indians called the Greeks only Yavanas during the three centuries preceding the Christian era and about as many after, is a fact. Aśoka calls Antiochus, king of Syria, a Yoṇa-rājā. Milinda or Menander is so styled in the Milindapanho, and in the Gārgī Sainhitā the Yavanas are spoken of as good astronomers, wherefore the Greeks must have been meant. Kanishka and his successors are called Turushkas in the Rājatarānginī, and the Indo-Scythians, who overran a large part of the country, were called Sakas. Persians or Parthians are spoken of as Palhavas ; and the Huns, who poured into the country later, are styled Hūnas. So that during this early period, each of these foreign races was called by a distinctive name and there was no confusion. By the name Yavana, Patañjali therefore could not have meant a prince of any other than the Greek race. Hence the siege of Sāketa by a Yavana could by no possibility have taken place after 85 B.C. ; and for the reasons above stated and also because the Indo-Bactrian kings could not have invaded the country during the years of their decline, it was Menander in all likelihood that is spoken of as the Yavana by our great Grammarian.

As with the example pointed out by Goldstücker, so with mine. Kātyāyana's Vārtika is "the Bhavanti or forms of the Present Tense should be prescribed for use to express an action which has begun but not ceased," for though at a particular time during the interval that action may not be going on, still if it has not ceased, it should be expressed even at that time by means of the Present Tense. "Here we sacrifice for Pushpamitra" (इह पुष्पमित्रं याजयामः) is one of the three instances by which Patañjali illustrates the rule. It is a historical instance, and consequently on the principles laid down before, the requirement of the condition mentioned in the rule, must have an *actual* or historical existence. If Pushpamitra had flourished long before Patañjali, it would not have done for him to illustrate an action that had begun but not ended by speaking of his sacrifice, in the same manner as it would not do for us in these days to illustrate such an action by "God is making heaven and earth," or "Gibbon is writing the History of the Decline

and Fall." And as we must have recourse in these days to an event that is going on at present if we wish to give a historical illustration, and say such a thing as "Kielhorn is editing the Mahābhāshya," so when Patañjali wanted to give a historical illustration of the rule, and said, "Here we sacrifice for Pushpamitra," it must have been an occurrence actually then going on, that he had recourse to. In other words, Patañjali's pupils must be able to see that in this example, the condition laid down in the rule that "an action must have begun but not ended" is fulfilled. This, would, of course, be impossible for them to find out if Pushpamitra flourished long before them. If instead of this historical fact, Patañjali had instanced a possible fact and said, "Here we sacrifice for Devadatta" (इह देवदत्तं याजयामः), all that would have been necessary is that the action of sacrificing (याजनक्रिया) should be of a nature to have a *possible* present existence and to extend over many days and admit of intervals during which it is not actually going on; and then his example would have resembled such a modern example as "John is writing a book." But Pushpamitra, being a historical personage, the action affirmed with reference to him must have an *actual* present existence at the time. When, therefore, Patañjali wrote this, the sacrifice of Pushpamitra had begun, but not ended.

Professor Peterson, however, considers it "more probable than not" from the whole context of the passage, and not from the illustration, that "Patañjali lived at the time, and perhaps at the court, of Pushpamitra." The historical import of the illustration I have explained, and nothing more remains to be said on this point, except that instead of saying the "whole context of the passage," if the Professor had said "from this passage and another in which Pushpamitra's sacrifice is spoken of and he is represented as giving the money required, and from a third in which he is meant to be spoken of as a particular king (राजविद्येषः) and as holding his courts," it would have answered his purpose better. But though Professor Peterson admits that Patañjali very probably lived in the time of Pushpamitra, still he thinks there is no ground for believing that he was the Pushpamitra who reigned in the second century before Christ; and has got Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī to unearth for him another Pushyamitra, who lived about the time of Skandagupta. But this process has certainly not succeeded. For, in the first place, General Cunningham, writing in 1861-62, says with regard to the Bhitari Lāt and the inscription on it: "Unfortunately, this face is much weather-worn, and the stone has also peeled off in several places,

so that the inscription is now in even a worse condition than when I first saw it in January 1836."⁶ Then, the line read समुदितबलकोषमुष्य-मित्रं गृहीत्वा by Dr. Bhau Daji, and समुदितबलकोषात्पुष्यमित्रं च जित्वा by Dr. Bhagvanlal (both reading from the same transcript), reads in General Cunningham's copy 'हरपन्नयमकोषं वाक्यमित्रं गदित्वा, where we see Pushyamitra is transformed into Vākya-mitra. This shows unmistakably in what condition the inscription is. In the impression or facsimile given by Dr. Bhau Dâji, I can read समुदितबलकोष - - मित्रं गृहीत्वा. The जि of Bhagvanlal's जित्वा does not at all appear there, and the word looks certainly far more like गृहीत्वा than च जित्वा, and General Cunningham's गदित्वा agrees better with the former than with the latter. The two letters between कोष and मित्रं are illegible, and the second certainly looks much more like General Cunningham's क्य than च, and may be क्य, and it was on this account that Bhau Daji himself must have enclosed "Pushya" within brackets in his translation. It cannot be a printer's error, as Professor Peterson supposes; and the reason why पुष्य is not bracketed in the Nāgarī transcript must have been that Bhau Daji himself did not read a proof of it, but left it to his Śāstris. There is then no authority for reading the word as "Pushyamitra" in the published copies of the inscription. So that until Professor Peterson gets Dr. Bhagvanlal to publish a more legible facsimile, I must refuse to believe in his Pushyamitra's having been a man of flesh and bones and in his having been conquered by Skandagupta.⁵

⁶ Arch. Report, Vol. I. p. 98. ⁷ Ib. plate XXX.

⁵ After the above was written I saw Mr. Fleet in Poona. As epigraphical surveyor to the Government of India he has taken fresh impressions of the Gupta inscriptions. He was good enough to show that of the inscription on the Bhitari Lāt to me. He agrees with General Cunningham in stating that the inscription is much worn and illegible, and says it is the worst of the Gupta inscriptions. He reads पुष्यमित्रं but instead of च जित्वा there is in his copy गृहीत्वा distinctly. But he says the whole line is quite capable of being read समुदितबलकोषात्पुष्यमित्रान्गृहीत्वा; and this, I believe, is a much better reading than Bhagvanlal's समुदितबलकोषात्पुष्यमित्रं. For, the ablative कोषात् as taken to express the means by which Skandagupta is represented to have conquered Pushyamitra is unquestionably ungrammatical. The accusative, therefore, is correct, and thus पुष्यमित्रान् for पुष्यमित्रं is also correct. If then this is the true reading, पुष्यमित्र becomes the name, not of an individual, but of a tribe, and a tribe of that name is mentioned in the Purānas as having held power

But supposing that there was a prince of that name in Skandagupta's time, is it possible he could have been Patañjali's Pushpamitra? Decidedly not. Let us determine the environments of Patañjali's Pushpamitra as they are to be gathered from the Mahābhāṣya, and then examine whether they are to be found in the first prince of the Śuīnga dynasty who reigned in the second century before Christ, or in Skandagupta's supposed Pushyamitra. 1. Patañjali's Pushpamitra performed, as we have seen, a sacrifice which must have been the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice performed by paramount sovereigns. 2. He must have lived at a time when the country was exposed to the inroads of Yavanas. For, though Professor Peterson has denied the contemporaneity of Patañjali and the sieges of Śāketa and Madhyamikā he cannot deny that such events must have taken place at a time sufficiently near to that of Patañjali in order that he might know of them, think of them, and speak of them. 3. Patañjali's Pushpamitra lived at a time when the memory of another great king of the name of Chandragupta had not died away. For under Pāṇini I.1,68, Patañjali gives as instances of compounds of the names of particular kings with the word *sa'bhā*, Chandragupta-sabhā,⁹ and Pushpamitra-sabhā. Now these environments are found in the case of the Pushpamitra who reigned in the second century before Christ. For Kālidāsa tells us in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* that Senāpati Pushpamitra, the father of Agnimitra, and the grandfather of Vasumitra, and consequently the founder of the Śuīnga dynasty performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. He also tells us that the horse which had been let loose previous to the sacrifice and was under the protection of Vasumitra was captured by the cavalry of the Yavanas on the southern bank of the Sindhu. Greek writers also inform us, as we have seen, that the Indo-Bactrian kings several times invaded India in the second century. Now, these two circumstances cannot be true in the case of the supposed Pushyamitra of the fourth or fifth century. For he was a minor prince, and not lord paramount, since he was conquered by Skanda-

over some part of the country during the period of confusion that followed the overthrow of the Andhrabhṛtyas.

⁹ Dr. Kielhorn omits this in his edition, but it occurs in four of his MSS. and also in the *Kāśikā*. Besides it will be seen that two instances of compounds of the synonyms of राजन् are given, wherefore one might expect two of राज्ञि-*viśeṣas* or particular kings. The reading चन्द्रगुप्तभा, therefore, must be correct.

gupta, and since paramount sovereignty was enjoyed, as we know, by the Gupta princes. He could not, therefore, have performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. And in the inscription on the Bhitari Lâṭ we are told that the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice had long fallen into disuse, no doubt, because for the first three centuries of the Christian era the country was in the hands of foreigners of the Śaka, Palhava, and other tribes, and Buddhism rather than Brâhmanism was in favour with these foreigners. It was Samudragupta, the greatest of the Gupta princes and great-grandfather of Skandagupta, that revived the rite. Again, it was not the Yavanas that harassed the country in the time of Skandagupta, but the Hūṇas or Huns, as we know from the last part of this same inscription and from foreign writers. Their inroads continued till the sixth century, as we learn from the Harshacharita of which Professor Peterson has given such an excellent abstract in the Preface to his edition of Kâdambarî. As to the third circumstance, it is applicable to Pushpamitra the Suīga; for Chandragupta the founder of the Maurya dynasty flourished only a little more than a hundred years before, and being one of the greatest princes of the family, perhaps the greatest, was of course not forgotten. In the case of the supposed Pushpamitra, his being associated with Chandragupta is no doubt explicable; for there were two Chandraguptas in the Gupta family. But neither of these two was the greatest prince of his family, and there is no reason why either should be mentioned in preference to Samudragupta. Since however this is the only circumstance out of those found alluded to in the Mahâbhâshya, which might be considered applicable to the later Pushpamitra, little weight can be attached to it as against the earlier Pushpamitra, while the existing evidence in favour of the latter being Patanjali's Pushpamitra is greatly strengthened and corroborated by that circumstance being applicable in his case.

And if there was such a Pushpamitra in the time of Skandagupta and Patanjali lived in his reign, between Patanjali and Bhartrihari a period of only about 150 years intervened according to the true date of Skandagupta, but of about 275 or 300 years, according to those assumed by certain archæologists.¹⁰ Is this period enough to account for the manner in which Bhartrihari speaks of the Mahâbhâshya in that celebrated passage which has been so often quoted and translated, and

¹⁰ Mr. Fleet has recently found a date of one of the Guptas which confirms my interpretation of the dates of the dynasty.

for the eventful history of the work which he there gives? Bhartṛihari calls Patañjali a *Tīrthadarśin*, i.e. "the seer of the saving truth," and the Mahābhāshya an *Ārsha grantha*, or a work composed by one who had such a keen perceptive faculty as the Rishis of old possessed, and consequently as authoritative as those composed by the Rishis. Can such a thing be said by one of a work written only 150 years before him or even 300 years? A book can become *Ārsha*, as a custom can become law, or in the language of Indian writers, *Vedamūlaka*, i.e. based on the Vedas, only when its origin is forgotten. Then, Bhartṛihari tells us "Baiji, Śaubhava, and Haryaksha set at nought the work of Patañjali, following their own conjectures and guesses." "And the tradition of grammar which had fallen away from the pupils of Patañjali was in the course of time preserved only in books among the people of the south. Then Chandrāchārya and others obtained the tradition from Parvata, and following the principles laid down in the Bhāshya made it branch off into many schools." And it was after all this had taken place that Bhartṛihari's master flourished. I do not think a period of 150 or 300 years can account for all this; and consequently the Pushpamitra conquered by Skandagupta, even if he really existed, cannot be Patañjali's Pushpamitra; while, if we take the passages about the Mauryas and the Yavanas in the manner in which they must be understood, and place reliance on Kalhaṇa's statement about Abhimanyu, he has no chance whatever. I will now pass under review the whole evidence as regards the date of Patañjali.

- a. The passage about Yavana shows that Patañjali lived about the time when a Yavana besieged Sāketa and Madhyamikā. This leads us to about the middle of the second century before Christ.
- b. The passage in which the name of Pushpamitra occurs shows that Patañjali lived during the reign of Pushpamitra. Two other passages in which the name of that monarch is mentioned corroborate this view and leave no reasonable doubt about the matter. This also leads us to about the middle of the second century before Christ.

The date so arrived at is consistent—

- c. With the mention of the name of Chandragupta in the Mahābhāshya.
- d. With the mention of the Mauryas as having flourished before Patañjali's time.

And *c.* and *d.* together show that he lived at a time sufficiently close to the Mauryas in order that they might become the subject of his thought.

e. With Kalhana's statement about the revival of the study of the Mahâbhâshya in the reign of Abhimanyu.

f. With the eventful account given by Bhartṛihari who lived in the first half of the seventh century, and with the reverent manner in which he speaks of Patañjali's work.

No later date can be assumed without doing violence to one or more of these passages and statements ; that is, without saying that a passage does not mean what it naturally means, or that the statement is unfounded, incredible, or false. And all of them harmonize so thoroughly with my hypothesis and taken collectively form such a conclusive body of evidence, that I feel myself fully justified in concluding this rather long reply to Professor Peterson with those words of mine with which he began his attack, "Patañjali's date, B. C. 150, may now be relied on."

NOTE.

Ptolemy mentions Sagala which must be Śākala and not Sānkala, as it wants the nasal. Śākala is mentioned in the Mahâbhârata as the capital of the Madras, by Patañjali under Pāṇini IV., 2, 104, and in the form of Sâgala in Pāli Buddhistic books such as the Milindapañho. It appears to have been the capital of the Indo-Bactrian princes, since Milinda or Menander is spoken of as reigning at that place. But Sānkala is not mentioned in any Indian work or Sangala by any Greek writer in a manner to show that it existed after the time of Alexander. Śākala was an old city, and appears to have been rebuilt by an Indo-Bactrian king and called Euthydemia. Ptolemy gives this as another name of Sagala.

Hiuen Tsiang mentions Pāṇini, the author of the grammar, as having been born at Śalâtura. Five hundred years after the Nirvâṇa of Buddha, he tells us, an Ârhata converted a boy at Śalâtura whom he saw undergoing chastisement at the hands of his teacher for not learning his lessons in Pāṇini's grammar. In connection with the Ârhata's observation that the Ṛishi Pāṇini had compiled the Śabdavidyâ, the teacher said that the children of the town revered his

eminent qualities, and that a statue erected to his memory still existed at Śalātura. The Ārhata thereupon told the teacher that the boy whom he had been chastising was Pāṇini himself, who had come into the world again to study the holy doctrine of the Tathâgata. As Pāṇini he had wasted a vigorous intellect in studying worldly literature and composing heretical treatises, and therefore had, since that time, run through cycles of continued births. This boy therefore had no capacity for the study of grammar. From this it is clear that according to the Buddhistic tradition prevalent in Hiuen Tsiang's time, *i. e.* in the first half of the seventh century, the length of time that elapsed between Pāṇini and the end of the fifth century after the Nirvâṇa was computable by *cycles of continued births*.

I take the opportunity afforded me by this note of making three corrections in the foregoing paper:—on page 203, at line 4, for stated read states; line 8 for on the west, read to the east; and line 9, for on the east, read to the west.

ART. XV.—*Five Copper-Plate Grants of the Western Chalukya Dynasty, from the Karnul District.* By J. F. FLEET, B.O. C. S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. I.

KARNUL PLATES

OF THE FIRST YEAR OF ADITYAVARMAN.

This inscription is from some copper-plates which were found in the K a r ṇ ū l District of the Madras Presidency. I obtained them for examination, with the following three sets, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, M. C. S.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 7½" long by 2½" broad at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. In fashioning them, the edges were made somewhat thicker than the rest of the plates, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The ring on which the plates were strung is about ½" thick and 3¼" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is slightly oval, about 1¾" by 1½"; it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, the usual Western Chalukya boar, standing to the proper right. The three plates weigh about 1 lb. 3 ozs., and the ring and seal, 9 ozs.; total weight, 1 lb. 12 ozs. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This inscription, No. 95 in Mr. Sewell's List of Copper-plate Grants (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 15), was originally noticed by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 244, No. 10, and has been published by me, but without a lithograph, in *id.* Vol. XI. p. 66ff. I re-edit it now, after revision, to accompany the lithograph.

This is an inscription of Â d i t y a v a r m a n. It is dated, without any reference to the Śaka era, in the first year of his reign, on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika, at the time of the great festival of Paitâmahî and Hiraṇyagarbha. And the object of it is to record the grant, to some Brâhman, of an allotment of land, or of gleanings on land, at the villages of M u ṇ ḍ a k a l l u and P a l g i r e.

This inscription, which supplied for the first time the name of Â d i t y a v a r m a n as a son of Satyâśraya or Pulikêśin II., does not give

any indication as to whether he was older or younger than his brothers Chandrâditya and Vikramâditya I. But, on palæographical grounds, and because the Karṇûl grants of Vikramâditya I., Nos. II. and III. below, and the Nerûr and Kôchrê grants of Chandrâditya's wife,¹ give some indication of being amplified in their concluding portions from the standard draft of the present grant, I am inclined to consider that Âdityavarman was the eldest of the three brothers.

Abstract of Contents.

The inscription commences with the usual verse in praise of the god Vishṇu (line 1), in the form of the Boar that lifted the earth on its right-hand tusk from the depths of the great ocean.

It then continues,—The great-grandson of the *Mahârâja Satyâsraya*² (l. 6) the favourite of fortune and of the earth,³ who adorned the family of the *Chalukyas* (l. 8),—who are of the *Mânava gôtra* (l. 2); who are *Hârîtîputras*, or descendants of an original ancestress of the *Hârîta gôtra*; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of *Kârttikêya* (l. 3); and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the *varâhatâñchhana* or sign of the Boar (l. 4), which they acquired through the favour of *Nârâyana*;—

The grandson of the *Mahârâja Kîrttivarmavallaḥa* (l. 8), the banner of whose fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of *Vanavâsî* and other cities;—

The dear son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara Satyâsraya*⁴ (l. 10), the favourite of fortune and of the earth,⁵ who acquired the title of *Paramêśvara* or 'supreme lord' by defeating *Harṣavardhana* (l. 9), the warlike lord of all the region of the north;—

Is the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara Âdityavarman* (l. 13), the favourite of the earth,⁶ who possesses the supreme sovereignty over the whole circuit of the earth which was overrun by the strength of his own arm and his prowess.

He, *Âdityavarman*, being in good health,⁷ issues his commands to all people (l. 14) to the effect that,—in the first year of his augmenting victorious reign (l. 16), on the full-moon day of *Kârttika*,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 163 f., and Vol. VIII. p. 44 ff.

² *Pulikêśin I.*

³ *śrîprithivîvallabha.*

⁴ *Pulikêśin II.*

⁵ *śrîprithivîcallabha.*

⁶ *prithivîcallabha.*

⁷ *kuśalin.*

at the time of the great festival of Paitāmahī and Hiraṇyagarbha,—the allotment known as the *uñchha-manna-pannāsa*⁵ of the villages of M u ṇ ḍ a k a l l u and P a l g i r e (l. 17) is given by him to Rêvaśarman, (l. 15) of the Maudgalya⁶ *gôtra*, the son of Pâliśarman, and to Agniśarman.

Lines 18 to 20 contain the customary address to future kings, about continuing the grant, and the inscription ends with one of the usual benedictive verses.

NO. II.

KARNUL PLATES

OF THE THIRD YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA I.

This inscription is from another set of copper-plates which were found in the K a r ṇ ū l District of the Madras Presidency.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 8¼'' long by 3¾'' broad at the ends and 3¼'' in the middle. The edges of them are fashioned thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. Many of the letters, however, have a high and sharp burr, which results in their having in the impression and lithograph a blotchy and indistinct appearance, which they have not in the original plates. The ring on which the plates were strung is about ¾'' thick and 4'' in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is slightly oval, about 1'' by ⅞''; it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, the usual Western Chalukya boar, standing to the proper right. The three plates weigh about 1 lb. 9½ ozs.; and the ring and seal, 12¼ ozs.; total 2 lbs. 5¾ ozs. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This inscription, No. 99 in Mr. Sewell's List of Copper-plate Grants (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.*, Vol. II., p. 15), was originally noticed by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 244, No. 11, but has not hitherto been published.

This is an inscription of V i k r a m â d i t y a I. It is dated, without any reference to the Śaka era, in the third year of his reign, *i.e.* about Śaka 595 (A. D. 675-76), on the full-moon day on which the

⁵ Compare *âdityuñchha-marumanna* and *mârunchha-marumanna* in No. V. line 28 ff.

⁶ See page 234 below, note 41.

Saṅgamamahāyātrā is held. And the object of it is to record the grant, to a Brāhmaṇ, of some land at the village of Ratnagiri in the Nalavāḍi *viśhaya*.

Abstract of Contents.

The inscription commences with the usual verse in praise of the god Viṣṇu (line 1), in the form of the Boar that lifted the earth on its right-hand tusk from the depths of the great ocean.

It then continues,—The great-grandson of the *Mahārāja Polekēśivallaḥa*¹⁰ (l. 6), who adorned the family of the *Chalikyas* (l. 5), who are of the *Mānavya gōtra* (l. 2); who are *Hāritiputras*, or descendants of an original ancestress of the *Hārita gōtra*; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of *Kārttikēya* (l. 3); and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the *varāhalāṅchhana*, or sign of the Boar (l. 4), which they acquired through the favour of *Nārāyaṇa*;—

The grandson of the *Mahārāja Kīrtti varmaṇ* (l. 8) the favourite of the earth,¹¹ whose fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of *Vanavāsi* and other cities;—

The dear son of the *Mahārāja and Paramēśvara Satyāśraya*¹² (l. 10), the favourite of fortune and of the earth,¹³ who acquired the second name of *Paramēśvara* or ‘supreme lord’ by defeating *Harshavardhana* (l. 9), the warlike lord of all the region of the north;—

Is the *Mahārājāḍhirāja and Paramēśvara Vikramāditya Satyāśraya* (l. 19), the favourite of fortune and of the earth,¹⁴ the sun of unreputed prowess,—who conquered in many battles by means of his horse of the breed called *Chitrakaṅṭha* (l. 11), and with the edge of his sword; who acquired for himself the (*regal*) fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings (l. 15), and then made the burden of the whole kingdom to be prosided over by one (*sole monarch*); who confirmed the grants to gods and Brāhmaṇs, which had been confiscated under (*those same*) three kings (l. 16); and who conquered the hostile kings in country after country, and re-acquired the (*regal*) fortune of his ancestors (l. 18).

He, *Vikramāditya*, issues his commands to all people (l. 20) to the effect that,—in the third year of his augmenting victorious reign, on

¹⁰ Pulikēśin I.

¹¹ *Prithivīvallabha*.

¹² Pulikēśin II.

¹³ *Śrīprithivīvallabha*.

¹⁴ *Śrīprithivīvallabha*.

the full-moon day on which the *Sahgama-mahâyâtâ* is held—a field of the measure of one hundred and twenty *nivartanas*, on the east of the village of R a t n a g i r i (l. 23) in the N a l a v â d i vishaya, is given by him to Prabhâkarasvâmin, of the Gautama *gôtra*, the son's son of another Prabhâkarasvamin.

Lines 25 and 26 contain the customary address to future kings, about continuing the grant. And the inscription ends with three of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 26 to 30.

No. III.

KARNUL PLATES

OF THE TENTH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA I.

This inscription is from another set of copper-plates which were found in the K a r n û l District of the Madras Presidency.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 9'' long by 3½'' broad at the ends, and somewhat less in the middle. The edges of them are fashioned thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. But, as in the case of the previous grant, and to a more marked extent, the burr of the engraving is very high, which results in many of the letters having in the impression and lithograph a blotchy and indistinct appearance, which they have not in the original plates. The ring on which the plates were strung is about ¾'' thick, and 3¾'' in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is slightly oval, about 1¼'' by 1½'' in diameter; it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, the usual Western Chalukya hoar, standing to the proper right. The three plates weigh about 2 lbs. 8 oz., and the ring and seal 11½ oz.; total weight, 3 lbs. 3½ oz. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This inscription, No. 100 in Mr. Sewell's List of Copper-plate Grants (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 16), was originally noticed by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 244, No. 12, but has not hitherto been published.

This is another inscription of Vikramâditya I. It is dated, without any reference to the Śaka era, in the tenth year of his reign, *i.e.* about Śaka 602 (A. D. 680-81), on the full-moon day of the month Âshâdha. And the object of it is to record the grant, to some Brâhman, of some land at the village of R a t t a g i r i, on the west bank of the river A u d i r i k â.

Abstract of Contents.

The inscription commences with the usual verse in praise of the god Vishṇu (line 1), in the form of the Boar that lifted the earth on its right-hand tusk from the depths of the great ocean.

It then continues,—The great-grandson of the *Mahārāja Polekêśivallabha*¹⁵ (l. 6), who adorned the family of the *Chalikyas* (l. 5),—who are of the *Mānavya gōtra* (l. 2); who are *Hāritīputras*, or descendants of an original ancestress of the *Hārita gōtra*; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of *Kārttikēya* (l. 3); and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the *varāhalāñchhana* or sign of the Boar (l. 4), which they acquired through the favour of *Nārāyaṇa*;—

The grandson of the *Mahārāja Kīrttivarman* (l. 7), the favourite of the earth,¹⁶ whose fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of *Vanavāsī* and other cities;—

The dear son of the *Mahārāja Satyāśraya* (l. 9),¹⁷ the favourite of fortune and of the earth,¹⁸ who acquired the second name of *Paramēśvara* or 'supreme lord' by defeating *Harshavardhana* (l. 8), the warlike lord of all the region of the north;—

Is the *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara Vikramāditya Satyāśraya* (l. 17), the favourite of fortune and of the earth,¹⁹ the sun of unrepulsed prowess,—who conquered in many battles by means of his horse of the breed called *Chitrakaṇṭha* (l. 10), and with the edge of his sword; who acquired for himself the (*regal*) fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings (l. 14), and then made the burden of the whole kingdom to be presided over by one (*sole monarch*); who confirmed the grants to gods and *Brāhmaṇas*, which had been confiscated under (*those same*) three kings (l. 15); and who conquered the hostile kings in country after country, and re-acquired the (*regal*) fortune of his ancestors (l. 16).

He, *Vikramāditya*, issues his commands to all people (l. 18) to the effect that,—in the tenth year of his augmenting victorious reign (l. 12), on the full-moon day of *Āshāḍha*,—at the request²⁰ of the famous king *Dêvaśakti* of the *Sēndraka* family (l. 20),—a field of the measure of five hundred and ten *nivartanas* (l. 25),

¹⁵ Pulikēśin I.¹⁶ *prithivīvallabha*.¹⁷ Pulikēśin II.¹⁸ *śrīprithivīvallabha*.¹⁹ *śrīprithivīvallabha*.²⁰ *vijñāpanayā*.

and a piece of garden-land, at the village of Baṭṭagiri (l. 21), on the west bank of the river Andirikā, are given by him to Kēśava-svāmin of the Gautama *gotra* (l. 21), and his son Prabhākaraśarman, and eight others.

Lines 26 to 32 contain the customary address to future kings, about continuing the grant, followed by two of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses.

And the inscription concludes with the record that the charter was written by J a y a s ê n a.

NO. IV.

KARNUL PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I.

This inscription is from another set of copper-plates which were found in the K a r ṇ ū l District of the Madras Presidency.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about $7\frac{3}{8}$ " long by $3\frac{1}{4}$ " broad at the ends and a little less in the middle. The edges of them are here and there fashioned thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. The ring on which the plates were strung is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick and $3\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is circular, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter; it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, the usual Western Chalukya boar, standing to the proper right. The three plates weigh about 2 lbs. $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and the ring and seal 11 oz.; total weight, 3 lbs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This inscription, No. 98 in Mr. Sewell's List of Copper-plate Grants (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 15), was originally noticed by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 244, No. 13, but has not hitherto been published.

This is another inscription of Vik r a m ā d i t y a I. It is not dated with any reference to the Śaka era, or to the years of his reign. The object of it is to record the grant, to a Brāhman, of the villages of A g u ṇ ṭ e and T e b u ṃ ḷ a ṭ ṭ a.

The language of this inscription is exceedingly full of errors; so much so that, taken in conjunction with the curious mistakes in the order of the text,²¹ it raises considerable doubt as to the authenticity of this grant. The seal, however, is a genuine one; and the characters,

²¹ See notes 75, 76, 93, and 94 to the Text below. pp. 240, 241.

though slovenly, are of the standard of about the period to which the grant refers itself. The grant may be spurious, but it seems possible that these plates were engraved not long after the time of the grant, to replace an original set of plates which had been damaged and rendered useless,—that they were copied very carelessly from the original plates, —and that they were attached to the original ring and seal, which had escaped injury.

Abstract of contents.

The inscription properly commences in line 22, with a very corrupt and unintelligible verse in praise of Kṛishṇa, or Vishṇu, as the *ādi-purusha*, or 'primeval spirit.'

It then continues,—The great-grandson of the *Mahārāja Polekêśivallabha*²² (l. 30), who adorned the family of the *Chalikyas* (l. 28),—who are of the *Mānavya gōtra* (l. 25); who are *Hāritiputras* or descendants of an original ancestress of the *Hārita gōtra*; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of *Kārttikōya* (l. 26); and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the *varūhalāṅkha* or sign of the Boar (l. 27), which they acquired through the favour of *Nārāyaṇa*;—

The grandson of the *Mahārāja Kīrttivarmavallabha* (l. 1), whose fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of *Vauvaśī* (l. 31) and other cities;—

The dear son of the *Mahārājādhirāja Satyâśraya*²³ (l. 4), the favourite of fortune and of the earth,²⁴ who acquired a second name (of *Paramēśvara* or 'supreme lord' by defeating *Harshavardhana* (l. 3), the warlike lord of all the region of the north;—

Is the *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara Vikramāditya-Satyâśraya* (l. 9), the favourite of fortune and of the earth,²⁵ who conquered the hostile kings in country after country; who re-acquired the (*regal*) fortune of his ancestors; who was the sun of unrepulsed prowess; who conquered all his rivals by means of his divine²⁶ horse, called *Chitrakaṇṭha* (l. 8); and who possesses the supreme sovereignty over the whole circuit of the earth.

He, *Vikramāditya*, issues his commands to all people (l. 10) to the effect that—on the full-moon.....(l. 13),—the

²² Pulikēsin I.

²³ Pulikēsin II.

²⁴ *śrīprithivīvallabha*.

²⁵ *śrīprithivīvallabha*.

²⁶ *divya*.

villages of A g u ṇ ṭ e and T e b u ṃ ḷ a ū r a (l. 14) are given by him to Prabhākara (l. 12), of the Gôtama *gotra*, the son of Késavasvâmin, and the son's son of Prabhākarasvâmin.

Lines 15 to 18 contain the customary address to future kings, about continuing the grant. And the inscription ends with three of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 18 to 22 and 31 to 34.

No. V.

TOGARACHEDU PLATES
OF VINAYADITYA.—SAKA 611.

This inscription is from some copper-plates which were found at T o g a r c h ê ḍ u,—the ancient T o g o c h c h ê ḍ u of the inscription itself, and the 'Togurshade' and Togurshode of maps,—in the Nandyâl Tâlukâ of the Karṇâl District. I obtained them for examination from the Court of the Subordinate Judge of Nandyâl; but they are probably the plates which are mentioned in *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 96, as belonging to Raghunandasvâmin *alias* Kṛishṇayya of Togarchêḍu.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about $9\frac{1}{8}$ " long by $4\frac{1}{8}$ " broad at the ends, and a little less in the middle. The edges of them are fashioned thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; but the inscription has in several places suffered a good deal from rust, though it remains sufficiently legible throughout. The ring on which the plates were strung is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter; it had been cut when the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is slightly oval, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " by 1"; it probably had originally, in relief on a countersunk surface, the usual Western Chalukya boar, standing to the proper right; but the whole surface of the seal is now worn away. The three plates weigh 2 lbs. 12 oz., and the ring and seal, 12 oz.; total weight, 3 lbs. 8 oz. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This inscription, No. 192 in Mr. Sewell's List of Copper-plate Grants (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 28), was originally published by me from a not altogether satisfactory ink-impression, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 85ff. I re-edit it now, after revision, to accompany a more accurate lithograph than was there given.

This is an inscription of V i n a y â d i t y a. It is dated when Śaka 611 (A. D. 893-90) had expired, on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika, in the tenth year of his reign. And the object of it

is to record the grant, to a Brâhman, of apparently gleanings and other rights over land at T o g o c h c h ê d u and three other villages in the P e d e k u l vishaya.

Abstract of Contents.

The inscription commences with the usual verse in praise of the god Vishnu (line 1), in the form of the Boar that lifted the earth on its right-hand tusk from the depths of the great ocean.

It then continues,—The son of the *Mahârāja Pulakêśi-vallabha*²⁷ (l. 6), who adorned the family of the *Chalukyas* (l. 5)—who are of the *Mânava gôtra* (l. 2): who are *Hâritiputras*, or descendants of an original ancestress of the *Hârita gôtra*; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of *Kârttikeya* (l. 3); and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the *varâhalânc'hhana* or sign of the Boar (l. 5), which they acquired through the favour of *Nârâyana*,—was the *Mahârāja Kîrttivarman* (l. 8), the favourite of the earth,²⁸ whose fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of *Vanavâsi* and other cities.

His son was the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêsvara Satyâśraya*²⁹ (l. 10), the favourite of fortune and of the earth,³⁰ who acquired the second name of *Paramêsvara*, or 'supreme lord,' by defeating *Harshavardhana* (l. 9), the warlike lord of all the region of the north.

His dear son was the *Paramêsvara* and *Bhattâraka Vikramâditya* (l. 11), who, by his daring, assisted by his intellect, regained the sovereign power of his family; who seized the city of *Kâñchî* (l. 16), after defeating the leader of the *Pallavas* who had been the cause of the discomfiture and destruction of that family (*of the Chalukyas*) which was as pure as the rays of the moon; who humbled the pride of the *Chôla*, *Pânḍya*, and *Kêraḷa* kings (l. 17); who had obeisance done to him by the lord of *Kâñchî* (l. 18) who had bowed down to none other; and who was the supreme lord of the whole circuit of the earth included within the three oceans (l. 19).

His son is the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêsvara*, and *Bhattâraka Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya* (l. 23), the favourite of fortune and

²⁷ Pulikêśin I.

²⁸ Pulikêśin II.

²⁹ *prsthivallabha*.

³⁰ *śrīprsthivallabha*.

I
1
कनि सुशु
ब्रह्म
द्विप्रा
सुशु
सुशु

t ye

कनि सुशु
ब्रह्म
द्विप्रा
सुशु
सुशु

1
2
कनि सुशु
ब्रह्म
द्विप्रा
सुशु
सुशु

कनि सुशु
ब्रह्म
द्विप्रा
सुशु
सुशु

ion.



- [*] kṣhaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-para[m*]parāṇām bhagavan-
 ṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-va-
 [°] rāhalānchhan-ĕkṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vaśkṛit-āśēsha-mahābhṛit
 Chalukyānām kulam=alām̄kari-
 [°] shṇu(shṇô)r=āsvamēdh-āvabhṛithasnāna-pavitrikṛita-gāt
 Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-

Second plate ; first side.

- [7] mahārājasya prapautraḥ parākram-ākkrānta-Vanav
 paranṛipatimaṇḍala-praṇi-
 [8] baddha-viśuddha-kṛttī(rtti)-patākasya Kīrttivarmav
 [ma*]hārājasya pautraḥ samarasamsakta-
 [9] sakalōttarāpathēśvara-śrī-Harshavardhana-parājay-ōpalat
 ramēśvara-
 [10] śabd-ālam̄kṛitasya naya-vinay-ādi-sām̄rājya³⁸-guṇa-
 āśrayasya Sa-
 [11] tyāśraya-śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva
 priya-tanayaḥ
 [12] sva-bhuja-bala-parākkram-ākkrānta-sakala-mahīmam̄ṇ
 ādhirājyaḥ śrīmaḥ-

Second plate ; second side.

- [13] d⁴⁰-Ādityavarma-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-para
 raḥ kuśalī sarvvā-
 [14] n=ājñāpayati [1*] Vīditam=astu vō=smābbih Maudg
 sagōtrāya Pāṭisarmmanah
 [15] putrāya Rēvaśarmaṇēḥ⁴¹ Agnisarmmanē cha pravard
 vijaya-rājya-pra-
 [16] thama-samvatsarē Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām̄ Paitām̄ah
 yagarbha-mahōtsava-

³⁸ Read *sām̄rajya*.

³⁹ Read *maṇḍal*.

⁴⁰ Read *śrīmad*. The *visarga*, on the rim of the plate, is due to the having at first omitted the *visarga* of *tanayaḥ* immediately above. (insert it, he first engraved it by mistake after *śrīma*, and then er again, in its proper place, after *tanaya*.

⁴¹ The *lō* of the third syllable is a mistake for *l̄* or *l̄ē*. But the pr according to Monier Williams' *Sanskṛit Dictionary* and Max Muller's *Literature*, p. 382, is *Maudgalya*.

⁴² Read *śarmaṇē*.

[¹⁷] samayê Muṇḍakallu-grāmasya Palgire-grāmasya cha uñchhamanna-pannāsa-vṛittih rāja-

Third plate.

[¹⁸] mānēna dattā [^{1*}] Mâtâpitrôr=âtmanās=cha puṇy-āvāptayê udaka-pûrvvaṃ dattaṃ [^{1*}] Tad=asmad-vaṃśa-
 [¹⁹] jair=anyaiś=ch=âgāmi-nṛipatibhiś=cha svam^{**}datti-nirvviśēsham paripālaniyam=anumantavyaṃ=cha [^{1*}]
 [²⁰] [Tad-apaharttā*]^{**} sa pañchabhir=mahâpâtakṛi(kai)s=sa[m*]-yuktô bhavati abhirakshitâ cha dâtus=sadri-
 [²¹] śa-puṇya-phala-bhâg=bhavati [||*] Uktam cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsēna Vyâsēna [^{1*}] Bahu-
 [²²] bhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ rājabbhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya tadâ phala[m*] ||

No. II.

KARNUL PLATES

OF THE THIRD YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA I.

TEXT.⁴³

First plate.

[¹] Ôm⁴⁴ [||*] Jayaty=âvishkṛitām Vishṇôr=vvârâham kshôbhitârṇṇavam damkshîḥ⁴⁷-ôtna(nnata)-damshṭr-âgra-viśrânta-bhava-
 [²] na[m*] vapuḥ [||*] Srîmatâm sakala-bhuvana-samstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrânâm Hârîtî-
 [³] putrânâ[m*] sapta-lôkamâtri(tri)[bhis=sapta-mâ-tṛi*]bhir=abhiva[r*]ddhitânâm Kârttikêya-parira-[ksha*]ṇa-prâptakalyâ-
 [⁴] ṇa-paramparânâm bhagavan-Nârâyâṇa-prasâda-samâsâni(di)-tavarâhalâ-
 [⁵] ũchhan-êkshana-kshana-vaśîkṛit-âśēsha-ma⁴⁸hîbhṛitâm Chale-
 (li)kyânâm kulam=a-

⁴³ Read *sva*.

⁴⁴ This is supplied from No. III. line 28.

⁴⁵ From the original plates.

⁴⁶ In the original, the sign for Ôm is in the margin, opposite line 3.

⁴⁷ Read *dakshîḥ*.

⁴⁸ The engraver seems to have first engraved *sha*, and then corrected it into *ma*.

- [⁶] lañkarishṇōr=aśvamêdh-āvabṛithatnâ(snâ)na-pavitrikṛita-gâtra-
sya śri-Polekêśivalla-
[⁷] bha-mahârâjasya prapautrah=parāvṛi(kra)m-âkrânta-Vanavâsy-
âdhi-paranṛipati-ma-
[⁸] ṇḍala-pranibaddha-viśuddha-kîrttêḥ ||⁶⁶ śri-Kîrttivarmma-pṛi-
thivîvallabha-

Second plate; first side.

- [⁹] mahârâjasya pautras=sam:arasamsakta-sakalôttarâpathêśvara-sri-
Harshavarddha-
[¹⁰] na-parâjay-ôpalabdha-paramêśvar-âparanâshachêyasya⁶⁰ Satyâ-
śraya-śrîpṛi-
[¹¹] ti(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâja-paramêśva[ra*]sya priya-tanayaḥ
Chitrakaṇṭh-âkhyâ-pravara-
[¹²] turaṅgashêṇ=êkêṇ⁶¹=aiva pratî-ânêka-samara-mukhêshu
ripuṃ⁶²-nṛipati-rudhira-jal-âsvâ-
[¹³] dana-rasauâyamâna-jvalad-amala-nîṣita-nistriṃsa-vâ (dhâ)rayâ
dhṛitadharanidhara-
[¹⁴] **dhara⁶³-bhumê(ja)ga-bhôga-sadṛîsa-nija-bhuja-vijita-vijigî-
shu[h*] ||⁶⁴ âtma-kavach-âva-
[¹⁵] magn-ânêka-prahâras=sva-gurôś=śriyam=avanîsa(pa)ti-tritay-ân-
taritâm=âtmâsâṭ=kṛiya(tvâ) kṛitai-
[¹⁶] kâvi(dhi)shṭhit-âśêsha-râjyabharas=tasmin râjya-tray-
vinashṭâni dêvasva-brahmadê-
[¹⁷] yâni va(dha)rmma-yasô-bhivṛiddhayê sva-mukhêna
sthapitavân ||⁶⁵ raṇâ-sîrâsi ripu-narêndrâḥ(n)

Second plate; second side.

- [¹⁸] diśi diśi jitvâ svavamśajâm lakshmîm prâpya cha
parajâ(mê)śvaratâm=anivârita-vikram-âdi-

⁶⁰ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁶¹ Read *nâmadhêyasya*.

⁶² Read *turaṅgamêṇ = aikêṇ*.

⁶³ Read *ripu*.

⁶⁴ The *akshara* before *dhara* is unintelligible; but we seem to have only a needless repetition of *nîdhara* from the end of the preceding line.

⁶⁵ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁶⁶ This mark of punctuation, again, is unnecessary.

- [¹⁹] dityaḥ⁶⁶ Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīpṛithivīvallabha-mahārā-
jāvi(dhi)rāja-pana(ra)mēśva-
[²⁰] ras=sarvān=ājñāpayatē(ti) [!*] Veditam=astu vō=smābhilḥ
pravarddhamāna-vijayar[ā*]jya-tṛitī⁶⁷ya-saṁ-
[²¹] vasatsarē⁶⁸ mātāpitrōr=ātmanās=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddha-
(ddha)yē Saṁgama-mahāyātrāyām pau-
[²²] rṇamāsyām ||⁶⁹ Gautama-ṣa[gōtrāya*] Prabhākarasvāminalḥ
pautraya vēda-nēdagām⁶⁰-vidē Prabhāka-
[²³] rasvāvi(mi)nē Naḷavāḍi-vishayē Ratnagiri-nāma-grāmē grā-
mataḥ pūrvvām nīrakshō(? rshō)vi(?)yā rā-
[²⁴] ja-mānēna viṁśaty-uttara-śataṁ⁶¹-nivarttauam kshētram=
udaka-pūrvvō⁶² dattaḥ(m) sarvva-chiō(bā)dha-pari-

Third plate.

- [²⁵] hāra⁶³h(m) [!*] Asmad-va[m*]śyāin(r)=anyais=ch=āgāvi-
(mi)-nṛipatibhiḥ⁶⁴ ||⁶⁵ svadatti-nirvviśēshaṁ paripālanīyām
[²⁶] asya ēyōtakō⁶⁶ pañcāmahāpātaka-saṁyūṇta(ktō) bhava-
ti [!*] Svan=dātum sumahach-chakhyam⁶⁷
[²⁷] duḥkham=anyasya pālanam dānam va pālanam v=ēti
dānach=chhrēpō(yō)=nupālanav(m)=ī(i)ti || Uktam
cha Ma-
[²⁸] nunā [!*] Bahubhir=svasudhā bhuttā(ktā) rājabis=
Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā
[²⁹] bhumi- || -s=tasya⁶⁸ tasya tadā phalama(m) || Sva-dattām
para-dattām vā yō harē-
[³⁰] ta vasundharām shashtīm varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyām
jāyatē krivi(mi)r=iti ||* ||*

⁶⁶ Read *ādityo*.⁶⁷ This *tī* is of a very anomalous shape, through the lower part of the curve being carried up till it joined the top part.⁶⁸ Read *saṁvatsarē*.⁶⁹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.⁶⁰ Read *vēdāṅga*.⁶¹ Read *śata*.⁶² Read *pūrvvām*.⁶³ The tops of these two letters, *hāra*, are omitted in the original.⁶⁴ Read *nṛipatibhiḥ*.⁶⁵ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.⁶⁶ Read *cha ghātakaḥ sa?*⁶⁷ Read *chhakyam*.⁶⁸ Read *bhūmis=tasya*.

No. III.

KARNUL PLATES

OF THE TENTH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA I.

TEXT.**

First plate.

- [¹] Ôm Svasti || Jayaty=âvishkṛitam Vishṇôr=vvârâham kshôbhit-
ârṇavam dakshin-ônnata-damshṭr-âgra-viśrâ-
[²] nta-bhuvanam vapuḥ [||*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samst-
yamâna-Mânava-sagôtrânâm Hâritīpu-
[³] trânâm sapta-lôkamâṭṛibhis=sapta-matṛibhir=abhivarddhitânâm
Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâ-
[⁴] ṇa-paramparânâm bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-va-
râhalâṅchhan-êkshaṇa-ksha-
[⁵] ṇa-vasîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitâṅ=Chalikyânân=kulam=alânkari-
shṇôr=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛithâ-
[⁶] snâna-pavitṛikṛita-gâtrasya śrī-Polekêśivallabha-mahârâjasya
prapautraḥ parâkkram-â-
[⁷] kkrânta-Vanavâsy-âdi-paranṛipatimaṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-
kîrtiê[ḥ*] śrī-Kîrtivarṃma-pṛithi-
[⁸] vīvalabha-mahârâjasya pautraḥ samarasamsakta-sakalôttarâ-
pathêsva-śrī-Harsha-

Second plate; first side.

- [⁹] vardhana-parâjny-ôpalabdha-paramêśvar-âpara-nâmadhêyasya
Setyâśraya-śrīpṛithivīva-
[¹⁰] llabha-mahârâjasya priya-tanayaḥ pratî-ânêka-samara-
mukhêshu Chitrakāṇṭh-âkhyâ-pa-
[¹¹] vara-turaṅgamêṇ=aikêṇ=aiva ripunṛipati-rudhira-jal-âsvâdana-
rasanâyamâna-jvala-
[¹²] d-amala-nistriṃśa-dhârâyâ cha dhṛita-dharaṇi-bhara-bhujaga-
bhôga-sadṛiśa-nija-bhujâ-
[¹³] vijita-vijigîshuḥ âtma-kavach-âvamagn-ânêka-prahâra[ḥ*] sva-
gurô[ḥ*] śriyam=a-
[¹⁴] vanipati-ṭri(tri)tay-ântarit[â*]m=âtmasât=kṛitya(tvâ) kṛitaikâ-
dhishṭhit-âśêsha-râjya-bharas=tasmin râjya-
[¹⁵] trayê vinashṭâni dêvasva-brahmadêyâni dharmma-yaśô-
bhivṛiddhayê sva-mukhêna sthâpitavân

** From the original plates.

- *] raṇa-śirasi ripu-narēndrān=diśi diśi jitvā svavamśajām
lakshmiṁ prāpya cha paramēśvara-

Second plate; second side.

- 7] tām=anivārita-vikram-ādityaḥ Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-
prithivīvallabha-mahārāja-
- 8] dhirāja-paramēśvaras=sarvân=âjñāpayaty=Astu vô [viditam=
â*]smâbhiḥ pravarddhamâna-vijaya-rājya-
- 9] dasama-sainvatsarê . Âshâḍa(ḍha)-paurṇamāsyâm mâtâpitrôr=
âtmanas=cha puṇya-yaśô-vâptayê
- 10] Sēndrak-ânvaya-vikhyâta-śrī-Dēvaśaktirāja-vijñāpanayâ An-
dirikâ-nâma-nadyâḥ=paśchima-
- 11] taṭê Raṭṭagiri-nâma-grâmê nadyâḥ pû[r*]vataḥ rāja-
mânēna Gautama-gotra-Kēśava-
- 12] svâmiuê⁷⁰ tasya putrâya⁷¹ Prabhâkaraśarmmaṇaḥ tathâ
Yajñasarmma Ravisarmma Tâmara-
- 13] Rēvasarmma Murumba-Iruṅasarmma Ravisarmma Pāṇḍya-
Bhōyasarmma Chhandô-Vasantisarmma
- 14] Chinchaval[1*]ya-Dēvasarmma êtêshâm dasânâm yajana-
yâjan-âdhyayana-tatparâṇâm

Third plate.

- 15] vêda-vêdâṅga-pâragâṇâm sbaṭ-karmma-niratânâ[m*] kshêtram
pañcha-satam daśa-nivarttanam kshêtram totta-
- 16] sya cha sarva-parihâr-êpêtam=udaka-pûrvvam dattam[1*]-
âyur-aśvaryy-âdînâm vilasitam=achirâsum-⁷²
- 17] chamchalam=avagachchadbhir=â-chandr-ârka-dhar-ârṇava-
stithi-samakâlâm yaśâś=chichîshubhir=asmad-varn-
- 18] śyair=anyais=ch=âgâm[i*]-nripatibhi[h*] svadatti-nirvviśê-
sham paripâlaniyam tad-apahartâ sa pañchabhi-
- 19] r=mmahâpâtak-ôpapâtakais=samyuktô=bhavaty=abhirakshitâ
cha dâtus=sadṛśa-puṇya-phalam⁷³-
- 20] bhâk(g)=bhavati || Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsēna [Vyâ-
sēna*] [1*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ rājabhis=Sagar-â-
- 21] dibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhūmis=tasya tasya tadâ pa(pha)-
lam [1*] Sva-dattâm para-dattâm vâ yô harêta
- 22] vasundharâm shashṭi-rvva(va)rsha-sahasrâni viśṭhâyâm jâvatê
kkrimir=iti [1*] Jayasê(sê)nēna likhitam [1*]

⁷⁰ Read *svâminah*.

⁷² Read *achirâsum*.

⁷¹ Read *putrasya*.

⁷³ Read *phala*.

No. IV.

KARNUL PLATES
OF VIKRAMADITYA I.TEXT.⁷⁴*First plate.*

- [¹] Ôm Svasti [||⁷⁵]-viśupdha(ddha)⁷⁶-bittaākasya Ki(kartip)⁷⁷-
rttiva[r*]mmavallabha-mahā-
[²] rājasya pautraḥ sva-bala⁷⁸-bala-parākram-ākṛāta(nta)-
sakalōttarā-
[³] pathēśvara-srī-Harshavardhana-parājay-ōpalabdh-āpara-nā-
[⁴] mashē(dhē)yasya Saty[ā*]śraya-srīpri(pri)thivīve(va)llabha-
ma-
[⁵] hārājādhirā[ja*]sya priya-tanayaḥ raṇa-gi(śi)rasi ripu-na-
[⁶] rēndrān diśi diśi jivā svayaṁve(śa)jān[ām*] lakshmi-
(kshmi)[m*] prāpya chha(cha)
[⁷] paramēśvaratāmm(m)=anichā(vā)rita-vikram-āditya[h*] api
ch=ē(ai)kē-

Second plate ; first side.

- [⁸] n=ē(ai)va Chitrakantha(nṭha)k-ākhyā-divy-[ā*]śvēna sarvvān=
dāyādān=vijī(ji)tya sakala-
[⁹] mahimaṇḍal-ādhirājy[ō*] Vikramāditya-Saty[ā*]śraya-srī-
(srī)pri(pri)thidi(vi)va-
[¹⁰] llabha-mahāga(rā)jjādhirāja-paramēśvatra(ra)ḥ sarvvān=ājñā-
payati vipi(di)-
[¹¹] tam=astu bā(vō)=smābhi[h*] śa⁷⁹ Gōtama-sagōtra[ā*]ya
Prabhākaradhyā(svā)minah=pautrāya
[¹²] Kēśasvāvisa⁸⁰ ja(pu)trāya Prabhāta(ka)rāya vēda-vēdānga-
vidē sa-
[¹³] iśamēśva(?śu)redā(?)disha(?ma)-p[au*]rṇamāsyā[m*] Agum
ṭe-grām[ō*] rājamānē[na*]

⁷⁴ From the original plates.⁷⁵ The proper context is *Jayati* &c., line 22, down to *praṇibaddha*, line 31.⁷⁶ This should properly come after *praṇibaddha* in line 31.⁷⁷ Read *kr̥tti*.⁷⁸ Read *bhujā*.⁷⁹ The meaning of this *śa* is not apparent.⁸⁰ Read *Kēśasvāminah*.

- [¹⁴] varttana-kshêtré⁸¹ vimśāsatasya Tebumlaûra⁸²-nāma-grāmō
rājamānē[na*] varttana-kshêtré⁸³
[¹⁵] vimśāsatasya gyabhibhuddhy⁸⁴-arttha[m*] udaka-pūrvvan=
dattaḥ [l*] sô=ha(ya)m=asmadva[m*]śyê(śyai)-
[¹⁶] r=adhê(nyai)ś=cha svadamṭi⁸⁵-nirviśôsham paripālāniya[h*]
[l*] sôpasê-

Second plate: second side.

- [¹⁷] brāyahattiva⁸⁶ sa pañchābhi mahābāta satpayuktā⁸⁷ bhava-
tya(ti)
[¹⁸] rakshitā cha dātu[h*] sadṛiśa-palam⁸⁸-punya-bhāg=bhava
t=itkya(ṭy=U)ktañ=cha
[¹⁹] bhagavatā vēda-vy[ā*]sēna Vyās[ê*]na [l*] Bahubhir=
vasuvās rô-
[²⁰] rtā⁸⁹ rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhi[h*] yasya yasya yadā bhupa-
[²¹] s⁹⁰=tasya tapya(sya) tadā pala⁹¹ [ll*] Svan=dātu[m*]
su-mahachûṭa⁹²
[²²] dukkham=anya-⁹³ [ll*] Jayati⁹⁴ chivur=ādi-purushō
guṇamayā-
[²³] gōhm-rāttabhakacha⁹⁵ thaty=utpatti-prataya-pranibhāga-sahā-
[²⁴] dhṛi(?)kṛit=Kṛishṇa[h*] [ll*] Śrīmatā[m*] sakala-bhuvana-
sa[m*]stūyamā-

Third plate.

- [²⁵] na-Mānavyasagôtrānā⁹⁶ Hāra-putrānā⁹⁷ sapta-lôkamāmā(tri)-
bhis=sa-

⁸¹ Read *nivarttana-kshêtrô*; and some numeral word has been omitted before *nivarttana*.

⁸² First *rd* was engraved, and then the *d* was cancelled.

⁸³ Here, again, read *nivarttana-kshêtrô*; and some numeral word has been omitted before *nivarttana*.

⁸⁴ Read *puny-ābhivridāhy*.

⁸⁵ Read *sva-datti*.

⁸⁶ This must be a mistake for the *tal-apahartā* of other inscriptions.

⁸⁷ Read *pañchabhir = mmahapatakaiḥ samyuktô*.

⁸⁸ Read *phala*.

⁸⁹ Read *vasudhī bhuktā*.

⁹⁰ Read *bhūmis*.

⁹¹ Read *phalam*.

⁹² Read *mahach-chhakyam*.

⁹³ The proper context is *sya pḍlanam*, line 31.

⁹⁴ From here, down to *prantbaddha* in line 31, should properly come after

Om Svasti in line 1.

⁹⁵ Read *sagôtrānām*.

⁹⁶ Read *Hṛittputrānām*.

- [⁹⁶] pta-mâtrîbhir=abhiva[r*]ddhitânâ[m*] Kâ[r*]tik[é*]yapara-
masâ⁹⁷-prâp[t*]a-kalyâna-pa-
[⁹⁷] rasarânâ⁹⁸ bhagavan-Nârâyâna-prasâda-samâsâd[i*]tta-varâha-
l[â*]-
[⁹⁸] ñchhan-êkshâna-tpa(ksha)na-vasâ[i*]krîta-[â*]śésha-mahi
bhritâ[m*] Chalikyânâ[m*] kumla⁹⁹=a-
[⁹⁹] lamki(ka)rishn[ô*]r=agasravabhrita¹⁰⁰-snâna-pavitr[i*]krîta-
gâtrasya śî-
[¹⁰⁰] Belikêśi¹⁰¹val[i*]abha-[ma*]hârâjasya naptâ¹⁰² parâkrapp(m)-
[â*]krânta-
[¹⁰¹] Vanavâsy-âdi-pari(ra)nripat[i*]maṇḍala-prañibaddha¹⁰³ [||*]
sya¹⁰⁴ pâlâh¹⁰⁵
[¹⁰²] dâna[m*] vâ pâlân[am*] ch=êt[i*] dâno(nâ)ch=chhréyô=
nû(nu)pâlân[am] [||*] Sva-datt[am*] para-
[¹⁰³] dattâm vâ bâ(yô) harêti(ta) bhâ(va)sundharâm shanda-
(shî)-varsha-sahasr[â*]ni
[¹⁰⁴] kaurapâ(va)-narakê vasêt [||*]

No. V.

TOGARCHEDU PLATES
OF VINAYADITYA.—ŚAKA 611.TEXT.¹⁰⁶*First plate.*

- [¹] Svasti [||*] Jayaty=âvishkṛitam Vishnôh varâham
kshôbhîta-ârṇavam dakshin-ônnata-damshîr-âgra-vîsrânta-
[²] bhuvanâm vapuh [||*] Śrîmatâm sakala-bhuvana-sams-
tûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrânâm Hâ-
[³] ritûptrânâm sapta-lôkamâtrîbhis=sapta-mâtrîbhir=abhivarddhi-
tânâm Kârttikêya-pari-
[⁴] rakshâna-prâpta-kalyâna-paramparâpâm bhagavan-Nârâyâna-
prasâda-samâ-

⁹⁷ Read *parirakshâna*.⁹⁸ Read *paramparâpâm*.⁹⁹ Read *kulam*.¹⁰⁰ Read *âsvamedh-âvabhṛitha*.¹⁰¹ Read *Polek'si*.¹⁰² Read *prapautraḥ*.¹⁰³ The proper context is *vîsuidha*, line 1, down to *duḥkham = anya*, line 22.¹⁰⁴ This should properly come after *duḥkham = anya* in line 22.¹⁰⁵ Read *pâlânâm*.¹⁰⁶ From the original plates.

Western Chalukya

I



IIa



- [²⁸] ta iva Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-srīprithi(thi)vīvalabha-mahā-
rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bha-
[²⁹] tṭārakassarvvān=ēvam=ājñāpayati [!*] Vīditam=astu vō=
smābhir=ōkādaś-ōttara-shaṭ-chhatōshu
[³⁰] Śaka-varshēshv=atītōshu pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-
samvatsarē daśamē varttamānē Pampā-
[³¹] tīrtham=adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē Kārttika-paurṇamā-
syām Bhāradvāja-sagōtrasya Dē-

Third plate.

- [³²] vāga(sā)rmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Durggāsarmmaṇaḥ putrāya
Bhīmasarmmaṇē sarva-sāstra-viśārādāya vē-
[³³] da-vēdāmga-vidē Peḍekul-vishayē To¹⁰⁷gochchēḍu-grāmē
ādityuñchha-marumannau .Gu-
[³⁴] ḷavelṇḍavu-grāmē māruñchha-marumannō(nnau) Ereyūr-
grāmō māruñchha-marumannau Baṭṭeyū-
[³⁵] r-grāmō māruñchha-marumannau ētē sa-bhāgō¹⁰⁸ dat-
t[ā*]ḷ [!]* Tad=āgāmibhir=asmad-vamśyair=anyaiś=cha
rājabhi-
[³⁶] r=āyur-aivaryy-ādīnām vilasitam=achirāmśu-chamchalam=
avagachchadbhir=ā-chandr-ārka-dhar-ārṇṇa-
[³⁷] va-sthiti-samakālam sva-datti-nirvviśēsham paripālanīyam¹⁰⁹=
Uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyā-
[³⁸] sēna [!]* Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhir=
yyasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya ta-
[³⁹] jā phalam [!]* Svan=dātum su-mahach-chhakyam duḥkham=
anyasya pālanam dānam vā palanam v=ēti dānach=chhrēyō=
nupā-
[⁴⁰] lanam [!]* Sva-dattam para-dattam vā yō harēta vasundha-
rām shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyatē kri-
[⁴¹] miḷ [!]* Mahāsāndhivigrahika-srī-Rāmapunyavallabhēna
likhitam=idam śāsanam=iti ||

¹⁰⁷ The mark above this *to*, a little to the right, might possibly be taken for an *anusvāra*; but it is only a rust-mark in the plate.

¹⁰⁸ Read *sa-bhāgā*.

¹⁰⁹ Read *paripālanīyam*.

Art. XVI.—Wilson Lectureship : Development of Language and of Sanskrit. By RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.S.¹

नमः परमात्मने.

THE occasion that brings us here together to-day is the first of its kind in the history of this University. Hitherto the University of Bombay has been merely an Examining Board. But this day witnesses the beginning of an attempt to discharge another and a more important function of such an institution. The main idea of a University is that it is a body of men devoted to learning, and engaged in acquiring knowledge and disseminating it. A country that has no such bodies of men occupies but a low position in the intellectual scale of the world, and contributes little to the general advancement of mankind in knowledge. But a devotion to learning implies a sacrifice of worldly interests, and the poverty of learned men has become proverbial. To enable persons, therefore, to apply themselves to the pursuit of knowledge with undivided attention, there exist in connection with such institutions certain appointments tenable for life called professorships or fellowships, endowed by the enlightened liberality of private individuals or of the government of the country.

India and the Bombay University are no exception to the general rule. In other times learning flourished in the country under the fostering care of its innumerable princes and chiefs, as well as rich merchants. Though in the words of the poet, Śrī and Sarasvatī are, in a sense, constantly hostile to each other, it is Śrī alone at all times and in all countries that can support Sarasvatī, and enable her to live and grow. Hence it is impossible that the Bombay University should rise to the dignity of a seat of learning without such a provision as is found necessary in more advanced countries. India cannot take her place among the intellectual nations of the West, and compete with

¹ This and the two following Articles form Nos. I. II. and VII. of the Lectures delivered by Dr. B. G. Bhandarkar as the First Series of the University of Bombay Wilson Philological Lectures. Dr. Bhandarkar's offer to contribute these Lectures, which have not hitherto been published, to the Society's Journal, was made in connection with the controversy as to the date of Patañjali, to which Articles XII. and XIV. refer, and was gladly accepted. The remaining lectures of the course will be published in the next number of the Journal.

them in the advancement of knowledge unless her Universities discharge their proper function, unless we have professorships in connection with them for the cultivation of science, philosophy, history, and philology.

But we may be told that an Indian does not care for knowledge for its own sake, and it is only as a means of worldly advancement that he enters the University at all, and as soon as he takes his degree, flings away his books, and no more troubles himself with the several branches of knowledge to which he was introduced while within the walls of his college. The reproach is true, as well as untrue. It is true if it is meant that since the first school or college was opened by our Government we have had very few or none among us who have devoted themselves to the pursuit of knowledge. But if what it is intended to assert is that a love of knowledge or learning and an unselfish devotion to it are foreign to the nature of a Hindu, it is altogether untrue. Those ponderous tomes which adorn the library of the Sanskrit student, and those innumerable *pustakas* in the Sarasvatî Bhândâras scattered throughout the country tell a different tale. But in this, as in other matters, the circumstances in which our virtues have grown up and are exercised are not the circumstances in which we are expected to display them, and fail to do so. Love of learning is ingrained in the very nature of the Hindu, but the legitimate object of this feeling is Sanskrit literature. A knowledge of English and of English literature and philosophy is, in the first instance, sought for only for its practical benefits. A Hindu would not send his son to an English School if he could help it. A very powerful motive for the pursuit of learning, the respect of the society in which one lives, is also wanting in the case of the so-called educated native. A Śâstrî or Pandit is esteemed and treated with respect and consideration by his countrymen; the English-knowing native may be feared if he holds some Government appointment, but if none, he enjoys no consideration. The very word *vidvân* or 'learned' is grudged him by the orthodox Hindu. In one branch of learning, however, viz. Sanskrit, an English-knowing native may meet with appreciation and esteem at the hands of the learned in Europe. That is a subject in which he may successfully compete with his European brother, and in which he has peculiar advantages which the latter does not possess. Among his own countrymen he will find sympathy only if he has studied Sanskrit exactly in the old way, but even in this case his heterodoxy, which is the result of his English education, would stand in the way. But there are indications

that a more sympathising and appreciating body of men is growing about us, and the circle will go on widening as education advances. In this, as in other matters, there are hopes that our countrymen will, in the course of time, chiefly through the agency of Government education, adapt themselves to their altered circumstances; and the Hindu's inherent love of learning will gradually extend and engraft itself on the branches of knowledge to which he has been newly introduced by the European.

But encouragement and support are essentially needed; and taught by our ancient tradition, we naturally look up for these, in the first instance, to our Government. Hitherto it has confined its endeavours to the education of its subjects, a thing which was never before done by any Indian prince, and for which it has the strongest claims on the gratitude of the natives of India. But what Indian princes have all along done, viz., the extension of support and patronage to men of learning, and thus enabling them to prosecute their studies, has not yet attracted the attention of our Government, probably because they thought the time had not come for it. Next, it is the duty of those of our countrymen who enjoy princely fortunes, to encourage the growth and advancement of learning among their countrymen. Now the best and most effectual way in which learning can thus be encouraged and patronized by all who have the means, is by founding University professorships to be held for life. A beginning, however, has been made, and for it we are indebted to the friends of the late Rev. Dr. Wilson, and to the good old Doctor himself. For, when his friends raised up the sum and expressed to him their intention to present it to him, he declined to receive it unconditionally, and contenting himself with only a life interest in it, proposed that they should hand it over to the University, and found a philological lectureship. It is in virtue of the advice he thus gave that we meet here to-day. I only regret that the Syndicate was not able to secure the services of an abler man, and that the duty of inaugurating the Wilson Lectureship, and, I may say, the new phase on which the University is entering, has devolved on me.

The subject on which the lectures are to be delivered this year is the Sanskrit, and the Prākṛit languages derived from it. Sanskrit is the language of the religion, law, philosophy, and poetry of the Hindus; and all their ancient and most revered books on these subjects are written in that language. Even at the present day the language

we use in our daily prayers and in the performance of our various religious rites is Sanskrit; learned men carry on their disputations in Sanskrit, and now and then we meet with new poems written in that language. Prākṛit is a general name given to certain dialects in which we find some old books written; and in ordinary Hindu usage the term is extended to the vernaculars we speak. Marāṭhî, Gujarātî, and the various other idioms spoken in Northern India are Prākṛits. The wording of the subject as laid down in the calendar implies that Sanskrit is the more primitive of these, and that the Prākṛits are derived from it. Our business therefore is to trace the history of Sanskrit, to observe how from the very earliest form in which it is presented to us in the existing literature of the language, it gradually developed or was corrupted into the modern vernaculars. The Sanskrit which we know of as such is not now the spoken language of any part of India or of the world. It is simply preserved in books, and is used by the learned. But if the Marāṭhî, Gujarātî, and the rest show unmistakable signs of having been derived from this language, it must have been at one time spoken generally by our ancestors; and in being handed down from generation to generation it has undergone various modifications and changes, until we have now come to speak it as we do. But of this more hereafter.

India may justly claim to be the original home of scientific philology. In one of the most ancient Sanskrit books, the Samhitâ of the Black Yajurveda, there are distinct indications of the dawn of linguistic study.² The Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas which rank next to the Samhitâs, and even the Taittirîya Samhitâ itself, the composition of which differs in no particular from its Brāhmaṇa, are full of etymological explanations of words, though often they are fanciful.³

² वाग्ने पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्ते देवा इन्द्रमश्रुवन्निमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति सोऽब्रवीद्दरं वृणै मर्षं चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्णाता इति तस्मादैन्द्रवायवः सह गृह्यते तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुच्यते. Speech was once inarticulate and undistinguished (into its parts). Then the gods said to Indra, 'Distinguish our speech into parts.' He said, 'I will ask a gift of you, let Soma be poured into one cup for me and Vāyu together.' Hence Soma is poured into one cup for Indra and Vāyu together. Then Indra going into its midst distinguished it. Hence distinct speech is now spoken. Tait. Samh., VI. 4, 7.

³ The Ait. Brāhm. gives the etymology of मैष (III. 9), of मानुष (III. 23), of जाया (VII. 18); the Tait. Samh., of रुद्र (I. 5,1), of वृष (II. 4, 12 and II. 5,2) the Tait. Brāhm. of अथ (I. 1,5), of नक्षत्र (II. 7,18), &c. &c.

One Āchārya followed another, and they all carefully observed the facts of their language, and laid down the laws they could discover. They studied and compared the significations and forms of words, observed what was common to them, separated the constant element from that which was variable, noticed the several changes that words undergo in different circumstances, and by such a process of philological analysis completed a system of grammar and etymology. In the Nirukta, Yāska, whose exact date we do not know, but who must have flourished several centuries before Christ, lays down correct principles of the derivation of words. The last of the grammarians Āchāryas were Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali. The Prākṛit dialects which sprang from Sanskrit were next made the subject of observation and analysis. The laws of phonetic change or decay in accordance with which Sanskrit words become Prākṛit were discovered and laid down. The Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit elements in those languages were distinguished from each other. This branch of philology also was worked up by a number of men, though the writings of one or two only have come down to us.

In this condition Sanskrit philology passed into the hands of Europeans. The discovery of Sanskrit and the Indian grammatical system at the close of the last century led to a total revolution in the philological ideas of Europeans. Before this time there was hardly a scientific treatment of linguistic facts, etymological analysis was scarcely known, and philological speculation had not emancipated itself from the trammels of religion. The Jews were the chosen people of God, and hence their language, the Hebrew, was the most original of all languages, and all others were derived from it. This was the belief of European scholars, as that of the orthodox Pandit at the present day is that Sanskrit is the primitive language, and all others are corruptions of it; though, however, the Pandit has an excuse in the fact that the languages he generally hears spoken about him have really sprung from Sanskrit. But several circumstances had about this time prepared Europe for independent thought in philology, and Sanskrit supplied the principles upon which it should be conducted, and determined the current in which it should run. The languages of Europe, ancient and modern, were compared with Sanskrit and with each other. This led to comparative philology and the classification of languages, and a comparison of the words and forms in the different languages led scholars into the secrets of the growth of human speech, and the science of language was added to

the list of existing branches of knowledge. The progress made within about fifty years is marvellous, and affords a striking instance of the intellectual activity of the Europeans. In the cultivation of philology and the elaboration of this new science the Germans, of all other nations, have been most prominent, and have done by far the greater portion of the work. The more limited field of Prākṛit philology with which we are here concerned has not been left uncultivated. Pāli, the earliest of the Prākṛit dialects, is almost as much studied in Europe as Sanskrit. We have editions of Pāli texts by Turnour, a Ceylon Civilian, and a Danish scholar, Fausböll; and of a Native Grammar by Kāchchāyana, by M. Senart, a Frenchman; an original treatise on this subject by Clough, and a very useful Dictionary by the late lamented Professor Childers.* The derivation of the language from Sanskrit forms the subject of an essay by the great French scholar, M. Burnouf, and the equally great German scholar, Professor Lassen. There are notices of the Prākṛit dialects in one of Colebrooke's essays and in the preface to Professor Wilson's Hindu Theatre. Lassen also wrote a book entitled *Institutiones Linguae Pracriticæ*, based upon the grammatical works of native writers, and upon the Prākṛit passages occurring in the Sanskrit dramatic plays. Professor Weber, whose industry and comprehensive grasp are admirable, has published an elaborate analysis of the language and contents of a Jaina religious work in Prākṛit entitled the *Bhagavatī*, and of the language of a collection of Prākṛit songs by Hāla, together with an edition and translation of the work. Dr. Cowell has brought out a nice edition of the Prākṛita-Prakāśa by Vararuchi; and Dr. Muir, whose works are so valuable to the student, devotes a large portion of his second volume to Prākṛit philology, in which he gives his own views and a summary of those of other scholars. The modern vernaculars have not yet succeeded in attracting the attention of the learned in Europe. In Ceylon, Mr. D'Alwis has published a work on the Pāli, and in India an edition of the Prākṛit Grammar of Kramadīśvara has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and of that of Hemachandra in Bombay by a Jaina priest with the assistance of a Śāstrī. Essays on some points of vernacular philology by Professor Hoernle, of Jayanarayan's College, Benares, have appeared in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*. But the most important work on this

* This lecture was written in 1877 and revised in 1878. It will be necessary for the reader to remember this in going over this short sketch.

subject that has yet appeared is Mr. Beames' Comparative Grammar of the modern Âryan languages. Two volumes have been published, and the third and last is expected. Mr. Beames has brought his subject down to the pronoun; and the forthcoming volume will treat of the verb. Dr. Trump in his valuable Grammar of the Sindhî language compares the grammatical forms existing in the several vernaculars, and recent grammarians of Gujarâtî and Marâthî have made attempts in some cases to trace the grammar of these languages from the Sanskrit through the Prâkrit. A Gujarâtî Śâstrî, named Vrajalâl, has written a useful little tract on the history of his vernacular. But upon the whole, it must be acknowledged that vernacular philology is still in a state of infancy, and a great deal of what has been written is unsatisfactory.

Before I proceed to the subject in hand, it is necessary that I should trace some of the laws of the development and growth of language, as I shall have occasion to refer to them frequently in the course of these lectures. Suppose a person wishes to express the idea *in a village*, and the only means at his command are the roots and independent words in a language such as the Sanskrit. Now the word which expresses *a village* is ग्राम, and another which signifies the *interior* is मध्य. By joining the two together in such an expression as ग्राममध्य he conveys the idea the *interior of* or *in a village*. Now this word मध्य is pronounced मज्ज or मद्ध by persons who have either not been taught to pronounce it properly or are not sufficiently careful to do so. This again is reduced to मज्ज or मज्ज and thence by some to माह or मह, and ultimately to मा or मे. In this manner ग्राममध्य becomes ग्राममा or ग्राममे, which, as you know, are the forms of the Gujarâtî, Sindhî, and Hindî locative. In this condition its origin is forgotten by the speakers, and मा or मे becomes simply a termination signifying *in the interior*. Again, if a man wants to speak of *one who makes a pot* and has not got a word to express the idea, he naturally puts together the words कुम्भ *pot* and कार *maker*, and uses the compound कुम्भकार. After a time, by faulty pronunciation the क goes out and the word is reduced to कुम्भार. In the same way, as before, the persons who used the word कुम्भार have no consciousness that they are putting together two words, one of which means a *pot* and the other *maker*; but the syllable आर becomes with them a simple termination which signifies the doer of the thing expressed by the base. We thus see that these two very general terminations were originally independent words,

and that in the course of time they lost that character. If you examine those forms which constitute the declensions and conjugations of any language you may happen to know, you will find that these also have originated in the same way. When our remote ancestors wished to say *I now do*, they put together कृ *do*, नु *now*, and मि *I*, and said कृनुमि, afterwards changed for the sake of euphony to कृणोमि. In the same way कृणोति means *do now he*, कृणुतस् *do now he (and) thou*, स् being a corruption of सि a pronoun signifying *thou*, and कृणोषि *do now thou*. Or, they expressed present time by using a pronoun equivalent to *here* or *this* and said बोधति *know here he*, the अ being the same as that we find in the forms अनेन, अस्मै, अस्मात्&c. and signifying something that is near. In this manner we are able to trace the original signification of a good many of these forms, but since after their invention, they are more or less corrupted, it becomes a difficult matter to do so in all cases. Still, we know enough to be able to lay it down as certain that this is the mode in which all our grammatical forms have originated. When a language is in that condition in which grammatical relation is expressed by such compounds consciously formed, and both parts of the compound can be used independently, it is said to be in the analytic stage. The change of मध्य to मा or मे, or of कार to आर, or of तसि to तस् or तः, is what is called phonetic decay. Though this is usually spoken of in censure as corruption, it is the means by which a language leaves the analytic stage and develops. The words forming the compound grow together, both being altered in the process, and the original sense of the latter is forgotten. It is this circumstance that renders phonetic change possible, for if those who speak the language always used the two *words* in the compound with a conscious desire to express their joint sense, such a corruption would not take place. Phonetic decay reduces the latter portion to a mere termination, and thus a language arrives at what is called the synthetic stage. All the dead Âryan languages, and most of the living ones also, are in the synthetic condition, while the Chinese is said to be in the analytic stage.

Phonetic decay or corruption is a process that is constantly going on in a living language. At some stages of its history it is very rapid, and at others slow. It sometimes wholly transforms words. Its causes are deeply ingrained in human nature itself. Language is not the end and aim of human life ; it is simply an instrument of communicating thought, and the matter of thought is always more important

than the expression. The utterance of a word implies an effort. We have to force the breath through the windpipe, check or compress it at different points in its passage through the mouth, and then let it off. The *glottis* or the opening of the windpipe, and the tongue and the various parts of the mouth are our organs of speech, and an innumerable variety of sounds may be produced by their means. In pronouncing certain letters the glottis must be stretched or expanded, while in the case of others it is contracted, which is its more natural condition. The breath which comes out when it is expanded is called *śvāsa* or simple unintonated breath by the old Indian Philologists, but when the glottis is contracted and the breath is intonated by the vibration of the vocal chords, it becomes what is called *nāda*, i.e. tone or intonated breath. Simple breath is the material cause of the hard consonants, and the intonated breath of the soft, and of the vowels. When *nāda* is forced out and allowed to pass away without being obstructed we pronounce vowels, and when both *śvāsa* and *nāda* are obstructed at different parts of the mouth, the sounds that are formed are consonantal. Hence a consonant cannot be pronounced by itself; it is only when the touching organs are separated and the air allowed to pass through any one of the vowel positions, that the sound is produced. When the intonated breath is let off through the rounded lips, it forms **व**, and with the lower lip a little further off, **अव**; while if the lips completely touch each other, and the breath is thus obstructed in its passage, we have **ब** which, with a greater force of respiration becomes **भ**, and when it is partly sent into the nose, it assumes the form of **म**. If the *śvāsa* is in the same condition as *nāda* when it forms **व** and **भ**, we have **प** and **फ**. When these two kinds of breath are shut up by the tip of the tongue forming a complete contact with the root of the upper teeth, we have **क**, **ख**, **ग**, **घ**, and **ङ**. When the contact is effected higher up and the forepart of the tongue is made into a curve, we have **च**, **छ**, **ज**, **झ**, and **ञ**. If the middle of the tongue is brought near the palate, *nāda* passing through the intervening space, forms the vowel **इ**; and when the tongue is a little further off and the mouth more open, we have **ए**; while if there is complete contact, the two kinds of breath give us **ऋ**, **ॠ**, **ऌ**, **ॡ**, and **ॢ** as before. When the root of the tongue touches the lower skirt of the palate, we have similarly **ऋ**, **ॠ**, **ऌ**, **ॡ** and **ॢ**. If the intonated breath is allowed to pass away when the mouth is in its natural position with the lips open we have the vowel **अ**, and with greater force of breath, the aspirate **ह**. The vowel portion of **ऋ** and **ॠ** differs from **अ** in the

whole lower part of the mouth being brought closer to the upper in pronouncing it, while in pronouncing आ the two parts of the mouth are more widely apart ; so that the vowel sound involved in इ is the closest, आ, the most open. The diphthongs ऐ and औ are अ+इ and अ+उ pronounced hastily. In pronouncing the semi-vowels the organs are brought very close to each other, but do not form a complete contact ; so that the breath is compressed and not shut up. Still, like the mutes, they cannot be pronounced without separating the organs. We pronounce इ when we bring the two lips and the ends of the upper teeth into close proximity, and it thus corresponds to the vowel उ ; for इ the position is the same as that for इ, the proximity only being greater ; while ए is formed a little above the dental position by emitting the breath by the sides of the tip of the tongue, and इ a little below the cerebral. The sibilants श, ष, and स are continuous sounds made by letting off the *śvāsa* or simple breath with the same force as in the case of the hard aspirates and through the space between the middle of the tongue and the palatal, cerebral, and dental or dento-palatal positions brought as near to each other as in pronouncing vowels.

You will thus see how minute and laborious these operations are. The difficulty is increased when we have to pronounce two or more consonants together. We have first to put the organs of speech into one position, and immediately afterwards into another, without leaving the first. Accurate pronunciation therefore requires great effort, and since according to an observation of Locke, labour for labour's sake is against nature, the tendency always exists of making as little effort as is consistent with the necessity of making oneself understood. Hence मुख is transformed to मुह *i.e.* only the quantity of breath necessary to pronounce ख is let off, and the effort of forming a complete and close contact is saved ; कइलकम् becomes कअलअम् and thence केळू and केळें, where also you will see that the contact is avoided ; अर्ष becomes अप्प, in which case we find that the effort involved in the change from one position of the vocal organs to another is economized, though the pressure which the organs exert upon each other in the pronunciation of a conjunct continues the same, *i.e.* we have a conjunct as before, but the two members are assimilated. This is further changed to आप in which the pressure is avoided, but the shortening of the time which this would involve is obviated by lengthening the preceding vowel. This tendency to phonetic decay is so powerful that if not counteracted it would in the short space of a

few generations render a language entirely unintelligible to its former speakers. Children, in their first essays at speech, often mispronounce words, and if they were left to themselves, the language of a country would undergo very great transformation in a short time. But at home and in schools they are taught to speak the language of their parents correctly, and this result is averted. Education, therefore, is an agency which arrests the progress of decay. Another check is afforded by the necessity of making oneself intelligible. If a man is careless about his language he will not be understood. He has therefore necessarily to endeavour to speak as other people do. The feeling of society is also arrayed against the corruption of a language. The speech which does not approach the received standard is branded as vulgar. The tendency to corruption is greatly diminished when a language comes to have a literature. Some races are very careful about their speech, and preserve it in a comparatively pure condition ; there are others which corrupt it greatly. But even in the case of the former, accidents in its history may transform the idiom considerably. If one race comes in contact with another, and gives it its language, it is sure to be greatly corrupted. The alien race cannot catch the pronunciation properly, or its vocal organs may be naturally so constituted or its previous vocal habits may be of such a nature as to render the sounds of the language difficult or impossible to be imitated. If there were no schools and colleges for teaching English to us, we should corrupt the language of our rulers so greatly as to render ourselves perfectly unintelligible to them. The native sentry's challenge **कुकुम्ह** for "who comes there" would be a puzzle to the scientific philologist.

The grammatical terminations which are oftener used than any particular words suffer the most by this process of decay, and after a time they are confused with each other or dropped away. When a language is reduced to this condition, it has to fall back upon the expedient with which it started, and tack on certain words or particles to its nouns and verbs to express the relations which the old terminations denoted, and thus the analytic state returns. But the old process goes on again, and these words in their turn assume the character of terminations. Sometimes along with a case-form there exists in the language another expression conveying the same sense. When the former goes out of use the latter takes its place, or sometimes the latter drives out the former. The modern vernaculars have had to resort to

this process of reconstruction in a great measure, and, as in the older languages, it has already become difficult in several cases to trace the origin of the forms. For instance, in Sanskrit the termination which expresses future time is *स्य*, and when it is applied to the root *दा* to give, we have *दास्यति* *he will give*. This *स्य* is very likely a compound of the root *अस्* to be and *या* to go, so that the contrivance the early Âryans had recourse to to express futurity, was to attach to a root two others expressive of *going to be*; *दास्यति* therefore originally meant *he goes to be giving, i.e. he does not give, but will give since he goes to do it*. Now this *दास्यति* in the derived dialects becomes first *दास्तति*, then *दास्तदि*, *दास्तइ*, *दासइ*, *दाहइ*, *दाइ* and *दे* in order. Phonetic corruption has thus reduced this form to *दाइ* or *दे*, and that for the present tense *I give* has also assumed the same appearance. There is thus no distinction between them; wherefore to express future time our languages have had recourse to a variety of expedients which I shall endeavour to explain in their proper place. The Hindî, however, has hit upon the same that was used by our early ancestors, and distinguished futurity by adding to this shrunken form the past participle of *गम्* to go, which is *गभा*, changed to *गा* by combining the vowels, and thus *देगा* the form of the future, signifies literally, *gone that he (may) give*.

Another phenomenon constantly observable in the history of the growth of a language is the use of false analogies. Thus in Sanskrit the root *श्रु* to hear, takes the augment *जु* in the Present and three other tenses or moods, and the Sanskrit of *he hears* is *शृणोति*. Now in the course of time people forgot that this termination was used in these tenses alone, and extended it to the Future, the past participle, and other derivatives, so that in the Pâli and the Prâkrits the root itself became *सुण* = *शृण* instead of *श्रु*. This root has descended to most of the modern dialects in this same form. In the same way *क्री* to buy became *किण*, *ज्ञा* to know, *जाण*, *बुध्* to know, *बुड्हा*, and so on. All these exist in the vernaculars so augmented. In the same way, though *कृ* is conjugated in Sanskrit by adding *उ* to the base according to the rule of the eighth conjugation, and forms *करोति*, *कुर्वन्ति* &c., in Prâkrit it is conjugated according to the rule of the first or the tenth which are generalised, and has *करइ* or *करेइ*. This arises from the same sort of mistake that children commit, when, for instance, from the analogy of *धरलें* from *धर*, *पडलें* from *पड*, &c., they use *करलें* from *कर*, though the correct Marâthî form is *केलें*, and you may remember such expressions as "I knowed" and "you was" that Dickens puts into the mouth of

his lower characters. The Pāli and the Prākṛits are full of such formations. This law may be called the law of false analogies or of the generalisation of grammatical forms, or formal generalisation, and the effect of it is to do away with anomalies and introduce simplicity in a language. It springs from the same causes as phonetic decay, viz. the economization of effort, and its operation is restricted also by the same causes as those which arrest the progress of phonetic corruption.

Hitherto we have been considering the growth or decay of the grammar of a language. But the names of objects constitute a very important part of human speech. These are not arbitrary or simply conventional. The possibility of mere conventional names can exist only under a supposition of men meeting and agreeing that they should call such a thing by such a name. But this implies a condition of high social and political development, which in an early state of society does not exist, and, in the absence of language, cannot exist. The process is very artificial, and would hardly be worthy of the intellectual nature of man ; and though even in a high state of civilisation a language grows, and new names spring up, this is not the way in which they do so. The names of objects are always expressive of some attribute possessed by those objects. पृथ्वी *the earth* is that which is broad, भानु *the sun*, that which shines, उदन्वत् *the sea*, that which has water, पितृ *father*, one who protects, दुहितृ *daughter*, one who milks cows. But you will see that these names are not logical definitions, for they have the defect of *ativyāpti*, i.e. are too wide. It is not the earth alone that is broad, nor the sun alone that shines, nor the sea alone that has water. But still these things possess these attributes pre-eminently, and hence the terms become restricted to them. What is general is thus rendered particular, and the sense of words is, so to say, specialised. This process goes on continually in a living language, not only in the invention of new names, but often it works in a manner to narrow the sense of existing words. Thus, वेदना etymologically signifies 'a feeling,' 'a sensation,' thence it is restricted in Sanskrit to a particular sensation, that of severe pain ; but the pre-eminent pain is that experienced in childbirth, hence वेण the Prākṛitised form of the word signifies in Marāthî that special pain. So, गर्भिणी in Sanskrit denotes 'a female that is pregnant,' but गारभण the Marāthî form of the word is restricted to lower animals ; ताप in Sanskrit means 'heat' generally, but in Marāthî, and in Gujarātî in the form of ताव, it signifies a particular kind of heat, viz. 'fever,' though the word has not lost its general sense ; हृदय denotes

originally 'the heart,' in modern Marâthî in the form of **हृदय** it signifies 'courage,' which is a quality of the heart, though in old Marâthî it preserves its original sense; **पिण्ड** in Sanskrit means 'a ball' generally, but in Panjâbî and Gujarâtî in the form of **पण्ड** it is restricted to this ball of flesh and bones, 'the body;' **चेदक** in Sanskrit signifies 'an attendant,' but in the form of **चेला** it denotes in the Hindî 'a pupil or disciple,' who according to Indian custom, is his master's close attendant, and in Bengâlî and the Goanese Marâthî, in the forms of **चेले** and **चलो** 'a boy' or *son*, who is constantly about his parents. Opposed to this is a process which may be called generalisation of the sense. Thus the root **गवेष** originally signified 'looking or searching for a cow'; it was then extended to any kind of 'searching,' and lastly in the form of **गवसे** it signifies in Marâthî 'to find;' **इन्द्र** originally 'the lord of the gods,' is in Sanskrit used to signify 'the lord' of any class of beings, such expressions as **मानवेन्द्र**, **गजेन्द्र** &c. being very common; and a notable example of this process is afforded by the word **राजा** which in Sanskrit means 'a king,' but, in the forms of **राय** or **राव**, is in the modern languages used as a title of distinction, and in Marâthî, any respectable gentleman not following the priestly occupation, and not a man of learning, may be called a *râv*. Sometimes, when by means of phonetic corruption a word is reduced to two forms, each of the two acquires a distinct sense. Thus, Sanskrit **वृद्ध** is in the modern languages corrupted to **वुड्डा** H., **वुवो** S., **वुड** B., and in this form it means 'an old man.' It is also corrupted to **बडा** H., **वडो** S., **बड** B., **वडो** G., and **व्हड** Goan. M. in which form it signifies 'great,' 'large,' or 'more advanced in age.' In this last sense, the termination **ल** or **र** is appended to it (M. **वडिल**, S. **वडेरो**). The Sanskrit word **क्षण** becomes **छण** in the sense of 'a festival,' in Pâli and the Prâkrîts, but **खण** in the sense of 'a moment.' In Marâthî **छण** is further transformed to **सण**, and **खण** in the form of **खिण** also occurs in the old literature and in one of its dialects. The Sanskrit **उज्ज्वल** in the form of **उजळ** M., **उजल** H., **उजलु** S., **उजळु** G., **उजळ** P. means *bright, clear, pure*, but in the form of **उजाड** M., H., G, P., S., B., it means *desolate or waste*. This sense it acquired by the first process explained above, since a desolate land is cleared, purified of its tenants or appurtenances. **खुजा** means in Marâthî *a dwarf* and **कुबडा**, *humpbacked*. This last word exists in the other languages also, and both are derived from the Sanskrit **कुब्ज**. The Prâkrît **लहु** as existing in M. **लहान**, G. **न्हाहुं**, means *small or little*; when the consonants interchange their places, as they often do, the word becomes M. **हलु** or *slow*.

The last phenomenon in the growth of a language which I shall notice is the gradual disappearance of words. As men advance in knowledge and civilisation new ideas and modes of thinking arise, and the old ones fall into disuse. And since words are the representatives of ideas, new words always come in, and the old go out. The changes that the Marāthī language, for instance, has undergone in this respect since the time of Jñāneśvara, or the Hindī since the time of Chanda, render the older books unintelligible to modern readers. There are also various other causes. Sometimes, when another language rises into importance on account of political circumstances, or when it is admired and esteemed by a nation, as Sanskrit is by Hindus, a great many words are borrowed from it, and necessarily the older ones go out to make room for them, or disappear because they are regarded as vulgar. The opening of an intercourse with a foreign nation brings about the same result. These causes account in a great measure for the fact that so many words in our languages have become obsolete. Jñāneśvara's Prākṛit पसाय had to make room for the Sanskrit प्रसाद, गहिर for गम्भीर, and नाह for नाय; and the word जमीन has well-nigh supplanted the old भुई, as हुकुम has done आज्ञा which itself must once have driven out such a word as आप्त or भावस, the Prākṛit forms of आज्ञा and आवेश.

The languages of the civilised nations of the world have been divided into three families, the Āryan or Indo-European, the Semitic, and the Turanian. The first comprises the Indian branch, consisting of Sanskrit, Pāli and the Prākṛits, and the modern Vernaculars of Northern India and of Ceylon; the Iranic branch consisting of Zend, the sacred language of the Parsis, the Pehlevī and the other cognate dialects; the Hellenic or the Greek branch, comprising the languages of Ancient Greece and its modern representatives; the Italic branch, consisting of the Latin and the cognate ancient languages of Italy and the dialects derived from Latin, the Italian, the French and the old Provençal, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Wallachian; the Keltic or the language of those Kelts or Gauls that so often figure in Roman history, and distinguished into two varieties, the Kymric, now spoken in Wales and in the Province of Brittany in France, and the Gaelic, spoken in the Isle of Man, the Highlands of Scotland, and Ireland; the Lithuanian and Slavonic, comprising the languages of Lithuania, Russia, Bulgaria, and of the Slavonic races generally; and the Teutonic branch, consisting of the Scandinavian group, i. e. the

languages of Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Denmark, of the High German i.e. the old and the present language of Germany, and of the Low German, which comprised the old Anglo-Saxon and the other languages spoken on the coasts of Germany, the modern representatives of which are the English, and the dialects spoken in Holland, Friesland, and the North of Germany. The second family comprises the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Carthaginian, and the cognate and derived languages; and the third, the Turkish and the languages of the Mongolian tribes. To this last family the dialects spoken in Southern India are also to be referred. The Zend approaches Sanskrit the most, but the affinities of this latter with Greek and Latin are also very striking, and such as to convince even a determined sceptic. Sanskrit has preserved a greater number of ancient forms than any of these languages, hence it is indispensable for purposes of comparative philology.

The literature of Sanskrit presents, as ordinarily considered, two varieties of the language; but a third may also, as I shall presently endeavour to show, be clearly distinguished. Of these the most ancient is that found in the hymns of the *Rigveda Samhitā*. These were composed at different times and by different *Rishis*, and were transmitted from father to son in certain families. Thus the third of the ten collections, which make up the *Samhitā* bears the name of *Viśvāmitra*, and the hymns contained in it were composed by the great patriarch and his descendants. The seventh is ascribed to *Vasishtha* and his family. The composition of these hymns therefore extended over a long period, the language is not the same throughout, and while some of them present a variety so close to the later Sanskrit that there is little difficulty in understanding them, the style of others is so antiquated that they defy all efforts at interpretation, and their sense was not understood even by the *Rishis* who flourished in the very next literary period, that of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Still for our purposes we may neglect these differences and consider the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as one.

The chief characteristics of the Vedic language are these:—It contains a large number of words that have become obsolete or changed their sense in the later or classical Sanskrit. There is a greater variety of verbal derivatives, such as *दर्शत* in the sense of *दर्शनीय* 'worthy to be seen, or handsome,' *जीवस्*, *अवस्* &c. abstract nouns from the roots *जीव्*, *अव्* &c., *जनुस्* 'something that is produced,' *पपि*, *बाप्ति*, *जप्ति* &c. nouns of agency having a past sense (P. III. 2,171), which

govern an accusative, कृतीक signifying 'handsome' or मृच्छीक 'favour,' &c. The nominative plural termination of nouns ending in अ is असस् (P. VII. 1, 50), as विश्वेदेवासः, as well as असस्, as यत्नेन यत्तमयजन्त देवाः, and the instrumental plural is देवेभिः or देवैः (P. VII. 1, 10). The vowel cases of nouns in उ are often formed by joining the vowels by the usual Saṁdhi rules; as तन्वम् or तनुवम् accusative singular of तनु; मध्वः and वस्वः genitive singulars of मधु and वसु. The instrumental singular is made up by affixing आ, या, or इया, instead of ना, as मध्वा, उरुया, उर्विया, धृष्णुया, &c. (P. VII. 1, 39); sometimes of other nouns also, as स्वपया, नावया &c. The nominative and vocative dual of masculine and the plural of neuter nouns in अ often end in आ; as येनेमा विश्वा अयवना कृतानि Rv. II. 12, 4; अग्निना पुरुदंससा नरा Rv. I. 3, 2; and the instrumental singular of feminine nouns in इ is optionally formed by simply lengthening the vowel (P. VII. 1, 39), as नविष्ठया मनी Rv. I. 82, 2. The locative singular termination is often dropped, as in परमे ध्योमन्; or its औ changed to आ, as in नाभा for नाभौ (P. VII. 1, 39). The Parasmaipada first person plural termination of verbs is मसि (P. VII. 1, 46), as नमो भरन्त एमसि Rv. I. 1, 7, and that of the third person plural is often रे or रते, as दुन्हे or दुन्हते. Other forms also admit of this र, as अकृभमस्य. The त् of the Âtmanepada terminations is often dropped (P. VII. 1, 41), as वस्व ईगे (Rv. I. 71, 9). There are eight different forms of a mood called लेट् by Pāṇini, which has a conditional or subjunctive sense; सुपया करन्। प्र ण आदृषि तारिषत्, Rv. I. 25, 12, स देवानेह वसति Rv. I. 1, 2. This is lost in classical Sanskrit. The several conjugations or ways of forming the special tenses do exist, but the roots are not restricted to any particular way, being conjugated sometimes according to one mode and sometimes according to another; as अर्धी हवम्. There are some instances in which some other than the special tenses also admit of the conjugational sign, as विगृण्विरे perfect. Sometimes guṇa is substituted before the त् of the second person plural imperative, though it is a weak termination, as शृणोत.

The infinitive is formed by adding to roots the terminations से, ध्यै, अध्यै, त्वै and त्वे (P. III. 4, 9), as वसते, जीवसे, पिबध्यै, शान्त्यै, हन्तवै. These are etymologically the forms of the dative singular of such nouns as वस, जीवस्, पिबधि &c. A few other datives are similarly used, as वृषो, रोहिष्यै &c. (P. III. 4, 10, 11). The accusatives of some nouns are also used as infinitives when governed by शक् (P. III. 4, 12), as न ये शक्कुर्यन्तियां नावमारुहम् R. X. 44, 6; also in other places, चिकितुषो विपुच्छम् Rv. VII. 86, 3. The infinitive in classical Sanskrit ends in

तुम्, as कर्तुम्, which is the accusative form of such a noun as कर्तु the dative of which कर्तवे is one of the forms of the Vedic infinitive. The potential participles are often formed by adding त्वै, ए, एण्य and एव (P. III. 4, 14), as नैषा गन्धूतिरपभतैवा उ Rv. X. 14, 2, न तेन देव आरिषो Rv. VI. 56, 1, दिवृक्षेण्यः, कर्तवम्. The first two, however, ought properly to be considered as infinitives. The absolutive is sometimes formed by the addition of त्वाय; as गत्वाय. There is such a form as इष्टीनम् for इष्टा; and such others as हत्वी and पीत्वी for हत्वा and पीत्वा occur often. These last, as also the usual or classical absolutives, are forms of the instrumental singular of the same nouns, the dative and accusative of which are used as infinitives; त्वाय appears also to be an instrumental. There are a great many other peculiarities which are noticed by Pānini, and which you will find collected in the Siddhānta Kaumudī. One thing, however, should be borne in mind, that notwithstanding there is in these respects a very great difference between the Vedic and the classical Sanskrit, they are in the same phonetic stage, i. e. the vocal elements of words and letters remain the same. There are a few such instances, as सध् for सह, and गृम् for गृह् in which the mute has disappeared, leaving only the aspirate element, and to these may be added the terminations मस्ति and असस्त् for मस् and अस्; but both the original and corrupt forms exist in the Vedas, and no general conclusion can be based on these few instances. You will hereafter see that the other dialects I shall speak of differ greatly from the classical Sanskrit in these respects. The following specimen will give you an idea of Vedic Sanskrit :—

१. यश्चिद्धि ते विद्यो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् । मिनीमसि अविद्यावि ॥
२. मा नो वधाथ हल्लदे जिहीळानस्य रीरधः । मा हृणानस्य मन्यदे ॥
५. कदा क्षत्रभिर्यं नरमा वरुणं करामहे । सुळीकायोरुचक्षसम् ॥
७. वेदा यो वीनां पदमन्तरिक्षेण पतताम् । वेद नावः समुद्रियः ॥
१०. नि षसाद् धृतव्रतो वरुणः पस्त्यास्वा । साम्राज्याय सुक्रतुः ॥
११. अतो विश्वान्यद्भुता चिकित्वाँ अभि पश्यति । कृतानि या च कर्त्वाँ ॥
१२. स नो विश्वाहा सुक्रतुरादित्यः सुपथा करत् । प्र ण आशुंषि तारिषत् ॥
१९. इमं मे वरुण श्रुधी हवमद्या च सुळय । त्वामवस्त्युरा चके ॥

These eight verses contain 72 different *padas* or grammatical forms, not counting the prepositions as separate *padas*. Of these 19 have become altogether obsolete in classical Sanskrit, and 12 have changed their significations. This, however, is a specimen of one of the more intelligible hymns, but there are a great many which contain a much

larger proportion of words that have gone out of use. It is these obsolete words that constitute the chief difficulty of understanding the Vedic hymns.

1. The use of चित् after यत् is unknown to the later dialect, that particle being found joined only to the pronoun क्विप्. The preposition य् though connected with विनीमसि is separated from it by three words. Though the root of this verb is given in the Dhātupāṭha or Pāṇini's list of roots, it has gone out of use. In modern Sanskrit we should use अतिक्रामामः instead. व्रत is not now used in the sense in which it occurs here ; though it is connected with it. We should use शासन instead. द्यविद्यवि means here 'day by day ;' in classical Sanskrit the word द्यो means 'heaven' only. The verse may be translated :—"Though we who are like subjects break thy law, day after day, O divine Varuṇa !" Varuṇa is spoken of frequently as a *rājān*, or king, and men are his subjects, with reference to that attribute of his.

2. बध means 'killing,' or 'execution,' in classical Sanskrit, but since हस्तु 'killing' qualifies it here, it must mean some such thing as a weapon or a blow. हस्तु is obsolete. जिहीळान is a participle of the Perfect of हेर् or हीर्. The form is obsolete ; and a verbal form of the root is not ordinarily met with, though a word derived from it does occur. हृषान also is obsolete.

"Do not subject us to the killing blow of the spiteful, nor to the wrath of the angry," *i.e.*, do not kill us out of spite or wrath.

5. क्षत्र signifies in later Sanskrit the order of the Kshatriyas or the warrior caste. Here it is used in the primitive sense of 'valour,' 'prowess.' नर does not mean 'man' here, but is used in its original sense of *manly*. आ and करामहे are separated by a word. सूळीक 'favour' is obsolete. चक्षस् 'the reach of sight,' 'visual power,' has also gone out of use.

"When shall we call the brave, manly, and far-seeing Varuṇa hither to favour us?"

7. समुद्रियः. This form of the derived adjective is unknown to later Sanskrit. The genitive singular is formed by changing ई to इय.

"Who knows the path of the birds flying in the air and of the boat on the waters."

10. "Enforcing his laws, the powerful Varuṇa sits down in his abode to exercise universal sovereignty."

11. अनुता. The termination of the accusative plural is here dropped ; कर्त्व्य is Vedic for कर्त्तव्य ; here also नि is dropped.

“From this place the knowing one sees all secret deeds done or to be done.”

12. करन् and तारिषन् are forms of क्रेद् or the Vedic subjunctive. “May the powerful God make things easy for us all our days and prolong our lives.”

19. शुधी. Conjugated as a root of the second class, with चि as the termination of the imperative singular, lengthened for phonetic purposes.

“O Varuṇa, hear this my invocation, and now be propitious. I call on thee, desirous of protection.”

The next form of the language is presented to us in the Brāhmaṇa of the Vedas, such as the Aitareya of the R̥gveda and the Śatapatha of the White Yajush. A great many of those peculiar words which we meet with in the hymns, and which are so unintelligible have disappeared, the declensions have approached the standard of classical Sanskrit, the nominative plural in असस् for instance, and the instrumental plural in एभिः having gone out of use. The roots have arranged themselves definitely under certain conjugations. The subjunctive has mostly become obsolete, though such forms as निष्पद्याते (Śat. I. 4, 1, 10), and असत (Ait. II. 11.) are sometimes met with. The roots take those forms of the Aorist that Pāṇini assigns to them, and this tense is scrupulously used in the sense mentioned by that grammarian. Such terminations as मसि and the various modes of forming the infinitive have disappeared, the ordinary one in तुम् being mostly used (Ait. IV. 8, VIII. 23). The language is in most respects the same as that usually called classical Sanskrit. It is rich in verbal forms of all tenses and moods. There are however a few peculiarities and archaisms. There are some antiquated words such as बर्से ‘an extremity’ (Ait. II. 2), अनीक ‘a shaft,’ मन्याबल ‘a bat’ (Ait. III. 26); निष्ठाव ‘ultimate referee,’ अववदित् ‘one who pronounces a decree,’ भगवस् ‘prosperous,’ तत् for तात् (Ait. V. 14); इरा food (Ait. VIII. 7), शुष्मिण ‘powerful’ (Ait. VIII. 8, 23), मेनि ‘a destructive instrument, flame’ (Ait. VIII. 24), &c. The dative of feminine nouns is often used for the genitive, as पुथिव्यै राजा स्याः (Ait. VIII. 23); सर्वस्यै वाचः.....परिगृहीत्यै; the त् of the third person singular of the Ātmanepada is sometimes dropped as in the old dialect, as सविता वै प्रसवानामीशे (Ait. VII. 16); a few roots form their Aorist in another manner than that mentioned by Pāṇini, as अज्ञत वा अस्य सन्ताः (Ait. VII. 14), where अज्ञत stand for अजनिषत, अद्रुक्षो वै म आत इहं (Ait. VIII. 23) where अद्रुक्षः is for अद्रुहः; the form of the infinitive governed by the word ईश्वर is that which ends in तोस्; as ईश्वरो ह तु पुराङ्गणः

वेतोः (Ait. VIII. 7); and ग्रह appears in the form of ग्रन् (Ait. III. 26). In the seventh and eight Pañchikās of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa some Gāthās or songs are quoted, the language of which is more antiquated than that of the body of the work. Notwithstanding these irregularities, these Brāhmaṇas are the best representatives extant of the verbal portion of that language of which Pāṇini writes the grammar, though he did not mean these when he spoke of the Bhāṣhā. But nearly the whole of that literature which Pāṇini drew from, if he did so at all, has perished, or to speak more correctly there is no portion of the extant Sanskrit literature that accurately represents Pāṇini's Sanskrit as regards the verb and the Taddhitas or nominal derivatives. Probably the spoken language of his time formed the basis of his grammar.

The next stage of Sanskrit is presented to us by the work of Yāska, whose language appears to be more ancient than that of the rest of the non-Vedic literature. We find a good many archaic words and expressions in the Nirukta, such as उपजन 'proximity,' उपेक्षितव्य in the sense of 'finding' or 'observing,' कर्म 'signification,' यथो in the sense of 'as to,' बिल्म 'variety,' उपदेशाय ग्लायन्नः 'unable to teach,' शिक्षा राज्येन 'invested with sovereignty,' नैषण्डुक 'subordinate,' अनिर्वाह 'celibacy,' &c. There are also some technical terms which we do not meet with in later works, such as निवृत्तिस्थान 'weak terminations,' उपजन or उपबन्ध 'augment,' नामकरण 'a nominal termination,' &c. After the time of Yāska, Sanskrit underwent a peculiar change, for the proper understanding of which it is necessary for a time to consider the styles in which a man may speak or write. There is what may be considered as the fluent or flowing style of speech, in which the speaker looks at the actions of men in progress, actions in the course of being done or suffered. A man speaking or writing in this style will use a verb on every occasion. But a verb may always be analysed into an attribute of the subject and the connecting link or copula. When one's attention is directed more to the attribute than to the progress or course of an action, he will use verbal nouns or adjectives. Thus instead of अश्वमारुहन्त् a man may say अश्वमारूढः, of सोऽवोचत्, उक्तं तेन, of अयं मांसं भक्षयति, मांसभक्षकोयम्, of मालामध्नात्, मालां प्रथितवान् &c. In the same way a verb may be divided into a noun or adjective denoting the special action it involves, and a verb signifying action generally, as पचन्ति, may be analysed into पाकं करोति or पकं करोति and पच्यते into पको भवति. The later Sanskrit and the modern Vernaculars are full of such formations. The case forms may also be

similarly analysed into attributive expressions ; as राज्ञः पुरुष into राज्ञ-संबन्धी पुरुषः or रामेण कृतः कटः into रामकर्तृकः कटः. The mode of thought which gives birth to such forms of expression leads also to a freer use of compound nouns by means of which a whole sentence may be compressed into a small attribute. In argumentation the ablative of an abstract noun saves a long periphrasis. This may be considered a petrified form of speech, and as distinguished from the verbal style, it may be called the nominal style. In the earliest literature of Sanskrit the fluent or verbal style prevailed. Since this rarely admits of attributive or nominal expressions, the sentences are short, and the construction easy. Thus, in such books as the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas, we find short sentences, and abundance of verbal forms. Even in the time of Yāska this style prevailed to a large extent, and notwithstanding that his book is on a scientific subject, his language often reminds one of that of the earlier works, though he must have written several centuries afterwards. In the time of Pāṇini also verbal forms were in general use, as I shall presently attempt to show. Some time after, however, the petrified or nominal style began to supplant the other. Somehow it commended itself to the genius of the Indian Āryas of the times, and the very richness and flexibility of Sanskrit which allows of a root or noun being twisted in a variety of ways to suit any sort of construction greatly facilitated the change. The Itihāsas, the Purāṇas, and the metrical Smṛitis are written in this style. But here it is not carried to such an extravagant extent as is done in later writings, in some of which verbal forms are rare and in others long and bewildering compounds are frequently met with, and the construction is complicated and involved. This is the general character of the Sanskrit in which the subsequent poetic and dramatic literature is written ; and if the language of a certain author is graceful and easy, and not dull and involved, if he does not use long compounds, and writes in a more natural style, it is either because his taste is superior to that of his contemporaries, or because he belongs to an earlier period.

But it was in the field of philosophy, dialectics, and exegesis, scriptural or grammatical, that this nominal style was greatly cultivated and developed. The earliest work of the kind we know of is Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya on Kātyāyana's Vārtikas or notes on Pāṇini's Sūtras. Nearly the whole of the philosophical literature of the Sanskrit is written more or less in the style of disputation. An Indian author

does not lead his readers into the processes his own mind has gone through in arriving at the doctrines he lays down; in other words, he does not tell us how he has come by the opinions he holds, but lays down these doctrines and sets forth those opinions and conceives objections that may be raised and answers them. Or before actually stating the true doctrine or *siddhānta*, certain others, more or less opposed are stated, and reasons given in support of them (*pūrvapakṣa*) which are, of course, refuted. The Mahābhāṣya is written in this manner, but it differs in a good many respects from later works of the kind. Unlike the latter, it gives the very words that an opponent, speaking in his own person, may be expected to use. It therefore really consists of a series of dialogues, often smart, between one who maintains the *pūrvapakṣa*, and another who lays down the *siddhānta*. Hence, the language is plain and simple, and the sentences are short, and such as a man may naturally use in ordinary conversation or oral disputation. The nominal style, however, as I have ventured to call it, in contradistinction to that of the Brāhmaṇas and also of Yāska is observable; but it has of course not yet degenerated into the long compounds and algebraic expressions of modern times, and is perfectly natural. In this respect it keeps pace with the language of the Itihāsas and Smṛitis. Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya on Gotama's Nyāya Sūtra, and Śābarasvāmī's on that of Jaimini, as well as the Bhāṣyas on some of the sacrificial Sūtras, are written in the same sort of simple and lively style, though however they present a further stage in the downward progress. But gradually this manner of writing ceased to be used, and the philosophical style went on progressing until it has come to be what it is now. Śaṅkarāchārya's Bhāṣya presents it in a middle stage. The sentences are much longer than those of the earlier writers, the construction is more involved, there is a freer use of attributive adjuncts, and the form is that of an essay or a lecture, instead of an oral disputation. But the great Āchārya's style is perspicuous throughout, fluent and charming, and not solidified or petrified, as that of later writers is. These latter hardly ever use a verb, and of the cases only a few are to be met with in their works. The nominative and ablative singular prevail, and long compounds are constantly employed. All our ideas are thrown into the form of nouns, mostly abstract, and even the participles have become rare. This style is the style of formulas rather than of discourse. It has reached its climax in the works of recent *Naiyāyikas*, but it has been more or less used by modern writers

in all the Śāstras. The movement which began with a less frequent use of verbal forms and the employment of attributive expressions has thus ended in making Sanskrit a language of abstract nouns and compound words.

I have used the word style in describing this movement, to show what important changes in the structure of a language may originate from what is in the beginning but a style or mode of speaking or writing. If everybody thought and spoke about all matters as the Naiyāyika does in his own subject our language would be just like his. It would almost have no verbs, no participles, and no cases except one or two. But it is not so. The movement could not be carried so far in other subjects. Hence the real classical Sanskrit is the Sanskrit of the Epics, the Purāṇas, the metrical law-books, the better or earlier specimens of Kāvya or poems and dramatic plays, and of the early philosophical or exegetical works. And if we examine this literature we shall find that the greater use of attributive or nominal forms of expression gradually drove out a large portion of the Sanskrit verb, and gave a new character to the language, which may be thus described :—Very few verbal forms are used besides those of such tenses as the Present and Future ; participles are frequently met with ; the verbal forms of some roots, especially of those belonging to the less comprehensive classes, have gone out of use, and in their place we often have a noun expressive of the special action and a verb expressive of action generally ; compound words are somewhat freely employed ; and a good many of the Taddhita forms or nominal derivatives have disappeared, and in their stead we have periphrastic expressions. If the treatises of Pāṇini and others had perished, and we had to construct a grammar of the Sanskrit from the classical literature I have above indicated, our Verb and the Taddhita portion would be very meagre. Professor Benfey attributes the condition which the language thus assumed to the influence of the Prākṛits or the spoken vernaculars. But the process appears to me perfectly natural, and no such influence need be supposed. The change may in some respects be likened to that which rendered the Vedic subjunctive and other grammatical forms obsolete in the later stage of the language. The Prākṛits may have given some words to the Sanskrit, but that they should in this manner have influenced its grammatical structure is very unlikely. It is more natural to suppose that it was the Sanskrit from which the Prākṛits evidently sprang which gave to these latter their

peculiar character. I shall endeavour to determine the exact relation between the Sanskrit and these dialects in the concluding lecture.

We have thus observed and determined the change that came over Sanskrit after the period that elapsed between the Brāhmanas and Yāska from an examination of the literature itself. But the fact is borne witness to by Kātyāyana, who observed it in his time and made it the subject of a few *vārtikas*. Patañjali discusses the points raised in the following manner. An objector or *Pūrvapakshin* is introduced, who says :—

PŪRV. अस्व्यप्रयुक्तः । There exist (some) words which are not used ; for instance, ऊष, तेर, चक्र, पेच. (These are forms of the second person plural of the Perfect.)

The *Siddhāntin*, or the principal teacher, who advocates the doctrine that is finally laid down asks :—

SID. What if they are not used ?

PŪRV. You determine the grammatical correctness of words from their being used. Those then that are not now used are not grammatically correct.

SID. What you say is, in the first place, inconsistent, viz., that words exist which are not used. If they exist they cannot be not used ; if not used, they cannot exist. To say that they exist and are not used is inconsistent. You yourself use them (utter them) and say (in the very breath) there are words which are not used. What other worthy like yourself would you have to use them in order that they might be considered correct? (lit. What other person like yourself is correct or is an authority in the use of words).

PŪRV. This is not inconsistent. I say they exist, since those who know the Śāstra teach their formation by [laying down] rules, and I say they are not used, because they are not used by people. Now with regard to [your remark] “What other worthy, &c.” [when I say they are not used] I do not mean that they are not used by me.

SID. What then ?

PŪRV. Not used by people.

SID. Verily, you also are one amongst the people.

PŪRV. Yes, I am *one*, but am not *the people*.

SID. (Vārt. अस्व्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्नार्थे चक्रप्रयोगात्). If you object that they are not used, it will not do (the objection is not valid).

PŪRV. Why not ?

SID. Because words are used to designate things. The things do exist which these words are used to designate. (Therefore the words must be used by somebody. If the things exist, the words that denote them must exist).

PŪRV. (Vārt. अग्रयोगः प्रयोगान्वत्वात्). (It does not follow.) Their non-use is what one can reasonably infer.

SID. Why?

PŪRV. Because they (people) use other words to designate the things expressed by these words ; for instance, क द्युयमुषिताः in the sense of ऊष; क द्युयं तीर्णाः in the sense of तेर; क द्युयं कृतवन्तः in the sense of चक; क द्युयं पकवन्तः in the sense of पेष. (We here see that participles had come to be used for verbs of the Perfect Tense).

SID. (Vārt. अग्रयुक्ते दीर्घसञ्चयत्) Even if these words are not used, they should be essentially taught by rules just as long sacrificial sessions are. It is in this way. Long sacrificial sessions are such as last for a hundred years and for a thousand years. In modern times none whatever holds them, but the writers on sacrifices teach them by rules, simply because [to learn] what has been handed down by tradition from the Rishis is religiously meritorious. And moreover (Vārt. सर्वे हेतान्तरे), all these words are used in other places.

PŪRV.—They are not found used.

SID.—An endeavour should be made to find them. Wide indeed is the range over which words are used ; the earth with its seven continents, the three worlds, the four Vedas with their āngas or dependent treatises and the mystic portions, in their various recensions, the one hundred branches of the Adhvaryu (Yajur-Veda), the Sāma-Veda with its thousand modes, the Bāhvr̥chya with its twenty-one varieties, and the Ātharvaṇa Veda with nine, Vākovākya, the Epics, the Purāṇas, and Medicine. This is the extent over which words are used. Without searching this extent of the use of words, to say that words are not used is simple rashness. In this wide extent of the use of words, certain words appear restricted to certain senses in certain places. Thus, द्यति is used in the sense of motion among the Kambojas ; the Āryas use it in the derived form of द्यद्; हम्मति is used among the Surāshṭras, र्हति among the eastern and central people, but the Āryas use only गम्; द्यति is used in the sense of 'cutting' among the easterns, द्यद् among the northerners. And those words which you think are not used are also seen used.

PŪRV.—Where?

STR.—In the Veda. Thus, सप्तमस्यै रेवती रेवदूष । यद्वो रेवती रेवत्वां तमूष ।
 जन्मे नरः भुख्यं ब्रह्म चक्र । यच्चानश्चक्रा जरसं तनूनाम् ।

We here see that the objector says that certain words or forms are not used by people, and therefore they should not be taught or learnt. The instances that he gives are forms of the perfect of some roots and observes that the sense of these forms is expressed by using other words which are perfect participles of these roots. These statements are not denied by the Siddhāntin, but he does not allow that the forms should not be taught on that account. Though not used, they should be taught and learnt for the sake of the religious merit consequent thereon, just as the ceremonial of long sacrificial sessions, which are never held, is. Then the objector is told that though not used by people, the words may be current in some other country, continent, or world, or they must have been used somewhere in the vast literature of the language. As regards the particular instances, two of them are shown to be used in the Vedas.

It thus follows that in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, such verbal forms had become obsolete, and participles were used in their place. But it must have been far otherwise in the time of Pāṇini. He gives minute rules for constructing the innumerable forms of the Sanskrit verb. Our grammarians proceeded upon a strictly scientific basis. Nothing is more clear from several observations scattered throughout the work of Patañjali, besides those contained in the above passage, than this, that the Indian Grammarians do not give us the inventions of their own brains as they are supposed by some scholars to do. The very perfection of their observation and analysis has rendered them liable to this reproach. But notwithstanding all that, there can be *no doubt whatever* that they scrupulously adhered to usage. If so, the verbal forms taught by Pāṇini must have been current in the language at some time. We do meet with them in the Brāhmanas, but our grammarian does not include these forms among the peculiarities he has given of the Vedic or Chhandas and Brāhmaṇa dialect, and thus does not restrict them to those works. They must therefore be understood as having been in use in the Bhāshā or current language, the grammar of which he teaches in his Sūtras. And the Bhāshā that he means must be that which was current in his time. In Pāṇini's time, therefore, the fluent or verbal style of speech was in use, as I have observed before. But it may be argued that though he refers these forms to the Bhāshā, the

Bhāshā he means may not be that which prevailed when he lived, but another current before his time and preserved in its literature, on which Pāṇini based his rules. It matters very little even if we make this supposition. The only effect is that the period when the non-Vedic Sanskrit was rich in verbal forms is placed before Pāṇini; but the fact itself that there was such a period is undeniable. The supposition, however, is unreasonable. For it is not at all likely that he should neglect the language prevalent in his time and teach that which was current before him, and speak of it as the Bhāshā, which word literally signifies the "spoken language" or vernacular. And the occurrence in the Sūtras of words that became obsolete in later Sanskrit confirms this view. The following are such words:—अन्ववसर्ग 'allowing one his own way,' निरवसित 'excommunicated,' प्रत्यवसान 'eating,' अभिविधि 'including,' स्वकरण 'marrying,' उत्सङ्गन 'throwing up,' अक्षेप 'equitableness.' You will have seen that the Vārtika of Kātyāyana which starts the discussion I have translated, and Patañjali's comment on it speak of words generally as having ceased to be used though the examples given consist of certain verbal forms only. It is, therefore to be understood that the observation is applicable to other forms and expressions also taught by Pāṇini which we do not meet with in the later literature. Among such may be noticed उपाजेक and अन्वाजेक 'to strengthen,' निवचनेक 'to be silent,' कणेहन्, and मनोहन् 'to fulfil one's longing,' &c. कणेहन् occurs in Yāska also. Most of the verbal derivatives ending in the technical termination णमुह must also be so considered, such as ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'feeds every Brāhmaṇa that he finds,' चेलक्रोपं वृष्टः 'rained till the clothes were wet'; स्वपोषं पुष्पाति, 'supports by his own means,' ऊर्ध्वपोषं शुष्वाति 'withers standing,' &c. A good many Taddhita forms taught in Pāṇini's Sūtras must also, I think, be put in the same category.

And there is another circumstance which shows that Pāṇini's Sanskrit was more ancient than Kātyāyana's. Kātyāyana's Vārtikas on Pāṇini, which I have already spoken to you of, touch on various points concerning grammar and the system of Pāṇini. The purpose of a great many of them is the proper interpretation of the Sūtras, and there are some which supply the links that are wanting in the system,

⁵ Professor Goldstücker has used the argument based on the occurrence of obsolete words in the Sūtras and that set forth in the next paragraph, to prove the archaic character of the language as it existed in Pāṇini's time, and some of the instances quoted in the text are the same as his.

also a good many which teach forms not taught by Pāṇini, or give the correct forms, when by the strict application of Pāṇini's rules we arrive at such as are incorrect. Now, this strict application of Pāṇini's rules is often in the manner of a quibbling logician, and consequently it was probably never meant by Pāṇini himself. Again, it may also be allowed that some forms existing in the language may have escaped Pāṇini's notice. But even after making allowance for all these considerations, a good many forms taught by Kātyāyana are left which it is impossible to believe Pāṇini did not observe or know, if they existed in the language in his time. Though not infallible, Pāṇini was not an indifferent grammarian. He justly deserves the reputation he has all along enjoyed of being the pre-eminent teacher of grammar. He has noticed even stray facts about the language. If so, the only reasonable supposition is that these forms did not exist in the language at the period when he lived. For instance, according to Pāṇini's rules the vocative singular of neuter nouns ending in अन् such as ब्रह्मन् and नामन् is ब्रह्मन् and नामन्, but Kātyāyana in a Vārtika on VIII. 2, 8 tells us it is ब्रह्मन् or ब्रह्म and नामन् or नाम. Pāṇini teaches that the forms of the dative, ablative, genitive, and locative singular of the feminine of द्वितीय and तृतीय are optionally like those of the corresponding pronouns, i.e. we have either द्वितीयाये or द्वितीयस्यै, द्वितीयायाः or द्वितीयस्याः &c., but Kātyāyana in a Vārtika on I. 1, 36 extends this option to the masculine also, and according to him we have द्वितीयायः or द्वितीयस्मै, द्वितीयात् or द्वितीयस्मात् &c., while Pāṇini gives us only the first. Pāṇini's rule IV. 1, 49 allows of मातुलानी only as the feminine of मातुल, but Kātyāyana gives मातुली also; उपाध्यायानी is not noticed by Pāṇini, while Kātyāyana lays down that as well as उपाध्यायी in the sense of 'wife of the उपाध्याय.' So also आर्या and क्षत्रिया are according to Pāṇini, 'a female Ārya' and 'a female Kshatriya,' but Kātyāyana gives आर्याणी and क्षत्रियाणी as well as आर्यां and क्षत्रिया. A good many more instances of a similar nature may be given from other parts of Sanskrit Grammar. Are we then to suppose that the forms ब्रह्म, नाम, कर्म &c. of the vocative singular, द्वितीयस्मै of the dative of द्वितीय &c. मातुली, उपाध्यायानी, आर्याणी, क्षत्रियाणी and many more such, escaped the observation of such a grammarian as Pāṇini, or that he did not know them? Is the supposition that they did not exist in the language in his time not more reasonable? It therefore appears clear to me that the language in Pāṇini's time was in a different condition from that in which it was in Kātyāyana's. The chief differences, to point out which has been the

object of this discussion, may be thus stated :—In Pāṇini's time a good many words and expressions were current which afterwards became obsolete ; verbal forms were commonly used which ceased to be used in Kātyāyana's time, and some grammatical forms were developed in the time of the latter which did not exist in Pāṇini's.

Pāṇini's Sanskrit must, therefore, be identified with that which preceded the Epics, and he must be referred to the literary period between the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska. Hence it is that the Brāhmaṇas, as observed before, are the best existing representatives of the language of which Pāṇini writes the grammar. Kātyāyana, on the other hand, wrote when the language arrived at that stage which we have called classical. Thus then, we have been able to trace three distinct periods in the development of Sanskrit. First, we have the Vedic period, to which the Ṛigveda Saṁhitā, the Mantra portion of the Yajurveda, and the more antiquated part of the Atharva-Saṁhitā are to be referred. Then commences another period, at the threshold of which we find the Brāhmaṇas, which, so to say, look backwards to the preceding, that is, present the Vedic language in the last stage of its progress towards Pāṇini's Bhāṣhā ; and, later on, we have Yāska and Pāṇini. This may be called the period of Middle Sanskrit. And last of all, there is the classical period to which belong the Epics, the earliest specimens of Kāvya and dramatic plays, the metrical Smṛitis, and the grammatical work of Kātyāyana. Pāṇini's work contains the grammar of Middle Sanskrit, while Kātyāyana's that of classical Sanskrit, though he gives his sanction to the archaic forms of the former on the principle, as he himself has stated, on which the authors of the sacrificial Sūtras teach the ritual of long sacrificial sessions, though they had ceased to be held in their time. Patañjali gives but few forms which differ from Kātyāyana's, and in no way do they indicate a different stage in the growth of the language ; hence his work is to be referred to the same period. The form which the language assumed at this time became the standard for later writers to follow, and Kātyāyana and Patañjali are now the generally acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the correctness of Sanskrit speech. We shall hereafter see that the last two stages have left distinct traces on the Prākṛits or the derived languages.

ART. XVII.—*Pāli and other Dialects of the Period.* By RAM-KRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.S.

IN the last lecture we traced the development of the Sanskrit language until it assumed the form in which it is usually called classical Sanskrit. This form it acquired several centuries before Christ, as I shall hereafter endeavour to show, but it has since preserved it unaltered. The reason is that the number of people using it has been growing smaller and smaller, and now for a considerable period it has remained confined to a few learned men who devote long time to its study and use it only for religious and philosophical purposes. But in so far as it has been used for these purposes it has not been free from change, as was pointed out on the last occasion. The style and modes of expression used by Gadādhara Bhaṭṭāchārya, the great Naiyāyika of modern times, are not the same as those of Kaṇāda, Gotama, and Vātsyāyana, nor those used by Nāgojibhaṭṭa, the same as those of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. But all these changes have followed one direction. The efforts of our modern writers have been mostly, if not altogether, directed to systematizing and reducing to an accurate and definite shape the conceptions of those ancient sages, and no new ideas or methods of thought have arisen. They have thus elaborated a highly artificial style, abounding in abstract terms. In other branches of the literature also, we may discover some peculiarities and corruptions of diction and manner. But still, making due allowance for all this, the generally received standard of good and correct Sanskrit is the same as it was many centuries ago. There are certain models which modern writers and speakers have to conform to. When, however, a language is living, that is, is used by people generally and in matters of every-day life, it must undergo very great changes. Men will not waste time and trouble in accurately ascertaining and imitating the pronunciation of their fathers, or reproducing exactly the several grammatical forms used by their predecessors. All that is necessary is that they should make

themselves understood. Old modes of thinking give place to new ones, and new ideas spring up ; and both must be represented in the language that is used. Sometimes accidents in the history of a race, such as its coming in contact or being incorporated with another race, serve to transform its language within a short time. But the alterations that occur from these and other causes obey certain laws ; and hence the possibility of a Science of Language. Now, by the operation of influences such as these, Sanskrit was, in very remote times, corrupted, and new dialects arose from it. We should have known nothing of these if they had not been preserved in their literatures. Of these dialects that which approaches Sanskrit the most is the Pāli. This is the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Siam, and Burmah, and possesses an extensive literature. I will introduce my remarks on this dialect by placing before you a specimen :—

सावस्थियं किर अदिण्णपुब्बको नाम ब्राह्मणो अहोसि । तेन कस्सचि किञ्चिद-
दिण्णपुब्बं तेन तं अदिण्णपुब्बको त्वेव सं जानिंसु । तस्सेकपुत्तको अहोसि पियो
मनापो ।तस्स सोळसवस्सकाले पण्डुरोगो उद्दपादि । माता पुत्तं ओलो-
केत्वा ब्राह्मण पुत्तस्स ते रोगो उप्पन्नो तिकिच्छापेहि नन्ति आह । भोति सचे
वेज्जं आनेस्सामि भत्तवेतनं दातब्बं भविस्सति । त्वं मम धनच्छेदनं न ओलोके-
सीति । अयं किं करिस्ससि ब्राह्मणा ति । यथा मे धनच्छेदो न होति तथा करि-
स्सामीति । सो वेज्जानं सन्तिकं गन्त्वा असुकरोगस्स नाम तुम्हे किं भेसज्जं
करोथा ति पुच्छि । अयस्स ते यं वा तं वा रुक्खतच्चारिं आचिक्खन्ति । सो तं
आहरित्वा पुत्तस्स भेसज्जं करोति । तं करोन्तस्सेवस्स रोगो बलवा अहोसि ।

This is from the Aṭṭhakathā or commentary by Buddhaghosha on the Dhammapada. It was written in the fifth century after Christ, long after Pāli had ceased to be a vernacular. The following is from the Dhammapada itself, which we have reason to believe is much more ancient :—

129. सब्बे तसन्ति इण्डस्स सब्बे भायन्ति मच्चुनो ।
अत्तानं उपमं कत्वा न हनेय्य न घातये ॥
131. सुखकामानि भूतानि यो इण्डेन विहिंसति ।
अत्तनो सुखमेसानो पेच्च सो न लभते सुखं ॥
133. मा वोच्च फरुसं कच्चि पुत्ता पटिवदेय्यु तं ।
दुक्खा हि सारम्भकथा पटिइण्डा फुसेय्यु तं ॥
134. सचे नेहेसि अत्तानं कंसो उपहतो यथा ।
एस पत्तोसि निब्बानं सारम्भो ते न विज्जांति ॥

The Sanskrit of these passages is as follows :—

श्रावस्व्यां किलादत्तपूर्वको नाम ब्राह्मणोभूत् । तेन कस्मैचिद्विकचिददत्तपूर्वे तेन तमदत्तपूर्वकस्त्वेव समज्ञासत । तस्यैकपुत्रकोभूत्प्रियो मनोज्ञः । तस्य षोडशवर्षकाले पाण्डुरोग उद्भादि । माता पुत्रमवलोक्य ब्राह्मण पुत्रस्य ते रोग उत्पन्नश्चिकित्सयैनमित्याह । भवति स चेद्वैद्यमानेष्यामि भक्तवेतनं शतवर्षं भविष्यति । त्वं मम धनच्छेदनं नावलोकयसि । अथ किं करिष्यसि ब्राह्मणेति । यथा मे धनच्छेदो न भवति तथा करिष्यामीति । स वैद्यानामन्तिकं गत्वामुक्रोगस्य नाम यूयं किं भैषज्यं कुरुथेत्यप्राक्षीत् । अथास्य ते यद्वा तद्वा वृक्षत्वगाद्यान्वक्षते । स तदाहस्य पुत्रस्य भैषज्यं करोति । तत्कुर्वत एवास्य रोगो बलवानभूत् ।

129. सर्वे त्रसन्ति इण्डस्य सर्वे बिभ्यति मृत्योः ।
आत्मानमुपमां कृत्वा न हन्यान्न घातयेत् ॥
131. सुखकामानि भूतानि यो इण्डेन विहिनस्ति ।
आत्मनः सुखमिच्छन्प्रेत्य स न लभते सुखम् ॥
133. मा वीचः परुषं कंचिदुक्ताः प्रतिवदेषुस्त्वाम् ।
दुःखा हि संरम्भकथा प्रतिदण्डः स्पृशेद्युस्त्वाम् ॥
134. स चेन्नैरयस्यात्मानं कांस्यमुपहतं यथा ।
एष प्राप्नोसि निर्वाणं संरम्भस्ते न विद्यते ॥

“ In S'rávastī there was a Brahman of the name of Adattapūrvaka, ('who had not given away anything before.') He never gave anything to anybody, whence they called him Adattapūrvaka. A son was born to him, pleasing and delightful. When he was sixteen years old, he got jaundice. Seeing the son thus, the mother said, “ O Brahman, your son has got a disease, put him under medical treatment.” “ Lady, if I get a physician, food and salary will have to be given to him. You do not see that this will entail expense” (lit. lessen my money). “ What then will you do, Brahman?” “ I will do what will not involve expense ” (lessen my money). He then went to physicians and asked, “ What medicine do you use against such and such a disease?” They spoke to him at random of the bark of some tree. He brought it and gave it as a medicine to his son. As he went on doing so, the disease was aggravated.”

129. “ All are afraid of being hurt, all fear death. Taking one's own self as a model, one should not kill and cause to be killed.”

131. “ He, who looking to his own happiness, inflicts injury upon creatures that equally desire their happiness, does not obtain felicity after death.”

133. “ Do not speak harshly to anybody ; they may speak to you in return. For angry altercation is painful, and revenge will overtake you.”

134. If then, like a broken gong you will not stir yourself (utter), then you have reached Nirvāṇa, and you will have no angry alteration.

Here you will see a great many instances of the laws we laid down in the last lecture. And first, as regards phonetic corruption, we have in these passages क्त for क् as in पुक्त for पुत्र, for क्त as in भक्त for भक्त, and for स as in प्त for प्राप्त, and प् for त् as in उत्पन्न for उत्पन्न. This change is usually called assimilation of consonants. In pronouncing a conjunct, one has to pass from one position of the vocal organs to another without letting off the breath checked or compressed in the first, an operation of great difficulty. The sound of the first member is indistinct, but when the second is a weak consonant, such as a nasal or a semi-vowel, it glides into the first almost as a vowel does, and thus the sound of the first acquires greater prominence. In the first position, the vocal organs strike and press against each other strongly, and the momentum necessary for this effort is acquired by uttering forcibly and with a jerk the vowel that precedes the conjunct, i. e. अ for instance in the word भक्त, just as a man previous to striking and pressing anything with his fist moves the hand with force through some distance. The previous forcible vowel breath and the subsequent strong contact and pressure form the characteristic of a conjunct consonantal sound. This is the only way of rendering the two members at all distinct, for the first is thus uttered with the preceding vowel and the second with the following. Thus, भक्त if pronounced in the manner I have described becomes भक्-क्त, but if the previous vowel sound is weak, it becomes भ-क्त, in which case, in consequence of the absence of momentum, the pressure cannot be strong, and the conjunct character is not fully brought out. What we find in the Pāli, therefore, is that the passage from one vocal position to another is avoided, and the more distinct sound only, whether of the first member or the second, is pronounced with this forcible previous vowel breath and the succeeding strong contact and pressure; that is we have a conjunct as before, but it is made up not of two different letters, but of two of the same kind. Hence the instances noted above and also धम्म for धर्म, जम्म for जन्म, यच्च for यत्, सह for सह, बुद्ध for बुद्ध, खग्ग for खग्ग, मुग्ग for मुग्ग, अब्भुत for अब्भुत, लद्ध for लब्ध, उक्का for उक्का, अप्प for अल्प, तप्पन for तर्पण, अट्ठ for आठ &c. But an attempt is made to pronounce the other sound also, and such of its elements as can go in with that which is uttered without involving change of position are transferred to it, that is, in effect the Pāli speaker

treated a conjunct consonant as one sound possessing the characteristics of both. Thus the heavy *śvāsa* or simple breath of स्, श्, and ष् in the conjuncts स्क्, ष्क्, श्, ह्, स्त्, स्प् and ष्प is combined with the distinct sounds क्, च्, ट्, त्, and प् and we have क्, छ्, ट्, थ्, and फ् for those conjuncts; but when preceded by a vowel and pronounced with the usual conjunctal characteristic, they become क्क्, छ्क्, ह्क्, थ्क्, and फ्क्; as in सावत्थिक् for आवत्त्वाम् and कुसेट्थुक् for सुशेथुः in the above, and in खन्ध for स्कन्ध, पोक्खर for पुष्कर, पच्छा for पश्चात्, अच्छरिय for आश्चर्य, विद्द, for विट्, पुद्द for पुट्, मत्थक for मस्तक, वत्थु for वस्तु, कन्धन for स्पन्दन, and पुष्क for पुष्प. In स्म, श्म, ष्म, स्म, ह्म, and ष्म the consonantal portion of the distinct sounds, being made up of *nāda* or intonated breath, the heavy *śvāsa* or simple breath of the sibilant is first made heavy *nāda*, that is, the sibilant is changed to the aspirate ह्, and we have न्ह्, ष्ह् or म्ह् for these conjuncts; as in पन्ह् for प्रश्न, उण्ह् for उष्ण, आन्हि for अस्मि. अन्ह् for अह्म, and गिन्ह् for ग्रीष्म. These correspond to the छ्, छ्क् &c., in the above instances, and must like them be considered as simple sounds, and in our modern languages they are pronounced as such in certain places; but when preceded by a vowel they must have, as in other cases, the characteristic of conjunctal sounds, and be pronounced as क्ह्, ष्ह् or म्ह् though they are not so written.

I have already observed that when a following semi-vowel or nasal glides into the sound of the first consonant, this latter acquires prominence. But there are cases in which the semi-vowel च् does not so merge into the preceding; and this takes place when it is preceded by a dental mute. The palatal च् and the labial च् have since remote times been often pronounced in two ways, one in which the organs approach each other so closely that it is difficult to distinguish them from च्च and च्च; and another in which they are kept more distant. Hence the confusion between च्च and च्च, and च्च and च्च that we find so often in modern pronunciation and in the modern languages. The Bengālī invariably makes च्च of the Sanskrit च्च and in most cases च्च of च्च and the people of Northern India follow him to a great extent. In the Hindī we have many such forms as च्चमुना for च्मुना, चांस for चंस, चांस for चन्सा.

The heavy or close pronunciation of च्च is favoured by a preceding dental. In pronouncing letters of this class the tongue is nearly horizontal. Consequently, when after the formation of the dental mute it is moved upwards to form च्च, the force with which it separates from the teeth carries it nearer to the palate than it should be. In the cerebral position, in च्च the tongue forms a curve with the concave side

inwards, the force with which its tip separates acts downwards ; hence if a **च्** has to be pronounced afterwards, the effort is in no way aided, but, if possible, hindered. In this case, therefore, the **च्** is always light ; and for a similar reason it is so when preceded by a guttural. It is also light when preceded by the dental **न्**, since a large portion of the obstructed breath passes through the nose, and the tongue is not separated from the teeth with any force. Thus, in the word **वैद्य** in the passage I have placed before you, and in **अद्य, पद्य, &c.**, the **द्य** being heavy does not glide or merge into **च्**, and being the latter of two successive consonantal sounds, acquires greater distinctness ; and the preceding sound must in virtue of the laws we have been examining communicate all its elements to it, except of course the organic position. The element that is communicated in this case is the complete contact, wherefore the heavy **द्य** becomes a complete **च्च**, and this, when pronounced like a conjunct, becomes **च्च**. In such words as **मध्य, वध्य, उपाध्याय &c.**, the preceding has got its heaviness of *nāda* or tone to communicate besides the complete contact, and thus the **च्च** becomes **च्च**, and thence **च्च** ; and so we have **मच्च, वच्च, उपच्च** &c. In **मृत्तु, प्रेत्य, सत्य &c.** to the **च्च** formed as above must be added the hardness or *śvāsa* of **त्**, *i.e.* the letter **च्च** must be pronounced not with the glottis contracted but stretched, wherefore we have **च्च** and, with the conjunctal characteristic, **च्च**. Those words therefore become **मिच्च, पेच्च, and सच्च**. If **च्च** precedes instead of **त्**, the heavy *śvāsa* required for its pronunciation is transferred to **च्च**, and so it becomes **च्च**, and thence **च्च** ; as in **रच्छा** for **रच्या, नेपच्छ** for **नेपच्या &c.** The semi-vowel **च्** is also heavily pronounced when it forms a conjunct with another semi-vowel, and thus we have **पुच्च** for **पूर्व**, **सच्च** for **सर्व**, &c. There are also instances of this pronunciation when **च्** is preceded by a dental mute as in **उच्चैग** for **उच्चैग, सच्चि** for **सच्चि** : &c. In **ऊच्च** the preceding **च्च**, as in **मध्य**, transfers its heavy *nāda* or tone to **च्च**, and makes it **च्च**, and so we have **उच्च** ; but **ऊच्च** is changed to **उच्च** also.

The conjunct **च्च** or **च्च** must in some cases have been pronounced in ancient times like **च्च**, as it is invariably so pronounced by the lower classes of the Marāṭhī people at the present day. This latter sound is easier to be made than **च्च**, first because the passage from the guttural position of **च्च** to the palatal which is nearest to it is more natural than that to the more distant cerebral position of **च्च**, and also because in the latter case, after the guttural contact the tongue has to be rounded and the tip brought near the cerebral position. Thus, the whole weight of that organ has to be supported ; while in the case of **च्च**,

when its middle approaches the palatal position in pronouncing क्, the forepart falls into a natural position, and no effort is required to hold it there. Now in this क्, the sound of क्, being the latter of the two, is by the general rule more distinct than the other; and the complete contact of क् being transferred to it, it becomes छ्, because sibilants are produced by heavy *śvāsa* as the hard aspirates are, and thence च्छ्; as in तच्छक for तक्षक, छण for क्षण in the sense of 'a festival,' छुह for क्षुह, &c. In such words as वत्स and अप्सरस्, the prevailing sound is that of स्, which, with the complete contact of the preceding त् and प् ought to become श्, as क् becomes छ् in the above case, on the theory that स् is a dental. But it is not properly a dental, since it is formed not at the root of the upper teeth as त्, थ्, द्, &c. are, but considerably above, and not by the tip of the tongue but by a part of it further inwards, which is made into a curve, having its convex side upwards, and brought near to that position. In this last respect it resembles the palatals, though the part of the tongue employed in their case is still further inwards, *i.e.* the middle. The sibilant स्, therefore, has no mute corresponding to it in the sounds of the Sanskrit and Pāli languages. The Marāṭhī dento-palatals च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, answer to it completely, being formed in the same position as itself; so that स्, when the organic contact is complete, should become the Marāṭhī छ्. But these sounds are unknown to the Pāli; the speakers of that language could not pronounce the Marāṭhī dento-palatals, as the Gujarātīs and other northern nations cannot at the present day; and just as these turn them into pure palatals, so did their ancestors. Hence, that sound which should properly be the dento-palatal छ् became the palatal क्ष्, and we have वच्छ for वत्स, अच्छरा for अप्सरस्, and मच्छर for मत्सर.

The dentals following a र् in a Sanskrit word are in Pāli often changed to cerebrals; as in वडुति for वर्धते, वहति for वर्तते, छडुति for छर्वति, अह for अर्थ &c. Here, as in the cases we have examined, the distinct sound is by the general rule the second, as we may observe even from the optional form वन्तति for वर्तते, and अत्य for अर्थ. But, as before remarked, in all these Pāli transformations of Sanskrit conjuncts we see an attempt to pronounce both the members. When the speaker, being about to put the vocal organs into the position necessary for the utterance of the first letter, which he has first heard though indistinctly, sees that the second which he has distinctly heard cannot be produced there, he gives it up, and then passes immediately to the next position.

But if, at the first, he thinks he can produce something like the second sound, which he has distinctly heard, he pronounces the letter there, and does not give up that position. Thus in pronouncing **त्तर्**, he feels that nothing like the sound **त्** can be produced at the position of **र्**, and hence gives it up, and passing on to the lips forms **त्त्**; but in **वर्त्** the **वृ** that he pronounces at the cerebral point sounds a great deal more like **त्** than **वृ** and therefore he does not pass on to the dental position. But such of the Pāli speakers as could distinguish between **त्** and **वृ** did not stop at the cerebral position to pronounce their conjunct, but passed on to the dental; hence the optional forms we have noticed. Such words as **मिन्न, सन्न, भद्र, &c.**, differ from **वर्ध, वर्त् &c.**, in having the **र्** after the distinct sound, so that the speaker resorts first to the dental position, and uttering the distinct sound there, is not carried away by the following **र्** to the cerebral position, the sound of **र्** being weaker. But if in the same word a dental follows such a conjunct, that dental is changed to the corresponding cerebral; as in **पटि** for **प्रति** and **पठम** for **प्रथम**. The cerebral element of these words has made a distinct impression on the speaker's ear, and he is conscious that his transformation of **प्र** into **प** which was necessitated by his inherent inability to pronounce the two consonants together, has not brought it out. He therefore realizes it by changing the following **ति** and **थ** to **टि** and **ठ**. But if a consonant of another species follows, or if the conjunct ends the word, he cannot give effect to this impression.

The conjuncts in which the second sound is weak and consequently gives way to the first are **क्य, ख्य, ग्य, प्य, भ्य, इय, स्य, ऋ, म्, ञ, ङ, झ, ञ्, श्, ष्, झ, ञ्, ऋ, उव्, त्व्, इ, ए, इव्, &c.**, which have a semi-vowel for their latter member, and **म्, स्, ष्, म्, &c.**, which have a nasal. Thus, we have **सङ्ग** for **शक्य** or **शाक्य**, **अक्खान** for **आख्यान**, **योग्ग** for **योग्य**, **कुप्प** for **कुप्य**, **अब्भन्तर** for **अभ्यन्तर**, **पस्सति** for **पश्यति**, **तस्स** for **तस्य**, **सङ्ग** for **शङ्ग**, **अग्ग** for **अम**, **मित्त** for **मिन्न**, **अहक** for **आह्रिक**, **गिद्ध** for **गृध्न**, **विप्प** for **विप्र**, **अब्भ** for **अभ्र**, **अस्सम** for **आश्रम**, **अस्सव** for **आश्रव**, **सुद्ध** for **शुद्ध**, **पक्क** for **पक्क**, **पड्डलति** for **प्रड्वलति**, **नीलत्त** for **नीलत्त**, **विहेस** for **विद्वेष**, **अद्धा** for **अध्वा**, **अस्स** for **अश्व** &c., and **अग्गि** for **अग्नि**, **अत्ता** for **आत्मा**, **छद्द** for **छद्म**, **सोप्प** for **स्वप्न**, &c. The semi-vowel **य्** after **न्** in going out turns the **न्** into the palatal **ञ्**, this latter representing the combined effect of both; as in **अञ्ज** for **अन्य**, **राजञ्ज** for **राजन्य**, &c.

We have noticed above the change of **ञ्** to **ञ्च**, but more frequently it is transformed into **क्ख**. This change is due to the latter **ञ्** being

pronounced not incorrectly like क्, but correctly as a cerebral sound, which being hollow and undistinguishable is lost in the sound of क्. This last is distinctly heard, and the effect of क् is only to add heavy *svāsa* to it and render it क्; and thus the whole becomes क्, as in रुक् for वृक्, लक् for लक्, पक् for पक्, &c. Upon the principles we have laid down, it does not matter whether the Sanskrit conjunct is composed of two or three consonants, since what is done in the Pāli is to reproduce only the distinct consonantal sound with the other attendant characteristics; and thus we have ण् for ण or ण् as in सण् for सण and पण् for पण, and म्ह for म् as in पम् for पम् in which words the last is the distinct sound, and क् for क् as in लक् for लक्, where the क् must have been pronounced so as to merge into the preceding क्.

A Sanskrit conjunct at the beginning of a word is reduced to a single letter; and the reason is obvious. For as I have already observed the distinctive characteristic of a conjunct consists in the previous vowel being pronounced with rapidity and force, and in the subsequent strong pressure of the vocal organs which is rendered possible by the momentum acquired by that forcible utterance. It is the reproduction of this characteristic that makes a single consonant that is pronounced at any one of the vocal positions, look like a double. When a previous vowel does not exist, that is, when a conjunct begins a word, this characteristic cannot be reproduced; hence there is no double consonant. Thus, we have खलित for खलित, कमेण for क्रमेण, भमर for भमर, फस्त for स्वर्ष &c.

You will have seen that in all the changes of conjunct consonants which we have examined, no element of the two sounds is omitted by the Pāli speakers. They had not the patience to hear and reproduce the two consonants immediately after each other, by putting their vocal organs into two different positions, or laboured under a physical inaptitude for doing so, their tongue not being sufficiently trained for the successive movements. But short of this, all the constituents of the sound, the *svāsa*, light and heavy, the completeness of contact, and the force of utterance, are represented in their pronunciation, and the amount of muscular exertion involved is the same as in the case of the original. This may be called the energetic mode of pronouncing conjuncts. There are, however, a few instances in which the components are separated by inserting a vowel between them. Thus Sanskrit सुम् is changed to सुम्, औष्मिक to ओष्मिक, जेष्य to तिलेष्य, स्मरति to सुमरति, श्री and डी

to सिरी and हिरी, बैल्व to बैलुव, and औपशेषिक to ओपसिलेसिक. The separating vowel is generally such as can be easily pronounced along with the previous or the following consonant, that is, belongs to the same organic position as either. Thus in the first four instances we have the labial उ in the syllables खु and सु owing to the influence of the following न्. The conjuncts र्च् and ह्च् are almost invariably dissolved into रिच् and र्ह्च् as in कारिय, अरिय, सुरिय, विरिय &c. and अरह्, गरहा, बरिह् &c. for कार्य, अर्य or आर्य, सुर्य, वीर्य &c. and अर्ह, गर्हा, बर्ह &c.; and in one or two instances we have the first change when the र्च् is preceded by a consonant other than र्, as in चेतिय for चैत्त्व. This change is to some extent due to the र्च् being pronounced weak, i.e. almost like ह्च्. In the same way, we have सिलोक, सिलेस, सिलाघा, किलेस, किलन्त, गिलान, मिलान, पिलुवति, सुपिन, सिनिद्ध, नहान or सिनान &c, for श्लोक, श्लेष, श्लाघा, श्लेश, श्लान्त, ग्लान, म्लान, म्लवति, स्वम, स्विग्घ, स्नान &c. This mode of utterance wants the force of the one we have examined, but both the sounds of a conjunct are clearly reproduced in it. You will have observed that the second member of the conjunct dissolved in this way is what may be called an imperfect consonant, i.e. a semi-vowel, aspirate, or nasal, in pronouncing which the breath is not completely stopped. They therefore act like a vowel, and render the sound of the first consonant comparatively distinct and audible, but are not so weak themselves as to melt away into that sound. Hence both the sounds are audible, but the Pāli speaker not being able to put his vocal organs into two consonantal positions successively, as we have seen, reproduced the two sounds by interposing a vowel between them. But when in some cases the second member was weakly pronounced it melted away into the first, and so we have the optional forms विस्सरति for विस्मरति, सेग्घ for श्लेष, सौप्य for स्वप्न &c. When, however, its pronunciation became stronger than that of the first, it prevailed, and so we have कट्य for कार्य and अट्य for आर्य.

Some conjuncts appear also unchanged in this dialect ; as ञ् in the words ञ्ज, ञ्जति, and ञ्जहेति, व्य in व्याधि, व्यग्घ, व्यग्ग &c., ष्ठ in ष्ठवद्ग, ष्ठवति, and ष्ठव, स्न in स्नेह &c. Such as have a nasal for their first member and a mute for the second are also unchanged, since the nasal, even according to the rules of Sanskrit, belongs to the same organic position as the mute.

We will now proceed to notice the changes of single consonants. An unaspirate is changed to an aspirate when it is followed in the same word by a sibilant ; as in फरसु for परसु, फरुस for परुष, फुस्त for पुच्य,

सुसुमार for सुकुमार, पुन for लुप &c. The heavy *śvāsa* that forms a constituent of the sibilant sound has made such a strong impression on the ear of the hearer, that he immediately prepares himself to let it out, and thus uses it even in pronouncing the letters which precede the sibilant and do not require it. The pronunciation of a word is rendered easier by transferring one of the elements of a sound to another or others, that is, by assimilating them to each other as much as possible. In a few instances the simple breath or *śvāsa* of a previous surd is transferred to the following, originally a sonant, as in यकेति for स्थगयति. The cerebral unaspirated sonant र्, between two vowels is softened into the corresponding semi-vowel ऋ, as in ताळन for ताडन, पीळन for पीडन, तळाक for तडाक &c. This peculiarity distinguished the old Vedic Sanskrit also; and the sound exists in the modern Marāṭhī and Gujarātī, though it is unknown to the other vernaculars.

I have already given instances in which the cerebral र् of a previous syllable in going out changes the dental of the following to a cerebral, and to these I may now add निगण्ड for निर्गन्ध, वण्ड for वृन्त, कड for कृत &c. In some instances, this change takes place without such an influencing cause, as in उसति and डंस for दसति and दंस, and राह for राह. The same phenomenon is observable in some conjuncts, as in विदु for विद्वन्, हेहा for अधस्तात्, and डा or हा for स्या in the several derivatives from that root as दाति, दायी, उदान &c. The dental nasal न् is also similarly changed to ण् in a few cases, as in प्राण, ओणत, ओणीत, सपिकं for ज्ञान. अवनत, अवनीत, घनकैः &c. The operation of this process is very limited, but still it exists and cannot be accounted for in any other way than by supposing that the vocal organs or the vocal habits of the Pālī speakers were more adapted for the production of cerebral sounds, or, in other words, the people had a natural aptitude for them.

Sanskrit ञ् and ञ् are changed to स्, which is the only sibilant in the language. This change involves an economy of effort. The tongue in its several movements becomes a lever with the fulcrum at the inner end where it is fixed in the mouth, and the weight in its centre of gravity. The advantage increases with the distance from the fulcrum of the point which is moved, that is, the point where power is applied. Hence gutturals are the most disadvantageous, palatals next, and dentals, the least. The cerebrals being pronounced by rounding the tongue and raising it very high, it is a question whether this additional effort does not neutralise the advantage they possess

over the palatals by their position being more distant. Thus **स्** is the weakest of the sibilants. But in the Pāli the change is so universal that we must suppose a special inaptitude in the speakers of that language for pronouncing **स्** and **क्ष**, as we had to suppose in the case of the conjuncts. When, however, in a few cases the peculiarity of the palatal **स्** was distinctly perceived, and it was felt that the substituted **स** did not bring it out, that sibilant was changed to the corresponding mute of its position, *i.e.* to **ह्र**, which resembles **स्** in the heaviness of the simple breath required for pronouncing it. We have thus **ह्रव** for **स्व**, **ह्रक** for **स्कृत्**, and **ह्राप** for **स्वाप**. The change of **षष्** 'six' to **ह्र** is also to be similarly accounted for. I have already remarked that sometimes **ष्** must at an early period have been pronounced very much like **स्**. Besides these changes there are solitary instances of others, such as the softening or toning of surds as in **मृग** for **मृक**, or the dropping of the mute element of the sonant aspirates as in **होति** and **हेहा** for **भवति** and **अधस्तात्**. But these will be more fully discussed in connection with the Prākṛits and the vernaculars, in which these processes have a much wider range.

The vowel **क्व** is changed to **अ** as in **कसि** for **कृषि**, **तण्हा** for **तृष्णा**, **गह** for **गृह**, **घत** for **घृत**, **मञ्जु** for **मृत्यु** &c. ; to **इ** as in **दिह** for **दृष्ट**, **तिण** for **तृण**, **मिग** for **मृग**, **तिप्ति** for **तृप्ति**, **गिद्ध** for **गृध्र** &c. ; and to **उ** as in **भुस** for **भृश**, **मुवु** for **मृवु**, **मुसा** for **मृषा**, **वुस** for **वृष**, **वुदि** for **वृष्टि** &c. The last change generally takes place when the vowel is preceded by a labial ; so that the vocal position of the consonant influences that of the vowel. When there is no such influence, it is changed to **अ** and **इ**. Now, the vowel **क्व** is composed of a consonantal and a vowel element, the former of which is subordinated to the latter. On this account it does not give to the consonant to which it is added the character of a conjunct, and the preceding vowel is not rendered heavy.⁶ In Pāli this consonantal element disappears in virtue of the inherent inability which we have considered at such length of passing from one vocal position to another without letting off the breath ; but the previous consonant is not doubled because the usual character of a conjunct is absent. Or the disappearance may be accounted for by the fact that the consonantal element is so subordinated to the vowel element as to escape

⁶ This fact is accounted for by the authors and the commentators of the Prātiśākhya by supposing that the vowel element envelops the **क्व** on all sides *i.e.* precedes it and follows it. (See Vāj. Pr. Ind. St. V. 145 and Ath. Pr. Whitney, I. 37.)

notice, and that the letter, as a whole, is difficult to pronounce. The vowel element of ऋ is pronounced by bringing the root of the tongue in contact with the root of the palate, i.e. in the position of the gutturals ; and is unrepresented independently in the Sanskrit or Pāli Alphabet. Hence it is pronounced either lower down, in the position of अ, or higher up in that of इ, while it is sometimes carried so far to the outside as the position of उ, especially when a labial precedes. That the cerebral or र् element did exist, and was occasionally perceived by the Pāli speakers is proved by such examples as रित्ते for ऋते and रुक्ख for वृक्ष, and also by the circumstance that in some cases, though it disappears, it changes the following dental to a cerebral, as in वड्ढि for वृद्धि, विसद for विसृत, कट for कृत &c. From these observations it would appear that the vowel we have been considering must have been in those days pronounced just in the manner in which Marāṭhī Pandits of the present day pronounce it, and not like अर्, इर्, र् or रि as is supposed by several European scholars. If घृत were really घर्ते, or मृग, मिर्ग, the Pāli corruptions would be घत्त or मिग्ग ; and if सुकृत were सुकृत, or तावृश, तावृश we should have सुकृत or तवृश instead of सुकृत and ताविस, and there is no reason why ऋनु and ऋषि should have lost their र् and become उनु and इसि if they were really pronounced like रिनु or रनु and रिषि or रषि.⁷

The sounds of the Sanskrit diphthongs ऐ and औ are like those of अइ and अउ uttered rapidly, i.e. without allowing any appreciable time to elapse between the two elements. In forming अ, the tongue and the lips are in a natural position, the lips, however, not being closed but a little opened ; while इ requires that the middle of the tongue should be brought close to the palate, and उ, that the lips should be completely rounded. Hence, in pronouncing ऐ and औ it is necessary to pass from one vocal position *immediately* to another, a process of which, as we have seen, the Pāli speakers were incapable. These diphthongs are therefore changed to ए and ओ which partake of the character of both the components. In the formation of ए the tongue is not horizontal as in the case of अ ; its middle is raised up but not brought so close to the palate as in the case of इ. Similarly, in pronouncing ओ the lips are not so completely rounded as in the formation of उ ; neither are they in a natural position as in the case of अ. These sounds, therefore, being produced in a position between those

⁷ The explanation of this vowel sound and the others that follow is based upon the mode in which we Marāṭhās pronounce them at the present day, and which is sanctioned by the Prātiśākhya.

of अ and इ, and अ and उ, combine the characteristics of both, but are simple, i.e., formed in one position only. Thus we have सेल for सैल, तेल for तैल, केवह for कैवर्त, खोम for खौम, कोसेद्य for कौशेय, मोलि for मौलि &c. Similarly अय and अव frequently become ए and ओ; as in कयेति for कययति, पूजेति for पूजयति, नेति for नयति, ओधि for अवधि, ओकास for अवकाश, नोनीत for नवनीत &c. The sounds of these dissyllables differ from those of ऐ and औ in this respect that the अ of the former is not rapidly pronounced as is that involved in these diphthongs; or, in the words of the grammarians, the value of the first अ is one *mātrā* and of the other one-half. In the same way the अ of the two dissyllables is followed by the semi-vowels य् and व्, while that of ऐ and औ has the corresponding vowels इ and उ after it. When अय and अव are hastily pronounced, this distinction disappears, and these dissyllables assume the form of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, which by the rule just discussed become ए and ओ.

A long vowel is shortened when it is followed by a double consonant; as in मग्ग for मार्ग, पत्त for प्राप्त, इक्खण for ईक्षण, कित्ति for कीर्ति, तिब्ब for तीव्र, रुक्ख for रुक्ष, मुत्त for मूत्र &c. The strong pressure that is necessary for the pronunciation of a conjunct cannot be properly exerted, as formerly observed, without momentum, for the acquisition of which the previous vowel has to be uttered with force and with a jerk. For this purpose a short vowel alone is fitted, but if a long one precedes, its utterance being by its nature slow and weak, the organs for want of momentum do not strike against each other with force, and hence the pressure they exert is weak. But the Pāli speaker, catching from his Sanskrit teacher only the generally strong nature of the pressure involved in the utterance of conjuncts, realized it to the fullest possible extent without stopping to observe how much it was impaired by the length of the previous vowel, by pronouncing the previous vowel with force and rapidity, and thus rendering it short. And in this way the real quantity of the syllable is not diminished. Though the vowel is short the vocal organs take some time to emerge from the close contact and the strong pressure resulting from its forcible utterance, and hence the whole syllable इक्क, for instance, in इक्खण, has the metrical value of a long vowel, i.e. is equal to two *mātras* or syllabic instants. In the original ईक्षण, on the contrary, the pressure in the pronunciation of क्ष being weaker in consequence of the slowness of the previous vowel utterance occupies less time; so that in the one case the shortness of the vowel is accompanied

by a longer duration of the contact, and in the other the length of the vowel is attended by a shorter duration of the contact. The change, then, we have been considering, is due to the pressure necessary for the formation of the conjunctal sounds in these words, having made a strong impression on the ear of the Pāli speaker. When, however, the length of the vowel prevailed, and neutralized the pressure to such an extent as to render it incapable of attracting attention, the conjunct came to be in the condition of one standing at the beginning of a word ; and like it preserved only the more distinct sound and dropped the other, leaving the long vowel unchanged. We have thus सीस for सीर्ष, हीच for हीर्ष, सासप for सर्षप, &c. It is, however, clear that a long vowel followed by a double consonant is an impossibility in Pāli. A Sanskrit conjunct, whenever it made a distinct impression, was pronounced with the usual characteristics of that sound, viz., the previous rapid and forcible vowel utterance and the subsequent strong contact and strong pressure, the perceptible effect of which was the shortening of the previous vowel and the doubling of the following consonant.

Without the momentum acquired from the force and rapidity of the previous vowel utterance, the Pāli speaker could not form a strong contact and exert strong pressure, that is, without a short preceding vowel they could not pronounce a double consonant. If then the Pāli has such words as सेत्तिस (चत्तिसिद्धार्), सेहि (श्रेष्ठिन्), नेत्त (नेत्र), सोत्थिब (भोजिब), बोग्गा (बोग्वा), मोक्ख &c., it follows that the vowels ए and ओ were in such cases pronounced short. Similarly, when before doubles इ and उ are changed to them, as they often do, they must be short. This change of इ and उ to ए and ओ arises from the fact that the force and rapidity or the jerk with which the current of breath is sent up to pronounce the former vowels is apt to prevent the tongue from rising as close to the palate or the lower lip to the upper, as is necessary for the formation of इ or उ, or they are apt to be forced down by the current. And ए and ओ differ from इ and उ simply in the distance between the pronouncing organs being greater. This change, therefore, really involves an economy, since the effort to raise up the tongue and the lower lip across the strong current of breath blowing above, is saved. We have thus, ओह for उह्, पोक्खर for पुक्कर, पोत्थक for पुत्तक, सोण्ड for गुण्ड, नेक्ख for निक्क, नेत्तिस for नित्तिसिद्ध, वेस्सभू for विष्भू &c. In some cases both vowels are in use, as in the word नेक्ख which has another form निक्ख. Sometimes, especially before इ, ए was invariably pronounced short, though no conjunct followed, and to make up for the loss of quantity thus

occasioned the consonant was doubled ; as in येद्य for स्थेय, गेद्य for गेय, कोसेद्य for कौशेय &c. The vowel औ was also similarly treated in a few cases, as in औस्सजति for अवस्सजति. Thus then not only has the Pāli a short ए and औ, but the speakers of the language seem to have possessed a predilection for those sounds. Besides the changes we have examined, there are stray examples of others, such as उल्लु and उल्लु for ह्यु and ह्य, in which the उ of the following syllable influences the utterance of the first vowel, सोप्प for स्वप्प, in which the semi-vowel व् is dissolved into the corresponding vowel उ, and thence transformed to short औ, मोर for मयूर, in which the य् being lightly pronounced loses its consonantal character and the vowel ऊ with the preceding अ forms औ, and others.

You will thus have observed that the phonetic changes which Sanskrit words undergo in passing into the Pāli may be brought under a few general rules. There are not such various and extensive corruptions both of vowels and consonants as we find in the later dialects and in the modern vernaculars. It has been estimated that two-fifths of the Pāli vocabulary are composed of pure Sanskrit words, and the remaining three-fifths, of words altered in one or other of the modes explained above. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that when the Pāli was in use, the tradition of the original Sanskrit was not distant ; the words, so to say, did not stray away long from the mother-language, so as to undergo extensive alterations. If so, how is it that some of the changes such as the transformation of ऐ and औ into ए and औ and the assimilation of consonants are so universal, the first being without any exception, and the second with but a few unimportant ones ? The principle which guides phonetic change is the economy of effort, understanding the word in its widest sense. This economy is observable in the two kinds of changes, as well as in the transformation of surds into sonants, the elision of consonants or of some of their elements, the assimilation of the vowels or the single consonants that make up a word, and in several other processes. But in the Pāli there are very few instances of some of these, and none at all of others. The language had not a sufficiently long duration of independent existence to bring them into extensive operation. If, then, the two processes we have noticed are found in full play in that dialect, the reason must be sought for in the vocal peculiarities of the people who spoke it. Though they heard conjunct consonants and the diphthongs ऐ and औ pronounced by the speakers of Sanskrit, as correctly as the other letters which

they did not corrupt, their organs were not fitted to utter them. These peculiarities may have been natural or acquired. If natural, the people who first corrupted Sanskrit into the Pâli must have belonged to an alien race which came into close contact with the Âryas and learnt their language. If they were acquired, a branch of the same Âryan race must be supposed to have been isolated in some part of the country, and to have developed them, in consequence of being cut off from the main body. But this supposition must be rejected for the reasons that have been already given. Such complete isolation as could give rise to new vocal peculiarities must be expected to have occasioned greater phonetic decay in other respects than is observable in the Pâli. And our analysis of the Sanskrit conjunctal and the Pâli double sounds favours the first view. For, we have seen that these latter represent all the elements of the former, but they are combined in a sound produced in one vocal position only. The Pâli speakers endeavoured to reproduce the sound of a conjunct faithfully, their pronunciation was not weak, as is that prevailing in modern times, but energetic and correct in every other respect; but they could not combine energy of utterance with two successive movements of the vocal organs. This could only be because their organs were not sufficiently trained for the purpose; in other words, because the sounds were foreign to them. The condition of men who have to learn the language of others is similar to that of children, whose organs of speech are being exercised for the first time. Healthy children whose utterance is energetic, pronounce the conjuncts almost in the same way as the Pâli speakers did. And there is another instance in History of an alien race having treated the sounds of the language of a civilized community in just the same way. The Barbarians who overran Italy and developed the Italian from the Latin, showed the same inability to pronounce the Latin conjuncts, and assimilated them as our Pâli ancestors did.

If this supposition is correct, we must find other traces of the peculiarities of this alien race. And such we do find. The existence of the short ॠ and ॡ in the Pâli, and the predilection the people showed for them, as well as the change of dentals to cerebrals without any influencing cause, are similarly to be attributed to the natural vocal tendencies of the people. These sounds must have existed and played an important part in the original language of this people, so that they were unable to shake them off entirely, even when they left their own tongue and learned that of the more civilized Âryas with whom they

came to be closely incorporated. If the original Pāli speakers belonged to the same race as the Dravidians of Southern India of the present day, we have a reason to believe that their native tongue contained them ; for they exist in the Dravidian languages and are very characteristic of them.

We shall also find in the Pāli, and even in the passage placed before you, examples of another phenomenon presented by a growing language. Several new words, unknown to Sanskrit, but formed from Sanskrit roots, have come into use. Such is *मनापो*, derived very likely from *मनस्* 'mind' or 'heart,' and *आप्* 'to obtain' 'to meet,' so that the word signifies 'something that comes up to the wishes of the heart,' 'pleasing.' The word *सचे* is from *चेत्* with *स* prefixed, which *स* seems to be the same as the nominative singular of the masculine of *तद्*. For, it is so used in Sanskrit before *चेत्*, though it has there an independent sense ; as in *स चेन्न्यनिरीहिवस्तल्लक्षणोपपन्नः* (*Sakuntalā*). Often used together in this way, the two words formed a compound expression, and the independent character of *स* being forgotten, it came to be looked upon as one word. In the same way, *सन्तिक* must have come into existence from the frequent use of such expressions as *तस्सन्तिकं*, *ब्राह्मणस्सन्तिकं* &c. made up of the genitive singular of a noun or pronoun ending in *भ* and *अन्तिक*. The portion *सन्तिक* then came to be regarded as an independent word, and was used as such. Another new word is *फासुक* or *फासुक* 'agreeable,' 'pleasant,' corresponding to such a Sanskrit word as *स्पर्शु* or *स्पर्शुक* formed from the analogy of such verbal derivatives as *भिभु*, *इच्छु*, or *लासुक*, *पासुक* &c., and meaning 'that which is or deserves to be touched,' or 'pleasant to the touch.' Other instances are *पिलन्धन* 'an ornament, *पेच्याल* 'plentiful' &c.

We will now proceed to the examination of Pāli grammar. When after years of successive creative efforts, the language of our Āryan ancestors came to be so rich in all kinds of grammatical forms, as the Vedic or middle Sanskrit is, it became cumbrous, and the tendency set in, as we have seen, of dropping away some of them and rendering the grammar simpler. The duals of both nouns and verbs are unnecessary ; the occasions for using them do not often present themselves. Hence, even in Sanskrit, their use must have been rare, and the Pāli which in its original form at least, must be taken to represent the current usage, has dropped them away altogether. But the manner in which the process of simplification is principally carried on is by the use of false analogies. Thus in Sanskrit, nouns ending in *इ* and *उ* of the neuter

gender prefix न् to the terminations of the vowel cases. But in Pāli it is added to those of the corresponding cases of masculine nouns also, as in मञ्जुनो for सृत्योः in the passage before us. Similarly, from the analogy of neuter nouns in अ which form their nominative and accusative singular by adding न्, the pronouns यद् and तद् come to have य and त for the corresponding cases, instead of the Sanskrit यद् and तद्. In Sanskrit, the conjugation that is very often used is the first in which अ is tacked on to the root in the special tenses, because it embraces a large number of the most ordinary roots. Here, in our passage, we find the analogy extended to the root हिस् the present tense of which is in the mother dialect formed by inserting न between the two letters, and adding the termination to the final (हिनस्ति 3rd person singular), and we have हिंसति. The root ज्ञा takes the form of ज्ञा in the present and other special tenses, and to it is added the conjugational sign ना, so that it becomes ज्ञाना. Now, this special form is generalized, and used in other tenses also, such as the Aorist and the Future. Thus, we have here संज्ञानिस्तु, the Aorist 3rd person plural of ज्ञा, and in other places we find जानिस्सति as one of the forms of the Future. The special forms इच्छ, पद्य, शृण, बुध्य, and पद्य are similarly generalized, the last four being phonetically changed to पस्स, सुण, बुद्ध, and पज्ज. In the same way in forming the causative of a root प or आप is added in Sanskrit to roots ending in आ and to a few others. It is extended to all roots in the Pāli, and thus we have तिकिच्छापेहि for चिकिस्सय in the above. The termination स्या of the absolutive is, in Sanskrit, replaced by य when a root has a preposition prefixed to it. But here no such distinction is observed, and स्या is used in all cases. The operation of this law of false analogies is very extensive in the grammar of the Pāli and the later Prākṛits; and by its means new forms have been made up instead of those current in the primitive language. But side by side with these, we often find the latter also in use corrupted by the usual phonetic laws, and having a sort of isolated existence, since they transgress the general rule that has newly come into operation. Thus, we have जानिस्सति, पस्सिस्सति, and लभिस्सति according to the law of analogy; but आस्सति from ज्ञास्यति, इक्खति from द्रक्ष्यति, and लच्छति from लप्स्यते, are also in use. These three processes then, viz., the dropping away of forms not required for the expression of the current ordinary thought, the formation of new ones on the principle of analogy, and the preservation of the old ones in what may be called an isolated or petrified condition, have contributed to the formation of the

grammar of this and the succeeding languages. With these preliminary observations, I will now hastily pass under review the principal points in the grammar of this dialect.³

The Pāli has lost the dual, and also the dative and ablative cases, except of masculine and neuter nouns ending in अ. The only occasion when the first is ordinarily used is when 'giving' is expressed, but the genitive case has such a comprehensive signification in Sanskrit that it denotes the dative relation also, and is often used in that sense. Most of the relations expressed by the ablative are denoted by the instrumental, and for the expression of the peculiar ablative sense, viz., the separation of one thing from another, the particle तस् had come into very general use, even in the parent language. The genitive and instrumental thus took up the place of those two cases. But people do not forget what they have frequent occasion to use. The great majority of nouns in Sanskrit end in अ, and of these the singular is oftener used than the plural. Hence the singulars of the dative and ablative of these nouns are preserved in the Pāli, notwithstanding the operation of the causes that drove away these cases from other places. The ञ् of the termination of the instrumental plural is optionally changed to ह्. The locative singular of masculine and neuter nouns ending in a vowel is formed by adding the pronominal termination स्मिन्, phonetically changed to सिं and मिह; and the ablative स्मात् in the form of स्मा or म्हा is used optionally in the case of nouns in अ. The termination स्य of the genitive singular of this class of nouns is generalized, and in the form of स्स applied to all nouns of the masculine and neuter genders. It should be remembered that in accordance with the general rule, the Sanskrit grammatical forms drop the final consonant, including a visarga, in passing into the Pāli. The nasal म् is changed to an anusvāra, and since this, like a conjunct consonant, necessitates the rapid utterance of the preceding vowel and renders it heavy, the vowel is shortened. We have thus ने for नाम्, स्स for स्यान्, यं for यान्, &c. The न् of स्मिन् and of the syllable अन् occurring in some of the cases is also changed to an anusvāra.

Masculine Nouns ending in अ. The nominative singular always ends in ओ. In Sanskrit we have this form before a short अ or a sonant only. Here it is generalized. The accusative plural ends in ए as बुद्धे. When the final consonant is dropped according to the usual phonetic

³ My authority in this portion of my subject is Kachchāyana, as edited by M. Senart.

rules, the Sanskrit nominative and accusative plurals become exactly alike. To distinguish the one from the other, therefore, this form is appropriated in the Pāli for the latter. The ए appears to be the termination of the nominative plural of pronouns, and it is transferred to nouns in the same way as the others we have noticed above. But it is used here in an accusative sense. The forms of the singular and plural of the nominative of neuter nouns, and of the plural of many more, are the same as those of the accusative in Sanskrit, and this fact must have led to a tendency to liken the two cases in other places also. Hence the pronominal nominative came to be used like an accusative. We shall directly see this tendency to confuse the two cases manifested more clearly as regards the plural, and it may be remarked that as regards both the numbers it went on increasing at each successive stage, until in the latest Prākṛit and in the vernaculars the distinction has entirely disappeared. The termination of the instrumental plural is एभि as in बुद्धेभि, or with the mute element dropped, एहि which is traced to the Vedic एभि: in such forms as देवेभि: But it may be explained otherwise. The Sanskrit बुद्धे: becomes बुद्धे by the dropping of the visarga and the change of the diphthong to ए, and this is the same as the locative singular, and is by no means distinctive of an instrumental sense. Hence to बुद्धे was added the instrumental termination भि or हि which all other nouns in Sanskrit and Pāli take. The other cases are the same as in Sanskrit, subject to the general remarks made above. The ablative and locative singulars have the new pronominal forms in स्मा or म्हा and स्मि or म्हि in addition to the old ones. In the vocative singular, the final अ is optionally lengthened.

— *Nouns in इ and उ.* The nominative and accusative plurals have two forms and they are the same for both the cases, as अग्गी and अग्गयो. भिक्खु and भिक्खवो. Now अग्गी and भिक्खु are the Sanskrit accusative plurals अग्गीन् and भिक्खून्, and अग्गयो and भिक्खवो the nominative plurals अग्गवः and भिक्खवः. The distinction between the two is lost, and both are used indifferently in the sense of the nominative and accusative. The termination of the instrumental plural is भि or हि. The singulars of the genitive and locative are, like those of the corresponding neuter nouns or nouns ending in इन् such as वृष्टिइन्, formed by the addition of न्, as अग्गिनो and भिक्खुनो, अग्गिनि and भिक्खुनि. They have also the forms indicated in the general remarks, viz. अग्गिस्स and भिक्खुस्स, and अग्गिस्मि-म्हि and भिक्खुस्मि-म्हि; and the dative and ablative are, as usual, like the genitive and instrumental. The vocative is like the nominative,

except in the plural of nouns in उ which ends in वो or वे as भिक्खवो or भिक्खवे. The rest are old or Sanskrit, the final vowel being, however, lengthened in the plural of the instrumental and locative, and the syllable मि of अमि being optionally dissolved into ग्गिनि in the nominative singular.

— *Nouns in ऋ.* The nominative has the old Sanskrit forms; as सत्था and सत्थारो for शास्ता and शास्तार; from शास्त्. The accusative plural is the same as the nominative plural. The augmented form of the Sanskrit nominative plural, viz. सत्थार for शास्तार, is taken as the base for the plural of the instrumental, genitive, and locative, and declined like nouns in अ. The genitive plural is also formed by taking the nominative singular as the base, as सत्थानं. The instrumental singular has the new base and the old termination आ; and thus we have सत्थारा. The genitive singular has three forms, one of them being the old one with the final र् dropped, as सत्थु, and the other two made up by taking this form as the base, and appending the terminations which nouns in उ as भिक्खु take, as सत्थुस्स or सत्थुनो. The singulars of the accusative and locative have the Sanskrit forms, as सत्थारं and सत्थरि; and the vocative singular has besides the old one another with the vowel lengthened, as सत्थ or सत्था. You will thus see that there are four bases, the old one which gives the old forms, and three new ones, सत्था and सत्थार generalized from the nominative, and सत्थु, from the genitive.

— *Nouns ending in a consonant.* There can be no consonantal declension proper, since a final consonant is dropped, and the noun treated as one ending in the preceding vowel. But relics of the Sanskrit forms of the consonantal bases are preserved and used along with the others. In the declension of the noun आत्मन् there are two new bases अत्त and अत्तन, generalized from the forms of the singular of the Sanskrit nominative and of the instrumental and others आत्मा and आत्मना &c. and declined like nouns in अ. The first is used in the singular of the accusative and the plurals of the genitive and locative which are अत्तं, अत्तानं and अत्तेसु; and the second in the plural of the instrumental which is अत्तनेहि-भि. The remaining forms are old, the portion आत्म being corrupted to अत्त; they are अत्ता nominative singular, अत्तानो nominative and accusative plural, अत्तानं accusative singular, अत्तना instrumental singular, अत्तनो genitive singular, and अत्तनि locative singular. The vocative is अत्त or अत्ता, like that of nouns in अ.

In the declension of the noun राजन् the base राज is used in the

singulars of the accusative, the instrumental, and perhaps the ablative also, and the forms are राज्ञं, राज्ञेन, and राजस्मा or राजम्हा. The old forms are found in the nominative (राजा, राजानो), and in the singular of the accusative, which has thus two forms राज्ञं and राजानं, and the plural of this last case is, as usual, the same as that of the first. The singulars of the instrumental, genitive, and locative are the same as those in Sanskrit, but ज्ञ being changed to ऊम्, we have रऊम्हा, रऊम्हो, and रऊम्हि. In the last two cases the conjunct is also dissolved into जिन, wherefore we have राजिनो and राजिनि also. The genitive plural is रऊम्हं, and ज्ञ being dissolved into ज्वन, the form राजून् is used, in addition. This राजू is made the base of the plurals of the instrumental and locative; and thus we have राजूभि-हि and राजूसु. The vocative singular is like that of nouns in अ.

The suffixes वद् and मत् of such nouns as गुणवद् and सतिमत् are regarded as if they were वन्त and मन्त, and the nouns declined like those ending in अ in the singulars of the nominative, accusative, and genitive, and in the plurals of the accusative, instrumental, genitive and locative; and, according to the commentator of Kachchâyana, in the singulars of the instrumental and locative also; as गुणवन्तो, गुणवन्तं, गुणवन्तस्स, गुणवन्ते, गुणवन्तेभि-हि, गुणवन्तानं and गुणवन्तेसु; also गुणवन्तेन and गुणवन्तस्मि-म्हि. The old forms are preserved in both numbers of the nominative and genitive, and in the singulars of the instrumental, locative, and vocative; as गुणवा, गुणवन्तो, गुणवतो, गुणवतं, गुणवता, गुणवति, and गुणव. The nominative singular is made the base of other forms of the singulars of the accusative, genitive, and vocative, as गुणवं, गुणवस्स, and गुणवं or गुणवा. The present participles, Paramaipada, are similarly declined, the only difference being in the nominative singular, as गच्छं.

Feminine nouns ending in आ. The nominative, besides the old forms, has another transferred from nouns in ई, as कऊम्हायो. The singulars of the instrumental and the succeeding cases, excepting the vocative, have one same form made up from the Sanskrit genitive by dropping the visarga and shortening the final vowel; as कऊम्हाय, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, and locative singular. The others and also the locative singular have the old forms; as कऊम्हाभि-हि instrumental, and ablative plural, कऊम्हानं genitive and dative plural, and कऊम्हायु locative singular and plural. The final member य of the conjunct which appears in the case-forms of nouns in ई such as नदी, is dissolved into इय, and thus we have नदिबो from the Sanskrit नद्यः; and

this and नदी from the Sanskrit नदी: are both of them the plurals of the nominative and accusative; नद्या the singular of the instrumental is dissolved into नदिया, and also नद्या: of the ablative and genitive which after dropping the visarga becomes नद्या; and this is extended to the locative singular, which has also another form नदियं, from नद्याम्. There is nothing particular about the rest. Nouns in short इ are declined exactly alike, except that Kachchâyana gives such forms as रत्या and रत्यं in addition to रत्तिया and रत्तिये for the singular of the ablative and locative. Nouns in उ or ऊ follow completely the analogy of those in ई; the forms of वधू, for instance, are not derived from the corresponding Sanskrit forms of the noun, but are made up by adding the final syllables of those of नदी; as वधुयो nominative and accusative plural, वधुया singular instrumental, ablative, genitive, &c.

Neuter Nouns.—The singular of the nominative and accusative of neuter nouns ending in a vowel is the same as in the parent tongue, but the forms of the plural are optionally like those of the corresponding masculine nouns; as रूपा or रूपानि nominative plural, and रूपे or रूपानि accusative plural; अही (like अग्नी) or अहीनि nominative and accusative plural, आयू or आयूनि nominative and accusative plural. As in the case of masculine nouns, such as have a final consonant in Sanskrit drop it and are treated as if they ended in the preceding vowel. But in the singulars the old forms are preserved; as मनो or मनं nominative and accusative, मनसा or मनेन instrumental, मनसो genitive, मनसि, मने or मनस्मिन्-म्हि locative.

Pronouns.—As pronominal terminations have been transferred to nouns, a few nominal ones have been extended to pronouns, thus carrying on the process of unification a step further. The plural of the nominative of feminine pronouns has a form ending in यो, and the singulars of the instrumental and genitive end in आय or या and that of the locative in यं, as in the case of the corresponding nouns; as तायो nominative plural, ताय or तस्सा, इमाय or इमस्सा, अमुया or अमुस्सा genitive singular, and तायं or तस्सं, इमायं or इमिस्सं, अमुयं or अमुस्सं locative singular of तद्, इदम्, and अदम्. All pronouns of the third person, of whatever gender, form the genitive plural by adding सं from the Sanskrit साम्, and also सानं which is made up of सं the pronominal and नं the nominal termination, so that the second form is the genitive of the first taken as a base, as तेसं or तेसानं, तासं or तासानं &c. Similarly, the bases एती and इमी which are substituted for एता and इमा in the singulars of the genitive and locative, and सी which optionally replaces

ता in those cases, have a genitive singular with a double termination ; as तस्सा, तिस्सा or तिस्साय, एतिस्सा or एतिस्साय, इमिस्सा or इमिस्साय where स्सा, Sanskrit स्याः is the pronominal, and आय the nominal termination. The plurals of the nominative and accusative have the same form as ते, सव्वे, ता or तायो, &c., and the instrumental plural of the masculine has, like that of nouns, the termination एभि or एहि. The remaining terminations are the same as in Sanskrit. The correlative or remote demonstrative तद् has, besides the usual Sanskrit base, another न् which has all the cases नं, नेन, &c., except the nominative singular. This base is generalized from the एनम्, एनेन &c. of the accusative, the singular of the instrumental, and the dual of the genitive and locative, which are used in making *anvādesa* as it is called by Pāṇini, i. e. in referring to one who has already been spoken of. The near demonstrative इद् has two bases, अ and इम. In Sanskrit this latter is used in the nominative dual and plural and in the accusative. Here it is extended to all the cases except the nominative singular, and so we have इमे, इमिना, इमेहि, इमस्मा, इमस्स, इमेसं, इमस्मि, and इमेसु ; इमाय, इमिस्सा, &c. The first base is used, as in Sanskrit, in all cases except the plural of the nominative and accusative and the forms are अयं, अनेन, एहि, अस्मा, &c. The pronoun अद् has the base अद् for the nominative singular, and अमु for all other cases which is lengthened in the plural ; as अमुना अमूहि, अमुस्मा, अमुस्स, अमूसं ; अमुया, अमुस्सा, &c. The nominative and accusative of the neuter is अद्.

The singulars of the pronouns of the first and second persons are the same as in Sanskrit ; as अहं, मं, मया, मम or मे, and मायि ; त्वं, त्वं, त्वयातव or ते, and त्वयि. The syllable त्व is optionally dissolved into तु in the nominative and accusative which have thus तुवं, and changed to त्त in the latter as well as in the instrumental and locative ; and so we have त्तं, त्तया and त्तयि also. The dative and genitive being confounded, the Sanskrit मह्यम् and तुभ्यम् of the former are in the form of मद्दं and तुद्दं used for both cases. The latter has also the forms ममं and अम्हं, and तुम्हं the anusvāra being inserted from the analogy of the plural. The plural of अहं is मयं in which the initial व of the Sanskrit form is changed to म ; and in the accusative, instrumental, and locative, the Sanskrit base अस्मि in the form of अम्ह is declined like the masculine तद्, and the forms are अम्हे, अम्हेहि, and अम्हेसु. The यु of युष्मद् was probably weakly pronounced, hence the singular base तु has been transferred to the plural and the peculiar syllable of this number स्म tacked on to it, and the whole in the form of तुम्ह is declined like तद् in all the cases except

the genitive; as तुम्हे, तुम्हे, तुम्हेहि &c. The forms of the plurals of this last are like those in Sanskrit; as अम्हाकं and तुम्हाकं. The accusative singulars of these pronouns have the forms मम and त्वं, besides those mentioned above. These are made up by adding anusvāra, the sign of the accusative, to the form of the genitive used as a base. On the same principle we have अम्हाकं and तुम्हाकं for the plural, but as the genitive forms have an anusvāra already, the addition of the accusative sign makes no difference. This is an isolated instance in this dialect of a method of constructing new case-forms which is, we shall find, as we proceed in our investigations largely used in the later dialects and especially in the modern vernaculars.

You will have seen how naturally the new formations we have noticed grew up. A language is well learnt by others or correctly transmitted to them only when they are in constant and close intercourse with those who know it, or when they are deliberately taught. When for some reason or other this is not the case, and the linguistic tradition is imperfect, men proceed from what is more in use and consequently better known to that which is less used and less known. Nouns in अ, for instance, constitute a very large portion of the ordinary Sanskrit names. Their case forms were most used, whence they were well known, and those of other nouns not being so often used were less known. In these cases these less known forms had to conform to the model of the more known, and thus we see a tendency to bring nouns as close as possible to the अ declension, as you have seen in such nouns as आत्मन्, गुणवत्, गच्छत्, शास्त्र, and even अग्नि. And it is also clear that the new अ base is generally taken from the nominative, which case is oftener used than others; as अत्त, गुणवन्त, इच्छन्त, and सत्तार i.e. शास्तार. In the same way we have observed a strong tendency to obliterate the distinction between the nominal and pronominal declensions, and fuse them into one, and this tendency has succeeded everywhere except in the genitive plural. Still, at the time when the Pāli arose the traditions of the original Sanskrit were not entirely lost, wherefore we have often old forms used side by side with the new ones. The same process is observable in the conjugations of verbs, as I have already remarked. It will thus be seen how groundless is the opinion of those who maintain that these Prakṛits or derived languages were simply literary languages, or were constructed by Pandits. But this point will be discussed at length hereafter.

Inattention to this law of false analogies or generalization, and to

the wide range of its operation in the formation of Pāli grammar has led some scholars to set down as Vedic certain forms which exist in this dialect but are not to be met with in classical Sanskrit. Such are इमस्स the genitive singular masculine of इदम्, फला the nominative plural of फल, अही and मधू nominative and accusative plural of अस्थि and मधु, अहे the general plural base of the pronoun of the first person, and गोनं genitive plural of गो. I see no reason why इमस्स should be regarded as Vedic and not the other forms that have इम for their base, such as इमस्मा, इमेसं, &c., or why फला should be so and not फले the accusative plural; अम्हे and not तुम्हे, अही and not अहिस्स, or गोनं and not अभिनूनं. If these latter forms and a host of others must be explained with reference to a thoroughly different principle, why should the former which are kindred to them and are as completely capable of that same explanation, be traced to a Vedic origin? The fact that they happen to resemble certain Vedic forms does not prove their derivation from them. The same process of generalization and the same natural tendency to construct the less known forms from the analogy of those that are more known brought them all into use. The forms फला and फले, and अही and मधू are, as stated before, made up upon the analogy of the corresponding masculine, and herein we observe the beginning of a tendency to obliterate the distinction between the masculine and neuter, which went on progressing until now, in the Hindi, Sindhi, and other vernaculars of Northern India, the neuter gender has totally disappeared, while in the Marāṭhī the distinction remains in the case of pronouns and certain nouns, and in the Gujarāṭi only in the latter.

We will now examine the Pāli verb. The distinction between the special and general tenses is almost lost, the special form being used in the general tenses, as in गच्छिस्सति the future of गम्, or the general form in the special tenses as गमेति. We have also गमिस्सति and गच्छति. A large number of roots used in ordinary intercourse belong in Sanskrit to the first conjugation; this and the sixth are the easiest of the ten; in many cases there is no practical distinction between them, and in others they are so greatly like each other that they are capable of being confused together. Hence the rule of constructing verbal forms common to these two conjugations, viz. the addition of the personal terminations through the intervention of अ, has become general in Pāli. A good many roots belonging to the other classes are conjugated according to this rule; as रोहति, विदति, and रचति, for रोम्भि, वेत्ति, and रोति, of the second class; पॉसति for पुष्पति, मुसति and बन्धति for मुष्पाति and बन्धाति,

&c. The tenth conjugation is almost equally common in Sanskrit, whence a great many roots are conjugated necessarily or optionally in this way; as वदेमि or वदामि, गमेति or गच्छति, सिलेसेति, वेदति or विदति, विगाहेति, &c., from वद्, गम्, क्षिप्, विद्, गाह् with वि &c. The ए in these forms stands, you will remember, for the Sanskrit अय, which is the characteristic of the tenth class. The second conjugation has gone out, except in isolated forms such as अस्थि for अस्ति, and the third has left some reduplicated roots, as द्दामि, जहाति, &c. The fourth has preserved a good many of its roots but its य is corrupted according to the usual phonetic rules; thus बुध्य becomes बुद्ध; पद्य, पज्ज; दृत्य, नच्च; मन्य, मज्ज, &c. The fifth and the ninth are confounded, and roots of the former take the termination of the latter also; as पापुणोति or पापुणाति for प्राप्नोति; सुणोति or सुणाति for क्षुणोति; सक्कोति, सक्कुणाति or सक्कति for क्षक्कोति, &c. In the last two instances the base is सक्क derived from सक्कोति the corruption of क्षक्कोति, thus showing that the forms in ण are a later growth. The seventh inserts, as before remarked, a nasal in the body of the roots and transfers them to the first; the eighth remains in a few cases such as तन् and कृ, though this last takes a peculiar form also, as तनोति, करोति or कथिरति; and the ninth adds ण as in Sanskrit, as क्रिणाति, धुनाति, लुनाति, पुनाति, &c. But it is to be observed that the more common of the roots belonging to these conjugations only have preserved their peculiar forms; the rest are conjugated according to the rules of the first, sixth, or tenth. Since the distinction between the special and general tenses is lost, the effect of these conjugational peculiarities is only to constitute a new or augmented root.

Of the ten tenses and moods in Sanskrit, the Pāli has lost two, the first future and the precativē. The two Padas or voices remain, but the distinction is lost in most cases, such forms as वुच्चति, लब्धति, पच्चति, &c., though passive, taking Parasmaipada terminations.

The following are the terminations :—

<i>Present Tense.</i>				
Parasm.		Ātm.		
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1st pers.	मि	म	ए	म्हे
2nd „	सि	थ	से	म्हे
3rd „	ति	अन्ति	ते	अन्ते
<i>Ex.</i>	पच्चति	पच्चन्ति &c.	पच्चते	पच्चन्ते, &c.

Imperative.

	Parasm.		Âtm.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1st pers.	मि	म	ए	आमसे
2nd „	हि, or none	थ	स्व	व्ही
3rd „	तु	अन्तु	तं	अन्तं
Ex.	पचतु	पचन्तु &c.	पचतं	पचन्तं &c.

Imperfect.

1st pers.	अ	म्हा	ई	म्हसे
2nd „	ओ	त्य	से	व्ही
3rd „	आ	ऊ	त्य	त्यु
Ex.	अपचा	अपचू &c.	अपचत्य	अपचत्यु &c.

Potential.

1st pers.	एट्बामि	एट्बाम	एट्यं	एट्बाम्हे
2nd „	एट्बासि	एट्बाथ	एयो	एट्बाम्ही
3rd „	एट्ब or ए	एट्युं	एथ	एरं
Ex.	पचे or पचेट्ब	पचेट्युं &c.	पचेथ	पचेरं &c.

Aorist.

1st pers.	ई	म्हा	अ	म्हे
2nd „	ओ	त्य	से	व्ही
3rd „	ई	उं or इंसु	आ	ऊ
Ex.	अपची	अपचुं or अपचिसु &c.	अपचा	अपचू &c.

Perfect.

1st pers.	अ	म्ह	इ	म्हे
2nd „	ए	त्य	त्यो	व्ही
3rd „	अ	उ	त्य	रे
Ex.	पपच	पपचु &c.	पपचित्य	पपचिरे &c.

Future.

1st pers.	स्सामि	स्साम	स्सं	स्साम्हे
2nd „	स्ससि	स्सथ	स्ससे	स्सव्ही
3rd „	स्ससि	स्सन्ति	स्सते	स्सन्ते
Ex.	भविस्सति	भविस्सन्ति &c.	भविस्सते	भविस्सन्ते &c.

Conditional.

	Parasm.		Âtm.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1st pers.	स्सं	स्सम्हा	स्सं	स्साम्हसे
2nd ,,	स्से	स्सथ	स्सते	स्सहे
3rd ,,	स्सा	स्संस्सु	स्सथ	स्सिस्सु
<i>Ex.</i>	अभविस्सा	अभविस्सु &c.	अभविस्सथ	अभविस्सिस्सु &c.

The terminations of the Present of both Padas are the same as in Sanskrit, with the exception of the plural म and म्हे, the ह्हे of the second person plural of the Âtmanepada being a corruption of ध्वे. This tense is most in use ; hence the Pâli speakers learned it well, so to say, from their Sanskrit teachers. The other tenses, except the Future which, like the Present, is also entirely Sanskrit, and the moods have preserved such of their forms as are more frequently used in ordinary life. There is, for instance, greater occasion for the use of the second person singular of the Imperative Mood, and also for the third person. Hence these are the same as in Sanskrit, but the second person plural termination थ, and the first person singular मि and the plural म, Parasmaipada, have been transferred from the Present. As to these, even in Sanskrit we find the Present used very generally for this Mood in the first person ; as in किं ते भूयः प्रियमुपहरामि Śak., किं ते भूयः प्रियं करोमि Mrichh., &c. where the forms should be उपहराणि, करवाणि &c. The rest are the same as in Sanskrit. The second person singular is formed in two ways, viz. without adding any termination as in the conjugations which give an ending अ to the base, and by appending हि as is done in the others. The Âtmanepada स्व is changed to स्सु, the व being dissolved into उ, and since स्व renders the previous vowel heavy, the resulting सु is doubled to preserve that effect. The plural ध्वम् is altered to ह्हे; the म् and the mute element being dropped, we have ह्हे the final vowel of which is transformed into ओ through the influence of the preceding व्. The ऐ of the first person singular becomes ए, or this may be considered to have been transferred from the Present, and for the plural we have आमसे which is an old Vedic termination of the Âtmanepada first person plural corrupted in Sanskrit to आमहे. The तं and अन्तं of the third person are the same as the ताम् and अन्ताम् of the parent language.

The Potential has preserved the old forms of the third person only, viz., पथे for पथेत्, and पथेत्थुं for पथेत्तुः. The थ is doubled as in येत्थ according to a general rule which we have noticed before.

The singular of this person is also formed by adding एच्य made up on the analogy of the plural एच्यु and also of such forms as अनुयात्. The final vowel is however shortened, but in such cases as जानीया for जानीयात् it remains long. This form with the final long is used as a base, and the terminations of the first person and second person of the Present added to it to form the corresponding persons of the Potential. The Âtmanepada एय, एरं, and एयो are the same as एत्, एरन्, and एथा; of the Sanskrit अ-conjugations, the त् of एत् being rendered an aspirate and the आ of एथा: shortened. The Parasmaipada singular एचम् as in पच्येयम् is adapted for the Âtmanepada in the form एच्यं and the plurals of the second and first persons are formed by taking एच्य as the base and appending च्यम् corrupted to च्यो and च्ये of the Present.

In the Imperfect the आ and ऊ of the third person seem to be generalized from such forms as अयान् and अद्युः. The termination उस् is, as you know, applied in Sanskrit optionally to roots ending in आ and necessarily to विद् and such as are reduplicated. The आ of the singular, however, may be considered as due to the lengthening of the previous अ of such Sanskrit forms of the अ-conjugations as अपचत्, when the final consonant was dropped. This lengthening was brought about by the forcible pronunciation of the अ rendered necessary in Sanskrit by the final consonant. The second person singular is औ, which corresponds to the Sanskrit अः, and अं of the first person singular to the अम् with the nasal dropped. The Âtmanepada second person singular से is transferred from the Present, च्छं is च्यम्, and इ is generalized from the forms of the non-अ-conjugations, such as अलुनि, अहदि, &c. The Perfect has preserved the third person singular अ and plural उ and the first person singular अ, of the Parasmaipada; and रे of the Âtmanepada. Of the rest, ए second person singular Parasmaipada is perhaps the ए of the Sanskrit Âtmanepada singular of the first and third persons; and the इ of the Âtmanepada is transferred from the Imperfect.

In the Aorist the third person singular ई is the termination of the fifth form of the Sanskrit Aorist with the final त् dropped as usual; and the plural उं is generalized from such forms as अस्त्युः. Some roots, such as भू and कृ have सि for the singular as अहोसि and अकासि, the सि of which is to be traced to सीत्. Another plural termination is इहं in which we can recognize the Sanskrit इधुः. The second person singular ओ is from the अस् of the second Aorist; and the first person singular is

इ resulting from the fusion of the augment इ with the अम् of the second Aorist. The third person singular and plural and the first person singular of the Âtmanepada are the same as the corresponding ones of the Parasmaipada Imperfect, both numbers of the second person are the same as the corresponding Âtmanepada of the Imperfect, and the म्हे of the first person plural is transferred from the Present.

The terminations of the Second Future are made up as in Sanskrit by prefixing स्स = स्य to those of the Present. The Âtmanepada first person singular has however स्स instead of स्से. In one instance, viz., होहिति, होहिन्ति from हो, the स्स is corrupted to ह. In the Conditional terminations the स्स occurs everywhere, but the other portions are transferred from other tenses. The ending आ of the third person singular स्सा is of course the आ of the Imperfect; the अंसु of the plural has been transferred from the Aorist, Imperfect, or Potential; the से and थ of स्से and स्सथ are brought over from the Âtmanepada and Parasmaipada of the Present; स्स is स्यम्, and the म्हा of स्सम्हा the plural is from the Imperfect. In Sanskrit, the short terminations of the Imperfect and other tenses are added to the स्य in the Conditional; but here there is a mixture of both the short and the long, and also of the two Padas. We find the same mixture in the Âtmanepada.

It will thus appear that the Present and Future have preserved most of the Sanskrit terminations, and the other tenses only about two or three. Besides the terminations that have thus been preserved or transferred by analogy from one tense to another, there are others which cannot be thus explained. Such are म्हे Âtmanepada first person plural of the Present; थ्य and म्ह of the Parasmaipada second and first person plural, and थ्य third person singular, थ्यो second person singular and म्हे first person plural of the Âtmanepada, of the Perfect; थ्य second person plural and म्हा first person plural Parasmaipada, and थ्य and थ्यु third person singular and plural and म्हसे first person plural Âtmanepada, of the Imperfect; थ्य second person plural and म्हा first person plural Parasmaipada of the Aorist, and म्हे first person plural of the Âtmanepada of the same; म्हे first person plural Âtmanepada of the Future; and म्हा Parasmaipada and म्हसे Âtmanepada of the first person of the Conditional. These are unquestionably forms of the root अस् tacked on to the base in the particular tenses when the old terminations were forgotten, or some of them may be traced directly to the terminations of the Sanskrit Aorist स्त, स्थाः, and स्म which themselves, as you know, are forms of अस्. Of these, the Parasmaipada second

person plural **स्य** is to be traced to the corresponding Sanskrit **स्य** of the Present of **अस**, and **म्ह** and **म्हा** first person plural to the **स्म** of **आस्म** of the Imperfect and **स्मः** of the Present respectively. The penultimate **अ** of **स्मः** is lengthened for the same reason as that of **अपचत्** is in forming **अपचा**. The **Âtmanepada** **स्यो** of the second person singular comes from the **स्याः** of **आस्याः** of the Imperfect, **स्य** third person singular, from the **स्त** of **आस्त** of the same ; and **म्हे** and **म्हसे** first person plural are to be referred to such **Âtmanepada** forms as **स्मे** and **स्मसे**. Of the last two, **स्मे** appears to be a new formation from **स्म**, and **स्मसे** is the old Vedic archetype of **स्महे**.

You will thus see that when the original Sanskrit forms were forgotten, new ones corresponding to them were constructed in the Pâli, not only by the use of false analogies, but also by taking one form distinctively expressive of the sense of a particular mood or tense as a base, and appending first only the personal terminations of the Present, as in the case of the Potential ; and secondly, the forms of the root **अस्**. You will hereafter find that the modern vernaculars have resorted to one at least of these two modes of reconstruction ; and similarly the beginnings in the Pâli of a mode of constructing new case-forms widely prevalent in the modern dialects was brought to your notice before ; so that the spirit or turn of mind which has been in operation in the formation of the vernacular speech of the country has been the same since very remote times.

The terminations with an initial consonant are in the general tenses appended through the intervention of the vowel **इ** ; but in some cases there are forms directly corrupted from Sanskrit ; as **दक्खति**, Sanskrit **द्रक्ष्यति**, **मोक्खति** = **मोक्ष्यति**. The temporal augment **अ** is often omitted, as **गमा** or **अगमा**, **गमी** or **अगमी**, **गमिस्सा** or **अगमिस्सा**. The several varieties of the Aorist and the many special forms of the Perfect have for the most part gone out of use. The Passive is formed by the addition of **य** as in Sanskrit, sometimes with the augment **इ**, sometimes without, in which last case the conjunct consonant is corrupted according to the prevailing rules ; as **हुज्झियते**, **पच्चते**, **लब्भते**, **करियते**. The forms in a good many cases are the same as in Sanskrit only phonetically altered ; as **थीयते**, **उच्चते**, **इज्जते**, in which cases we see that the **आ** of **स्या** is changed to **ई**, and **वच्** and **यच्** undergo **Samprasāraṇa**. The causal is formed by adding **आपे** or **आपय** and **ए** or **आय** ; as **कारापेति** or **कारापयति** and **कारेति** or **कारयति**. These forms I have already explained. The Past Passive Participle is formed as in

Sanskrit, and in many cases the forms are the same. The Absolute is formed by using the terminations लून, स्वान, and स्वा. The first is the same as the second, the semi-vowel व having only undergone Samprasāraṇa; and they are to be traced to such Vedic forms as इङ्गीन, कुस्वान &c., which have disappeared in classical Sanskrit. The Infinitive is formed by adding तुं as in Sanskrit, or त्वे which, I have already observed, is one of the many ways in which the Vedic Infinitive is formed. It has become obsolete in the later Sanskrit.

Now if the Pāli grew up naturally in the manner I have described, it could not come to possess the several grammatical forms it exhibits unless they were in use in Sanskrit at the time when it branched off. It has, as we have seen, preserved eight of the ten Tenses, whence it follows that verbal forms of these were then current in the language. Pāli therefore represents Middle Sanskrit or the usage that prevailed during the period between the composition of the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska or Pāṇini, and must have begun to be formed during that period. We shall hereafter find that the later Prakṛits represent the third stage in the development of the Sanskrit, that in which a good many of the verbal forms ceased to be used; and thus bear to what I have called classical Sanskrit the same relation that the Pāli does to Middle Sanskrit.

We will now proceed to consider those valuable specimens of the ancient languages of the country which have been preserved in inscriptions. The most important of these are the edicts of Aśoka, the pious king of Pāṭaliputra in Magadha, the modern Behar, who flourished in the middle of the third century before Christ. These edicts contain the king's religious and moral injunctions to his subjects, and set forth his own ideas, belief, and conduct in these matters. Five different versions of them have been discovered, inscribed on rocks in different parts of the country. There is one at Girnār, near Junāgaḍ, in Kattiawar, another at Dhauri in Kattak, and a third at Kapurdi-giri or Śābbazgiri in Afghanistan. These have been published and examined. The Girnār version has been copied several times, but the other two only once, and hence there are a good many imperfections in our existing copies of them. Another version has recently been discovered at Jaugaḍ near Ganjam, in the Northern Circars, and copied by a Madras Civilian. It is unfortunately greatly mutilated, not more than two of the fourteen edicts being found complete, and but a few words left of some. The fifth has recently been discovered by General Cunningham at Khalsi, near

Masuri, in the **Himālayas**, and has not yet been published.* Other edicts of the same kind are found inscribed on columns which exist at **Delhi**, **Allahabad**, and other places. At **Dhauri** and **Ganjam** there exist, along with the edicts mentioned above, others which answer to these. Another inscription of **Asoka** has been found at **Babhra** in **Rajputana**, which consists of a letter to the Buddhist congregation of **Magadha**. These inscriptions are in three different dialects, closely related to each other. The **Girnār** dialect is very much like the **Pāli**. That of the **Dhauri**, **Ganjam**, and **Khalsi** versions presents peculiarities which are found in a later **Prākṛit** called **Māgadhi** by the grammarians. Such are the substitution of **त्** for **र्**, **ए** for the **ओ** of the nominative singular of masculine nouns in **अ**, **त्ति** the termination of the locative instead of the **Pāli** **न्दि**, and **हकम्** for **अहम्**. The **Babhra** and the column inscriptions are also in this dialect. The **Śāhbazgiri** recension admits of some conjuncts such as **प्र**, and the sibilants **च्** and **ष्** which in the others and in **Pāli** are changed to **स्**. But it is a question whether these are dialectic peculiarities, or are to be attributed to a confusion of the vernacular with **Sanskrit**. I will now place before you short specimens of these dialects.

Girnār, edict VIII.

अतिक्रान्तं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां ज्ञेयासु । एतमगम्या अजानि च एतारि-
सानि अभिरमकानि अहुंसु । सो देवानं प्रियो प्रियदसी राजा इत्यसामिहितो संतो
अवाच संबोधि । तेन सा धमयाता एता यं होति बाम्हणसमणानं इत्ये च इने च
थैराणं इत्ये च हिरण्यपट्टविधाने च जनपदस च जनस इसनं धमानुसस्ती च
धमपरिपुछा च । तदीपया एसा भूयरति भवति देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो रामो
भागे अंजे.

Sanskrit.

अतिक्रान्तमन्तरं राजानो विहारयात्रां निरयासिषुः । एतसृगयान्द्यानि चैतादृशा-
न्वभिरामकाण्यभूवन् । स देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा इत्यवर्षाभिहितः सन्नया-
शीरसंबोधिम् । तेन सा धर्मयात्रैता यज्ञवति ब्राह्मणभ्रमणानां दर्शने च इने च
स्थविराणां दर्शने च हिरण्यप्रतिविधाने च जनपदस्य च जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशा-
स्तिश्च धर्मपरिपुच्छा च । तदीपर्यादेवा भूयोरतिर्भवति देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शीनो
राज्ञो भागेन्यस्मिन् ।

Translation :—

“ Some time ago kings went on pleasure excursions. Stag-hunting and
such others were the diversions. But **Priyadarsin**, the favourite of the

* Published since in **Corp. Insc. Ind.** I have made use of **General Cunningham's** versions in the texts given below.

gods, received enlightenment when he had been a crowned monarch for ten years. Then he entered on a righteous course, which consists in seeing Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, and bestowing gifts, seeing the religious elders and presenting gold, and seeing country-people and giving instruction in righteousness and in the investigation of the law. Since that time this has been the great delight of the king Priyadarsin in his latter days."

It is not usual in these inscriptions to mark the double or assimilated consonants. Hence we do not find them here except in the case of double nasals which are indicated by an anusvāra followed by the nasal. There is, as in Pāli, no other phonetic change; प्रति we see becomes पटि and भू becomes optionally हू; and राजानो the nominative plural, राज्ञो for रज्ज्णो the genitive singular, सन्तो the nominative singular, and all other cases are just like these in that dialect. We have the Aorist forms ending in an anusvāra followed by सु, as in Pāli. But there are some differences; एतारिस is एतादिस in Pāli as it is in the other recensions of this same inscription, अइसु is अहंसु, though अइसु agrees with the rules of Pāli grammar and must have existed in the language; the ऐ of धैराणं is opposed to Pāli usage, but the engraver may have committed a mistake; ज्ञेयासु is for निप्यासु, इ being changed to ए before the conjunct according to the rule we have noticed. बाम्हण is ब्राह्मण in Pāli; but the inscription perhaps represents the prevailing usage more correctly; and the अ is lengthened in राज्ञो probably through mistake. There are thus very few cases of real difference, and though they might be considered to point to a dialectal variety of the nature of those we find in the different versions of the edicts, still the language is in the same stage of growth as the Pāli.

The following is the Dhauli version collated with that at Khalsi and completed :—

अतिक्रंतं अतलं^१ लाजानो विहालयाते नाम निखमिसु । हिहामिगविया^२ अन्नानि च^३ एदिसानि अभिलामानि^४ हुवंति नं । से देवानं पिये पियरसी लाजा इसवसा-भिसिते^५ संते निखमि^६ संबोधि । तेन ता धमयाता एता यं होति समनबा^७ भनानं इसने च हाने च^८ वडानं इसने च हिलनपटिविधाने च ।

We here observe the varieties mentioned before, the change of इ to ल and the nominative in ए. We also see निखमिसु for ज्ञेयासु, एदिसानि

^१ देवानं पिया Kh.

^२ अंयानि Kh.

^३ हेदिसानि Kh.

^४ हुसं for हुवंति नं Kh.

^५ Dh. Om.

^६ निखमिठा Kh.

^७ तेस for एता यं Dh.

^८ बभ Kh.

^९ विधानं Kh.

for एतारिवानि, विधानं or वदानं (=वृद्धानां) for धैरानं, and धमन or बाभन for बाम्भण. So then here we have another dialect.

Kapurdigiri or Sāhbazgiri version:—

अतिक्रंतं अंतरं नै राय विहारयातां नाम निखमिषु मगया अत्रानि च एदिसानि अतिसमना अभवसु सौ देवानं प्रियो प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवषभिसितो संतो निकमी संबोधि तेन सा धर्मयात्रा एता या इयं होति अमणत्राम्भणानां दशने च दाने &c

Here we have the conjuncts मिः, चा, ब्रा &c., and the three Sanskrit sibilants; and also निखमिषु for निरक्रमिषु: and एदिसानि for ईदुशानि. The reason why we have not one same version at all the three places must be that it was the intention of the king to publish the edicts in the dialect of each particular place. The Dhauli-Khalsi dialect is, as observed before, used in the column inscriptions, and also in that found at Babhra. The king's predilection for it can be plausibly accounted for only on the supposition that it was his own native tongue. If so, this dialect must have prevailed in Magadha, which country was under his immediate rule, and the capital of which was Pātaliputra, where he reigned. And this accounts for the fact that it is used in the inscriptions at Dhauli and Ganjam, since they are situated in the contiguous country. It would thus appear that the grammarians of the later languages had more solid grounds than mere fancy for calling that Prākṛit which bears close resemblance to this language by the name of Māgadhi. Here then we find specimens of three dialects prevalent in three widely distant provinces; but we should bear in mind that the difference between them is small, while in the languages that are spoken in these countries at the present day it is so great as to make it difficult for the natives of one province to understand those of another.

In the many other ancient monuments existing in the country we often find inscriptions which are principally in two languages, the Sanskrit and the Pāli or Prākṛit, understanding by this term simply a dialect derived from the Sanskrit. Those in the latter (Pāli) are mostly connected with Buddhism; though some Buddhistic inscriptions also, such as those discovered by General Cunningham at Mathurā several years ago, are in Sanskrit. In the caves at Kānherī, Nāsik, Junar, Nānāghāt, Kārlem, and some other places in this Presidency, and in the Bhilsā topes, we have Pāli or Prākṛit inscriptions. Most of these are short, but at Nāsik we have long ones, in the caves of Ushavadāta and Gotamīputra. The language of these latter is Pāli; and but a few forms are peculiar, such as इत्त and कित्त for which the Pāli has दिण्ण

and क्त, Past Passive Participles of दा and कृ ; and द्वे for the numeral two, the Pāli form being द्वे or दुवे. In Ushavadāta's caves we have one inscription entirely in Sanskrit, the rest are in Pāli or Prākṛit, but we have an intermixture of Sanskrit words, and the conjuncts प्र, ल and क्ष often appear. In these and smaller inscriptions we have such words as बार for द्वार, बारसक for वार्षिक, वरिस for वर्ष, उरिस for उद्दिश्य, while the Pāli forms of these words are द्वार, वरिसक, वस्स, and उद्वेसेत्वा. Some of these inscriptions were engraved so late as the third century, when the Pāli could hardly have been the vernacular ; but it had become the sacred language of the Buddhists ; the mendicant priests for whom the caves were intended and even educated lay members of that persuasion understood it ; and hence it was used in these inscriptions as Sanskrit was in others. The style of Gotamiputra's charters, abounding as it does in long compounds and elaborate expressions, is very unlike the plain and simple language of Aśoka's edicts. And at the end of these and that of his son, we are told that the officers of these kings who caused the charters to be engraved acted under the command, *i.e.* wrote to the dictation of " respected persons who were the compilers of all such documents." It thus appears that the Pāli was at that time a sacred and a literary language among the Buddhists. And as to the language of the other inscriptions, which like those of Gotamiputra and his sons were not composed by learned men, one can easily understand how ignorant persons, not knowing Sanskrit or Pāli well, but still not ignorant enough to know nothing of those languages would confound together Sanskrit, Pāli, and vernacular words. Even in our days we find the phenomenon in the *patrilids* or horoscopes written by our Jos'is or astrologers, which are neither in pure Sanskrit nor in pure vernacular, but contain a mixture of them both, and the Sanskrit words and forms in which are incorrectly written. And an explanation of this nature I have also to give of another variety of language that is found in the writings of the Northern or Nepalese Buddhists. These, you know, unlike those of the Ceylonese and Burmese Buddhists are written in Sanskrit, but in such works as the Lalitavistāra, or the life of Buddha, we find along with prose passages in pure Sanskrit, a number of verses which contain words or forms which are not Sanskrit. Thus, for instance, we have :—

सर्वशुभकर्महेतोः फलमिदं शृणुतास्य कर्मस्य
 पूजारहो भवितुं सर्वजगो अनुबन्धत इममनन्तयशं ॥

You will here see that कर्मस्य, जगो, and यशं are as in the Pāli treated

like nouns in अ, अर्ह is dissolved into अरह, and there are a few other instances of this process, such as किलेश for क्लेश, शिरि for श्री, शिरि for श्री &c., but generally the conjunct consonants are retained as they are in Sanskrit, and not assimilated. So also you have चोश्चिन्ति for चोश्चन्ति, मायाय Genitive singular of माया, उपजनिस्वा. शुण्डिष्यति, निरीक्षय Imperative second person plural, इमिय for इमयत्, &c., and even such words as मनाप which are Pāli in every respect. But along with these there are other peculiarities which must be attributed simply to carelessness. For instance, the case terminations are often omitted, a thing never done either in Sanskrit or Pāli, as काम सेवति for कामं सेवते, सुगत for सुगतं when governed by पूजयितुं, मोक्ष भोष्यति for मोक्षो भविष्यति, &c. Such constructions as क्षान्त्या सारथ्यसम्पन्नाः for क्षान्तिसारथ्यसंपन्नाः, शीलसमाधि तथ प्रज्ञमयं for शीलसमाधिप्रज्ञामयं, are often to be met with.

This language has therefore no fixed characteristics at all. We have seen that in such words as कर्म, जग and यज्ञ above, the final consonant is dropped, and these as in Pāli and Prakrit made nouns in अ. But यज्ञत् is used in the Sanskrit form also, as कीर्तिर्यज्ञत् ; and there are instances in which other final consonants are preserved. Along with such a form as शुण्डिष्यति noted above, which is constructed on the same principle as the Pāli शुण्डिस्सति, such a Sanskrit one as शुण्डन्ति is found. It therefore appears to me that this is not an independent language ; but that the writers of the Gāthās knew the spoken language or Pāli, and that they were imperfectly acquainted with Sanskrit, knowing enough of it to see that the assimilation of consonants was a vulgarity, but not acquainted with its grammar. They intended to write in the more polished or literary language, but not knowing it well, often used unconsciously the grammatical forms and the peculiar words of the vernacular. At the time when the Gāthās were written the claims of the Pāli to be considered a separate language were probably not recognised, and it constituted the speech of the uninstructed. Those who in this condition of things wished to write could not think of doing so in that form of speech, and therefore wrote in what they considered the language of educated men ; but they knew it imperfectly, and produced such a heterogeneous compound as we have seen.

ART. XVIII.—*Relations between Sanskrit, Pāli, the Prākṛits and the Modern Vernaculars.* By RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., &C.

Thus, gentlemen, have we surveyed the whole field of Indian Āryan speech from the Vedic times to our own, and what is it we have found? The Vedic dialect lost a great many of its words and some grammatical forms, its nouns and roots arranged themselves under definite declensions and conjugations, and thus became what I have called Middle Sanskrit. Till then there was no phonetic corruption except in isolated instances. But after that time the process went on rapidly, and words were altered in form principally by the law of the assimilation of conjunct consonants and a few vowel changes. By the law of generalization or false analogy the declensions and conjugations were reduced to the prevailing types; some new words came into use and a few old ones became obsolete, and thus the language arrived at a stage of which the Pāli, the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists, and the inscriptions of Aśoka afford us specimens. Then began a general use of attributive expressions for verbal forms, which had its effect on the vernacular or derived languages also, and thus while a good many of these forms went out of use in Sanskrit, the number of tenses and moods in the derived languages was reduced to three. In the meanwhile the processes which formed the Pāli went on, other laws of phonetic change, and principally that of the elision of uninitial consonants and the reduction of aspirated ones to ṣ came into operation. The use of analogy in the simplification of grammar proceeded further, a few words of a non-Sanskrit origin were adopted, and thus arose the Prākṛits. There were several dialects of this class, but the distinction between them was not great. After a while in the Prākṛits themselves new phonetic processes began, the chief of which were the dropping of one of the assimilated consonants and in most cases lengthening the preceding vowel, and the obviating of the hiatus caused by the vowels brought together by consonantal elision by combining them or inserting light semi-vowels between them. These were carried on further, the declensional and conjugational terminations were corrupted and mutilated, and the forms began to get confused; case relations came to be expressed by connecting independent words or

pronominal forms with the genitive of the noun ; and new verbal forms were constructed from the participles by appending the personal terminations on the analogy of the existing tenses, or by using the roots indicative of existence as auxiliaries. About this time the Prākṛit speaking people came to be divided into independent communities, separated from each other by hills and rivers, or communication between them decreased ; and therefore these several processes of destruction and construction were carried on at a varying rate and with a difference of detail in each ; and thus grew up the modern Hindi, Mārāṭhī, Gujarāṭī, Sindhī, &c. This is the whole history. The vernaculars have descended from the Prākṛits, and the Prākṛits from Sanskrit ; and since a language is transmitted from generation to generation orally, if the modern dialects are spoken languages the Prākṛits must have been so, and if the Prākṛits were spoken dialects the Sanskrit must have been so.

But these conclusions have been denied by some scholars. Professor H. H. Wilson says that the Prākṛit of the plays is an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language devised to adapt it to peculiar branches of literature. And the reason he gives is that even in later plays composed but a few centuries ago the Prākṛit used is not the vernacular of the day, but that which we find in the very earliest work of the species. But he is by no means certain, and leaves the question undecided. The reason advanced by him is evidently of no weight. If I choose at this day to express my thoughts in Latin and compose a treatise in that language instead of my vernacular, does that prove that that language is artificial ? Latin is sometimes still used in Europe for literary purposes, though it is not the vernacular of any country. Sanskrit playwrights of later ages, and even a stray dramatist at the present day use the old Prākṛits for their inferior characters in orthodox obedience to the rules laid down by the old authorities on the histrionic art ; and since the Prākṛits, like Sanskrit, Latin, and other languages are preserved by means of grammars and literary works, it is possible to write in them as in these languages.

Mr. Beames at one time expressed himself decidedly on this point : "The Prākṛit of the poets is clearly not a dialect that ever was spoken." So Dr. Pischel, a German scholar : "I agree with Mr. Beames, that none of the Prākṛits was ever a spoken language, and that in order to learn what was the spoken language of the Āryans we must turn principally to the modern vernaculars." This, gentlemen, we have done ; we have examined the vernaculars and found that there

is not a rule about the changes of letters in passing from Sanskrit into the Prākṛit given by Vararuchi or Hemachandra, of which instances are not found in the vernaculars. Of such as are general the examples are abundant; and in a great many cases even the words in which the change is of a special kind are preserved in the vernaculars, in their Prākṛit form, slightly altered according to the processes that afterwards came into operation. A good many of the vocal peculiarities of the Pāli and Prākṛit speakers are preserved by the speakers of the Gujarāṭī, Marāṭhī, Hindī, Sindhī and Bengālī. I have already drawn your attention to the fact that the ordinary Gujarāṭī cannot pronounce ऐ or औ but makes ए or ओ of it, the Marāṭhī Desastha ण् of न्, and the Sindhī and the Bengālī ब्रष् of भ्र, and the Hindī ब्रष् or भ्र of it and स् of the sibilant. The Bengālī pronounces a conjunct ending in य् as a double consonant and preserves the old Māgadhī peculiarity of reducing all the sibilants to ञ्, while the Hindī still manifests the Paisāchī peculiarity of making न् of ण्. The case terminations in the forms they assumed in the Apabhraṃśa have been preserved, some in this dialect, some in that. All the three Prākṛit tenses do exist and none other; past time is expressed in just the same way as in the Prākṛits; the participles, the causals, the passives, the denominatives, the nominal and verbal bases, and the remnants of the Sanskrit conjugations are just as they were in the Prākṛits; and the new verbs and cases are formed out of Prākṛit materials only. Then again a good many of the Deśya or non-Sanskrit words that existed in the Prākṛits are found in the vernaculars.

Now if the Prākṛits were not spoken dialects, what these scholars probably mean is that they were artificial adaptations, as Professor Wilson calls them. But we have seen that they grew up by such natural laws as guide the development of any language whatever. The development of the Prākṛit dialects from Sanskrit is paralleled by the development of the Romance languages from Latin. If the Prākṛit dialects are to be considered artificial, it is difficult to conceive upon what principles they could have been constructed and for what purpose. A conscious manufacture of a language would be conducted upon some general principles and would not admit of such isolated forms, not obeying any general rule, as we have noticed. The analogies would be perfect; but on the contrary we have seen that in the Pāli and the Prākṛits a good many forms are made up according to a certain rule brought into use by analogy, as for instance making the passive by adding इज्ज or इअ while there are others which are not thus constructed but have descended by

simple phonetic corruption of Sanskrit forms, as **दीसद्, लब्धद्** and others. In all parts of grammar there are such forms, and these have descended to the modern Vernaculars, as we have seen.

Again, if these had been artificial languages they would not have been called after the names of provinces as we have seen they were. I have given reasons for believing that though the difference between the Śaurasenī and the Mahārāshṭrī was not great, some peculiarities of the former have been preserved by the modern Sindhī, Panjābī, Braja and Hindī, while the Marāṭhī represents the old Mahārāshṭrī. And some of the peculiarities of the Māgadhī Prākṛit are distinctly observable as we have seen in some of the inscriptions of Aśoka, in which it would be absurd to suppose an artificial language was used. And how, if they were not popular dialects, could the idea of using them for women and the inferior characters in dramatic plays have in the first place arisen? That a poet should make certain persons in his work speak their peculiar dialect, especially when that is an inferior dialect and likely to create mirth, is natural, and this device is resorted to by writers in all countries. But it was probably more from considerations of propriety than liveliness that these languages began to be used by Sanskrit dramatists. For they are no less particular about such proprieties, and of even the so-called unities, than other nations. For one of the rules of the Art is that one act should not contain the events of more than a day. Similarly the minute directions about the use of certain Prākṛit dialects in the case of certain persons are explicable only on the supposition that the original idea was to represent in the drama a state of things actually existing in the world. For these varied reasons it admits of no question whatever that the Prākṛits of the poets and of the grammarians were really at one time spoken languages. But it is of course not meant that they were spoken just as we find them written, or that they were necessarily spoken at the time when the poets that use them flourished. The Prākṛits became literary and dead dialects as Sanskrit itself had before them, and, as already remarked, they may be used for literary purposes even now, if one wishes to do so. The distinction between the written Prākṛits and the corresponding spoken Prākṛits cannot be greater than the usual distinction between the language of books and that of ordinary life; and probably the Prākṛits of some of our early plays represent the vernaculars of the time faithfully. I must not omit to mention that Mr. Beames has considerably modified his opinion since he wrote the article from which

the above extract is taken, for in the beginning of the Introduction to his Comparative Grammar he speaks of the Prākṛits as spoken languages, and attempts to account for the use of so many in the dramatic plays instead of setting it down to a mere fancy.

We will next proceed to consider the views that have been put forth, opposed to the conclusions we have arrived at, as regards the relation between Sanskrit and the Prākṛits, and endeavour to determine that relation more definitely than we have done. Professor Weber believes that in the Vedic times there were several dialects, and that by a fusion of these a common language called the Sanskrit was formed, while at the same time the dialects ran on their course and formed the Prākṛits. He says, "I incline to the opinion of those who deny that the Sanskrit Bhāshā, properly so called, was ever the common spoken language of the whole Āryan people, and assign it to the learned alone. Just as our modern High German, arising out of the ancient dialects of the Germans, reduced what was common to all to universal rules and laws, and by the power of analogy obliterated all recollection of varieties; and just as, on the other hand, these dialects while they gradually degenerated often preserved at the same time fuller and more ancient forms; so also the Vedic dialects became partly combined in one stream, in which their individual existence was lost, and so formed the regular Sanskrit Bhāshā, and partly flowed on individually on their own original (Prākṛita) irregular force, and continued to be the idioms of different provinces in the corruption of which they participated. The Sanskrit language and the Prākṛit dialects had, therefore, a common and simultaneous origin; the latter did not spring out of the former." Professor Weber gives a few instances of Prākṛitised Sanskrit words from the Vedic dialect, as he calls it, to show that the development of the Prākṛits began then, but nearly all of these are from such works as the Upanishads, which must be assigned to a very late period when the language was in that confusion which we find in the Buddhistic Gāthās. Now if the development of Sanskrit and the Prākṛits was contemporaneous, how comes it that almost all the words and grammatical forms in these latter dialects are manifest corruptions of Sanskrit words and forms? Professor Weber's theory does not account for this fact, but this defect is supplied by Mr. Beames, who holds nearly the same view as the Professor. He says, "The idea of a common language is the creation of modern times, and the effect of the spread of literature." "The most probable hypothesis is, that the Āryans from the earliest

times spoke many dialects, all closely akin, all having the same family likeness and tendencies common to all, perhaps in every case mutually intelligible, but still distinct and co-existent." In a note we are told that this is probable but cannot be proved. The dialect of the Vedic hymns was, he says, only one of these. Then "after a time the Brahmans consciously and intentionally set themselves to the task of constructing a sacred language, by preserving and reducing to rule the grammatical elements of this Vedic tongue." "They seized on the salient features of Âryan speech as contained in all dialects, and moulded them into one harmonious whole." They (the popular dialects) were anterior to Sanskrit, contemporary with it, and they finally survived it. Nevertheless, Sanskrit is older than the dialects. This sounds like a paradox, but it is true in two senses: first, that "as ages rolled on, the vulgar dialects went on developing into new forms, while Sanskrit remained fixed and fossilized for ever." The second is, that though Pāṇini, who is credited with this feat of constructing the Sanskrit language, lived when the early dialects were much changed, still among the Brahmans there was a traditional memory of the ancient and then obsolete forms of many words.....In teaching his pupils the true principles of speech, Pāṇini would naturally use these archaic words in preference to the corruptions current around him, and thus the language which he, to a certain extent, created, was in great part a resuscitation of antiquated terms."

To be able to estimate the views of these writers at their true worth, it is necessary that we should try to fix the meaning of the word dialect, which is the source of some confusion, and endeavour to form some idea of the origin and growth of dialects generally. If little differences are to be regarded as sufficient to constitute a dialect there are as many dialects as human beings. For just as no two human faces are exactly alike, no two men speak exactly alike. Every one has his peculiarities of pronunciation, and is fond of particular words or turns of expression. The principle of individuality is strong in human nature, but its effects are counteracted by the principle of community, which guides the development of human life; and the necessity of communication compels a man to drop peculiarities in speech and to conform himself to the prevailing model. Thus then, the individual differences come to be minute and insignificant, and hence the language of a community becomes practically one language. But, constituted as communities generally, but not necessarily, are, they are composed of

classes ; and there is not as much communication between separate classes as within the limits of a class, and hence there come to be class languages, or varieties of speech in the same community. There may be many such classes ; but the smaller ones may be neglected, and we may distinguish between two large ones, generally called the lower and the higher, or the uneducated and educated classes. The languages of these differ, that of the lower class being more subject to those laws of development, growth, or corruption which I traced in the first lecture. Thus an uneducated Englishman uses many such forms as "I knowed," "you says," formed upon the prevailing analogies ; and his pronunciation of a good many words is corrupt, as "genlman" for "gentleman" "wot" for "what," "guvner" for governor, &c. And in the same way the language of the Maráthí, Gujaráti or Hindí lower classes is not the same as that of the higher. But still the word dialect is not used in speaking of these two varieties, one principal reason being that the language of the lower classes is not acknowledged to have an independent existence. Again, when a community comes to have a literature, the style that is used, as a rule, differs from the ordinary conversational style. There are certain words, turns of expression, modes of construction, and even solitary forms which, though used in conversation, do not appear in books. Even these two varieties are not called dialects. The dialects of a language therefore or kindred dialects, as they may be called, are the languages of kindred communities, which, while they possess a large body of common words and forms, have also many others which are different, though in most cases the roots from which these are derived are common to all. And according to the proportion in which the similar and dissimilar elements are mixed, the dialects are more or less distant from each other. The causes that divide men into distinct communities are the causes that create distinct dialects. The laws of change and development are always in operation in a language, in a changing condition of society, and the processes of destruction or disappearance of old words and forms and the construction or appearance of new ones, are constantly going on. Hence, when after the separation of men into distinct communities, communication between them is lessened, these processes go on in a varied and dissimilar manner. The conditions of life in their new habitations may also be different, and when they are so, they bring about a varied linguistic development. But though the processes of destruction and construction are always going on in a language, they suppose that the society whose language

it is, is moving and not stationary. The life of a community may, however, be even and unvaried, in which case there will be little change in its language. Or certain races may be very conservative, and cling to the past with tenacity. Thus the Lithuanian peasants of the present day have through a number of ages, though they possess nothing like a literature, preserved a good many old Aryan words and forms in a purer condition than all their European neighbours. So that even after men are divided into distinct communities it is by no means necessary that distinct dialects should grow up. They may or they may not. But the possibility of slight differences, such as those which exist in the speech of the different classes of a community, even when the dialect is the same, is not denied. Now, if for the various reasons above indicated dialects have come into existence, these continue until by the development of civilisation and by political events kindred communities come to form a nation; and then by increased communication and the growth of a common literature these dialects are fused together, and one harmonious language is formed; though, however, in remote quarters they may continue to have an independent existence. The writers whom I have quoted pay exclusive attention to this fact, of which there are several instances in modern European history, the most notable of which is the development of the modern German; and lay it down as a universal proposition which requires no proof, that in an early condition of society there must be a plurality of dialects, and there could be no such thing as a common language. This seems to be the opinion of Professor Max Müller also. But if there was not one common original dialect, whence are the common portion of the words and forms of kindred dialects, and the common roots derived? And does not comparative philology itself, in its comparisons and classifications, go upon the assumption that there was such a language? Thus, then, since the creation of dialects depends on causes and the causes may not exist, it will not do to assume that there were several dialects in Vedic times without positive proof or even positive indications. Several independent Aryan communities or tribes may not have migrated into India, but only one. Or even if more than one tribe came over they may have been, like the Lithuanian peasants, very conservative as regards their language. The circumstances we know about the language of the period do not necessitate the supposition of a plurality of dialects. Besides, if according to Professor Weber these originally existing dialects went on in their own isolated course as the idioms of different

provinces, and became the Pāli and the Prākṛits, we should expect to find much greater divergences between them, produced in the course of the many centuries that elapsed between the Vedic period and that in which they were as we now find them. But the distinction between the dialects of the inscriptions of Aśoka and even between the different Prākṛits is by no means great, and concerns chiefly the pronunciation of individual letters. The plea of linguistic conservatism which I have before used in a certain case, cannot be brought in here, since those early dialects resembling the language of the Vedas, as they must have done if they existed, were already very greatly corrupted in passing into the Pāli or the Prākṛits. Surely such very extensive changes as from the Vedic to the Prākṛit form, if carried on in different provinces by different communities, must occasion very great divergences, greater even than we find between the modern vernaculars. For the degree of departure from the old Prākṛits which these last exhibit is not so great as that which the Prākṛits do from the Vedic dialect. The divergence ought at least to be as great, but it certainly is not so.

Now the way in which the supposed contemporaneous development of Sanskrit and the Prākṛits is accounted for by Mr. Beames is, as we have seen, this :—That the Prākṛits arose by a natural development, while Sanskrit was created by the Brahmans, and principally by Pāṇini, out of the Vedic dialect, the salient points of Prākṛit speech, and by a resuscitation of antiquated terms. Hence it contains the old words and forms from which those in the Prākṛits are derived. And this also accounts for the existence of what Mr. Beames calls an Āryan but non-Sanskritic element in the Prākṛits, by which he probably means those few forms that are not found in classical Sanskrit, but must be referred to the Vedic dialect, or others that must be Āryan, though not found either in classical or Vedic Sanskrit. Of the latter there are almost no instances which may be regarded as beyond the possibility of doubt. But such a theory is calculated to bring relief to a puzzled philologist who, not knowing to what Sanskrit word to trace any Prākṛit or Vernacular word, will at once get out of the difficulty by putting it down as an Āryan word not found in Sanskrit. But how is it possible to create such a language as the Sanskrit out of the elements indicated by Mr. Beames? A literary style, as distinguished from a conversational style, is what one can understand, but a language which never had anything to correspond to it in ordinary vernacular speech, but is simply created, is inconceivable. And if the creation of

a sacred language was the conscious and deliberate aim of the Brahmans, and Pāṇini resuscitated old or obsolete words, why did they or he not include in the new language all the innumerable old obsolete Vedic words and grammatical forms which would have, from the very reverence that was paid to the Vedas, rendered their invention more sacred; and why should they, instead of doing so, have distinguished between a Chhândasa or Vedic, and Bhâshâ or popular, speech? And if the inventors seized all the salient features of the popular dialects, would they have left a few but striking Vedic peculiarities in the popular speech, such as the absolutive in स्वान् or वृत्त unrepresented in their new language. And how could they from the popular dialects in which the conjugations and declensions were reduced to fewer types, construct the innumerable forms of the Sanskrit noun or verb, the Perfects, the Aorists and the lost tenses or moods? And what must have been the basis of the incalculable Taddhita or nominal and verbal or kṛit derivatives, which have left but few traces in the Prākṛits? Even the Vedic dialect is not calculated to afford much help. For if the grammar of the later Sanskrit had been framed by the conscious inventors upon the model of the Vedic, the declensions, conjugations, and the derivatives would have been like the Vedic; whereas, as a matter of fact, the differences are great, and some of these I pointed out in the first lecture. There remains the third alternative, that there was a traditional memory of these forms. But why should they have been committed to memory when there was no motive? The sacred formulas which Mr. Beames says were orally transmitted do not, if they were the same as those that have come down to us, contain a large number of such forms; and if they were different, they are simply imaginary. And though the Vedas were and are committed to memory, the literally incalculable number of case forms, verbal forms, Taddhitas, and Kṛidants, in the absence of any general rules, which were laid down afterwards, as the theory supposes, by the grammarian creators of the languages, it is thoroughly impossible to commit to memory,—impossible, as the great author of the Mahâbhâshya says, even for Indra, with Bṛihaspati for his teacher and a thousand celestial years during which to learn them. Of course it is a different thing when they are current in a language which one learns from his childhood, though even in this case very few know all the words and forms which are current in their own country, and nearly all only such as they are immediately concerned with. And what is the evidence for the truth of this theory? Absolutely none is given. It

is simply the vague feeling of an individual or individuals, and not a conclusion arrived at after a deliberate weighing of evidence ; while it sets at naught the clearest evidence available in the works of the grammarians themselves, which I shall presently adduce. The theory therefore is utterly untenable, and the contemporaneous development of Sanskrit and the Prākṛits derived from it, to account for which it was invented, is an impossibility. Professor Aufrecht, though he does not believe in a plurality of Vedic dialects, derives the Prākṛits from the Vedic language, and assigns Sanskrit to schools of the learned, but does not explain its genesis. Those who believe the Vernacular dialects to be derived directly from the Vedic must explain the origin of classical Sanskrit in some such way as Mr. Beames has done ; there is no other way.

Dismissing feelings which we have been considering so long, we will for a time examine the reason or reasons that are given for doubting the derivation of the Pāli and the Prākṛits from Sanskrit. Thus Professor Childers, in the preface to his Pāli Dictionary, states the relations between Sanskrit and Pāli in the following lucid manner :—

“ If we compare Pāli with classical Sanskrit, we find that about two-fifths of the vocabulary consists of words identical in form with their Sanskrit equivalents, as *Nāga*, *Buddha*, *Nidāna*. Nearly all the remaining words present a more or less late or corrupted form... Words of the above two classes nearly exhaust the Pāli vocabulary ; but there remains a small though important residuum of forms distinctly older than Sanskrit, and found only in the oldest known Sanskrit, that of the Vedas. Nay, I do not feel sure that Pāli does not retain a few precious relics older than the most ancient Sanskrit, and only to be explained through the allied Indo-Germanic languages. It results from all this that Pāli cannot be derived from Sanskrit ; both, though most intimately connected, being independent corruptions of the lost Āryan speech which is their common parent ; but that Pāli is on the whole in a decidedly later stage than Sanskrit, and, to adopt a metaphor popularised by Max Müller, stands to it in the relation of a younger sister.” Then in a footnote he gives these Vedic forms in the Pāli : the infinitive in *tave*, as *kātave* ‘for doing,’ the absolutive or gerund in *tvāna*, as *katvāna* ‘having done.’ These two terminations however occur only occasionally, the usual ones are the Sanskrit *tum* and *tvā*. The next two, *imassa*, genitive singular of *ayanā*, and *gonāṃ* genitive plural of *go* “a cow,” I consider as made up by false analogy, as I have already indicated ; *tiṇṇāṃ* genitive plural of *tri* is similar. Then *vidū*

from *vid* to know and meaning "one who knows;" *dico*, which is masculine in the Veda and in the Pāli, while it is feminine in Sanskrit; the imperative first person plural in *āmase* as in *yamāmase*, "I shall or may restrain," *kasāmase*, "I shall or may plough?" the imperfect *akā* of *karoti* from the Vedic *akat*. Pāli has the Vedic *l*, but this is a sound natural under certain circumstances, since we have it in Marāthī and Gujarāṭī, and *kuham* corresponding to the Vedic *kuha*. The Vedic Instrumental plural termination of nouns in *ञ* is retained in the Pāli and also corrupted to *ehi*. Professor Childers, however, thinks it is corrupted from the Sanskrit ablative *bhyas*. I agree with those who derive it from the Vedic affix. To these may be added the Prakṛit कुणइ "he does," in which there is a remnant of the fifth conjugation, while the root belongs to the eighth class; and also the affix लण of abstract nouns, while it is स्व in ordinary Sanskrit. Prakṛit possesses लुण or ऊण corresponding to the Pāli स्वान or लून and the instrumental affix एहि.

Then in another note Professor Childers gives the Pāli *garu* "heavy" or "great," while Sanskrit has गुरु, though the गर appears in the Sanskrit comparative and superlative forms गरीयस् and गरिष्ठ. The अ is seen in the Greek word βαρῦς and Latin *gravis*. The potential अस्त "let him be," is also said not to have anything to correspond to it in Sanskrit; but it may be traced to the Vedic subjunctive or लेट्, असन्, or regarded as a corruption of अस्यात् for Sanskrit स्यात्, the अ though dropped in Sanskrit being brought over by analogy from the singular of the other tenses. He also gives इध, while Sanskrit has इह, which is doubtful, and also सब्धधि "everywhere" the धि in which corresponds to φῖ in some Greek words. The Pāli धि is the locative singular of the root the instrumental singular of which is preserved in the Sanskrit धा in एकधा, पञ्चधा &c. Of these the Prakṛits have गर in such words as गरुअ, गारव &c., and इध.

Here the question is reduced to a point. Two-fifths of the words in the Pāli are pure Sanskrit, the rest are corrupt Sanskrit, while there are about six or seven forms which are lost in classical Sanskrit but exist in Vedic Sanskrit, and there are one or two which exist in neither. The dialect then from which the Pāli was corrupted or immediately sprang, granting for a moment that it was different from the Sanskrit, had two-fifths of its words exactly like those in Sanskrit, and the other three-fifths from which the Pāli corruptions were derived were also exactly like Sanskrit, but that it contained these eight or nine forms which Sanskrit has lost. In other words, Pāli itself, if we take the

original forms of the corrupt three-fifths of its words into consideration, is exactly like Sanskrit but for these nine forms. Is the dialect for this difference to be considered an independent dialect? Is the distinction enough to entitle the Pāli or its supposed immediate parent to be considered a dialect, that is, a language elaborated, according to the definition given before, from the ancient speech by a community distinct from that which elaborated the Sanskrit? If one thinks it is, he may do so, and regard the Pāli as a distinct dialect; but he must for the same reason consider Surat Gujarātī and Ahmedabad Gujarātī; Kōmkaṇī Marāṭhī and Dekkanī Marāṭhī; or the Mārāṭhī, Gujarātī, English, and any other language as spoken by the uneducated classes of the population, and as spoken by the educated, to be distinct dialects of the same ancient speech. In the same community, as I have observed, varieties of speech may or do prevail and must prevail, but the distinction between them is not enough to constitute them distinct dialects; wherefore Sanskrit and the immediate parent of the Pāli or the uncorrupt Pāli must be considered as one language, even though the latter contained a few more ancient forms, and if both were one, the Pāli must be regarded as a daughter of Sanskrit and not its sister. Some of its few peculiarities it may have derived from the spoken variety of Sanskrit, and the rest from that in use among the inferior classes. It often happens that the lower classes sometimes retain an old word or form after it has been given up by those above them, whence it is likely that the Pāli was corrupted from the language of those classes. And as a matter of fact it was for a long time the speech of the uneducated, as will be presently shown. These observations apply to the later Prākṛits also; wherefore if these derived languages were spoken that from which they were derived, *i.e.* Sanskrit, must have been a spoken language also.

And, independently of this consideration, there is positive evidence that Sanskrit was a spoken language. Yāska in the Nirukta frequently refers to the Vedic dialect and to another called Bhāshā, the peculiarities of which mentioned by him are observable in classical Sanskrit. Pāṇini in his Grammar gives a good many rules which are exclusively applicable to the dialect of the Vedas, to which he refers by using the words *Cḥandas*, *Nigama*, *Mantra*, and *Brāhmaṇa*, and others which are applicable to the Bhāshā alone, but by far the largest number of his sūtras have reference to both. Now since Bhāshā, or the ordinary Sanskrit, is thus distinguished from the dialect of the Vedas, it must be the

language in use at the time when these writers lived. "Bhāshā," as used by them, is a proper name, but in later Sanskrit it acquired a generic signification and meant language generally. The root from which the word is derived signifies "to speak," wherefore the original sense of the word as a proper noun must have been the "speech" or "the spoken language." And because this was its signification it afterwards came to denote "explanation." When we ask for an explanation of something that is obscure and unintelligible, what we mean is that the sense should be expressed to us in the ordinary language of men, a language that we can understand. Thus such a sentence as स्थितप्रज्ञस्य का भाषा, means "what is the Vernacular of स्थितप्रज्ञ?" an expression similar to "what is the English of it?"

Pāṇini refers certain points expressly to popular usage. He says that the names of countries are conventional, and no grammatical analysis should be given of them, because it is fictitious. These should be used as we find them used. Similarly he says grammarians should not make rules to teach such things as these:—That the two words of a compound express the thing denoted by the principal word as qualified by the sense of the subordinate word; as for instance, राजपुरुष, a compound of राजन् "a king" and पुरुष "a man" does not denote "a king," but "a man," and not "man" alone but *as connected with a king*, i.e. a king's man or officer; and that the base and the termination express the sense of the termination as qualified by that of the base; as औपगन्व signifies not उपगु but a child, and not a child alone but a child *as connected with उपगु* i.e. Upagu's child. For the significations of words are to be learnt from usage.

In the introduction to the Mahābhāshya Patañjali tells us that some persons in his or Kātyāyana's time considered the study of grammar to be unnecessary. For said they, "Vedic words or forms we know from the Veda, and those current in popular usage from that usage; grammar is useless." Now the grammar which is thus declared useless is the grammar both of the Vedic and classical Sanskrit; and the depreciators of the science profess to derive a knowledge of the first dialect from the Vedic books, and of the second not from other books but from popular usage. Hence Sanskrit must have been in the times of those two grammarians a spoken language.

Similarly in the passage from the same work which I placed before you in the first lecture, you will remember that the objector or *pūrvapakshin*) argues that since usage is the authority upon which the

grammarians go, certain verbal forms which are no longer used by people ought not to be taught by the grammarians, and says that instead of those verbal forms participles are employed. The principal teacher (*Siddhāntin*) does not deny the facts but refers the objector to the vast literature of the language, where he may find them used, though obsolete at the time. It is evident from the whole passage that Sanskrit was then a spoken language, though some of its verbal forms had fallen into desuetude. I have also shown that the language was considerably changed between the times of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and called the Sanskrit that prevailed when Pāṇini and Yāska flourished Middle Sanskrit, and that which was current in the time of Kātyāyana classical Sanskrit. Now these changes from the one form to the other could not have taken place if the language had been dead or petrified into a merely literary language.

I am at a loss to see why some scholars should find it so difficult to believe that Sanskrit was a vernacular. If its declensions and conjugations are considered too complicated for the language of everyday life, it must not be forgotten that such a fact did not prevent the ancient languages of Europe from becoming spoken languages. And this objection would do equally well against the Vedic dialect, which, or others like which, are regarded as the vernaculars of their times, and which are richer in inflexions than the later Sanskrit. Then it is held that the artificial regularity of Sanskrit makes it improbable that it should have been a vernacular. Where is this artificial regularity? On the contrary, it is the absence of regularity that renders its grammar so difficult and complicated. There is a freedom in the choice of words, expressions, and forms. In every department of its grammar there are innumerable optional forms; nouns and verbal roots are often declined and conjugated in several ways. One same root in a good many cases forms its special tenses in more ways than one, and in the nominal derivatives, the verbal derivatives, the formation of the feminine, and the uses of cases and tenses there is a freedom which some may consider a license. The only difference is that Sanskrit has had the most perfect grammarians in the world, who observed all the facts of their language and laid them down as unchangeable facts, and it is this which gives that language a stiffened appearance. Then the Saṁdhi or euphonic combinations of letters which are necessary in Sanskrit, are regarded as inconsistent with the character of a spoken language. It is however not denied that such combinations are observable in all languages,

and particularly so in Latin and Greek ; but it is urged that in Sanskrit there is a regularity or universality about them which is not found anywhere else. It should not however be forgotten that Saṁdhi in the same word and the same compound, and of a preposition with a root is alone necessary. Between different words it is optional, which means that it was on occasions neglected. Now Saṁdhi in the same word is necessary by a law of nature. The Sanskrit does not allow a hiatus ; and this is a characteristic of most of the modern idioms also. Some languages, such as our Prākṛits and the old languages of Europe tolerate it. But the euphonic combination of consonants in the same word is necessary even in Latin ; as in rex = reg-s, scriptus = scrib-tus, cinctum = cing-tum, legtum = leg-tum, tractum from traho, though the *h* like the Sanskrit ह् stands for an original *gh* ; *d* and *t* combine to form an *s*, as defendo, defensum ; sedeo ; sessum claudio, clausum ; &c. Prepositions are really parts of words, and hence by the same law they also must form one harmonious sound with the initial letter of the word to which they are attached ; and modern vernaculars have got corruptions of the combined words which shows that they must have been used in those forms in the colloquial Sanskrit. Sk. पर्यस्त, Pr. पल्लह M. पालट ; Sk. प्रत्यभिज्ञाना, Pr. पचहिआण, H. पहिचान ; Sk. अत्यर्थ, Pr. अचह, M. अचाट, &c. Now as to compounds, this peculiarity of the Sanskrit has been carried to an extravagant extent by later writers, but Pāṇini allows only certain formations of this nature. These grew up as independent words in the language, and hence in the matter of Saṁdhi were treated like other words. In the spoken language the euphonic combinations we have been considering were not consciously made, but the words themselves acquired those forms by habitual use in the same manner as in other tongues. The grammarians however discovered and laid down these rules ; and the practice of using them in books even in combining different words gained ground, though however many instances in which there is no such Saṁdhi are found in the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas. But if in colloquial speech such a combination was not possible, the grammarians do not enjoin that it should be made ; and very probably it was not made.

And traces of many expressions which only a colloquial use of language can generate have been preserved, not so much in the literature as by the grammarians. Such is one expressive of an intensive or excessive action, composed of the Imperative second person form of a root repeated, followed by a verbal form of the same in any tense of the

Indicative and in any person or number ; as खाद् खादेति खादति, lit. " eat, eat, he eats," i.e. eats much, कुरु कुर्वति करोति " do, do, he does," i.e. does much. This expression exists in Marāthî and is considered so colloquial that no Marāthî grammarian has noticed it, as खा खा खातो, कर कर करतो in which as in Sanskrit खा and कर are the forms of the Imperative second person singular. A similar expression is used when several actions are attributed to the same agent ; as भोदनं शुद्धं सन्नूनं पिब धानाः खादेत्येवायमभ्यवहरति " eat rice, drink barley water, devour fried grain, in this way he fills his stomach" ; which in Marāthî is भात जेव पेज पी लाह्या खा असें पोद भरतो. In this case the Indicative should signify a general action of which the Imperatives denote the species, and we may have here करोति " does " instead of अभ्यवहरति. Similarly those innumerable expressions consisting of a form made up by adding अम्, technically णमुल्, to a root, preceded by a noun, and of a verbal form of the same root must be colloquial ; as हस्तग्राहं गृह्णाति " holds by the hand," जीवनाशं नश्यति, " he perishes," उदरं भुङ्क्ते " eats a stomachful," यथाकारमहं भोक्ष्ये तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन " I, will eat as I eat (as I like), what have you to do with it?" &c. Etymologically हस्तग्राहम्, जीवनाशम् &c. are accusatives, and they may in these cases be called cognate accusatives, and the expressions somewhat resemble such ones in English, as " run a race," " walk a walk," " die a death," &c. The compounds इण्डादण्डि, केशाकेशि &c. meaning " a scuffle in which there is a brandishing of sticks and seizing each other by the hair ;" and a great many others made up of Imperative forms of verbs, or of a verb and its object which are used as nouns, are of a nature suited for the purposes of a light conversation ; as अत्र खादतमोदता वर्तते " ' eat and enjoy ' is the rule here," अत्राभितपिबता वर्तते " ' eat and drink ' is the rule here," उद्धरोस्त्वजा तस्य दानशौण्डीरस्य गृहे " ' take out and give ' is what takes place in the house of a bountiful man," जहिस्तम्बोयम् " he is one who constantly says, ' strike the sheafs of corn,' "; एहिस्वागता वर्तते " ' come, welcome to thee ' is the practice" &c.

Sanskrit was not the only language spoken in the times of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. In the Mahābhāshya there are several passages which contain allusions to a dialect arising from a corruption of Sanskrit. Thus in the comment on the Vārtika Siddhe śabdārthasambandhe, we are told with reference to the question whether words are created or exist of themselves, that Pāṇini's rules suppose that they are not created but exist of themselves ; and so is the relation between them and the things they denote, i.e. their power of expression,

uncreated and self-existent ; and according to another interpretation of the Vārtika, the things also which words denote are so. How is it known that all these are self-existent ? Because in the affairs of the world or in ordinary life men think of certain things and use words to express them ; they do not set about producing words before doing so. But this is not the case with those things that are created and not self-existent. If a man wishes to do something with an earthen pot, he goes to the house of a potter and says, " Make a pot for me, I have to do something by its means." Now if he has to use words, he does not in the same way go to the house of a grammarian and say, " Make words, I want to use them" ; but immediately that he thinks of this thing and that he uses words [for expressing them]. Well then, if words are to be taken from ordinary life [and are not made by grammarians] what is it that the Śāstra [grammar] does : " The Śāstra lays down a restriction by observing which a man may attain religious merit. It does what other Śāstras in ordinary life do. Thus while it is possible to satisfy hunger by eating anything whatever, it is enjoined that one shall not eat domesticated fowl or pig ; and the object is that he may by regulating his conduct thus attain religious merit. In the same way this Śāstra (grammar) tells us that while it is possible to express one's meaning by using correct words or incorrect words, correct ones alone which it teaches should be used to secure the religious merit arising therefrom." After this follows the discussion translated in the first lecture ; and then we have another of which the following is a portion.

PŪRV. Does religious merit arise from a knowledge of correct words or from their use.

SĪD. What is the difference ?

PŪRV. If you say religious merit arises from their knowledge, religious demerit also must arise. For he who knows what words are correct, also knows what words are incorrect. If merit results from the knowledge of those that are correct, demerit must result from the knowledge of those that are incorrect ; or greater demerit must arise [from their knowledge], as the number of incorrect words is larger, and that of correct words smaller. For the corruptions of one correct word are manifold ; as, for instance, the corruptions of the correct word गौः are गावी, गोपी, गोता, गोपोतलिका &c. And the Rishi also indicates (in a passage which is quoted) that the restriction as to correct words concerns their use [and not knowledge].

SID. Well, then, let it be that religious merit arises from their use [and not from knowledge].

PŪRV. If from their use, the whole world would obtain heavenly felicity.

SID. And now why should you be jealous if the whole world obtain heavenly felicity?

PŪRV. No, certainly, I am not jealous. But what I mean is that it thus becomes useless to make any effort ; such effort only as is fruitful should be made. If you get the fruit without any effort, the effort is useless. [The effort meant is that involved in the study of grammar, *i.e.* of correct words. People use some correct words at least without studying grammar, and if eternal felicity results from the *use* of such words they get it without making the effort of studying the subject].

SID. Why, verily those who make the effort will largely use correct words, and will obtain a large amount of heavenly felicity.

PŪRV. That the fruit does not follow the effort is also an observed fact. For there are persons who though they have made the effort are seen to be incompetent [in the use of correct words], while others who have not, are competent ; wherefore it is possible the fruit, *i.e.* heavenly felicity, may not follow.

SID. Well then, religious merit arises not from knowledge alone, neither from use alone.

PŪRV. From what then ?

SID. Heavenly felicity arises from the use of correct words when it is accompanied by the knowledge that they are correct, derived from a study of the Śāstra.

And thus it goes on.

Now it is clear from all this that correct words, *i.e.*, Sanskrit, was spoken in those days by all, but that incorrect words had got mixed up with it, and the object of grammar was to teach how to avoid incorrect words or corruptions, though there were men who could speak correctly without knowing grammar. And this is the state in which more or less all languages are at all times ; and even at the present day the purpose of grammar is considered to be to teach how to speak correctly. By the way, it will be seen how Sanskrit grammarians distinctly declare that they teach nothing that does not exist, they do not create words, but separate the correct ones from such as are incorrect. But what did Patañjali consider to be the standard of correct Sanskrit, who was it that spoke the language correctly, and in

whose speech were corruptions observable? This is clear from another passage at the beginning of the third pāda of the first chapter of the Mahābhāṣya. Patañjali interprets the sūtra भूवाद्यो धातवः (I, 3, 1) in a manner to yield such a connotative definition of a dhātu or root as this, that a dhātu is that which denotes action or being. Then a question is raised, if this is the way to distinguish a root why should a list of roots be given; in other words, if we have got a connotative definition, a definition by enumeration is not wanted. In this case there is a difference of opinion between Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

PŪRV. If you have given a connotative definition now, enumeration should not be made, *i.e.* a list of roots should not be given.

SID. It should be made.

PŪRV. What for?

SID. The enumeration of [the verbal roots] bhû and others should be made for the purpose of excluding nouns (prātipadikā) and the verbs that begin with आपपयति. [*i.e.* If the roots are not actually enumerated, nouns also which express action or being may come under the connotative definition. In the same way it will extend to roots used in ordinary life, which are not Sanskrit, such as आपपयति and others.]

PŪRV. What verbs are those which begin with आपपयति?

SID. आपपयति, वहति and वडुति. And enumeration should also be made in order that the anubandhas or indicatory letters and accents of roots may be made known; *i.e.*, that one may know what the accents and indicatory letters of roots are. It is not possible to know the accents or indicatory letters unless the roots are enumerated. [Anubandhas are certain letters attached to roots to denote some conjugational or other peculiarity belonging to them.]

PŪRV. Now those roots whose accents are capable of being inferred, *i.e.*, are उशन्त, and which have no anubandhas, but still are inserted in the list, may be omitted from it. [*i.e.* When those roots which have the अनुशन्त accent are enumerated, it may be inferred that the rest have the other or उशन्त accent.]

SID. Even these should be enumerated in order that आपपयति and others [*i.e.*, corrupt Sanskrit roots] may be excluded.

Hereupon Patañjali disagrees with Kātyāyana and says:—

PAT. No. आपपयति and others will be excluded, because the usage of the educated or Śiṣṭas is to be followed. This usage of the Śiṣṭas must be necessarily referred to in other cases even; for

instance, in order to exclude the altered forms of those roots that are enumerated. For in ordinary life, they use कस्ति for कृषि and विसि for वृषि. [The sense is, that since in grammar we follow the usage of the Śiṣṭas or educated, these verbs आणपयति, वहति and वडूति, and also कस्ति for कृषि and विसि for वृषि which are not used by them will necessarily be excluded from our connotative definition; hence for the purpose of excluding them enumeration is not wanted.]

Now आणपयति is a corruption of the Sanskrit आज्ञापयति, वहति of वर्तते, and वडूति of वर्धते, ते *Ātm.* being replaced by ति *Parasm.*, and कस् of कृष्, and विस् of वृष्. These and such other corruptions were in use at the time, but Patañjali clearly lays down that they were not used by the Śiṣṭas or educated people, and therefore they belonged to the language of the vulgar. Now all these roots are found in the Pāli in these very forms, आणपयति being, however, आणापयति; but the reading in the MSS. and the Benares lithographed edition which I have consulted is faulty. So also of the corruptions of the word गो given by our author, we find गावी in Professor Childers' Pāli Dictionary, and गोण the masculine of गोणी. Thus our grammarians recognise one language only, the Sanskrit, and these words and forms which are found in the Pāli they assign to the speech of the vulgar.

In another passage still we are told more definitely who the Śiṣṭas were that spoke the Sanskrit language correctly without studying Pāṇini's grammar, and whose usage was the standard of correctness. Pāṇini's Sūtra vi. 3, 109, lays down that such words as वृषदेर should be regarded as correct in the form in which they are upadishṭa, i. e., used or uttered; the changes in them such as the elision, or augmentation of letters or the alteration of their forms do not obey any general rules laid down by him, but still the words exhibiting those changes should be taken as correct, just as they are used. Now the Pūrvapakshin raises the question.

PŪRV. What is meant by *upadishṭa*?

SID. Uttered (used).

PŪRV. How does it come to mean that?

SID. The root 'dis' signifies 'uttering.' One utters (uses), letters, and says that they are thus upadishṭa.

PŪRV. By whom upadishṭa (uttered or used)?

SID. By the Śiṣṭas.

PŪRV. Who are the Śiṣṭas?

SID. The grammarians.

PŪRV. How so?

SĪD. The character of a Śishta is conferred upon one by the knowledge of the science (Śāstra); and the grammarians know the science [of grammar].

PŪRV. If a man is made Śishta by the science, and the science depends upon a man's being Śishta, this is reasoning in a circle. An argument in a circle does not hold. [The circle is, one is Śishta, and consequently an authority in matters of language if he has studied grammar; and grammar itself depends on the usage of the Śishtas].

SĪD. Well, then, the character of a Śishta is conferred upon one by the country in which he lives and by his conduct. That sort of conduct must be associated with residence in Āryāvarta alone, (lit. that sort of conduct must be in Āryāvarta alone).

PŪRV. Which is Āryāvarta?

SĪD. The country which is to the east of the Ādarśa, west of Kālakaṇṭha, south of the Himālaya, and north of the Pāriyātra. Those Brahmans in this country of the Āryas who do not store up riches (lit. who keep only so much grain as is contained in a jar), who are not greedy, who do good disinterestedly, and who without any effort are conversant with a certain branch of knowledge are the worshipful Śishtas.

PŪRV. If, then, the Śishtas are an authority as regards language, what function does the Ashtādhyāyī (Pāṇini's grammar) perform?

SĪD. The purpose of the Ashtādhyāyī is to enable us to find out the Śishtas.

PŪRV. How is it possible to find out the Śishtas by means of the Ashtādhyāyī?

SĪD. A student of the Ashtādhyāyī finds a man who has not studied the book using words just as they are taught in the Ashtādhyāyī. He then thinks, "Verily, this man possesses some good luck or innate nature by means of which, though he has not studied the Ashtādhyāyī, he uses words just as they are taught in that book. Verily he knows other words also" [not taught in the Ashtādhyāyī, such as पृषोत्तर]. Thus, the purpose of the Ashtādhyāyī is to enable one to find out who is a Śishta [in order that he may refer to him and learn such words as do not obey the rules laid down by Pāṇini, but still are correct].

Here then we have the clearest possible evidence that Sanskrit was the vernacular of holy or respectable Brahmans of Āryāvarta or Northern India, who could speak the language correctly without the

study of grammar. The corrupt language mentioned by Patañjali which was composed of correct and incorrect words, that is, a dialect like the Pāli must, therefore, have been the vernacular of the other classes. And this is what you may say even with regard to the modern vernaculars. Who is it that speaks good or correct Marāṭhī? Of course, Brahmins of culture. The language of the other classes is not correct Marāṭhī. The word Śiṣṭa may be translated by "a man of education or culture;" and this education or culture has, since remote times, been almost confined to Brahmins. Thus the dialects of the inscriptions of Aśoka and the Pāli were the vernaculars of the non-Brahmanic classes; but a greater importance must evidently have been attached to them in the times of Aśoka than is now assigned to the Marāṭhī of the non-Brahmanic classes since they are used by him in the inscriptions. They are however not recognized as independent languages by our grammarians who treated them as we treat the Marāṭhī of the lower classes; but they were in use and bore the same relation to Sanskrit that low Marāṭhī does to high Marāṭhī, the English of the lower classes in England to the speech of the higher. And the English of the lower classes contains, as we have seen, a great many such grammatical forms as "I knowed," "and you says," along with others that are correct.

It is on account of the mixture of such correct words and forms with others that were incorrect that the Pāli was not regarded as an independent dialect. The case was different with the Prākṛits. They assumed a more settled and fixed character, and were used over a larger area, and thus came to be considered and treated as separate languages. But the propagators of Buddhism, who like all teachers of a new religion addressed themselves to the lower or uneducated classes, soon raised this speech into importance. They wrote their religious works in it, and in the course of time it became their sacred language; but it is unknown in India as an independent tongue. From these passages in the Mahābhāṣya, therefore, it is clear that it is by no means true, as is generally supposed, that Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language when the Pāli arose. The two varieties of speech existed side by side; but as education and culture retrograded the number of Sanskrit speakers gradually decreased, and the lower variety went on spreading itself over a wider area, and developed into the Prākṛits.

This contemporaneous existence of the Sanskrit and the Pāli and the Prākṛits, as the spoken languages of two classes of the community explains, and is therefore confirmed by, several facts that we noticed

before. If when the Pāli arose Sanskrit became a dead language, it could not influence the grammar of the low dialects. Though words from a language that has ceased to be spoken may be adopted into a spoken dialect, the grammar remains intact. Even a living language, if it is foreign, does not affect it. But we have seen that the gradual disappearance of verbal forms is a phenomenon common to both Sanskrit and the Prākṛits, and that the latter derived some grammatical forms from the former which they did not possess when they were in the stage represented by the Pāli. This could not have been the case if the two languages, Sanskrit and Pāli, had not existed, as two varieties of the vernacular of a homogeneous community. The fact that some Sanskrit words are so greatly corrupted as to be difficult of recognition and are set down as Deśyas by the native grammarians, while others can easily be traced to their original forms, also points to the same conclusion. Those that are greatly corrupted were early adopted into the language, and removed from subsequent influence. Most of the others, that exhibit only the ordinary changes, are such as denote elementary notions, and must therefore have been adopted as early as those of the first sort. But because they were such elementary words, they were heard again and again in their original forms as used by the higher classes; and thus a further corruption was prevented, and they exhibit only such changes as were necessitated by the vocal habits of the Prākṛit speakers. Another fact is the use of Sanskrit for the higher characters in the plays, and of Prākṛit for women and the lower ones. This supposes that when the idea first originated, and for a considerable period subsequent to it, though not afterwards when dramatic plays were written more according to rule than with a view to exhibit any existing state of things, women and persons in a low condition could understand Sanskrit, but not speak it. It was the same with Sanskrit then, as it is with Marāṭhī, for instance, now. A Chitpāvnī or Mālvaṇī woman speaks in her own dialect when conversing with an educated Marāṭhā, but understands the standard Marāṭhī that he uses, though she cannot speak it herself. And this is the case everywhere; a person in a low condition understands what is said to him by one belonging to the higher classes, but cannot himself speak like him, and must use his own variety of the language. Thus then at the time when the earliest Sanskrit dramatic plays were written, that language must have been in vernacular use, to such an extent as to be intelligible to uneducated persons. And that educated dramatic characters do actually

speak it shows that those whom they represent used it in real life. Again, the dramas were composed to entertain an audience, and were actually acted. If the audience did not understand Sanskrit as well as Prākṛit, the poet defeated his own purpose by making some of his characters speak in that language.

Sanskrit went on gradually losing ground, the number of those who spoke it grew smaller and smaller, and after a time it ceased to be used by anybody for the ordinary concerns of life, though even now Paadits carry on their disputations in it. But at all times it has been acting the parent to the vernaculars and adorning and enriching them. The ancient Prākṛits borrowed everything from it when it was in vernacular use; but the moderns mostly adopt such words as express abstract notions. There is, however, an apparent difference in the manner in which the borrowed words were treated by the Prākṛits, and are treated by the modern dialects. A Sanskrit word when used by a Prākṛit-speaking person was changed according to his habits of pronunciation; but in modern times it is preserved in a state of purity. This, however, is due to the fact that in modern times the educated classes as well as their uneducated brethren speak the vernaculars, and it is the former that pronounce the word properly. But the latter, and often women belonging to the former, corrupt it. Now the Prākṛit was, as I have shown, for a long time the language of precisely these persons. It is their pronunciation that is recorded by the Prākṛit grammarians and poets. In some provinces in modern times even the higher classes mispronounce the Sanskrit words adopted into the vernaculars, and also in reading Sanskrit books. But in the printed books the correct orthography is used. As I have observed in a previous lecture and at the beginning of this, some of the vocal habits of the Prākṛit speakers have come down to their modern descendants; but not all. The lapse of time and other causes have generated other peculiarities. Hence a Sanskrit word in these days is not corrupted in exactly the same way as in ancient times; and thus we get what are called modern Tadbhavas. Thus, then, as the Sindhî and the Bengalî cannot but pronounce Sanskrit मोक्ष as मोक्ख, and the Hindustânî as मोँछ, or the average Gujarâtî, the Sanskrit word मौन as मोन and जैन as जेन, so did his old Prākṛit ancestors. It should be borne in mind that the Prākṛit corruptions of Sanskrit words were not necessarily caused by their continual use for a number of ages, but were due in a good many cases to the vocal peculiarities of the men that used them. Most of those words that

represent only the ordinary changes are words of this class ; that is, the corruptions simply represent, as I have above observed, the transformation which they underwent in the mouth of a Prākṛit speaker. At all times Sanskrit words have been coming into the popular languages, but in old times they were pronounced in a manner natural to the men of those times, and thus became Prākṛit words ; and now they are pronounced in some cases in the same manner, but in a great many in another, and thus they become modern Tadbhavas ; while the educated classes often, though not always, pronounce them correctly, and thus we have modern Tatsamas. This is the way to account for the fact that there are so many pure Sanskrit words in our vernaculars, while there were but a few in the old Prākṛits ; and we need not connect their introduction with the expulsion of Buddhism and the selfish schemes of the Brahmans with which it has nothing to do, as is done by one writer.

We will now try to form some idea of the chronology and historical causes of the several linguistic changes we have noticed. The later or classical Sanskrit is in the same phonetic condition as the Vedic dialect from which it sprang ; and it was for a long succession of centuries spoken by the Indian Âryans. If it was so, the corruptions observable in the other variety of speech or low Sanskrit as it may be called, must have been due to the vocal peculiarities of another race than that which elaborated the classical from the Vedic Sanskrit. The universal assimilation of conjunct consonants which we observe in the Pâli could not have proceeded from the same community that could speak Sanskrit with purity. And such an extensive assimilation we find in the Italian which was formed out of the Latin spoken by the lower classes of the ancient Roman population, by the barbarian races that overran the country. As remarked in the opening lecture, phonetic corruption is rapid and extensive when one race learns and adopts the language of another. The Pâli corruptions, therefore, represent the manner in which a foreign race pronounced the Sanskrit of the Âryans. And from such history as we can glean from Sanskrit literature we know that the Âryan race when it emigrated to India came in contact with other races. After a time some of these were incorporated into the Âryan community, and formed its fourth order, known by the name of Śûdras. As long as these Śûdras were in a thoroughly degraded condition and remained distinct from the other three orders, their speech produced no perceptible effect on that of the latter. But after a time this order began to mingle with the rest, principally by means of intermarriages which must have exten-

sively taken place, since some *Smritis* or Indian law-books allow them under certain circumstances and others prohibit them ; so that the orthodox belief of learned Pandits at the present day is that the Kshatriya and Vaiśya orders do not exist, and that all those who are not Brahmans are Śūdras. But there are indications that even Brahmanhood did not escape pollution. As this combination proceeded, the Śūdra corruptions of the language came into prominence, and after a time such a language as the Pāli became the ordinary speech of the uneducated. By the time of Aśoka, we may suppose, the so-called Aśiṣṭa or uneducated people who spoke the incorrect or corrupt language comprehended among them the greater portion of the military, trading, and cultivating classes. Professor Childers is of opinion that there are no Deśya or non-Āryan words in the Pāli. But the Prākṛits do possess some at least; and you will remember that they exhibit other phonetic changes of which the chief is the elision of consonants. Up to the time of Aśoka and even to that of Patañjali these phenomena are not observable in the popular speech ; though they may have existed in the speech of the very lowest classes. It therefore appears that when this amalgamated community with Sanskrit and Pāli as the two forms of speech prevailing among the higher and the lower classes, spread over different parts of Northern India from the Himālayas to the southern confines of the Marāṭhā country they came in contact in the provinces with other races which led to the further corruptions we have been speaking of ; and thus the Prākṛits were formed. These new races while they adopted the language of the conquerors gave them a few of their own words.

Patañjali lived in the middle of the second century before Christ, and king Aśoka in the middle of the third. Between Patañjali and Kātyāyana a pretty long time must have elapsed, since in the Mahābhāshya various readings or emendations in a few cases of the Vārtikas of the latter are noticed and sometimes their interpretations as given by other writers ; so that a sort of literature must have grown round the Vārtikas. I am therefore inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the period of the Nandas, *i.e.* to about the first quarter of the fourth century. Now we have seen that in the time of this grammarian the Sanskrit language assumed a different form from that it had in that of Pāṇini; and by the time of Patañjali very great reverence had come to be paid to this last author. For in giving the uses of grammar the author of the Mahābhāshya says that it is the duty of a Brahman to

study the Vedas along with their *aṅgas* or illustrative *Sāstras*; and of the six *aṅgas* grammar is the chief. Patañjali is not likely to yield this honour to any other than Pāṇini's grammar. To account for these and some of the other circumstances noticed by Dr. Goldstücker, we must place Pāṇini about four centuries before Kātyāyana, *i.e.* refer him to about the eighth century before Christ. Yāska must have flourished a short time before him. Though the Pāli or an idiom very close to it was the language of the uneducated classes in the times of Kātyāyana, Aśoka, and Patañjali, still its formation must be dated some centuries earlier, since in its verb it represents what I have called Middle Sanskrit, or the Sanskrit of Yāska and Pāṇini. Yāska notices local varieties of Sanskrit words, and gives one or two instances, but makes no allusion to any apabhraṁśas or corruptions, though from the nature of his work he may be expected to do so; while Kātyāyana and Patañjali mention them frequently, as we have seen. Even if they existed in his time, therefore, they must have been insignificant and unimportant, and did not enter into the speech of any class of the Āryan society to any appreciable extent. After his time, however, *i.e.* about the seventh or sixth century, the elaboration of the Pāli, or low Sanskrit as it might be called, began in a decided manner; and the language continued to be spoken up to the time of Patañjali. Till then it did not specifically assume a Prakṛit form, though in the inscriptions of Aśoka some of the characteristics of a later Prakṛit, the Māgadhî, were developed as we have seen, in one province, very likely Magadha itself. The Prakṛits must have begun to be formed about that time, but they did not then attain any distinctive character; and the vernacular speech probably did not finally leave the Pāli stage till a very long time afterwards. About the time when the inscriptions in the cave-temples were composed, the Pāli was, as I have stated, a sacred and literary language. The longer and more important of the inscriptions are therefore in that language. But in a good many of the shorter inscriptions, especially of private individuals, we have words exhibiting Prakṛit characteristics.* The growth of the specific Prakṛits, therefore, must be referred to the early centuries of the Christian era; and we may therefore infer that about the time our first dramatic plays were written they were actually the spoken dialects of those classes of

* Such are काणभोअस for काणभोजस्य, पवइतिकाअ for प्रवजितिकायाः, महाभोयस for महाभोजस्य, भयंत for भदन्त, वेयिका for वेदिका, पडिक for प्रतिक, &c.

the people whose representatives use them in those works. About the sixth or seventh century the Apabhraṃśa was developed in the country in which the Brajbhāshā prevails in modern times ; or if the speeches in that dialect contained in the fourth Act of the Vikramorvaśī were really composed by Kālidāsa which, as remarked in a former lecture, we have the gravest reasons for doubting, its growth must be assigned to a somewhat earlier period. Daṇḍin mentions the Apabhraṃśa, and a good many verses from his Kāvyaḍarśa are found in Vāmana's Alaṃkāravṛtti ; and if this be the same Vāmana that lived at the court of Jayāpiḍa, king of Kaśmīr, who reigned from 751 A.C. to 782 A.C., Daṇḍin must have flourished before the eighth century. The modern vernaculars seem to have begun to assume a distinctive character about the tenth century. In the copperplate inscription containing the name of Bhāskarāchārya, dated 1128 Śaka or 1206 A. C. which I once mentioned before, Marāṭhī appears in its specific character, and so also does Hindī in the work of Chand who flourished about the same time.

And now, gentlemen, I close. It was impossible in the course of these lectures to do justice to the subject without entering into matters which are not interesting, except to those who have already paid some attention to it. Besides, the subject was wide, and I was compelled to compress a great many facts into a small space, but in spite of this and though I frequently omitted large portions of what I had written, the lectures were long and tedious. I am, therefore, obliged to you for the honour you have done me by your presence here, notwithstanding these drawbacks, and my thanks are specially due to those who have attended the course throughout.

N O T E.

Since this seventh lecture of the series has been given here before the others, in order that the reader may be in possession of my view as a whole about the dates of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, I deem it necessary to add, with the same object, something which I have not been able to embody in the article published in this volume, and which is not plainly stated in the lectures. I have already remarked that the language of the verses quoted in the anthologies as from a poem by Pāṇini is so different from that of the Sūtras, and from the Bhāshā or Middle Sanskrit, as I have called it, the grammar of which the Sūtras give, that it is impossible that Pāṇini, the author of the Sūtras, could have been the author of the poem. But it should by no means be supposed that I agree with those who restrict the style in which the verses occurring in the anthologies are written, to the period between 600 A.D. and 1000 A.D. That style can be traced back to a very early period. In a private communication Dr. Bühler reminds me of the fact that Daṇḍin, writing in about the seventh century, says in his Kāvya-darśa that in that book he gives the substance of previous treatises on the subject, and bases his rules on existing poetical works. In another place also in the same work he professes to follow Pūrva-chāryas, or previous writers. If then works on Poetics existed before Daṇḍin, the literature on which they were based must have undergone a long course of cultivation before they could be written. This consideration in itself would carry us backwards to about the early centuries of the Christian Era. And such works as the Saptaśatī of Hāla and even the Paiśāchī Bṛihat-kathā with which the names of princes of the Śātavāhana or Śāli-vāhana race are connected lead us to about the same conclusion. And in itself there is nothing to show that that style of writing did not prevail in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian Era. So that if verses of the nature of that attributed to Kumāradāsa occur in the Mahābhāshya, they prove nothing as to Patañjali's date. And if that date is fixed on independent evidence to be about B.C. 150, the occurrence of the verses in that work cannot in any way weaken the force of the evidence, but must be regarded as indicative of the fact that the period during which poetry of that nature was cultivated extended to

the second century before Christ. And I am inclined to believe that it must be carried even further backwards. Patañjali's work is full of quotations from poems existing in his time. In my article on "Allusions to Kṛishṇa" (Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p. 14) I have pointed out four passages which look as if they were from a poem on Kṛishṇa. There are similar quotations under Pāṇini I. 3,25 ; I. 4,3 ; II. 2,34 ; III. 2,26 ; VII. 3, 87, &c. And, as will be seen below, Patañjali expressly mentions a Kāvya by Vararuchi and Ślokas by Jalūka, and Kātyāyana speaks of ākhyāyikās, such as are considered by Daṇḍin as forming a branch of Sanskrit literature. So that the poetic style, referred to the sixth century after Christ, must be supposed to have been in use even about the third century before Christ ; though, of course, it must have been much more natural or much less artificial than at the other period. But still it cannot be carried so far backwards as the seventh or eighth century before Christ, to which period my reasonings, set forth elsewhere, have led me to refer Pāṇini. The Sanskrit of the verses attributed to Pāṇini and of poems written in that style appears so different from Pāṇini's Sanskrit, which must be likened to that of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and of Yāska, that I am decidedly of opinion that they must be referred to a later period.

If the Pātālavijaya or the Jāmbuvatīvijaya ascribed to Pāṇini had been really written by the great Grammarian, we should have met with a mention of either of them or of Pāṇini as the author of a poetical work in the Mahābhāshya. But so far as the work has hitherto been examined, no such mention is found. Besides speaking of Pāṇini again and again in his own name as well as by the use of the term Āchārya in the course of his comments and in connection with his arguments, Patañjali is fond of casting, as it were, a side-glance at the great Grammarian, and bringing in him and facts about him in the examples he gives of the rules explained by him. As examples of the Vārtikas on III. 2,108, he gives उपसेद्वान्कौत्सः पाणिनिम्। उपासदन्। उपसेद्वान्कौत्सः पाणिनिम्। उपासीदन्। उपाससाद्। in which the fact that Kautsa was Pāṇini's pupil is mentioned. Under II. 3,66, we have the examples शोभना खलु पाणिनेः सूत्रस्य कृतिः। शोभना खलु पाणिनिना सूत्रस्य कृतिः। in which his work, the Sūtra, is spoken of. As a counter-example of IV. 2, 66, Patañjali gives पाणिनीयम् in the sense of "the system first taught or promulgated by Pāṇini," and पाणिनीयाः in the sense of "students of Pāṇini's system." Under VI. 2, 36, we have आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याडीयगौतमीयाः as an example of a Dvandva compound of nouns signifying "the pupils of certain Āchāryas"

or "the students of the systems promulgated by certain Āchāryas." In the last three cases the grammar of Pāṇini is referred to, as it alone can be referred to. One would certainly expect therefore, to find in the Mahābhāṣya under IV. 3, 101, as an instance of a poem composed by an author in accordance with IV. 3, 116, a word derived from the name of Pāṇini; or under IV. 3, 87, Pātālavijaya or Jāmbuvatīvijaya supposing they were ākhyāyikās; or under IV. 2, 60, Pātālavijayika or Jāmbuvatīvijayika. But instead of these, we have in the first case, वाररुचं काव्यम् *i.e.* "a kāvya composed by Vararuchi," and जालुकाः श्लोकाः *i.e.* "Ślokas or verses composed by Jalūka"; in the second, वासववत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा, and भैमरथी; and in the third, वासववत्तिकः and सौमनोत्तरिकः, and as instances of "one who knows ākhyānas" यावक्कीतिकः, प्रियङ्गुविकः and चायातिकः.

The author of the Kāśikā makes matters concerning Pāṇini the subject of his examples in more cases than Patañjali does. Thus under IV. 2, 65, we have पाणिनीयमष्टकं सूत्रं तदधीतिःष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः; under IV. 3, 115, पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं पाणिनीयमकालापकं व्याकरणम्; and under II. 4, 21, पाणिन्युपज्ञमकालापकं व्याकरणम्। पाणिनेरुपज्ञानेन प्रथमतः प्रणीतमकालापकं व्याकरणम्. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita who in his examples and explanations follows the Kāśikā closely, brings in Pāṇini as often as the author of that work. But in the Siddhānta-Kaumudī there is no allusion whatever to Pāṇini as a poet or to the Pātālavijaya or Jāmbuvatīvijaya; nor in the Kāśikā, so far as I have examined it. And in the Kāśikā and the Siddhānta-Kaumudī under the sūtra next after IV. 3, 115, one would expect to find an example having reference to Pāṇini's poems if they ever were written by him, instead of वाररुचाः श्लोकाः। हैकुपासो मन्यः। &c. and वाररुचो मन्यः. It therefore appears clear that the grammarians themselves, from Patañjali downwards, do not know of the author of the Aṣṭādhyāyī as the author of kāvyas. And if the Mahākavi Pāṇini could, as we are told by Nami, use such forms as गुह्य and अपश्यती against the rules VII. 1, 37 and VII. 1, 81, clearly laid down by Pāṇini the Grammarian, he surely must have been another person than the Grammarian.

For these reasons, even if we suppose that the style of the kāvyas was in use at the period to which I have assigned Pāṇini the Grammarian, I do not think that he could have been the author of the kāvyas from which the verses occurring in the anthologies are quoted.

ART. XIX.—*A Copper-plate Grant of the Traikûtaka king Dahrasena.* By Pandit BHAGWÂN LÂL INDRAJÎ.

The plates, from which the present inscription is published, were forwarded to the Society by Mr. J. G. White, C.S., Collector of Surat, who states that they were found in digging a tank at 'Pardi,' the head-quarters station of a taluka fifty miles south of Surat.

The plates are two in number, each about $9\frac{1}{4}$ " by 3". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the inscription is very legible throughout. They have holes for two rings, and are held together at each place by copper wires, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, folded and twisted round and round each other; and, from the small size of these holes, these wires would seem to be the original rings of the plates, and not, as might otherwise be thought, later substitutes for cast rings, one of them with a seal on it. The characters are much the same as those of Dr. Bird's Kanheri plate,¹ and are apparently of about the fifth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The grant is one of king Dahrasena, of the Traikûtaka family,—a king, whose name now comes to notice for the first time, and seems to be a corruption, or popular pronunciation, of 'Dharasena.' It is issued from his victorious camp at Âmrakâ. And it records the gift of the village of Kan'yastâdâkâsârikâ,² in the Antarmañjali vishaya, to a Brâhman named Nañnasvâmin, an inhabitant of Kâpura. This, I have no doubt, is the Kâpura that is spoken of in two of the Nâsik Pându-Lônâ Cave inscriptions,³ where it is mentioned as an âhâra or 'district,' and from which it appears to be a very old town. The grant is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year 207, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaisâkha. The era is not specified. But I have no doubt that, both here and in the case of Dr. Bird's plate, the era is the same as that which was used by the Gurjaras and the Chalukyas of Gujarat, and which was established by the Traikûtakas,⁴ and commences in A. D. 249. In Dr. Bird's plate, this era is distinctly called the era of the Traikûtakas,—*Traikûtakânâm*

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, separate series, No. 10, p. 57 ff.

² See, however, note 13 below.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI. p. 575.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII. p. 76 f.

pravarddhamāna-rājya-samvatsara-śata-dvayā pañcha-chatvāriṅśattare. Professor Bhandarkar wishes to take it as the era of the Rāshtrakūṭas; but no other inscription has ever yet been found referring to an era of the Rāshtrakūṭas; and it is impossible to believe that so powerful a dynasty, having once established an era of its own, would lay it aside after it had been in use for more than two centuries.

The chief importance of the present inscription is the indisputable corroboration that it affords of the existence of the Triakūṭaka, or rather Traikūṭaka, dynasty, which I had already deduced from Dr. Bird's plate.

The king mentioned here, Dahrasena, is not known from any other record, and, unfortunately, this inscription does not give his genealogy. But the mention of him as performing the *āsvamēdha* sacrifice, shows that he must have been a great and powerful monarch; for the performance of a horse-sacrifice is very unusual for a minor tributary king, and is probable only in the case of a great and independent sovereign.

PLATE I.

स्वास्ति विजयस्कन्धावारासन्नकावासकाचैकूटकानां मातापि-
 त्पाशासुधपातो^७ भगवत्पादकर्मकरोश्वमेधाहर्त्ता श्रीमहाराजदहसे- Line 1 ends.
 नः सर्वानेवास्मत्सन्तकानन्ता^८र्मण्डलविषयवासिनस्समाज्ञापयति 2
 यथा कापुरवास्तव्यब्राह्मणनक्षस्वामिन^९भ्रैव विषयान्तर्गतक- 3
 नीयस्तडाका सारिकाभामो मातापित्रोरत्नश्च पुण्यायज्ञोऽभि- 4

PLATE II.

बुद्धये आ चन्द्र^१ कर्णवक्षितितिस्थितिकालिका^२श्रीराराजापन्थयाका-
 रिबडर्जासर्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहारेण पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोडयस्समत्सुष्टो 1
 यतोस्य भुञ्जतः कृषतो^३प्रवि^{१०}शतश्च न कनचि^{११}प्रतिषेधः कार्थ्य 2
 इत्युक्तञ्च भगवता व्यासेन षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि^४स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः 3
 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति बुद्धगुप्तदूतकमाज्ञा^५ 4
 सं २०७ वैशाखशुद्धत्रयोदश्या^{१२}१३

TRANSLATION.

Hail! From his camp of victory at Āmrakā, Dahrasēna, the illustrious great king of the Traikūṭakas,—bowing at the feet of his father

- ७ Read ०ध्यातो. ०सत्. ८ Read ०स्वामिने. ९ Read ०चन्द्र. १० Read कांशो
 ११ Read कृषतः. १२ This may be a mistake for the very प्रदिशतः
 १३ Read केनचित् १४ Read ०दश्याम्.

and mother ; serving the feet of the holy one (Vishnu) ; the performer of horse-sacrifices,—commands all his dependents living in the Antar-maṇḍali vishaya :—

(L. 3).—“ For the increase of the merit and glory of (my) parents and of myself, the village of Kaniyastadākāsārikā,¹³ situated in this vishaya, has been given up to the Brāhman Naṇṇasvāmin, an inhabitant of Kāpura, so long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall endure,—reserving the right to enter in order to apprehend thieves and traitors, giving up all taxes and forced labour; (and) with relinquishment of all the *ditya* and forced labour,—to be enjoyed by his sons and sons' sons.

(L. 6).—“ Wherefore let no one hinder him in the enjoyment, cultivation, and management¹⁴ of the same.

(L. 7).—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa :—“ The giver of land lives in heaven for sixty thousand years ; he who revokes, or advises the revocation of a grant, lives for as many years in hell !”

(L. 8).—To my dūtaka Buddhagupta these commands.

(L. 9).—The thirteenth (13th) day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, Samvat 207.

¹³ This may mean the village named 'Sārikā of the small tank,' to distinguish it from another Sārikā with a large tank. Or it is possible that a *kā* has been omitted, and that the text should be *Kantiyastadākā-Kāsārikā*,—'Kāsārikā of the small tank.'

¹⁴ Read प्रदिसतः.

ART. XX.—*Transcript and Translation of the BHITARĪ LĀT
Inscription.* BY PANDIT BHAGWĀNLĀL INDRĀJĪ.

TEXT.

सर्वराजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुर्दशिसलिलस्वरितय-
 षसो धनद्वरुणेन्द्रान्तक(समस्य) ठकृतान्तपरशोः न्यायागताने- Line 1 ends.
 कगोहिरण्यकोटिप्रदस्य चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्षुर्महाराजश्रीगुप्तप्रपौ-
 षस्य महाराजश्रीघटोत्कचपौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराजश्रीचंद्रगुप्तपु- 2
 षस्य लिच्छिविसौहृदस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यां मुत्पन्नस्य महा- 3
 राजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्तदेव्या-
 मुत्पन्नः महाप्रतिरथः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीचंद्रगुप्तस्त- 4
 स्व पुत्रस्तत्पाशानुध्यातो महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम ठ[भा] 6
 षवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य

प्रथितपृथुमतिः [स्व]भावशक्तेः

पृथुयशसः पृथिवीपतेः पृथुश्रीः ठ [1]

श्रि - - - गत - - प - वर्ती

प्रथितयशाः पृथिवीपतिः सुतोयम् [॥ १ ॥]

[ज]गति भुजबलाद्यो गुप्तवंशैकवीरः

महितविपुलानामा नामतः स्कन्दगुप्तः [1]

सुचरितचरितानां येन वृत्तेन वृत्तं

न विहतमथ चात्मात्मानधी - - - [॥ २ ॥]

विनयबल - - सुनीतेर्विक्रमेण क्रमेण

प्रतिदिनमभियोगाशीप्सितं येन लब्धा [1]

स्वभिमतविजगीषाप्रोद्य[मायां] परेषां

प्रणिहित इव लेभे संविधानोपदेशः [॥ ३ ॥]

विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तंभनायोद्यतेन

क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीतास्त्रिमासाः [1]

समुहितबलक्रोषात्पुष्यमित्रश्च जित्वा

क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितो वामपादः [॥ ४ ॥]

प्रसभमनुपमस्त्रिध्वस्तशस्त्रप्रतापं

विनयनमु - मुपेतं क्षान्तिशौर्यैर्भिरुदम्

चरितममलकीर्त्तैर्गीयते यस्य शुभं

विधि विधि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः

पितरि विवमुपेते विमुतां वङ्गलक्ष्मीं	12
शुजबलविजितारिद्यौ प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः	
जितमिति परितोषान्मातरं सासनेनां	
हतरिपुरिव कृष्णो देवकीमभ्युपेतः†	13
----- स्युपेत्य चलितं भग्नं प्रतिष्ठाप्य श्रीं	
बाहुभ्यामवर्नि विजित्य हि जनेष्वात्सेषु कृत्वा दद्यां	
नोत्सन्को न च विस्मितः प्रतिदिनं† ---- दातव्युतिः	14
गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च -- कयनेर्द्यै प्रेमवत्यार्च्यता ।	
हृनेर्द्यस्य समागतस्य समरे शोभ्यां धराकम्पितै-	
र्भामावर्त्तकरस्य †शु [शु!] शु दारा -----	15
----- लिखितं प्रख्यापितो -----	
लक्षित इव श्रोत्रेषु गाङ्गध्वनिः†	16
स्वपितुः कीर्त्ति -----	
विनियुक्ता नियुक्तेन -----	
यस्य प्रतिमा काश्चित्प्रतिमा तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः†	17
सुप्रतीतशकारेमां -----	
इह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठितशासनः	
मामपञ्च स विदधे पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये†	18
अतो भगवतो मूर्त्तिरियं यथाच यन्मित्रतः	
उभयं सन्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुण्याय पुण्यधीरितिः†	19

TRANSLATION.

The great and unrivalled high Servant of the Holy One, the great king of kings the illustrious Chandragupta, was the favourite son, born of his great Queen Dattadevi, of the great king of kings the illustrious Samudragupta, who up-rooted every hostile monarch, who ruled the earth without a rival, and gave the four oceans to drink of his glory, being as it were Kuvera, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama in one, the Axe of Death, the giver of crores of kine and pieces of gold that had rightly come to him, performer of the long-neglected Horse Sacrifice, himself great grandson of the great king the illustrious Gupta, grandson of the great king the illustrious Ghaṭotkacha, and son of the great king of kings the illustrious Chandragupta : daughter's son too of the (House of ?) Lichchavi, being born of Chandragupta's great Queen Kumāradevi.

His son, who worshipped at his feet, born of his great Queen Dhruvadevî, was the high Servant of the Lord the great king of kings the illustrious Kumârâgupta. Of this—

1. Ruler of the broad earth, whose broad counsels and natural force were known of all men, as his glory was, He was the son, who by the strength of his arm made himself on earth the one Hero of the Gupta House, whose fortune was vast, whose glory all men knew, whose name was great and greatly revered, by name Skandagupta.

2. By whom, in his conduct, the conduct of those whose rule is to perform righteousness was not neglected: by whom, after that . . . with prudence, strength, good counsel, and valour he had, step by step, and by daily fighting attained his object, instruction in the art of war was laid hold of as a servant that he might exert himself to win the victory over others on which he had set his heart.

3. Who when he rose to fix fast again the shaken fortune of his house, spent three months with the earth for his bed, then having gathered together all his forces and treasure conquered Pushyamitra, and placed his left foot on a king for a footstool.

4. . . . : the bright deeds of whom, of spotless fame as he was, is sung in every place by all men down to the boys.

5. The fortune of his House that fell when his father went to heaven he set up again: and with the joyful cry 'I have gotten me the victory,' he approached his weeping mother as Krishna did Devakî when he had slain his foe.

6. Who coming to . . . set up again him that was shaken and broken, and with his two arms conquered the earth: who shows mercy to the afflicted peoples, who is neither puffed up nor amazed, whose pure radiance . . . from day to day: whom greatness herself fondles with song and praise and exhortation.

7. Who when he joined battle with the earthshaking Hûns . . . by . . . appointed the image of that Vishnu was set up. The well known¹ . . . made it.

And when he whose orders are firm set it up, he gave a deed of grant of a village for the greater merit of his father: therefore this image and this village has the pure-minded one assigned for his father's merit.

¹ Or 'Supratita made it.'

This inscription is engraved on a stone pillar in the village Bhitri, about twenty-five miles east of Benares, and three miles to the north-east of Saitpur, a town which stands about half-way on the road connecting Benares with Ghazipur. The pillar stands close to the village, in a place strewn with bricks and tiles, fragments of earthen pots, and all the other usual indications of the site of a ruined town. The place and its surroundings are well described by General Cunningham in the First Volume of his Archaeological Survey.

The inscription is very weather-worn, and in many places little but the trace of the letter is left. For this reason it is impossible to secure in a rubbing or mechanical facsimile all that can be deciphered on the stone. What I now publish is an eyecopy made in 1869 for Dr. Bhau Daji by a careful examination of the inscription itself letter by letter: and I am satisfied that every letter I give could then be made out on the stone.

This eyecopy was used by Dr. Bhau Daji for his facsimile, transcript, and translation of this inscription published in the tenth volume of our Journal. The means then available here for the reproduction of such copies did not yield a satisfactory result: and as I have preserved my eyecopy in original it seems worth while to publish it now in a more correct form with a revised transcript and translation. I publish it as it stands.

The characters of the inscription are those called Gupta, and differ very slightly from those of the inscriptions in the same alphabet on the Allahabad pillar. The only material difference indeed is in the sign for the letter ञ which has here a form that does not occur, so far as I have seen, before the time of Kumâragupta. The language is Sanskrit. The introductory genealogical part is in prose. The account which follows of the king reigning at the time is contained in ten verses. The genealogy is as follows:—

Mahârāja-śrī-Gupta.

Mahârāja-śrī-Ghatotkacha.

Mahârājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta—married Kumâradevi,
daughter of House of Lichchhavi.

Mahârājādhirāja-śrī-Samudragupta—married Dattadevi.

Mahârājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta—married Dhruvadevi.

Māhārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāragupta.

Skandagupta.

The officer or commissioner of this last it was who set up in Bhitri an image of the Lord (Vishṇu), in connection with which the grant of a village was made, for the greater merit either of Skandagupta's father or his own—it is not clear which.

It will not escape notice that the description of the glory of the House of Gupta begins only with Samudragupta, the fourth monarch of the dynasty. Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha, too, are styled Mahārāja only, not Māhārājādhirāja. Samudragupta's father, Chandragupta the First, has the superior title. The rise of the House may have begun with him: or the glory the son acquired been shared with the sire.

Of Samudragupta's fame as a king of kings we know from the Allahabad Lāt inscription. The kings mentioned as subject to him there ruled over the greater part of India. We learn from this inscription that his son and successor Chandragupta the Second was styled Lichchhavi-dubriti. His mother was therefore a princess of the House of Lichchhavi in which we are probably to recognise the Nepal dynasty of that name.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in what is said of the then reigning monarch Skandagupta. It would appear that with the death of his father, Kumāragupta, the overlordship was temporarily wrested from the House of Gupta, and that Skandagupta himself was exposed to great hardship. In the end he conquered his foe Pushyamitra and made him the footstool for his "left" foot.² The humiliation thus publicly inflicted on his conquered enemy speaks of resentment for some weighty injury. His mother lived to rejoice in her son's success, as Devakī rejoiced over Krishna.

By his victory over Pushyamitra Skandagupta would seem to have at once restored the fortune of the Guptas to its former splendour. His contest with the Hūnas, which must have taken place subsequently, is the only circumstance of interest that can be gleaned from the latter part of the inscription in its present greatly injured condition.

The inscription is not dated, but must apparently be referred to the beginning of Skandagupta's reign. Nothing is said in it of Skandagupta's foreign conquests of which we learn from the Junaghad and Kahaun inscriptions.

From the Gaḍvā inscription near Allahabad we know that his father

² As not worthy to be footstool for the right foot.

Kumâragupta was reigning in the year 98 of the Gupta era.³ In 1870 I found another inscription of Kumâragupta in Devaliâ, close to Gadva, under an image of Buddha which reads thus: [1] नमो बुधानं भगवतो सम्यक्समुद्धस्य स्वमताविरुद्धस्य इयं प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठावपिताभिर्भुवुद्धमित्रेण[2] सम्बद् १२९ महाराजश्री कुमारगुप्तस्य राज्ये उद्येष्टमासदि १८ सध्वं वृकस्वप्रहानार्थम्॥ that is, "Salutation to Buddha. The ascetic Buddhamitra set up this image of the Holy one, all knowing, whose doctrines none can confute, in the 129th year, in the reign of Mahârâjâsri Kumâragupta, the 18th day of the month Jyeshtha. May this avert all calamity." These two dates Gupta era 98 and 129 are so far the earliest and the latest for Kumâragupta.

I drew Professor Peterson's attention to the Pushyamitra mentioned in this inscription, as possibly the monarch of that name mentioned by Patanjali in the Mahâbhâshya. In his reply to Professor Peterson, Professor Bhandarkar, who still maintains that Patanjali must be placed in the second century before Christ, was at first disposed to contend that there was no good reason to believe that any such word is legible now on the stone. In a note, however, Bhandarkar mentions that Mr. Fleet, who has recently taken a fresh impression, reads पुष्यमित्रं गृहीत्वा. The whole line Bhandarkar adds, is, in Mr. Fleet's judgment, capable of being read स. When it is borne in mind that Mr. Fleet's reading so far only confirms my reading of sixteen years ago, it will no longer, I think, be disputed that the stone does contain the name Pushyamitra. The near context, however, in which the name stands, is not free from difficulties. I can only bear my testimony to what I saw in 1869. समुदितबलकोषा was quite distinct. The low position of the ष् of Pushyamitra shows that it was the lower part of a conjunct consonant, the upper part of which has disappeared. पुष्यमित्र was, and is, distinct. The next sign is च. चित्त्वा is quite distinct. I take the line as it stands then to be

समुदितबलकोषा पुष्यमित्रच चित्त्वा⁴

On what is reported to be Mr. Fleet's reading I can only say that I saw no anusvâra over the पुष्यमित्र, and that the च which that reading

³ General Cunningham reads the figure 86, and believes that it refers to Kumâragupta's father Chandragupta. I have examined the inscription itself and have no doubt that the data given above are correct.

⁴ Read बुद्धाय सम्यक्सं. The month is counted right on as now in Nepal.

⁵ I gave it to Professor Peterson as समुदितबलकोषात्पुष्यमित्रं च चित्त्वा; but a closer examination of my eyecopy has shown me that the facts are as above.

disregards is quite distinct. There are the epigraphical data : for General Cunningham's copy, on whose wide divergence from me Bhandarkar partly relies as showing "unmistakably in what condition the inscription is," is illegible throughout, a condition which no one will now assert to be that of the stone, and cannot tell for or against. With the grammatical difficulties I will not further deal than to say that I am quite convinced that the inscription does bear testimony to a 'man of flesh and bones' named Pushyamitra, on whose prostrate form Skandagupta in derision placed his "left" foot.

But it should be remembered that this Pushyamitra is not put forward as necessarily a king contemporaneous with Patanjali, to whom the grammarian is referring, but only as showing that history knows of more Pushyamitras than the one who, on very inadequate evidence is taken to have been reigning in the second century before Christ.

Dr. Bhau Daji was, I believe, the first to point out that the Mahābhāshya refers to Pushyamitra in terms which lend probability to the view that he was a contemporary of the author of the book (Journal, Vol. X. p. 43, note). In his paper in the Indian Antiquary (October 1872) Professor Bhandarkar examined Patanjali's references to Pushyamitra, and came to the conclusion that they point to a king living in Patanjali's time. Bhandarkar also pointed out that in one of the two passages relied on Chandragupta is named alongside of Pushyamitra, and apparently as a king living at or about the same time. If the Mahābhāshya must be put subsequent to a pair of princes by name Chandragupta and Pushyamitra, contemporary or not far removed from each other, I agree with the remark made by Professor Peterson at our last meeting that there is more trustworthy evidence for such a pair about the fourth century after Christ than in the second before Christ.

Nor is there anything really in the other available evidence that conflicts with this. We know nothing of the events referred to by Patanjali as attacks made by the Yavanas on Sāketa and the Mādhyamikas. The term Yavanas is frequently applied to the foreign tribes in the North : and I know of no reason why Patanjali's Yavanas should not be the Scythian kings contemporary with Samudragupta. The Mādhyamikas, it is now universally admitted, are not the Buddhist sect of that name. If everything else should be found to harmonise with such a supposition there is nothing in the name itself to prevent us applying it to the Gupta kings who reigned over the middle country.

There remains the statement in the first book of the *Rājatarangini*, which Professor Peterson is disposed to discredit altogether. He may be right: but I desire to point out that it is quite possible that Kalhana's statement may be correct in all but the date. Kalhana wrote in 1148 A. D. His book is to a large extent a mere compilation which *primâ facie* deserves less credit the farther back it goes. He himself tells us that he is responsible for the arrangement of his facts: and that when there was a gap in any one of his authorities he supplied it from another. His lists of the kings of the country is vitiated by his habit of interpolating whole genealogies, when he should only note that the last king of the line succeeded in wresting from a previous dynasty the sovereignty of Kashmir. A good specimen of his manner in the early books is furnished by his statement with regard to the date of the three Turushka kings, whom he boldly places just 150 years after Buddha's Nirvâṇa. This is palpably absurd. We have numerous inscriptions from Mathura with regard to Huvishka, the characters on which do not, in my opinion, materially differ from those of the Samudragupta Allahabad inscription. It is not possible to place much more than fifty years between the two. Kalhana makes Abhimanyu follow Huvishka: but here as everywhere, where there is an admitted change of dynasty, his statement as to the interval which did or did not elapse between the two is worthless. Abhimanyu's own date has therefore still to be determined: and there is nothing in the statement of the *Rājatarangini*—if we accept it—which conflicts with the conclusion I draw from other sources that Patanjali's date is to be looked for between Chaudragupta II. and the Pushyamitra whom that monarch's grandson, the Skandagupta of our inscription, overthrew—that is, in the time of Kumâragupta.

What Kumâragupta's time was is no longer open to question. He was reigning between the years 98 and 129 of the Gupta era. Mr. Bendall's Nepal Inscriptions, and the Mandosar inscription referred to in Professor Peterson's paper on the Kotah inscription, show that the initial year of the Gupta era is B. C. 319, as first maintained by Oldenberg. Compare also Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Deccan*. Kumâragupta then was reigning between the years 417 and 448 of the Christian era.

ART. XXI.—*An Inscription of King Aśokavalla.*—By
PANDIT BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI.

An impression of this inscription was sent to me by General Cunningham, who states that the inscription was found near Mahâbodhi, in Buddha Gayâ. It consists of twelve lines, which are all well preserved. In the lower right corner there is an obscene figure of an ass and sow, the object of which is to invoke a curse on any one who shall do despite to the gift recorded in the inscription. Pictorially such an one is here called by anticipation the son of an ass and a sow. A similar device is often seen on the Silahâra inscriptions in the Northern Konkan.

The characters of this inscription are of the Gauḍa or old Bengâl form. They bear a general resemblance to those of the Gayâ inscription of the same period, which contains the date of Buddha's Nirvâṇâ.*

It is written in incorrect Sanskrit, and the engraver has made many mistakes, so that it is rather difficult to decipher. It is in prose, with the exception of the formula ये धर्महेतुप्रभा, &c.

The inscription refers to a small vihâra (called Prahinya?) which had been erected by Aśokavalla at the request of Muśala, a royal pandit from Kashmir, and others. In this vihâra Aśokavalla had also set up an image of Buddha; and had made provision for a daily ration to be offered before the image, and for store of pots, incense lamps, and the like. By pots we are probably to understand pots of earthenware, none of which could be used more than once.

The management of the daily offering was entrusted to the Singhala (Ceylon) and other communities in Mahâbodhi. It would appear from this that at the time there were still settlements of Singalese in Mahâbodhi.

The inscription has an important bearing on the Gayâ inscription already referred to, which I published in Vol. X. of the Indian Antiquary, p. 341. According to the Gayâ inscription Purushottamasingh built a temple to Buddha to enhance the merit of a son and daughter whom he had lost. Before addressing himself to this work he paid, he tells us, homage due to the illustrious Aśokavalla, king of Sapâdalaksha (the Śivâlik hills). This is the Aśokavalla of the present inscription.

* Indian Antiquary, Vol. X. p. 341.

The characters of the two show that they belong to the same period; they are dated in the same era, and are found in the same place. I have already suggested (*Indian Antiquary*, l. c.) that the Aśokavalla—as I find the name should be read*—of Mr. Hathorn's Buddha Gayâ inscription is the same man.

The date of the inscription is the year 51 of king Lakshmanasena. It is therefore 23 years older than Mr. Hathorn's Buddha Gayâ inscription, which refers to the year 74 of the same era. In that inscription mention is made of the treasurer of Daśaratha, who is there styled the younger brother of Aśokavalla. Daśaratha is called a prince, not a king, and we may, I think, assume that the Aśokavallas of the two inscriptions are one and the same. In that case a great portion of Aśokavalla's reign falls between the years 51 and 74 of the era of Lakshmanasena. But, according to the Tirhut Calendar the year 1 of the era of Lakshmanasena corresponds with the year 1109 A. D. †Aśokavalla then was reigning between the years 1160 and 1183 of the Christian era. We know from the Gayâ inscription that the year 1813 from Buddha's Nirvâṇa was computed to fall somewhere in Aśokavalla's reign. Putting the two dates we have now together it would seem that Buddha's Nirvâṇa was computed to have taken place eighteen hundred and thirteen years before a date lying between 1160 and 1183 A. D., that is, somewhere between 653 and 633 B. C. This agrees with my previous suggestion that the computation relied on in the Gayâ inscription is identical with the Peguan date, according to which the Nirvâṇa took place in 638 B. C.

TRANSCRIPT.

- [1] ओं नमो बुद्धाय ॥ ये धर्म्मो¹ हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो² ह्यवस्तु
तेषां च यो नि-
- [2] रोध एववादी महाभ्रवणः³ ॥ देयधर्म्मोयं प्रवरमहाजानजायिनः⁴ पर-
- [3] मोपासक⁵ समस्त[पु]⁶ न्यप्रकृत्योपेतमहाराजश्रीमद्शोकवल्लदेवस्व बह्व

* I read it at first अशोकवल्ल; but the च and व of this inscription are very different in form: and I see now that it can only be अशोकवल्ल, a contraction for अशोकवल्लभ.

† Rajendralal's *Buddhagaya*, p. 200.

¹ Somewhere occurs ये धर्म्मो. ² The तो in तथागतो being omitted by the engraver, is placed above the line and its position is marked by a Kākapaḍa.

³ Generally read भ्रमणः. ⁴ Read महायानयो. ⁵ Read पासक. ⁶ In the third

- [4] पुनर्वं तद्भवतु । मातापितृपूर्वं गमं कृत्वा शकल⁷सस्वराशेरनुत्तरज्ञान-
 [5] फल⁸वासय इति ॥ कश्मीरपण्डितभदन्तश्चरुपधी⁹राजगुरु¹⁰पण्डित मूढाल ।
 [6] पात्र संकरदेव । पात्र त्रैलोक्यब्रह्मकारिभिः श्रीमद्भ्राजानं बोधयित्वा भट्ट
 रामोदर । भट्ट पद्म । शिशु¹¹राघवमहिपूकानं¹²प्रहिन्य-
 [7] वीहारीयं¹³बुद्धप्रतिमासहिता कारिता । यदपरं । नैवेद्यायै भां[डो?]वे¹⁴-
 [8] तं चैतत्सत्रं स¹⁵धूपं दीपसहितं आचंभ्राह्मे ये केचित् श्रीमन्महाबोधौ सि-
 [9]. फलसंघादयस्तैः प्रत्यहं देयं । नैवेद्यामिदं सम्यद्भा¹⁶रित कल्पि-
 [10]. तकारहरिचन्द्रगुप¹⁷कारी मामक्रयो[ः] परिकल्पितमिति ॥
 [11]. श्रीमद्ब्रह्मणसेनस्यातीतराज्ये सं ९१
 [12]. भाद्र दि ८ रा २९

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to Buddha ! The great Śramana, He it is who tells what the root is from which virtue springs, as also what it is that chokes that virtue.

This is the virtuous gift of the great king, the illustrious Asokavalladeva, an adherent of the excellent Mahāyāna school, a great upāsaka, pious at heart. May whatever be its merit be for the advancement in spiritual knowledge first of my father and mother and after them of all beings.

Moved thereto by the Kashmir Pandit, the honoured Chaṭhapadhi, by the king's pandit Muśala, the worthy Śankaradeva and the worthy

line after परमोपासक there is a mark of Kākapada, and above the first line are the letters समस्त together with the numeral 3 in order to show the break of line 3. The same is admitted in the text. But there ought to be the letter पु after समस्त. ⁷ Read पुण्य. ⁸ Read सकल. ⁹ Read फला. ¹⁰ चटपधी may be for modern चटोपाधि, a title of a Bangālī Brahmin. ¹¹ Read राजगुरु. ¹² Read शिशु. ¹³ Read कानां. ¹⁴ Read विहा. ¹⁵ After "भां" the letter "डो" must be mistaken, otherwise there should be no sense. ¹⁶ In the beginning of line 8 there is धूपं. But it has no sense. There is a Kākapada after पै therefore some letters are required after पै. At the top of the inscription there are the letters तत्सत्रं in the Kashmere Shāradā characters. Those letters ought to be taken here, when the whole may be read तत्सत्रं सधूपं. But पै has no sense. It may have been mistaken for चै by the engraver. The correction in Shāradā letters seems to be made by the Kashmere Rajaguru. ¹⁷ Read सम्यग्भा. ¹⁸ Read सूपका.

Trailo-kyabrahma, the illustrious king built and furnished with an image of Buddha this Prahinya Vihâri (Bhaṭu Dâmodara, Bhaṭu-paima, Śisu Râghava, and Mahipuka?)

Moreover, for the offering to Buddha the daily ration with pots, incense, and lamps, shall be given so long as the sun and moon shall endure, by the leaders of the Ceylon assembly in Mahâbodhi. This offering must be prepared by the cook Mâmaka, and the good keeper and disposer Harichandra, Saivât 51 of the reign of the illustrious Lakshmannasena having elapsed, the 8th day of the dark half of Bhâdrapada, the 29th solar day.

ART. XXII.—*Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche*, by
PANDIT DURGA PRASĀDA.

This article, which presents in tabular form the results of a careful review of Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, was prepared for communication to the Society, by Pandit Durga Prasāda, of Jeypore, at my suggestion. In laying it, on behalf of the Pandit, before the Society, I drew attention to a couple of examples (Nos. 2146 and 2313) where the new readings are undoubted improvements. Apart from such cases the article as a whole must, it is thought, prove interesting to many who use Böhtlingk's book, and not least perhaps to that distinguished scholar himself.—ED.

“इन्दिशे स्पुखे” नामकस्य श्लोकसंग्रहस्य

शोधनपत्रम् ।

जयपुरमहाराजाश्रितेन पण्डितब्रजलालसूनुना
पण्डितदुर्गाप्रसादेन कृतम् ।

मुद्रित- श्लोक- क्र.सं.	अस्मद्वृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः.	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः.	टिप्पणादि.
४	.....	का चन—कश चन ...	चन इत्येकमव्ययं न प्र- थक् च न इति । असा- कल्ये तु चिच्चन इत्यमरः.
५५	अक्षीणसोषाद्विषमादिष्टा- निष्टभयोद्धितात्.	.....	शुद्धः पाठः । मुद्रितस्त्व- शुद्धः.
६०	शुणैव .....	.....	समीचीनः पाठः.
६२	.....	न कस्य	मुद्रितपाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
६५	वर्णानां ब्राह्मणो.		

मुद्रित- श्लोक- क्रं.	अस्मद्वृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः.	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः.	टिप्पणादि.
६६	वह्नी तिष्ठति विप्राणां हृदि देवो मनीषिणाम् । प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनां सर्वत्र विदितात्मनाम् ॥	.....	पाठान्तरम्.
७९	.....	अघटितघटनं घटयति...	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
८०	बुद्धो याति गृहीत्वा वृण्डं तस्यपि न मुञ्चत्याशा- पिण्डम् ।	.....	.....
८७	तत्सर्वं निष्फलं.....	.....	समीचीनः पाठः.
८९	.....	वैन्यमत्रा	समी. पाठः.
९१	.....	न प्राप्य.	.....
९५	.....	कर्यं चन.	.....
१०२	अजाश्वा मुखतो मेध्याः	.....	.....
१०३	.....	विषूचिका.	.....
१२०	.....	यानपात्र—	यानपात्रं नौकामित्यर्थः. पाठान्तरम्.
१३९	प्रायः कूपोदकं पिबति.	.....	.....
१४०	भिल्लपुरंभी.	.....	.....
१५३	.....	कं चन.	.....
१५७	वित्तलेषामपि .....	.....	मु. पाठो ऽद्युद्धः.
१६०	अतीन्द्रियायां.	.....	.....
१६६	कटुका च वाणी .....	.....	मुद्रित- पाठो ऽद्युद्धः.
१६७	पारस्य.	.....	.....
२०४	तस्यामुखस्यातिमनोह- रस्य कर्तुं न शक्तः— अद्यापि शीतद्युतिरा- त्म—भिनन्ति ॥	.....	.....
२२३/२४	.....	.....	त्याज्यौ । अभीलस्वात्.
२४४	.....	किं चन—किं चन.	.....
२५३	परिसृद्यन्ते .....	.....	समीचीनः पाठः.
२७९	वसेद्दालनायके .....	.....	मु. पाठो ऽद्युद्धः.
२८४	.....	किमस्माभिर्यावत्पुनरपि.	समी. पाठः.
३२९	अनृतेन समुत्कषा.	.....	.....
३५५	अन्त्यावस्थोऽपि महा- न्स्वगुणान्न जहाति जातिशुद्धतया ।	.....	मुद्रितपाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
३६२	ऋत्विजम् ।	.....	.....

मुद्रित- श्लोकाङ्कः	अस्मद्दृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः.	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः.	टिप्पणादि.
३०८	.....	नवमालिकायाः.....	समीचीनः पाठः । २५०९. श्लोको द्रष्टव्यः
३८५	.....	नियच्छति	समी. पाठः.
३९०	.....	कदा चन.	
४०१	.....	परुषः.	
४०५	.....	अपरीक्ष्य न	मुद्रितपाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
४०९	.....	बहुलेऽपि.	
४२४	.....	कथं चन.	
४२६	अपि मेरूपमं.....	.....	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
४४१	शीर्षयानप्रपीडितम् ॥...	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः.
४४३	स्वर्गो .....	.....	समी. पाठः.
४५२	.....	किं चन.	
४६९	.....	तथा न	मुद्रितपाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
४९९	वाह—नास्त्यन्तः .....	.....	समी. पाठः.
५२४	सदा गतिः ॥		
५३३	.....	अमृताप्यायिनां.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः.
५३२	मधून्यपि.		
५५१	उडुगणपरिवारो नाय- को.		
५७५	.....	कर्तव्यो.	
५८०	.....	कं चन.	
५९१	.....	कामं	समी. पाठः.
५९९	.....	अञ्जलतरं	समी. पाठः.
६००	.....	प्रिया च	मु. पाठोऽद्युक्तः.
६१२	.....	पुरुषाधमः.....	मु. पाठोऽद्युक्तः.
६४९	कुम्भोद्भूतः पपी.....	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः.
६७२	.....	वामः प्रयाणसमये.....	वामभागे गर्दभशब्दो या- त्रायां शुभो भवतीति शकुनशास्त्रम्.
६७६	.....	चन.	
६७७	.....	अविचारवतो ----- -----वृषकण्डनम् । -----मूर्च्छितम्.	मुसलेन धान्वासीनां कु- हनं कण्डनमित्युच्यते.
६८७	.....	नयन्ति ह्यपथं नायः ...	समी. पाठः.
७११	संभितव्योऽथवा दुर्गो....	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः.
७२१	.....	वासवगर्जितं	समीचीनः पाठः.

सं. क्र. पाठः	अस्मदृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः.	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः.	टिप्पणादि.
७३६	.....	विदूषकपदानां.	
७५१	.....	क्षणमात्रविरागिणः... ..	टीकाकारसंमतः पाठ एव समीचीनः.
७८३	.....	.....	त्याज्योऽयं शोकः पूर्व- मागतः ७६३.
७८५	.....	जलदात्रीरनिचये	समीचीनः पाठः.
७९५	.....	रमते न मरालस्य	पाठान्तरम्.
८१२	च यमालयम् । शेषा जीवितुमिच्छन्ति.	.....	महाभारते वनपर्वणि.
८२७	.....	तथा वृद्धं च बालकम् ।	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
८३०	.....	किं चन.	
८५०	.....	कृते खाने—इयालकः ।	
८८४	.....	इयालकः	
९२८	द्विसापल्लवित.— .....	.....	उत्तमः पाठः.
९३९	.....	कदा चन.	
९५३	.....	आ पाण्डुता शिरसि— तातेति भाषणपरा.	मु. पाठस्त्वशुद्धः.
९५५	.....	मूढो.	
९६३	.....	भरिताः	
९८१	.....	आयाचतुर्थ—शीपो हि.	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
९९१	क्रीडारसान्प्रस्तुतान्— नाथन्यस्य—रणन् घुर्घरम्.		
१००८	प्रतिभाविशेषो.		
१०१०	.....	—मोदश्च	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः.
१०३३	मधुरहं कृति—रहः का- न्ताम् ।		
१०३७	.....	बलयस्तेन	ओष्ठपादिर्बलिषब्दः.
१०४०	.....	पापवारिणि	हारिणीति पाठे बभक- भङ्गः.
१०६०	.....	—करिणः	समीचीनः पाठः.
१०६७	बहिः शक्यते .....	.....	समी. पाठः.
१०७१	परोपकारैककरण—स्व- गुणेष्वपि हन्त.	.....	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
१०८१	.....	ऽपि भारायते.	
१११०	.....	गोपसूनुं.	

संज्ञित- श्लोकाङ्कः	अस्मदृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः.	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः.	टिप्पणादि.
११३७	गजतुरगघतैः .....	.....	पाठान्तरम्.
११५०	पिष्टुनाञ्छन्वधतीति...	.....	मु. पाठस्त्वद्युद्धः.
११५२	.....	भूरिशानेन.....	समी. पाठः । मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
११५७	.....	सत्यमेवैतत्त्वमेव	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
११६१	चक्षुर्गता—चूर्णताम् ॥	.....	.....
११६८	.....	विकलरश्मिर्मण्डलं ...	त्याज्योऽयं श्लोकः पूर्व- मागतः ११९.
११७१	बहिर्निरसयन्त्वानान्मुहुः	.....	.....
११८२	.....	.....	त्याज्यः पूर्वमागतः ११७८
१२२२	भारद्वाजः प्रभाषते ...	.....	समी. पाठः.
१२३२	.....	भाषिते.	.....
१२४०	उच्यतेष्वपि.	.....	.....
१२५९	.....	.....	त्याज्यः । पूर्वमागतः १२४९.
१२७७	.....	.....	त्याज्यः । अमे वर्तते १२८२.
१२७८	.....	परोऽर्थः	मु. पाठोऽद्युद्धः.
१२८४	लङ्घनोपायाश्चस्वारः ...	.....	मु. पाठोऽद्युद्धः.
१२८५	परस्मिन्नह लोके च ...	.....	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
१२९१	.....	.....	त्याज्यः । अभीलस्वात्.
१३१६	.....	समुदीक्षते	मु. पाठोऽद्युद्धः.
१३३२	.....	.....	त्याज्यः । अमे वर्तते १३३३.
१३५६	.....	हत्वा परः.	.....
१३६०	.....	विनाकृत्य	समीचीनः पाठः.
१३६३	न मिश्रितः .....	.....	समी. पाठः.
१३८८	सकललघिमकारण- मुद्गरं.	.....	.....
१४०९	.....	माभाषस्ते	लोकोक्तिराभाष इत्यु- च्यते.—(2'roverb.)
१४१९	.....	स्फारस्फुरिततेजसा ...	समीचीनः पाठः.
१४२२	.....	कन्या	बहुवचनस्य प्रयोजनं नास्ति.

क्र. सं.	अस्मदृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः	टिप्पणादि.
१४३३	.....	पायस्तरङ्गनामिव ...	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः.
१४३६	.....	जिनो विमुक्तललनास-	समीचीनः पाठः ।
		ङ्गो—व्यासक्ति.	
१४४५	—कुङ्कुमरसन्यासाय.	.....	मुद्रितपाठस्त्वशुद्धः.
१४६०	निघ्नन्ति ये .....	.....	समी. पाठः.
१४९९	.....	.....	त्याज्यः अत्यशुद्धत्वात्.
१५०९	.....	कति न सन्ति—न चा-	
		न्यमहीरुहानिति.	
१५१२	कयमपि कृतप्रत्या-		
	रच्याने.		
१५१७	.....	पुरुषः	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः.
१५२९	.....	.....	त्याज्यः । छन्दोभङ्गा-
			द्विषोपसृष्टत्वात्.
१५३१	कपोले माजारः.....	.....	भासकवेरयं श्लोकः.
१५५४	नमः शृङ्गारबीजाय ...	.....	पाठान्तरम्.
१६२५	.....	धृतचापसंथितशरः.	
१६३५	.....	का प्रीतिर्वा गणिकया..	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः.
१६३८	.....	क्रोधस्तथा.	
१६४९	.....	न सन्ति यत्र.	
१६६१	.....	मनः पान्य हे.	
१६६२	.....	प्रणयं	समीचीनः पाठः
१६८०	.....	—मनार्थे—	
१६८६	.....	षण्मङ्गला.	
१७३३	कश्चन.	
१७३७	—उत्सृजन्कृपणव-	समी. पाठः
	च्छुषाच्यो		
१७३८	गृहिणः	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
१७५३	—पथिकस्तोमः—फला-	समी. पाठः
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१७८०	लज्जा न ते	समी. पाठः
१७८२	कीर्तिस्वर्ग	समी. पाठः
१७८४	कुमहाश्च	समी. पाठः
१८१७	तूष्णीका.	
१८२४	दुष्टमानसाः	
१९०१	—विलेपनैक—	

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२१०३	नो वाचि	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
२११५	—सीत्कृतिकृतौ.	
२११७	त्याज्यः
२००४	वलीमण्डित—	
२०२२	चाम्भसां नाथम्	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
२०२७	विपन्नधीधृतिरपि.		
२०४९	वेदयापुत्रो.	
२०५४	जरुहरिणाः	समी. पाठः
२०७६	द्रष्टव्याः पीतसुस्तना ना- र्यः ।	
२१०३	नाद्रियते च	समी. पाठः
२१०४	बलयः	
२१४६	—माप्नोति काणाक्षि.		
२१५८	गुणेषु यज्ञः क्रियतां ...	पाठान्तरम्.
२१८७	खलाः ॥	
२१९२	करा चन.	
२२१९	च्छिन्नं छिन्नं.	
२२२४	काष्ठकूटेन—कुञ्जरः ...	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
२२५९	त्याज्यः
२२७०	मन्दरश्चलन्ति —काले चलते—करा चन.	
२२९१	त्याज्यः । पूर्वमागतः ६०२.
२३१३	यन्नापितो मधुरतां.	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
२३२१	जन्मजन्मनि चाभ्यस्तं यद्दानाभ्ययनं—	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः.
२३७४	द्विकरेण शुद्धे.	
२३८९	विकसन्ति प्रियं दृष्टा...	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः.
२४०१	प्रमदासुरज.—	
२४०६	यावत्परिरभ्य .....	.....	पाठान्तरम्.
२४१३	त्याज्यः । छन्दोभङ्गः. दूषितत्वान्.
२४३७	नेह	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
२४४२	ज्ञातयस्तार.—		
२४५७	मन्मार्गवीक्षण.— छान्छामिति.—		

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२४९८	साधवः	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
२५०१	ब्रह्मचिन्ताश्च	समी. पाठः । मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
२५२४	इमान्तं मृतो वा.	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
२५२५	तस्माद्यत्र यथा यज्ञवि- तव्यं.	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
२५२६	कुष्टं युद्धं—न कथं चन.	.....	त्याज्यः । छन्दोभङ्ग- वृषितत्वात्.
२५९१	.....	.....	छन्दोभङ्गः
२६१४	.....	.....	छन्दोभङ्गः
२६१७	.....	भियेव विमुता.	.....
२६२०	.....	.....	छन्दोभङ्गः
२६७९	.....	उद्युक्तो.	.....
२६८६	त्वयैकेनैव गन्तव्यं त- त्कर्म.	.....	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
२७१९	.....	हरते चित्तं	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
२७२८	.....	कथं चन.	.....
२७६४	.....	तीर्थः संसारसागरः.	.....
२७७०	मन्त्रो .....	.....	समी. पाठः.
२७८४	.....	के चन.	.....
२८३२	—न सा .....	.....	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः.
२८५१	बुर्जनो नार्जवं याति ...	.....	समीचीनः पाठः
२८५७	.....	वशाति.	.....
२८८८	.....	कृष्टबुर्जनसौरात्म्यः	.....
२९००	.....	वसन्तनृपतेः संप्रोषितो	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः
२९१९	.....	च्छायाश्चून्यः	.....
२९२३	.....	वृदा वाक् सततं यस्य.	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
२९४२	वेश्मीष्विव.	.....	.....
२९५७	.....	रिक्तहस्तैर्न गम्यन्ते.	.....
२९६५	ध्यायन्मुहुर्दीक्षते.
२९८४	—रम्भस्तत्कापुरुषलक्ष- णम् ।
२९८६	समावृत्ते.
३००९	ब्राह्मणं.	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
३०२२	—त्रिगीषोश्च.

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३०२५	कदा चन.	
३०३२	शीर्यते.	
३०६४	खलीकारः	समी. पाठः
३०८६	जिनश्च	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
३१०१	धर्माद्दे यवनो	समी. पाठः
३११४	कश्चन.	
३१२०	अजागल—	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
३१४०	.....	.....	अर्धश्लोक एव कुतो मु- द्रितः । द्वितीयाधोलाभा- देतदप्यर्थं त्याज्यमेव.
३१७३	कारुणिको ऽस्ति.		
३१९८	.....	किञ्चित्कश्चिदस्तीह.	
३२०९	लब्धलास्यानि .....	.....	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
३२१३	.....	कदा चन.	
३२२६	.....	पुरुषेषु	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
३२४७	.....	वा म्रियते	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
३२६४	—वाजिवर्जितम्.		
३२६६	.....	कदा चन.	
३२७१	.....	कथं चन.	
३२७३	.....	.....	त्याज्यः । अस्यशुद्ध- त्वात्.
३२७९	.....	कदा चन.	
३२८९	.....	स्त्रीगोचरः.	
३३०५	.....	चाध्वरैः	
३३२४	.....	निर्मितः—दृष्टपूर्वो—हेम- मयः कुरङ्गः	
३३५७	.....	कथं चन.	
३३७६	.....	हृदयं न	समी. पाठः
३४१०	.....	समस्त	समी. पाठः
३४११	.....	.....	त्याज्यः
३४१३	—परिमलगन्धः .....	.....	मु. पाठे गल इत्यधिक- मशुद्धम्.
३४२१	चलते .....	.....	समीचीनः पाठः
३४३८	प्रयत्नशतैरपि स्थितो ऽपि पयोद्वे । गुणप- रिचितामार्यो वापी न जल्पति बुज्जनधिरमपि बलाध्माते लोहे कुतः कनकाकृतिः ॥	.....	मुद्रणे श्लोकोत्तरार्धं वि- स्मृतम् । पूर्वार्धमप्यशु- द्धम् । हरिणी छन्दः

सं. क्र. / पृ. क्र.	अस्मदृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः	टिप्पणादि.
३४९४	.....	कदा चन.	
३५१९	.....	.....	त्याज्यः । पूर्वभागतः २४८७.
३५२०	.....	ऽभ्यसनं विना	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
३५३३	.....	कदा चन.	
३५७५	.....	नार्चितः	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
३५८२	.....	कश्चन.	
३५०२	.....	दिशन्ति	
३५०९	खिन्नानाम्हासयञ्छनैः ।		
३५४७	.....	क्लेशशतार्जिता	विसर्गलोपः कार्यः
३५५७	.....	कर्यं चन.	
३५५९	.....	कर्यं चन.	
३५६१	सुन्दोपसुन्दावन्योन्यं.		
३५६७	.....	कदा चन.	
३६००	.....	पतिते	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
३६०८	.....	कृतव्ययः स्वैरं	समी. पाठः
३६१०	क्षितितललिखनं माम्य- हासा.—		
३६१६	.....	स्फुटसल्लकीवनयुतां.	
३६२५	.....	कदा चन.	
३६३४	पतिमिह.		
३६४२	.....	कदा चन.	
३६५२	.....	—वृद्धिक्षयभाजं.	
३६९०	.....	ऽपि साधुः संगत्यै वर.	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः
३८५०	.....	.....	त्याज्यः । छन्दोभङ्गः शेषवृत्त्वात्.
३८६६	हतविधे लाभः		
३८९९	.....	—स्थलीयत्यहो.	
३९१९	.....	कश्चन.	
३९३९	.....	जानन्नपि	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
३९९७	.....	कदा चन.	
४००३	.....	.....	त्याज्यः
४००७	.....	कर्यं चन.	
४०१४	.....	.....	त्याज्यः
४०२१	योगिताम्.		
४०४१	हन्त्यपरं .....	.....	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
४०५४	.....	व्याहृतेन.	

सं. क्र. / पं. क्र.	अस्मदृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः	टिप्पणादि.
४०६३	.....	पारदारिक.—	
४०७६	.....	भर्तृवन्दया.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
४०८७	.....	सस्तरे.	
४१०२	वरमुदर.— .....	.....	समी. पाठः
४१४७	.....	किरादानाम्	किरादो वैश्यजातिवि- शेषः पर्वतदेशेषु प्रसिद्धः
४१६७	—रामतपोवनादिगमनं— जटायुमरणं सुग्रीवसंभा- षणम्.		
४१८६	रत्नसंज्ञा.		
४२००	.....	कश्चन.	
४२३८	न च स्त्रियः		
४३३८	—तपात्पाता .....	.....	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
४३५३	परिचयचले चिन्ताचक्रे		
४३५४	.....	.....	प्रथमद्वितीयपाठयोर्व्य- त्ययो विधेयः
४४२७	.....	ज्ञातव्याः	
४४७६	.....	किं चन.	
४५४५	.....	तमेव.	
४५८१	.....	—त्कदा चन.	
४५९४	.....	सञ्जिधि.—	
४५९६	मृत्युर्धावति.		
४५९८	.....	तन्न.....	तत्कैतवं न सौहृदमित्यर्थः
४६०१	—सङ्ग-प्रमोदः		
४६१६	.....	वितुवन्त्यपि	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
४६१९	.....	यतेर्यद्विद्विशेषः	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
४६२२	तस्येष्टा.		
४६२५	—वर्धनापलपनैः		
४६३४	.....	—मसारमेव.	
४६३७	सर्वे वस्तु .....	.....	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः
४६४३	भ्रान्तं.		
४६४८	कथं मानस्य.		
४६५०	परभक्षकाः		
४६७४	.....	स्याद्धीतः.....	मुद्रितपाठोऽशुद्धः
४६७५	नवमालिका.		
४७००	.....	निरुन्धयेत् ..	समीचीनः पाठः

क्र. सं.	अस्मदृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः	टिप्पणादि.
४७२१	.....	कृष्ण	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
४७३४	घटयितुं तं .....	.....	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
४७४८	दूरभीरुत्व— .....	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
४७६१	.....	प्रसह्यैव हि वातेन श- क्यो धर्षयितुं यतः	समीचीनः पाठः
४७८२	.....	शत्रवः	
४७८६	—समस्तमोहमहिमा ...	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
४७८८	स्वदेशो.		
४८३१	—प्रभृतयो जाता मही- मण्डले नैकेनापि—व- सुमती मुञ्च.	.....	भोजप्रबन्ध इय श्लोकः
४८३६	.....	मारुतः.....	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
४८४४	.....	मा न्याघ्रा	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
४८६८	.....	रोगो मिथ्यात्वं परमा विपत्.	मुद्रितपाठोऽनुचितः.
४८७३	.....	परिचरन्देवं	वेतनं गृहीत्वा परार्थे दे- वपूजको देवलः
४८८२	कर्तरीतुल्यं .....	.....	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः
४८८३	.....	स्नेहो ऽधिकः	समीचीनः पाठः
४९०९	.....	वपुः स्त्रीणां	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
४९१८	.....	.....	त्याज्यः छन्दोभङ्गादि- दुष्टत्वात्.
४९६६	असती च.		
४९७२	.....	सैन्यमनायकम् ॥	
४९७५	.....	चत्वारो देवनिर्मिताः ॥	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
४९७६	दृतो ऽभिधीयते ॥		
४९८२	सरिद्वेगेषु .....	.....	समी. पाठः
४९९२	.....	चन.	
५०२०	यत्तदर्थं .....	.....	समी. पाठः
५०२७	.....	तेनेश्वरानुयातेन.	
५०४५	.....	श्रमो.	
५०९७	.....	शरीरं पावनं.	
५१०६	.....	—वात्मकर्माभिः ॥	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
५२११	.....	वक्षः.....	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
५२२१	काकांश्च वारयेत्.		
५२२९	.....	यदि तनयो विनयसंपन्नः	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः.

संज्ञिकाः	अस्मदृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः	टिप्पणादि.
५२३०	.....	गगनवीर्याम्	पत्वं न भवति.
५२४०	तन्वर्ज्ज्नी.		
५२६९	.....	चन.	
५२८७	.....	च्छेत्तुं.	
५३०६	न स्पृशन्ति च गिरः कवेरपि ।		
५३२१	.....	कीर्णकर्णरसायना.....	समी. पाठः
५३२७	दुर्जेः परं गतः । ह्रिय- त्यन्तरितो जनः ॥		
५३४३	विधातृवशात्पैति ॥		
५३६६	.....	गेहे च.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
५३७०	क्षिप्रमक्रियमाणस्य ...	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
५४१२	.....	चन.	
५४३०	.....	.....	स्नानविरोधिनां जैनाना- मयं श्लोकः See Subhā- shitāvalī No. 2948.
५४४५	कदमला—सर्वत्रोत्तरदा- त्री च.		
५४४६	मृष्टभाषणशीला च.		
५४६८	लोकद्वयसाधिनी.		
५४७०	.....	तावन्न मुच्यते सा हि स्त्रीशरीरात्कथं चन ।	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः । छन्दो- भङ्गश्च.
५४८२	.....	—सहस्राणि	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
५४९७	रोरशिखिभागिषु .....	.....	रोरं शरिद्रम् । हरिणी सुवर्णप्रतिमा. See Su- bhāshitāvalī. No. 1660.
५४९९	चक्रिकां भगवतीं । व्य- सनिन्गुणेषु विफलेष्वा स्थाम् ।	.....	चक्रिका राजसमीपव- तीं सेवकसमूहो दम्भो वा.
५५०७	.....	वस्तु.	
५५०८	.....	चन.	
५५१९	.....	विरोधे तु परस्परम् । अन्यैः सह विरोधे तु.	कौरवान् प्रति पाण्डवो क्तिरियम्.
५५२१	.....	द्वन्द्वातीता—चन.	
५५३६	.....	सागरे	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः.
५५४०	.....	—परशोराकुण्डिता.	

संदिता- श्लोका- क्र.	अस्मद्वृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः	द्विष्पणादि.
५९६६	स्यातामुचयापचयौ। चन.	.....	मुद्रितपा. छन्दोभङ्गः
५९७१	—तेषामभिन्नो मृदो — धियस्तेषां तु दूरे नृणाम्। मे रोचते ॥	.....	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः। संतोष- शीलाणां मृत्तिकासमानः सुवर्णपर्वत इत्यर्थः.
५९८१	.....	रुच्यताम् ॥	
५९८६	.....	पृष्टो हितं	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
५९९४	.....	चन.	
५९९०	.....	चन.	
५९९३	.....	चन.	
५९८१	.....	प्रावृत्काले.	
५९८४	.....	यौवन उद्यमकालो	समी. पाठः
५९९२	.....	भुजगयमिताः	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
५९९३	.....	चन.	
५९९२	.....	प्राप्तुणो.	
५९९८	साक्षेपनाज्ञप्तया .....	.....	मु. पाठे मकारो ऽधिकः
५९९८	.....	प्रतिष्ठे.	
५९९०	यदस्मदीयं नहि तत्परे- षाम् ॥	.....	चतुर्थः पाठः
५९९४	कंसभयं सदा विष्णोः	.....	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः
५९९७	पर्यटञ्जसः—		
५९९५	.....	चान्वे शास्त्र	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
५९९२	न तु शोफतः .....	.....	मु. पाठोऽशुद्धः
५९७३	विप्राश्चरिण रक्षिताः ...	.....	पञ्चतन्त्रे.
५९७३	.....	शीलात्पतितस्य	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
५९८२	.....	रूपयुक्तां न	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
५९९४	.....	द्रढयति	र ऋतो हलादिल्लघोः । इ । ४ । १४१ इति पाणि- निसूत्रेण ऋकारस्थाने रकारो भवति.
६०२१	.....	वाङ्मात्रेण विनीतः ...	समीचीनः पाठः
६०२२	.....	वायसस्यापराधः	
६०५४	.....	चन.	
६०६५	.....	चन.	
६१०९	.....	चन.	
६११०	.....	प्रीडा	विसर्गलोपः कार्यः
६११५	.....	चन.	

सं. क्र. १०८	अस्मदृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः	टिप्पणादि.
६१२५	.....	सङ्कृत्यः	
६१४८	अथि जडमते कल्पापा- थे व्यपेतनिजक्रमाः		
६१७४	लक्ष्मीरनुद्यमिनामीव ..	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
६१७९	.....	चन.	
६२४७	हीनः कान्ताराशतिरि- च्यते ॥		
६२६४	बाला स्त्री—।आयुर्वृद्धि- कराण्याद्दुरात्रौ च क्षी- रभोजनम् ॥		
६२६७	.....	करोति	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
६२८६	कटके च.		
६२८७	श्रेयान्वयसनी मौनियो- गिनाम् । मूर्खो ऽसद्वर्णो जीवनं सताम् ॥		
६२९४	.....	सदैवैते.....	मु. पाठे छन्दोभङ्गः
६३४३	.....	मध्यापातो	
६३४६	.....	चन.	
६३४८	शक्यो.		
६३६९	.....	क्रीडामि	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
६३७७	.....	चन.	
६३९९	.....	चन.	
६३९६	.....	यो राष्ट्र—	
६३९७	.....	चन.	
६४१९	—गत्वर्थो आपातरम्या विषयाः पर्यन्तपरि—	.....	किराताकुर्नीये.
६४४४	.....	—मता	विसर्गलोपः कार्यः
६४४६	.....	चन.	
६४५०	इतरे चर्मचक्षुषा ॥		
६४६२	संसारतज्जुनादानम्.		
६४६९	.....	धर्माय.	
६४८२	मृगमहणे .....	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
६४९७	.....	लोटैरपि	टकारान्तो लोटशब्दः
६५५०	वीक्षणं तन्व्याः ॥		
६६००	.....	परिपता	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः.

संख्या	अस्मद्वृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः	टिप्पणादि.
६६१४	.....	चन	
६६२१	—पसर्पणम् .....	.....	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
६६५८	स्याताममित्रौ .....	.....	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः। अभिन्न- शब्दः पुंलिङ्गः
६७२१	.....	चन	
६७३३	मनोरमा रामाः		
६७७०	.....	घृष्टपाषाण—	
६८०७	.....	सीत्कारा—	दन्त्यासिरेव सीत्कारश्च- ब्दः प्रायः प्रयुज्यते.
६८२४	श्रवणपथगता .....	.....	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
६८४४	.....	चन	
६८५८	.....	न पुनरुन्नति.	
६८८८	.....	चन	
६९००	.....	दशति	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
६९३९	.....	—निर्धनापि	
६९४१	.....	कश्चन	
६९५६	.....	चन	
६९७७	गगनविहारी.		
६९९४	सा जिह्वा या हरिं स्तौति तच्चितं यत्तसर्पणम् ता वेव केवलं.		
७०२०	.....	चन	
७०३५	.....	—द्वारेणैव	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
७०३६	.....	चन	
७०३८	शल्काकठिनं.		
७०४४	.....	खरशिला	
७०४७	यद्युचस्त.		
७०९८	.....	—संभवम्	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
७१३४	.....	स्तनयुगस्यैव	उपमा समुच्चिता.
७१७०	स्वच्छन्द्वारी कुत्र श्वा विक्रीतासुः क सेवकः॥	.....	उत्तरार्धे पाठान्तरम्.
७२६९	स्त्रियः		
७२७४	.....	चन	
७२९४	.....	—वीराः केचिच्च द्या-	मु. पा. छन्दोभङ्गः
७२९९	.....	स्त्रीभृत्यौ	समीचीनः पाठः
७३०३	.....	चन	
७३३०	पयोधे यद्धारुणै— .....	.....	पयोधे इति संबोधनम्.


संक्षिप्त- श्लोकाङ्कः	अस्मदृष्टपुस्तकेषु पाठः	अस्मत्संमतः पाठः	टिप्पणादि.
७३४९	.....	चन.	
७३८३	धिङ्ङिष्ठाभिपातिन्थो ...	.....	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः
७४३३	पुरा कृतानि		
७५१४	.....	चन.	
७५१७	.....	चन—चन.	
७५३५	.....	चन.	
७५४८	.....	अभूतपूर्वं रामेण.	
७५६२	.....	नान्यथोनी.	
७६०८	.....	पुत्रः.....	मु. पाठो ऽशुद्धः.

२१, ३२, ५०, ८४, १०३, १२९, १५०, १८६, २६३, ३६५, २६६, २६७, २६८, ३०२, ३५६, ४०५, ४२०, ४३५, ५९६, ६२४, ६४७, ७०७, ७७२, ८६५, ९०१, ९२६, ९२१४, ९२१५, ९२१६, ९२८६, ९३०२, ९३०५, ९३०६, ९३९३, ९३९३, ९३९४, ९४२४, ९४५९, ९५५९, ९५५२, ९५५३, ९७९५, ९८७५, ९९५४, २०२९, २३३९, २४७६, २५८२, २६१८, ३०६४, ३२००, ३३४४, ३४२८, ३५००, ३५३२, ३५३५, ३५३६, ३५७८, ३७४२, ३७९४, ३७९७, ३८७८, ३९४२, ३९४५, ३९५०, ३९५२, ३९७८, ४१०१, ४१८२, ४२३७, ४३२१, ४४१५, ४४२२, ४४७१, ४४८२, ४५२३, ४५२४, ४६००, ४६५९, ४८३३, ४८९५, ५१८४, ५२९०, ५३७९, ५३८६, ५४५९, ५५११, ५६०५, ५६४३, ५६४९, ५६५०, ५६९७, ५९७३, ५९८०, ६११५, ६२६१, ६३०४, ६३६१, ६३६७, ६३८६, ६४००, ६५१७, ६६९३, ६८५६, ६९८६, ७०९४, ७०९६, ७११२, ७१४७, ७१६२, ७१८२, ७४०२, ७५८५.

संग्रहे एतत्संख्याकाः श्लोकाः कथागर्भिताः सन्ति । अतः संक्षेपेणैतेषां कथा अपि लेख्याः । अन्यथा सर्वेषामर्थबोधः सम्यङ् भवति ।

ART XXIII.—*An Inscription from Kotah.*—By Prof.
PETERSON, D. Sc.

I took the opportunity of a recent visit to Kotah in Rājputana to examine and take a fresh rubbing of the inscription at Kansua, near that town, of which I now offer a revised transcript and translation. Attention was first called to this interesting and important memorial of antiquity by Colonel Tod, who published a translation in an Appendix to Vol. I. of his *Annals of Rajasthan*. Dr. F. Kielhorn contributed to Vol. XIII. of the *Indian Antiquary* a transcript of the original text, with a short abstract of the contents. I hope it may be permitted to as warm an admirer as Tod's Book ever had to say, what is indeed the bare truth, that on this occasion the translation given to him by his shastris presents hardly a single feature in common with the original. Dr. Kielhorn's transcript had already made so much clear. But the inscription is of a nature to warrant a full translation: and as my rubbing supplies a considerable number of corrections it does not seem superfluous to give, along with the version which follows, a revised transcript.

Kielhorn has pointed out that the alphabet used in this inscription is essentially the same as that of Dr. Bühler's Jhâlrapâthan inscriptions published with facsimiles in Vol. V. of the *Indian Antiquary*. A difference which Kielhorn draws attention to is that in the Kotah inscription middle long a "is denoted by a wedge-shaped sign placed after the consonant, not by the sign  placed above it." It has to be added that the wedge-shaped sign in question is hardly, or rather not at all, distinguishable in form from another wedge which both in the Jhâlrapâthan and in the Kotah inscriptions is a constituent part of the signs for the letters ञ् and ङ्. In the eighth line of Dr. Bühler's facsimile of the first Jhâlrapâthan inscription the word सस्वप्रवृत्तुङ्गलङ्गला° supplies in close juxtaposition the syllables ङ्ग and ङ्गला. It will be seen that both have the wedge. The second character differs from the first in that there the wedge is drawn out from the thin end by a curve above the line into the "diminutive trident," as Bühler calls it, which is the ordinary sign for middle long a in the Jhâlrapâthan inscriptions. For the letter ङ् compare the word ललाटे in the second line of the same facsimile, where, however, the wedge has got to look like a mere continuation of the top line.

The wedge then being already a constituent part of the sign for ज् and ङ् in this alphabet a difficulty arose when, as here, it came to be used also for middle long a. The alphabet, as it previously existed, indicated the expedient made use of in the Kotah inscription. While after other letters long a is written by the simple wedge, after ञ् and ङ् the wedge is drawn out in a curve going above the line, though not to the same extent as in the older inscriptions.

The only other characters which appear to call for remark are those for middle short and long i. The two are differentiated, as in other Sanskrit alphabets, not by the relative position each occupies to its consonant, nor by any material difference in the shape of the sign, but by the direction, to the right or left, the curve takes from the initial point, which is, as a rule, somewhat thicker than the rest of the character. The neglect of the distinctions I have noticed has, I think, led Kielhorn to correct मणी V. 3 into मणि, विकटा V. 4 into विकट, and स्पष्टि V. 9 into स्पष्टी. In all three cases the right reading would appear to be on the stone.

This inscription is dated in the 796th year of the Lords of Málava. It is probable that the Jhálrâpâthan inscription, which is dated in the 747th year of an unnamed era, is to be referred to the same method of computing time. The slight difference in the alphabet to which attention has been drawn is of the kind that might develop in the fifty years which, on this hypothesis, would separate the two. Neither the Śivagaṇa of our inscription nor the Durgagaṇa of the Jhálrâpâthan inscription is spoken of as a sovereign monarch:¹ and when we find one spoken of as ruling at Kotah, under a Maurya Emperor, in the year 796 of the Lords of Málava, and the other referred to as ruler in the year 747, of a town only seventy miles to the south, which has always been very closely connected with Kotah, it seems natural to suppose that "Durgagaṇa," and "Śivagaṇa," are of the same stock. If this be so, it is to be noted that the want of any reference on the Jhálrâpâthan inscription speaks of an era which at the time had wide and undisputed currency.

¹ Differently Kielhorn, who carries the line of Maurya Emperors given here from Dhavala through a Chirantana to Śaṅkuka, who was the father of the Śivagaṇa of our inscription. A reference to either transcript will however show, I think, that it is the friendship existing between Dhavala and Śaṅkuka which is referred to, and that chirantana is not a proper name at all.

It can be shown that this era of the Lords of Malwa is no other than that now known as the Vikramâditya era, and that it was in use under this or some such similar name before 544 A. D., the year in which, according to Mr. Fergusson's ingenious theory, the Vikramâditya era was first invented.

When I was at Jhâlrâpâṭhan I was told by the Brahmans of that place that they could trace their lineage back to a body of immigrants from the west country, part of whom halted at Daśapura, while their own progenitors pushed seventy miles further to the east, and finally settled where I found their descendants living. Daśapura, they added, was the old name of the village now called Mandosar near the station of that name on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. It will be seen that this identification, which is an important one, was confirmed by the inscription about to be referred to. Daśapura as the name of a town in Malwa occurs in the Hitopadeśa.

I knew that the village of Mandosar contained an old inscription² which was probably of very great importance: and what I heard from the Jhâlrâpâṭhan Brahmans did not diminish my anxiety to make out a visit to the place. Unfortunately that proved impracticable at the time. I was able however to supply Pandit Bhagvanlal with funds for the journey: and he has put me in possession of his rubbing and transcript.

The Mandosar inscription refers to a temple built by a guild of weavers, immigrants from the Lâṭ country, who had been hospitably received at Daśapura, whither they had been attracted by the report of the virtues of the then ruler of that town, Bandhuvarman, son of that ornament of kings, Viśvarman.³ But while Bandhuvarman

² I heard of it from Dr. Bhagvanlal, who got his information from Mr. J. F. Fleet, into whose hands a rough copy, made at the time by an engineer employed in the construction of the Railway, was finally put. The inscription is an extremely quaint one, and I should much like to publish it in full. But my friend Mr. Fleet, who has since obtained his own facsimile, destines the inscription for his forthcoming Gupta volume: and in deference to whatever may be his rights of treasure-trove in the matter I willingly refrain from doing more now than adducing what is necessary to the matter in hand. The chronological speculations above are however my own.

³ The word I have translated ruler is pârthiva. If the names of all the rulers of Daśapura ended in varman (compare our Śivagaṇa and Durgagaṇa above) we may have here a clue to the Pârthivo Bantivarman at whose court the Mudrârâkshasa was written.

ruled over Daśapura, the Earth "with the four seas for her girdle, and Meru and Kailasa for her fair great breasts," was under the sway of Kumāragupta. And this temple was erected—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या यति शतचतुष्टये ।
त्रिनवत्यधिकाब्दानां-

"when four hundred and ninety-three years from the establishment [in the country?] of the tribes of the Mālavas had passed away." Whether *gaṇasthiti* here has the meaning I have suggested for it may be matter of future discussion. I think it will not be disputed that in any case we have here the same era as that of our Kotah inscription. What is the era in the 494th year of which Kumāragupta was ruling the wide earth? This is a question to which I take it there can be but one answer. It is the era now known as that of Vikramāditya.

This can perhaps be most effectively demonstrated by beginning at the end, and assuming for the sake of argument what I desire to prove. Kumāragupta then, let us take it, was reigning in the year 494 of the Mālava era, that is, of the Vikramāditya era, that is, in the year A. D. 438. Kumāragupta's earliest and latest known dates, in the era of his House, are 98 and 129, that is, the years A. D. 407 and 448. On our hypothesis then the Mandosar inscription falls easily within the time at which Kumāragupta is known to have been reigning: and there is no other era known to us which will give us the same result. The Mālava era and the Vikramāditya era are therefore one and the same.

It is taken for granted in the above that the initial year of the Gupta era is A. D. 319. But with Oldenberg and Bhandarkar I hold that no apology is required for such an assumption. Those who still hesitate may rather fairly be challenged to show how any other theory of the Gupta era can be made to fit in with the Mandosar inscription.

Mr. Fergusson attempted to get rid of the chronological difficulties attaching to King Vikrama of popular story, by the theory that the astronomers who calculated for the monarch who was Kālidāsa's patron, an era to be called after his name, took as the date round which it should pivot A. D. 544, "the year in which the great battle of Korur was fought," but called that year Samvat 600, not Samvat 1, of the new method of reckoning. While the theory, as so expressed, must now, I think, be abandoned, it remains quite possible that Fergusson's solution of the chronological difficulties referred to may nevertheless "turn out to be in the main correct." But in that case what happened

was not that Vikramāditya's astronomers were so careful to pro a reckoning for past, as well as for present and future time, as gusson's theory would make them out to be. Either Vikramāditya personally concerned in restoring, not establishing, the old era of kings of Mālava :⁴ or the common people forgot in his glory all other kings who had ever ruled that land. In or after his time years took their name from him, as July took that new name : Divus Iulius.

It must not be put out of sight, however, that we may any discover that Vikramāditya, as a name of the Mālava era, is older it has yet been found to be, and that Bühler is right in still hold to the belief that the Vikrama era, " which begins 56 B. C. was n established by a king of that name who lived before the beginnir the Christian era."⁵ That is the natural explanation of the n and, as not unfrequently happens, it may ultimately turn out to b correct one.

To come back to our inscription, the year in which it is dated responds, if the foregoing be correct, to A. D. 740. Of the two vill set apart for the maintenance for ever of the temple, the name of Chaoni, can be seen close to Kotah, in the map of the Trigonomet Survey. I have not been able to identify the other. It woul interesting, and is perhaps possible, to trace the fortunes o endowment so solemnly set apart.

TRANSCRIPT.

ओं नमः शिवाय ओं

1. नमः स्सकलसंसारसागरोत्तारहेतवे ।
तमोगत्तोभिसंपातहस्तालम्बाय शम्भवे ॥
2. श्वेतद्वीपानुकाराः कश्चिदपरिमितैरिन्दुपादैः पतन्नि-
मित्त्यस्यैस्सान्धकाराः कश्चिदपि निभृतेः फाणिवैभोगभागेः। †Line 1
सोष्माणो नेत्रभाभिः कश्चिदतिशिधिरा जहुकान्वाजलौघै-
रित्यं भावैर्विवरुञ्चैरपि जनितमुदः पान्नु शम्भोज्जटा वः ॥

⁴ As Tribhuvanamalla had again to do in 1182 A. D. when the Śaka era for the time in its turn displaced the older method of computation. references given by Max Müller, 'India : What can it teach us ?' p. 285, n

⁵ Max Müller, 'India : What can it teach us ?' page 285.

Verse 1. a नमःस्सकल^० sic.

3. भोगीन्द्रस्य फणामपिद्युतिमिलनमौलीन्दुलोलांशयो
नेत्रामेन्दुरितास्सभूमकपिद्यौर्वालाशिखामैः क्वचित् ।
मुक्ताकारमरुक्षीजलकपैराकीर्णशोभाः क्वचि-
द्येत्थं शान्धतभूषणव्यतिकराः शम्भोज्जीटाः पान्शु वः ॥ †Line 2 ends.
4. स्थापोर्व्वः पानुमूर्द्धा सर इव सततव्योमगंगाम्बुलोल-
स्फूर्ज्जोगीन्द्रपंकमथयविकटजटाकूटकह्वारहारी ।
मन्दं यच्च स्फुरन्त्यो धवलनरशिरोवारिजन्मान्तराल-
स्पष्टः प्रोद्यन्मृपालांकुरानिकर इवाभान्ति मौलीन्दुभासः ॥
5. नेत्रक्रोडप्रसक्तोऽवलदहनशिखार्पिगभासां जटानां 3
भारं संयम्य कृत्वा समममृतकरोऽहासि मौलीन्दुबिम्बं ।
हस्ताभ्यामूर्द्धमुद्यद्विद्यशिखिवदनमन्थिमातस्य नागं
स्थापुः प्रारब्धवृत्तो जगद्वनु लयोस्कम्पिपासांगुलीकः ॥
6. चूडाचारुमणीन्दुमण्डितभुवः सङ्गोगिनामाभ्रयः 4
पक्षच्छेदमयात्तिसंकटवतां रक्षाक्षीमो भूभृतां ।
दूराभ्यागतवाहिनीपरिकरो रत्नप्रकारोऽवलः
श्रीमानित्यमुद्गारसागरसमो मौर्यान्वयो कृष्यते ॥
7. दिङ्गागा इव जात्यसंभृतमुक्षी दानोऽवलैराननै-
द्विद्वन्मभेण रमन्त्यभीतमनसा मानोऽदुरास्सर्व्वतः ।
सदृशस्त्वदशप्रसिद्धयद्यसो यस्मिन्प्रसिद्धा गुणैः
भाष्या भद्रतया च सत्त्वबहुलापक्षैस्ससं भूभृताः ॥ 5
8. इत्थं भवत्सु भूपेषु भुजन्त्सु सकलां महीं ।
धवलात्मा नृपस्तत्र यद्यासा धवलोभवत् ।
9. कायादिप्रकटाज्जितैरहरह स्वैरेव दोषैः सदा
निर्व्वेस्त्रा सततक्षुध प्रतिदिनं स्पष्टीभवद्यातनाः ।
राक्षीसंचरणा भृशं परगृहेष्वित्थं विजित्यारयोः
येनाद्यापि नरेन्द्रतां सुविपक्षो नीताः पिशाचा इव ॥ 6

Verse 3. a फणामणि. Kielhorn फणामणी, corrected into फणामणि. β छुरिना-
स्सभूम. K. छुरिभस्मभूम. Verse 4. a Read, with K., मूर्द्धा. β विकट. K. विकटा
corrected to विकट. The distinction between ट and टा is very clearly seen in
the four syllables जटाजूट here. γ जन्मान्तराल. K. जन्मान्तराले. Verse 5. a
उज्वल is throughout so written.—पिंगभासां. K. (पिय) भासां.—γ Read with K.,
हस्ताभ्यामूर्द्धमु^०. Verse 7. β मनसा. K. मनसो. δ Read, with K., पक्षैस्समे. Verse 9 a.
Visarga is wanted after रहरह. K. reads it, but says it is very indistinct. My rub-
bing, which does not show it, may be defective. But compare two other cases of
an omitted visarga in the next line. β Read निर्व्वेस्त्राः सततक्षुधः. K corrects.

10. कोपाकृन्महेभकुम्भविगलन्मुक्ताफलालंकृत-
स्फीतास्रुतिमण्डिता अपि मुहुर्येनोर्जितेन स्वयं ।
उन्नालीरिव पंकजैः पुनरपि च्छिन्नैः शिरोभिर्विषां
विक्रान्तेन विभूषिता रणभुवः त्यक्ता नरैः कातरैः ॥ †Line 7 ends.
11. इत्थं तस्य चिरन्तनो द्विजवरस्सन्नप्युपात्तायुध-
प्रीतिप्रेतनरेन्द्रसत्कृतिमुदः पात्रं प्रसिद्धो गुणैः ।
यस्याद्यापि रणांगणे विलसितं संसूचयन्ति द्विष-
स्सुष्यच्छोणितमर्मरा रणभुवः प्रेतपृथाः प्रायज्ञः ॥
12. शब्दस्यार्थ इव प्रपादनपटोर्मोर्गस्त्रयीसंज्ञितो
धर्मस्सेव विभुद्भवसरलो न्यायस्य मूलं सतः ।
प्रमाण्यं प्रगत - - - - - यस्साध्यस्य संसिद्धये 8
तस्य [भूदभिसं]गतः पृथसखः श्रीसंकुकाख्यो नृपः ॥
13. द्वैगिणी नाम तस्यासीद्धर्मपत्नी द्विजोद्भवा ।
तस्यां तस्याभवद्द्वैरः सूनुः कृतगुणाद्दरः ॥
14. यशस्वी रूपवां दाता श्रीमां शिवगणो नृपः ।
शिवस्य नूनं स गणो येन तद्भक्ततां गतः ॥
15. खंङ्गाघातदलत्तनुत्नविचटद्विस्फुलिगोज्ज्वल- 9
ज्वालादग्धकवन्धकण्डकुहरप्रोन्मुक्तादील्बणे ।
नाराजप्रथिताननाकुलखगप्रोद्धान्तरक्तासव-
प्रीतप्रेतजने रणे रतधियाथेनासकृच्छेष्टितं ॥
16. ज्ञात्वा जन्म जरावियोगमरणक्लेशैरशेषैश्चितं
स्वार्थस्याप्पयमेव योग उचितो लोके प्रसिद्धः सतां । 10
तेनेदं परमेश्वरस्य भवनं धर्मात्मना कारितं
यं दृष्टुं समस्तलोकवपुषां नष्टं कलेः कल्मषं ॥

निर्व्वेस्त्राः, and reads सततश्रुधि ("the ८ very indistinct.")—Read स्पष्टीभवयात-
तनाः. K. स्पष्टीभवय्यातनाः corrected into स्पष्टीभवयातनाः. γ Read with K.
विजित्यारयो. δ नरेन्द्रतां. K. (विकर्णं)तां. Compare my translation. Verse 10.
γ Read उन्नालीरिव which is K.'s reading of the stone.—Correct, with K., द्विषां.
δ भुवः त्यक्ता sic. Verse 11. α K द्विजवरस्स (न्वीर्य्यव) चायुध. β मुदः पात्रं. The
stone is injured here. δ प्रिय is throughout the inscription written पृथ.
Verse 12. α K. प्रहादन. β Read धर्मस्येन K. धर्मस्सेन्य°. δ K. तस्य [भूदभिसं]तः
— 13. α K. द्वैगिणी 'Anusvāra or uncertain.' β K. [सूनुः] कृतगुणा [करः].
e 14. γ K. सगणो. Verse 15. γ Read नाराच. K. नारा(जैर्म)थित.—K.
δ K. प्रीतप्रेतजनो.—K. येनासकृच्छेष्टितः Verse 16 α K. उचितः cor-
rected into उचितो. The correct form is quite distinct, तो being written as
in MSS. ता, except that two wedges take the place of the two lines.
ects यं into यद्. Compare my translation.

17. पुष्पाशोकसमीरणेन सुरभावुष्कुलचूतांकुरे
काले मत्तविलोलषट्कले व्यारुद्धविङ्कण्डले ।
जातेपाङ्ग-निरीक्षपैककथके नारीजनस्य स्मरे
ह्रस्वं षडङ्गवनं भवस्य सुधिया तेनेह कण्वाश्रमे ॥ +Line 11 ends.
18. कालेन्शीलाकुलानां तनुवलनभरात्प्रस्फुटस्केलुकानां
कान्तानां वृश्यमाने कुचकलशतटीभाजिसंभोगचिन्हे ।
यस्मिन्प्रेयोभिमुख्यस्थितिह्यतिनमच्छस्मिताद्धक्षणाणां
धूमगैरेव रम्यो हृद्यविनिहितस्सूच्यते प्रेमबन्धः ॥ 12
19. मत्तद्विरेफहङ्गारसहकारविराजिताः ।
संवीक्ष्य ककुभो याष्पं मुंचन्ति पथिक्रांगनाः ॥
20. धूपादिगन्धरीपार्थं खण्डस्फुटितहेतुना ।
प्रामौदत्तौ क्षया नीमिः सर्वाङ्गौचोणिपद्रकौ ॥
21. पालयन्तु नृपाः सर्वे येषां भूमिरियं भवे ।
एवं कृते ते धर्मार्थं नूनं यान्ति शिवालयं ॥ 13
22. संसारसागरं घोरं अनेन धर्मसेतुना ।
तारयिष्यत्यसौ नूनं जन्यौ चात्मानमेव च ॥
23. यावत्ससागरां पृथ्वीं सनगां च सकाननां ।
यावदिन्दुस्तपे भानुस्तावत्कीर्त्तिर्भविष्यति ॥
24. संबत्सरशतैर्यातैः सपञ्चनवत्यर्गलैः ।
सप्तभिर्मालवेशानां मन्दिरं धूर्जटेः कृतं ॥ 14
25. अलुब्धः पुयवादी च शिवभक्तिरतः सदा ।
कारापकोशब्दगुणः धार्मिकः संसितव्रतः ॥
26. वक्षः प्राज्ञो विनीतात्मा गुरुभक्तः पुयवदः ।
तसौ - - - - - कश्चास्मि कायस्थो गोमिक्रांगजः ॥
27. उत्कीर्णं शिवनागेन द्वारशिवस्य सूनुना ।
सूनुना भद्रसुरभेदेवटेन श्शुतोऽवलाः ॥ 15
28. श्लोका अमी कृता तया मौलिचन्द्रसुधाजुषः ।
कृष्णसुतो गुणाढ्यश्च सूत्रधारीच गणकः ॥

Verse 17. β K. काल्ये.—K. °कुलैर्व्यारुद्ध°. Verse 18. α K. काल्येन्दो.—K. वृश्यमानैः (कुचकलशभुजा) भोजिसंभोगचिह्नेः γ K. यस्मि (म्पिया) भिमुख्य. δ K. रम्यैर्हृदय. Verse 19. α K. ° सङ्गारि the “f being very faintly visible.” β Read बाष्पं. Verse 20 β Read perhaps प्रामौ दत्ताक्षया नीमिः. K. क्षयो नीमि evidently stands for अक्षयनीमिः. Verse 21. α Read, with K. भवेत्. Verse 23. γ Read तपेद्भानुः. Verse 24 α K. “the expression sa-argala for adhika I have not met with anywhere else.” Sapanchanavatyargalaih is perhaps better explained as a bahuvrihi compound, the first member of which is Sapanch-anavati “90 plus 5, and the second, argala, in the sense of “furthest limit.” Verse 25. γ K. कारापको शब्दगुणः δ Verse 26. α K. शूरभक्तः.— β Read with K. भद्रसुरभेदेवटेन. Verse 28. α Read भक्त्या. K. कृ[ता] भक्त्या.

29. एतत्कण्वाश्रमं ज्ञात्वा सर्वपापहरं शुभं ।
कृतं हि मन्दिरं शम्भोः धर्मकीर्तिविक्रमे ॥
30. यतिहीनं अर्थशब्दहीनं माताहीनं तु यद्भवे ।
तत्सर्वं साधुचित्तैर्न मर्षणीयं बुधैस्सदा ॥

†Line 16 ends.

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Adoration to Śiva ! Om !

1. Adoration to Śambhu through Whom it is that we are able to cross life's whole sea, Whose is the Hand let down to us that are all fallen in the Pit of Darkness.¹

2. May Śambhu's matted locks protect you—locks that delight by conditions (moods) wide apart : for here they are bright as the White Land with the countless rays of the moon falling upon them, there dark with the heavy folds of the Monarch of Serpents that lie ever upon them : here hot with the flashes of his eye, there cold indeed with the plashing waters of the Daughter of Jahnu.²

3. May Śambhu's matted locks protect you—locks whose ornaments are ever intermingling : for over all of them there lie the quivering rays of the moon that are blended with the lustre of the jewel in the Great Serpent's hood : and in some places they are streaked with the smoke-encircled tawny tongues of flame from the fire of his eye, in others dashed with the pearly drops of spray thrown up by the River of the Gods.

Verse 29 a. He first wrote यतिहीनमर्थं.—Read with K. भवेत्.

¹ अभिसंपात is given by Böhtlingk (Smaller Dictionary) as a word for which no reference was available. हस्तालम्ब is the same as हस्तावलम्ब a word which B R explain as meaning " that which the hands lay hold of." I have suggested another way of taking the word. Compare the verse which B R refer to :—

दुर्गैः संसारमार्गो मरणमनियतं व्याधयो दुर्निवार्यो
दुष्प्रापा कर्मभूमिर्न खलु निपततामस्ति हस्तावलम्बः ।
इत्येवं संप्रधार्य प्रतिदिवसमहो मानसे शुद्धबुद्ध्या
धर्मे चित्तं विधेयं नियतमतिगुणं वाञ्छता सिद्धिसौख्यम् ॥

² Śiva wears the Moon as his crest jewel, and the serpent Śesha coils its folds over his head, through his matted locks the Ganges finds a path as it descends from heaven to become an earthly stream.

4. May Sthânu's Head protect you. It is a lake whose lotus charms the eye.⁸ That lotus is the great braid of hair: and the mud to which it clings loosely is the great serpent that ever lazily swims on the water of the heavenly Ganges. It is a lake where the moon's rays quietly shining, appear like many lotus stalks seen between the white skulls that are its lotus-flowers.

5. Lo he begins to dance and his toes keep measure with the beat: he has bound together the weight of those locks that are reddened with the tongues of flame from the flashing fire that has its home in his deep-sunk eye: he has put straight the moon's orb that is bright with its nectar-like rays: and with his two hands he has pulled tight the serpent from whose knotted face the fire of the poison is upspringing. May this Sthânu protect the world.

6. The Maurya line is seen to be like the deep (noble) sea: it illuminates the world with the moon of its crest-jewel (the moon as its crest-jewel) is the refuge of great princes (great serpents): it is able to protect kings (mountains) that are in pain and trouble through fear of the destruction of their forces (wings): to it come armies (rivers) from far and wide: it is bright with all manner of precious possessions (jewels): and in it fortune dwells.

7. The kings of that line—like World Elephants—greatly glad-denying good men with the light of their faces bright with gifts (the juice that exudes from the temples of elephants)—exalted in their pride, roam at large over the earth confidently and undaunted of heart: praised too for their friendliness (bhadrâ, a kind of elephant) and - - - ? they are glorious for their race, more glorious for their virtues.

8. Such were these kings and they reigned over the whole earth. And among them there arose king Dhavala, himself, by reason of his fame, as resplendent (dhavala = white) as his name.

9. Through their own faults heaped up in the sight of all men from day to day by sins of thought, word, and deed, this king's enemies were by him at once conquered and made kings (wandering beggars) like evil spirits naked and ever hungry, with new terrors appearing each day, they wander by night from door to door of the stranger.

10. Not once or twice did he the mighty and valorous one by his own right hand adorn over again the fields of fight—deserted of timid

⁸ Literally "like a lake charming by means of the lotus," &c. It is no easy matter to render this style into English in a way that shall not be absolutely unreadable.

men with the severed heads of his enemies for lotuses torn from their stalks, though these fields were already adorned with the pearls that had fallen from the elephant temples he had cloven asunder in his wrath, and garnished with broad streams of blood.

11-12. Now a king Śrī Saṅkuka by name had long been this man's intimate and dear friend. Though a brahmin this Saṅkuka bore arms and took such joy in them that he was a very vessel of acceptable offerings to the King of the Dead. He was famed for his virtues. Even now the spirit-haunted fields of fight, full of the murmur of the rivers of the blood of his foes slowly drying up speak of his pastime in the courts of war. To Dhavala Saṅkuka was what the meaning is to the significant word, what the Path of the so-called Triad (the three Vedas) is to the Law. He was pure at heart and a very Root of Good Conduct - - - ?

13. He had a lawful wife, by name Dengiṇī, of the people of the twice-born. She bore to him a son—a hero, who paid due respect to merit.

14. King Śivagaṇa, glorious, handsome, liberal and fortunate. Surely he was once (in a previous birth) that gaṇa (host) of Śiva since he became now his devotee.

15. Not once or twice did he wrestle, pleased at heart in the field of war, the field made frightful by the noise that issued from the open ends of the throats of the headless corpses that were their own funeral pyre, on which they burnt with the flame lit by the flashes of fire that rose from their arrows as it was cloven by the sword stroke—the field where the spirits of the dead saw with pleasure the blood vomited by the fowls of the air as they rose in terror from the faces gashed by the arrows that still adhered to them.*

16. But the good know assuredly that life is full of all manner of troubles—old age, bereavement, and death—and that 'one thing only is needful' here : therefore did this man cause to be built this temple of the Most High God, to but look on Whom is for all people to wash from their bodies the stain of Time.

17. When aśoka-trees in flower perfumed the air, when the mango was in blossom, and East, West, North, and South were beset with swarms of drunken and staggering bees, when Love spoke only of the

* The birds were wounded or frightened : and the spirits of the air get blood to drink without having to go further.

coquettish glances of women folk, here in the hermitage of Kaṇva this man piously built a fair House for Śiva.

18. At the time when women, brought face to face with their lovers, with a laugh bend low and half close their eyes, as they think of all they show on breasts laid bare by the motion of the swing, and speak the love they feel only by their knotted brows.

19. And when those whose lords are absent, let fall a tear as they mark how all round them the place is adorned with mango-trees on which the drunken bees are humming.

20. For incense, perfumes or light, and for repairs, two villages, Sarvātka and Chaoni, have been assigned in perpetuity.

21. Let all kings whose this land may be maintain this gift : if they do so for righteousness' sake assuredly they will come to Śiva's heavenly home.

22. This is a Bridge of Righteousness' over which assuredly such an one may transport himself and his parents* across life's awful sea.

23. His fame shall endure as long as the earth with her seas, hills, and groves, as long as the sun and moon shall burn.

24. When 795 years of the kings of Mālava had gone this temple of Śiva was built.

25. The architect was Aśabdagaṇa (?)—a man free from avarice, kindly spoken, and always a true worshipper of Śiva.

26. The writer here is Gomika's son Raupuka, a man clever, wise, modest of heart, devoted to his guru, kind spoken.

27-8. Śivanāga, Dvāraśiva's son, engraved this : Devata, Bhaṭṭasura-bhi's son composed with faithful heart these verses that are bright as the scriptures, and full of the nectar distilled from the moon on His crest. And the virtuous Naṇṇaka, Krishna's son, was the Sūtradhāra here.

29. Forasmuch as the hermitage of Kaṇva is blessed and able to take away all sin : therefore in it has been built this temple of Śambhu, whereby that one's merit and fame shall increase.

30. Whatever mistakes there may be in the joinings or words or mātrās these I pray the learned of all time kindly to forgive.

* B R give this as a meaning of अय for which no reference was available.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1883.)

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 16th January 1883 ; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were elected members :—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Scott, Karsetji Rattanji Bomanji Dubash, Esq., Jehangeer K. R. Cama, Esq., J. M. Drennan, Esq., and R. H. Baker, Esq.

Dr. Führer read a paper entitled, "Neryôsangh's Sanskrit Translation of the Khordah-Avestâ," of which the following is a short abstract :—It is just a century ago that Anquetil du Perron published his French translation of the Zend-Avestâ, or the theological, physical and moral ideas of the lawgiver Zarathustra, the ceremonies of the divine service which he established, and several important traits respecting the ancient history of the Persians. This translation, however, had the only merit of introducing the literary world to the chief contents of the sacred books of the Zarathustrians, and furnishing Europe with all the materials necessary for eager researches in this important field. His work, although utterly incorrect and inaccurate, nevertheless became thus a powerful stimulus to future studies of the Zend-Avesta in a critical and philological way. Burnouf, Westergaard, Haug, Spiegel, and Kosowicz, who investigated, in a scientific way, into the right understanding of the Zend-Avestâ, would never have succeeded in laying down a foundation of Zend philology without Anquetil's labours. Under the manuscripts brought by him from India to Paris, there were three copies of Neryôsangh's Sanskrit translation of the Yasna, or the prayer-book of the Parsee priesthood, which translation has been published by Spiegel, in 1861, at Leipzig. Of a Sanskrit translation of the Khordah-Avestâ, or the Yashts, by the same author, nothing was known. Dr. Führer was fortunate to find in the libraries of Jamaspjee Dustur Minocherjee and Peshotun Dustur Behramjee three manuscripts containing the Zend and

Pazend text, the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations of the Khordah-Avestâ, or the prayer-book for the daily use of the Zarathustrian laity. Speaking extensively about the scientific value of this translation, Dr. Führer pointed out that, though Neryôsangh's Sanskrit translation is not founded upon the original Zend text, but upon the Pahlavi version, and though he committed many mistakes against the spirit of the Sanskrit language, yet his translation is an admirable memorial of mental training of the Parsee of former times, and of great value for Sanskrit as well as for Zend scholars. Finally, Dr. Führer gave some notes on the three manuscripts upon which his essay relies. The oldest and best manuscript belongs to Dastur Jamaspjee, the date is given in the Nikah or marriage-prayer, Samvat 1400 = 1342 A.D. In order to show the old age of the book, and the peculiarity of the Pazend characters, which are not to be found elsewhere, Dr. Führer presented a photograph of the last part of the Patet Aderbât, or a formulary of confession, which answers exactly to the Buddhist Pâtimokkha, or the words of disburdenment. Of the other two manuscripts, one belongs again to Dustur Jamaspjee ; it is dated Yezdezerd 1152 = 1783 A.D., and the other, belonging to Dustur Peshotun, is, according to the Persian colophon on the end, a copy of Dustur Jamaspjee's second manuscript. All three manuscripts contain essentially the same text; more important modifications are seldom to be met with, but striking similarities of special mistakes. As regards the time of Neryôsangh little is known. According to the generally accepted traditions, Neryôsangh was the leader of the Parsees emigrating from Persia to India, and the learned Dustur who explained to king Tâderâna (Tayadeva of Anahillavada Pattan, 745 = 806. A.D.), the Mazdayasnian belief in 16 slokas, and who consecrated the first fire-temple at Sanjâna in Samvat 777 = 719 A.D., and 87 Yezdezerd. But historical records for the exactness of this date are still wanting. The old age of the manuscript and the form of the Sanskrit which Neryôsangh writes, prove as distinctly as possible that he lived before the twelfth century of our era.

On the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Javerilal Umia-shanker Yajnik, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Führer for his paper.

A list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society, was read, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 15th February 1883; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were elected members :—Major Sparks and Captain H. O. Selby, R.E.

Rev. Dr. Murray-Mitchell read a paper entitled, “Farther Extracts from Marathi Poets.” He said that he proposed writing a series of six papers on this subject for the Society, with extracts from six sets of poems, viz., of Tukaram, some of which have been adopted by the Prarthana Samaj for use in their worship; of Dnyaneshwar, whose chief work is a commentary on the Bhagwadgita; of Namdeo, the tailor poet of Pandharpur, and of members of his family, male and female, some of which is quoted in the Grantha of the Sikhs; of Ramdas, all these being of the Bhakti school; of Mukundraj, a pantheistic poet, author of Vyvek Sindhu and of an heroic ballad of Maharashtra.

Dr. Murray-Mitchell gave a short introduction to the works of Dnyaneshwar. The poet's life is really mythical, and was so two centuries ago; the date of his chief work, Dnyaneshwari, is 1212 Saka, *i.e.*, 1280-81 A.D. His dwelling was on the banks of the Godavery, and his grave is at Alundi, near Poona, whence, it is said musical sounds are still at times heard to issue. The Dnyaneshwar, is a commentary on the Bhagwadgita in the *ovi* metre; it is amongst the oldest monuments of the literature of the country, its influence is still great in Maharashtra, and it is of great philosophical value as tracing the progress of the language, &c. The harmony of the poems is not so beautiful as that of the Bhagwadgita itself, or some other Marathi poems. It is of historical value as showing the mental culture of the time, and how the Bhagwadgita was then understood. Amongst other matters of interest it contains an exposition of the Yoga philosophy. He refers to his own language in his poems in terms of high admiration. No other work in Marathi, the author said, had been published, approaching the Dnyaneshwari as a poem. This probably was due to the troubles and oppression the people had been subject to, but he hoped that in these peaceful days Marathi poetry would revive, and some one would again arise to “sing his elaborate song to generations.”

Dr. Murray-Mitchell then read extracts from the poems of

Namdeo, who died A.D. 1238. He was a follower of the Bhakti school and worshipper of Vittoba. The passages read were one's finding fault with the Brahmanical worship of the day, and showed that the poet had a good deal of humour; extracts were then read from his mother's poems, taking the other side of the question and scolding her son for his absurd religious views, and also from Namdeo's wife, taking the same line as his mother.

The President, in conveying a vote of thanks to Dr. Murray-Mitchell for his paper, and for the promise of others, which will be a memorial of him in future years, referred to the regret felt at his leaving these shores, where he had been known so long, and especially by those whose poetry he had illustrated in closing his labour amongst them. Having little knowledge of Marathi poetry himself, he could feel the greater thanks to those who, like the author could devote so much time and knowledge to it. Progress in Maharashtra will lie, he said, in self-improvement. The educated Marathas should endeavour to look at their own literature in the light of Western literature, and infuse the same into it as Western literature and languages had received infusions from that of former years.

A list of books, pamphlets, &c., was presented to the Society, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 10th April 1883; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were elected members :—Major Frere, R.E., Rev. J. H. Mackay, and F. Yorke Smith, Esq.

The following papers were read :—

1. By Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, on a copper-plate grant of the Chālukya dynasty found at Navsāri. The names of the Chālukya family mentioned in the plate are Pulakeṣivallabha, his sons Vikramāditya Satyaśraya Prathivi Vallabha, and Jayasimhavarmā, and the son of the last named, Śraśraya Śilāditya, Yuvarāja and donor. As neither Jayasimhavarmā nor his son are mentioned in any Deccan Chālukya copper-plate, and as the former's glory is said in this plate to have been augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya, it is possible that Gujerat was given to him by his

brother, and that he thus became the founder of the Gujerat Châlukyas. The most disputable point in the plate is the date given in figures and letters Saṁvatsara 421. As the date of Vikramāditya, the uncle of the donor, is pretty well established as being Śaka 592 to 606, some other era must be meant unless the plate be a forgery. The Paṇḍit was inclined to think this to be the Gupta era, although there were difficulties in reconciling it with the date of that era as given in General Cunningham's tables, but he hoped soon to be able from some other plates which had since come into his hands to get further information on this point. The reason for considering the plate not forgery was given.

2. On coins of the Bence Rasool dynasty of South Arabia, by Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. Prideaux. The coins formed part of the large hoard found at Broach last year, described at a former meeting of the Society by Dr. Codrington, who was not able to attribute these to their proper dynasty. The author showed that they belonged to the Bence Rasool, a dynasty in dominant power in South Arabia from A.D. 1229 to 1454, of which a history is given in Johannsen's *Historia Jemanæ* and in the MS. annals of El Khazrajee. There are in the collection specimens of the coinage of six out of the fourteen princes of the family, and of a pretender who temporarily attained to power during the reign of one or two of them. The mints being 'Aden, Ta'izz, Zebeed, El-Mahjam, and Thaabat. An interesting peculiarity of the series is that the mint place is in many represented by the figure of a man or animal; thus 'Aden is personified by a fish, Zebeed by a bird, El-Mahjam by a lion, and Ta'izz by a seated man. The coins are so rare that as far as the author is aware only three pieces were known before the discovery of this hoard.

3. On some rare coins of Amawee Khaleefehs, by Dr. Codrington. The coins formed the remainder of the hoard discovered by Colonel Sturt near Thull Chotiali, some of which had been shown at a previous meeting, and consisted of 116 pieces; all of these early Khaleefehs, of dates from A.H. 80 to A.H. 132, and of the following mints:—Ardesheer—Khurrah, Iṣṭakhr, Balk, Baṣrah, Teymerah, Jezeereh, Jayy, Destuwà, Dimashḳ, Rámhurmuz, Rayy, Sijistán, Karmán, Máhee, Mubárakeh, Marw, Menádhir, and Wásit. Many of the coins are very fine specimens, and amongst them are some very rare ones, and a few as yet inedited.

On the motion of the President, a vote of thanks was passed to the authors of the papers.

A list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society, was read, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 10th July 1883; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected members:—Major J. Hibbert, Lieut.-Colonel E. S. Ostrehan, R. N. Mant, Esq., and Lieut. H. D. Olivier, R.E.

Dr. O. Codrington read notes on the coins of Aboo Sa'eed, Mongul Sultan of Persia.

On the motion of the President, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Codrington for his paper.

A list of books presented to the Society was read, and thanks were voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 26th September 1883; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected members:—W. R. Macdonell, Esq., Surgeon-Major W. McConaghy, W. Talbot, Esq., A. Pallis, Esq., and J. B. Hampson, Esq.

Dr. O. Codrington read a paper on the copper-coinage of the Bahmani kings of Kalbarga.

This paper was intended as supplementary to one by the Honourable Mr. Gibbs in the *Numismatic Chronicle* on gold and silver coins of this dynasty, and contained an account of such copper coins as the writer had seen of Dáud Sháh, Fírúz Sháh, Aḥmad Shah, 'Alá-ud-din Aḥmad Shah, Humáyún Sháh, Muḥammad Sháh II., Maḥmúd Sháh II., and Kalím-ullah.

A paper by Paṇḍit Bhagvân'lál Indrají on a copper-plate grant of the Râshtrakûṭa dynasty was then presented to the Meeting.

The plates were found at Chhârôli, a village near Surat, and record the grant of the village Sthâvarapallikâ to a native of Jâmbûsara, which village the writer identifies with the modern Chhârôli. The grantor is king Kakka of the Rashtrakûta dynasty, and its genealogy is given as follows: (1) Kakka, (2) his son Dhruva, (3) his son Govinda, (4) his son, by his wife who was the daughter of Nâgavarma, Kakka, the Grantor, Saka 679 (A.D. 757).

The kings mentioned have the same names as some of the members of the already well-known Rashtrakûta dynasty. But a reference to the published genealogy of that dynasty will show that these four kings cannot be made to fit in with it. But there are no grounds for looking upon this grant as any thing but a genuine one. The characters are of the period to which the grant refers, and some information given is not at all what a forger would probably invent. The conclusion of the author is that the first Kakka of this grant is identical with Kakka I. of the published genealogy, and that these kings constituted a separate Guzerat branch of the family earlier than that hitherto known founded by Indra III., but this was only put forward as a tentative theory until more grants of these kings were found.

A list of books and pamphlets presented to the Society was read, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 16th November 1883, the Honble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected members:—Moreswar Gopal Deshmuk, Esq., L.M.& S., Yeshwant Wassudeo Athale, Esq., LL.B.

Dr. Codrington read part of a paper on the seals of the late Satara Kingdom in the Society's Museum.

On the motion of the President, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Codrington for his paper.

A list of books presented to the Society was laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 28th November 1883.

The following proposals about periodicals were laid before the Meeting :—

By R. H. Baker, Esq.—

That *All the Year Round* and *Temple Bar* be discontinued.—*Carried.*

That *Vanity Fair* be discontinued.—*Lost.*

That *The Century Magazine* and *Whittaker's Almanac* be taken.—*Carried.*

By Javerilal Umiashankar, Esq.—

That *The English Illustrated Magazine*, *The Indian Statesman* and *Journal of the Society of Arts* be taken.—*Carried.*

By Rev. R. Scott—

That *The Christian College Magazine*, Madras, be taken.—*Lost.*

By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Scott—

That *The National Review* be taken.—*Carried.*

By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Pinhey—

That *The Asian*, *The Bombay Guardian* and *The Bombay Catholic Examiner* be discontinued.—*Carried.*

By A. N. Pearson, Esq.—

That *The Madras Mail* be taken instead of *The Madras Athenæum and Daily News*.—*Carried.*

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1883.)

- A** Catalogue of Indian Drugs, arranged and corrected for Indian Synonymes. By Pandurang Gopal. By the Author.
- A** Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka. By Bunyio Nanjo. By the Secretary of State for India.
- Accounts** of the External Land Trade of British India, April to September 1882. By the Government of India.
- Account** of the Operations of the G. T. Survey of India. Vols. VII., VIII., and IX. By the Superintendent, G. T. Survey.
- Accounts** Relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India, for December 1882. By the Government of India.
- A** Collection of Chinese Proverbs. By W. Scarborough. By C. Gould, Esq.
- Administration** Report of the Central Provinces, 1882-83. By the Chief Commissioner, C. P.
- Administration** Reports of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore. For 1881-82. By the President at Mysore.
- Administration** Report of the Meteorological Department of the Government of India, 1882-83.
- Administration** Reports of the Stamp Departments, Punjab, 1882-83. By the Punjab Government.
- Administration** Report of the Public Works Department, Bombay Presidency, 1882-83. By the Bombay Government.
- A** Glossary of the Vernacular Names of the Principal Plants and Drugs found in Bombay and on the Western Coast of India. By W. Dymock and N. K. Gadgil. By the Authors.
- A** List of Chinese Words, with the meaning in English. By P. Popetti. By C. Gould, Esq.
- Almanach** Recreativo para 1883. Por J. A. de Menzes. By the Author, through Dr. daGama.
- A** Manual of Jurisprudence for Forest Officers. By B. H. Baden-Powell. By the Government of India.
- A** Manual of the Land Revenue Systems and Land Tenures of British India. By B. H. Baden-Powell. By the Government of India.

- Annual Police Return showing the State of Crime in the Town and Island of Bombay during 1882. By the Bombay Government.
- Annual Report of Dispensaries in the Punjab, 1881 and 1882. By the Punjab Government.
- Annual Report of the Bombay Jails, 1882. By the Bombay Government.
- Annual Report of the Comptroller of Currency, United States, 1881. By the Comptroller, U. S.
- Annual Report on the Lunatic Asylums in the Punjab, 1882. By the Punjab Government.
- Annual Report of the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, 1880-81. By the Municipal Commissioner, Bombay.
- Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, United States, 1880. By U. S. Department of Agriculture.
- Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the Presidency of Bombay, 1881-82 and 1882-83. By the Bombay Government.
- Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India for the year ending 31st March, 1882, and for the year ending 31st March 1883. Vols. I. and II. By the Government of India.
- Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Aryas as taught in the School of Vasishtha. Edited by Rev. A. Führer. By the Author.
- Archæological Survey of India Report. Vols. XV. and XVI. By the Government of India.
- Archæological Survey of Western India—
- Vol. IV. Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions.
- Vol. V. Report on the Elura Cave Temples and Brahmanical and Jain Caves in Western India. By the Bombay Government.
- A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India. By R. Sewell. By the Madras Government.
- Bhagwadgita. Translated into Gujerathi Verse. By the Translator.
- Brief Sketch of the Meteorology of Bombay. By the Meteorological Reporter, Bombay.

- Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum.** By J. Anderson. Part I. By the Trustees of the Indian Museum.
- Catalogue du Musée Guimet.** Part I. By the Musée Guimet.
- Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum.** By C. Rien. Vol. III. By the British Museum.
- Census of the City and Island of Bombay, taken on 17th February 1881.** By Dr. T. S. Weir.
- Census of the Native States of Rajputana, 1881.** By the Bombay Government.
- Census of the Central Provinces, 1881.** By the Bombay Government.
- Criminal Report, Punjab, 1882.** By the Punjab Government.
- Compendium of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880.** By the U. S. Department of the Interior.
- Congressional Directory. United States. 1883.** By the Smithsonian Institute.
- Correspondence relating to the Revenue Survey and Assessment of the Karwar Taluka of the Kanara Collectorate.** By the Bombay Government.
- Diary of Richard Cocks.** 2 vols. By the Bombay Government.
- Essay on the Distribution of Wealth.** Part I. By R. Jones. By J. Westlake, Esq.
- Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India, 1881-82.** By the Government of India.
- First Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1881-82.** By the Government of India.
- Forest Administration in the Central Provinces: Suggestions regarding.** By W. Schlich. By the Government of India.
- Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency—**
 Vol. VII. Baroda.
 Vol. XI. Kolaba and Janjira. By the Bombay Government.
 Vols. XIII. and XIV. Thana. By the Bombay Government.
- Genealogy of Modern Numerals.** By Sir E. C. Bayley. Part II. By the Author.
- General Report on the Operations of the Survey of India, 1881-82.** By the Government of India.

- Henrici de Bracton. De Legibus Consuetudinibus Angliæ, 1840.**
By J. Westlake, Esq.
- History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab.** By C. W. Leitner.
By the Punjab Government.
- Imperial Census of 1881. Operations and Results in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind.** By the Bombay Government.
- Indian Meteorological Memoirs. Vol. II., Part I., 1882.** By the Government of India.
- India: What can it teach us?** By F. Max Müller. By the Author.
- Irrigation Revenue Report of the Bombay Presidency, 1881-82.**
Part I. By the Bombay Government.
- Kreolische Studien. Von H. Schuchardt. Parts 2 and 3.** By F. M. de Canto.
- License Tax Report, Punjab, 1881-82.** By the Punjab Government.
- License Tax Report, Punjab, 1883.** By the Punjab Government.
- Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras.** By R. Sewell. By the Madras Government.
- Meteorology.** By Jiwanji Jamshedji Modi. (Gujerathi.) By Jamshedji N. Patel, Esq.
- Monograph of the United States Geological Survey. Vol. II., with Atlas.** By the Smithsonian Institute.
- Nasik Pandu Lena Caves.** By Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. By the Author.
- New English-Hindustani Dictionary.** S. W. Fallon. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Norwegian North Atlantic Expedition, 1876-1878—**
Part VIII. Zoology.
Part IX. Chemistry. By the Committee of the Expedition.
- Notas e Documentos ineditos para a Biographia de J. P. Rebiero.**
By F. Meyrelles de Canto, Esq.
- Notes on Budhist Law. Part IV.—VII.** By John Jardine. By the Judicial Commissioner, British Burmah.
- Note on Local Self-Government in the Bombay Presidency.** By Javerilal Umiashankar. By the Author.
- Notices of Sanskrit MSS.** By Rajendralala Mitra. Vol. VI., Part II. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Notes on the Pali Grammarian Kachchayana.** By Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Fryer. By the Author.

Oriental Studies. By Hugh Nevill. No. II. By the Author.

Papers relative to the Revision of the Rates of Assessment in the Old Ránebennur Taluka of the Dharwar Collectorate. By the Bombay Government.

Parliamentary Papers :—

Army Indian Home Charges.

————— (Appropriation Account.)

Indian Contingent (Egypt). Expenses.

East India. (Mysore Gold Mining.)

Statements of the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries, 1877-78 to 1881-82.

East India (Native Jurisdiction over British Subjects.)

————— (Public Works Department.)

Cooper's Hill College (Working of New Scheme.)

India Marine Service (Act to Provide for the Regulation of Indian Marine.)

East India (Finance and Revenue Accounts, 1881-82.)

————— (Contagious Diseases Act.)

————— (Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India.) 1880-81.

————— (Wheat Report.)

————— (State Prisoners.)

————— (Accounts.)

Papers relating to recent Negotiations between the Government of India and Burmah.

East India. Public Works Expenditure.

————— Loans raised in England.

————— Net Revenue and Expenditure.

————— Financial Statement, 1883.

————— (Local Government.)

Report on Railways in India, 1882-83.

Statistical Abstract relating to British India, 1871-72 to 1881-82. 16th and 17th Numbers. By the Secretary of State for India.

Parthian and Indo-Sassanian Coins. Ed. Thomas. By the Author.

Persian Poetry for English Readers. By S. Robinson. By the Author.

- Police Reports of the Bombay Presidency, including the Province of Sind, 1881. By the Bombay Government.
- Practical Guide to Chemistry, Toxicology, and the Examination of Urine and Water. By A. Bocarro. By the Author.
- Premaraya. (A Guzerathi Drama.) By the Author.
- Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, 1883. By the Society.
- Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay. Vol. XXI. 1882. By the Bombay Government.
- Progress Report of District and Canal Arboriculture in the Punjab, 1881-82 to 1882-83. By the Punjab Government.
- Rathānga Duta. (A Sanskrit Poem.) By the Author.
- Regeneration of India. By Gopinath Sadashivaji. By the Author.
- Remarks on Certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kabul. Sir E. C. Bayley. By the Author.
- Report of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce for the half-year ended 31st October 1882 and for the half year ending 30th April 1883. By the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. By the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, Bengal.
- Report of the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association for the year ending 31st October 1882. By the Association.
- Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1881-82. By the Chamber of Commerce.
- Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, United States, 1879-80. By the Smithsonian Institute.
- Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, United States, 1881-82. By the Smithsonian Institute.
- Report of the Committee on Local Self-Government in Madras. By the Madras Government.
- Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency. 1881-82 and 1882-83. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1880. By the Smithsonian Institute.
- Report of the Superintendent, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1879. By the U. S. Coast Survey Department.
- Report of the U. S. Geological Surveys. Vol. III. By the U. S. Survey Department.
- Report of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1880. By the U. S. Coast Survey Department.

- Report on Cotton Cultivation in the Punjab, 1881-82.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on Excise Administration in the Punjab, 1882-83.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on Municipal Taxation and Expenditure in the Bombay Presidency, 1881-82.** By the Bombay Government.
- Report on Popular Education, Punjab, 1882-83** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on Publications Issued and Registered in British India, 1881.** By the Government of India.
- Report on Sanskrit MSS. in the Punjab, 1881-82.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on Sanitary Measures in India, 1880-81.** Vol. XIV. By the Secretary of State.
- Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency, for 1881-82.** By the Bombay Government.
- Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab, 1882.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1881-82.** By the Madras Government.
- Report on the Administration of the Baroda State, 1880-81.** By the Baroda State.
- Report on the Administration of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, 1881-82.** By the Government N.-W. Provinces.
- Report on the Administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1881-82.** By the Resident at Hyderabad.
- Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1881-82.** By the Bengal Government.
- Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1881-82.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on the Census of Berar, 1881.** By the Bombay Government.
- Report on the Census of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh and of the Native States of Rampur and Native Garhwal, 1881.** By the Bombay Government.
- Report on the External Land Trade of the Punjab, 1882-83.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on the External Commerce of Bombay, 1854-55 to 1861-62.** By the Chief Accounts Officer, Customs Department.

- Report on the Internal Trade and Manufactures of the Punjab, 1881-82.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on the Jails in the Punjab, 1882.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on the Meteorology of India in 1881.** By the Government of India.
- Report on the Police Administration of the Punjab, 1882.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on the Revenue Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1881-82.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on the Sanitary Administration of the Punjab, 1882.** By the Punjab Government.
- Report on the State of Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1881-82.** By the Punjab Government.
- Resena Genealogica da Familla de Pedro Alvares Cabral.** By F. M. de Canto, Esq.
- Results of the Magnetical and Meteorological Observations made at Greenwich, 1881.** By the Secretary of State for India.
- Results of the Magnetical and Meteorological Observations made at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, 1880.** By the Board of Admiralty.
- Return of Wrecks and Casualties in Indian Waters, 1882.** By the Government of India.
- Review of Reports on the Working of Municipalities in the Punjab, 1881-82.** By the Punjab Government.
- Review of the Accounts of the Sea-borne Foreign Trade of British India for the year ending 31st March 1883.** By the Government of India.
- Sacred Books of the East. Vols. 17, 19 and 23.** By the Secretary of State for India.
- Sacred Books of the East. Vols. XIV. and XVIII.** By the Secretary of State for India.
- Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru.** By Pedro de Cieza de Leon. By the Bombay Government.
- Sketches of India.** By H. Moses. By J. Westlake, Esq.
- Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection. Vols. 22—27.** By the Smithsonian Institute.
- Specifications, Rates, and Notes on Work.** By Captain E. L. Marryat. By the Bombay Government.

- Statistical Tables for British India, 1881-82. By the Government of India.
- Suggestions regarding Forest Administration in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts. By the Government of India.
- Suggestions regarding Forest Administration in the Madras Presidency. By the Madras Government.
- Suggestions regarding the Demarcation and Managements of the Forest in Kulu. By W. Schlich. By the Punjab Government.
- Synopsis of the Results of the Operations of the G. T. Survey of India. Vols. 14, 15 and 16. By the Superintendent, G. T. Survey.
- Tide Tables for Indian Ports and for the Port of Bombay. For 1884. By the Government of India.
- The Development of the Mineral Resources of India. By A. N. Pearson. By the Author.
- The Original and Genuine Works of William Hogarth. By J. Bapty, Esq.
- The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal. By Rajendralala Mitra. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Tracts written by John Seldon. By J. Westlake, Esq.
- Travels in Europe. By Framji Dinshaw Petit. (Gujerathi.) By the Author.
- Tropical Fibres. By E. G. Squier. By J. Westlake, Esq.
- U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Report, 1881. By the U. S. Coast Survey Department.
- Vegetable Materia Medica of Western India. W. Dymock. Parts I.—IV. By the Author.
- Vinayapitakam. Edited by H. Oldenberg. Vol. V. By the Secretary of State for India.
- Voyage D'innigo de Biervillas. By J. Westlake, Esq.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(JANUARY 1884 TO DECEMBER 1885.)

A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 29th March 1884, C. E. Fox, Esq., *Vice President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following candidates for election were balloted for and duly elected members:—Dinsha Pestonji Kanga, Esq.; Colonel G. Smart, R. A.; Miss Edith Pechey, M. D.; J. Griffiths, Esq.; H. M. Phipson, Esq.; B. F. Farnham, Esq.; W. E. Hart, Esq.; Dr. T. S. Weir; and G. W. Roughton, Esq.

A Paper by Lieut. Col. W. F. Prideaux, entitled "Note on Two Coins of the Auxumite Dynasty" was read, of which the following is an abstract:—

The Paper notes the legends on the two gold coins of this dynasty recently discovered at Aden. No. I. A very fine specimen of this type presented by Colonel C. Steuart to the British Museum, has been frequently described, but without satisfactory explanation of the legends. The specimen under notice differs slightly in the arrangement of words forming the inscription. The coin has been with much reason attributed to Prince Bakhasa, whose use of the cross shows that he lived after the introduction of Christianity, on the Southern Shores of the Red Sea. The correctness of the attribution is confirmed by some copper pieces, of which there is a fine specimen in the British Museum. The legend on the gold coin is not Greek, but it probably represents the meaning of the Greek inscription on the coins ("this will please the country") couched in one of the languages of the Auxumite tribe. No. II. The writer knows of two specimens of this type, one of which is in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. A careful comparison of the coin under notice with that in the Asiatic Society's Cabinet convinces the writer that the name Okhsas, which it bears, may be merely a rendering of Bakhasa, and two series of gold coins may have been struck

by the prince, one for circulation within his dominions and the other for commercial and external use, and the two specimens noticed in the paper, one with a vernacular and the other with a Greek legend, may represent the two currencies. In conclusion, the writer adds that there are coins of Bakhasa with other inscriptions, but these do not enter into the scope of this paper.

All the coins he is acquainted with bearing the name of Bakhasa (including the three Okhas specimens) have been found in South Arabia, and there is no evidence of the rule of this Prince having extended to the Western shores of the Red Sea.

A vote of thanks was passed to Colonel Prideaux for his paper.

A list of Books presented to the Society was placed on the table and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on the 19th of June 1884.

Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected members:—Raghunath Narayen Khote, Esq., C.I.E.; W. J. Best, Esq., E.V. Jordan, Esq.; Bhaishankar Nanabhoy, Esq.; Rev. W. J. Ffennell, M.A.; J. A. Begbie, Esq.; John R. Greaves, Esq.; Walter Thacker, Esq.

A Paper by Mr. J. A. Murray, Curator, Kurrachee Museum, entitled "The Marine Fish Fauna of the Indian Seas" was read, of which the following is an abstract:—

The object of the paper is to give a stimulus to the collection of the Marine Fishes of Indian Seas, with a view to arrive at a more correct knowledge of the distribution of species. The collection of the Fishes of Sind, Kutch, and Bombay, he has been able to make with that which he made for the London International Fisheries Exhibition, and several works on local fish fauna afforded Mr. Murray materials to work out a distribution table of all the Marine Fishes. The table is appended to the paper, and is based on the collection in the Kurrachee Museum, from the Sind, Kutch, and Bombay Coasts, and on the information from Dr. Day's and Russell's works, and the Catalogue of Fishes in the Madras Central Museum. According to present information the number of species of Marine Fish in Indian Seas is 870. It is evident from the table that many of the characteristic fishes of Sind are

absent along the Bombay Coast, and similarly that those of Bombay are not found on the Sind, Kutch, and Malabar Coasts. It has not yet been satisfactorily explained how this happens. Prevalent winds would probably have some influence as well as direction of currents, tides, temperature of water and depths. This is inferred simply from the fact that there are Bombay species which do not occur on the Sind Coast except during the monsoons. The paper concludes with a remark that India presents a wide field for the study of Ichthyology, but its richness in this branch is not taken advantage of. If aquaria were started in Bombay (than which no other seaport possesses more favourable advantages) the interest in Ichthyology would soon revive, and it would receive an impetus. It would then be possible to study the habits of the various species, and in course of time every fish in Bombay would come under observation. The writer would be glad to receive specimens for identification from any part of the Western Coast, the specimens being retained for the collection in the Kurrachee Museum.

On the motion of the President a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Murray for his paper.

A list of Books, Pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society, was laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 9th July, 1884.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected members:—W. M. Macaulay, Esq.; Hon'ble F. Forbes Adam; Brigadier-General Edwardes; Bal Mangesh Wagle, Esq.; Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee, Esq.; G. Ormiston, Esq.; Khanderao Chimanrao Bedarkar, Esq.; E. C. K. Ollivant, Esq.; A. Maitland, Esq.; J. A. Cassels, Esq.

Dr. Peterson read a paper on "Some Recent German Contributions to the Elucidation and History of Sanskrit Literature." The paper gave an account of (1), a new translation of Rig Veda iv. 27, furnished to the Journal of the German Oriental Society by Prof. Roth; (2), three papers on Indian Poets by Prof. Aufrecht; (3), Von Bradke's Essay on the Manava-Grihya Sutra; and (4), the elaborate exposition of Jain Literature, contributed by Weber to the last volume of his *Indische Studien*.

On the proposition of Mr. Javerilal Umiashunkur, seconded by the President, the thanks of the Society were awarded to Dr. Peterson for his paper.

A list of Books, Pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society, was laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 24th July 1884.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected members of the Society :—Perozsha Merwanji Metha, Esq.; Gokuldas Khandas, Esq.; Dosabhoy Framji, Esq., C.S.I.; Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani, Esq.; James Thorburn, Esq.; H. O. Campbell, Esq.; A. R. M. Simkins, Esq.; Babu Purnochandra Mukerji.

The Honorary Secretary submitted a paper drawn up for the Society, at his suggestion, by Pandit Durgaprasad of Jeypore. The paper is an examination, based on independent sources, of Professor Böhlingk's very valuable collection of Sanskrit proverbs and lyrical pieces (*Indische Sprüche*). Dr. Peterson gave, out of several, two instances in which the text furnished by Durgaprasad cannot fail to secure Dr. Böhlingk's own approval. In the one case the substitution of *Konakshi* for *Kantimhi*, which is the German Scholar's emendation for the *Kanakshi* of his MS. gives the sense.

“A man destitute of excellence, if he but keep near the excellent may be held in honour; the blind eye of a one-eyed man gets a little of the ointment which is meant for its neighbour only;” instead of in the 2nd line, “The ointment which is itself of no beauty becomes beautiful because it is applied to the eyes.”

In the 2nd case, whereas Böhlingk with the reading *Yatrapitipi*, translates :—

“The Sugarcane does not lose its sweetness wherever you put it,” a doubtful, if not impossible, rendering; the Pandit's reading *Yatrapitopi* “even when placed in the crushing press” is undoubtedly correct.

Mr. Javerilal U. Yajnik moved, and Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajiseconded, a proposal that the thanks of the Society should be tendered to the Pandit for his paper. In putting the motion the President (Mr. Justice West) dwelt on the satisfaction with which the Society hailed, in the paper before them, the beginning of an attempt to make the Society an effective means of communication between Native and European scholars.

The Society could undertake no more honourable or befitting work, and he trusted that the present paper was only the first of a series of similar communications.

The thanks of the Society were accordingly awarded to Pandit Durgaprasad for his paper.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 27th November 1884.

Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The following proposals about periodicals were made :—

By J. Griffiths, Esq.—

That *Cassell's Magazine of Art and L'Art* be taken.—*Carried.*

By Major Sparks—

That *The Illustrated Army and Navy Magazine* be taken.—*Carried.*

By the Secretary—

That *Truth* be subscribed for.—*Carried.*

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 4th December 1884.

Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected members :—Rev. Dr. R. W. Evans; Captain G. C. Parker; Jehangir Nasserwanji Mody, Esq.; Bejonji Shapurji Madan, Esq.; Surgeon-General G. Auchinleck.

A Paper on a Copper-Plate Grant, found near Chiplun, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj, was read.

On the motion of the Secretary, seconded by Hon'ble K. T. Telang, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Bhagwanlal for his paper.

A list of books presented to the Society was placed before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 6th March 1885.

Mr. C. E. Fox, *Vice President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected Members:—Hon'ble M. Melvill; Ganpatrao Shrikrishnajee, Esq.; and Fakeerjee Dinshawjee Kurracheewalla, Esq.

Dr. Peterson read a paper entitled, "Some Early Indian Poets," in which he gave an account of the writers cited by Kshemendra of Cashmere (A.D. 1020) in his *Auchityalankara*, of which work Dr. Peterson obtained the loan of a copy, the second found, from Rajendrasuri of Ahmedabad. Kshemendra quotes a verse which is cited in the *Mahābhāshya*, and assigns it to Kumaradasa, an author whose date is not known, but who, from the specimens of his style available in the later anthologies, cannot be placed so far back, Dr. Peterson contended, as B. C. 150, the date now commonly accepted for Patanjali. Other finds of importance in Kshemendra's book are the verse put by Kalhana, a later writer, into Matrigupta's mouth (*Rajatarangini* III. 18), and which is here ascribed to Karpatika, a verse by Bana, which Kshemendra tells us refers to the Kadambhari, and so leads to the conclusion that Bana wrote a version of that story in metre—a verse by Kalidasa which does not appear to occur in any of the known works of that poet, and which Kshemendra says occurs in his *Kutesvaradantya*; and lastly, several verses by different authors which now stand in *Bhartrihari*.

In moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Peterson for a paper which he said was sure to attract the attention of scholars, the Hon. K. T. Telang discussed briefly some of the points raised, in particular that with regard to the date of Patanjali. That Mr. Telang intimated he agreed with Professor Bhandarkar and the late Professor Goldstücker in regarding as fixed; and he therefore was disposed to take Dr. Peterson's quotation as of importance more for the date of Kumaradasa than for that of Patanjali.

Mr. Telang's motion was seconded by Mr. K. R. Cama and carried.

A list of books, &c., presented to the Society was laid on the table and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 17th April 1885. Hon'ble Mr. Latham, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected members:—His Excellency the Governor; R. H. Gunion, Esq.; Nowrowji Pestonji Vakeel, Esq.; Surgeon-Major A. N. Hojel.

The following alterations in Articles 2, 3, 4, and 43, as proposed by the Committee were then put to the vote and carried.

II.—The Election shall be by ballot, and one black ball in five shall exclude.

III.—On receipt of the proposal the Honorary Secretary shall at noon on the following day cause a ballot box and voting paper to be placed in a prominent part of the reading room, with the names of the Candidates, his proposer and seconder, duly inscribed thereon, the said box to remain on the table till noon on the eighth day, when it shall be removed.

IV.—As soon as convenient thereafter the box shall be opened by the Honorary Secretary in the presence of a Member of Committee, and if not less than six Members have voted, the Candidate shall be declared elected, subject to Art. II., and his election duly notified to him by the Honorary Secretary.

XXIII.—“Till the receipt of the next following number” for “fifteen days after the day on which it was received.”

The following papers, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, Mr. J. F. Fleet, and Dr. P. Peterson were read.

Revised Translation of Skandagupta Inscription on the Bhitârî Lât.

On a Western Chalukya Grant of the first year of Adityavarman.

Transcript and Translation of a Maurya Inscription from Kunswa near Kotah.

On the motion of the Chairman, the best thanks of the Society were returned to the writers of the papers.

A list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society, was laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 1st May 1885.

Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik, Esq., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were read :—

Papers.

The Date of Patanjali ; a reply to Prof. Peterson. By Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar, M. A.

A Note on Badaráyana, the author of the Brahma Sutras. By Hon'ble K. T. Telang, C. I. E.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Yeshwant Wassudeva Athale, the best thanks of the Society were voted to Messrs. Bhandarkar and Telang for their papers.

A list of books &c. presented to the Society, was laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 14th October 1885, to receive Count A. DeGubernatis, Professor of Sanskrit in the Royal Institution of Florence, who is at present in Bombay. The Hon. Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, *Vice-President*, presided.

The Chairman said:—Gentlemen,—The principal business for which we have met this evening is what I will, with your permission, now lay before the meeting, under article five of our rules, and that is to propose that Count A. DeGubernatis, Professor of Sanskrit in the Royal Institution at Florence, who by his researches has considerably enriched comparative physiological literature, and added materially to the knowledge of India on the Continent of Europe, should be elected an Honorary Member of this Society, and that we invite him to read his paper on “Indian Studies in Italy,” which he has kindly offered to do. Gentlemen, I shall be very brief in my remarks, because another gentleman who will follow me, and who has a more complete knowledge of European languages, will be able to do better justice to the subject, but I must say that since the proposal came before us in committee I have seen an English translation of one of the Count's works, which is a very exhaustive work in its way on what I may call mythological zoology. It is a very learned work, and it is one which, coming from one in the position of the Count, is certainly calculated to create a very wide and general interest in the ancient history of this country. I think, gentlemen, that we have to a considerable extent departed from the early tradition of this Society; and I speak here in regard to our own as well as the sister Societies in Calcutta and Madras. From what I have read in the old transactions, we appear to have created great interest in the study of Sanskrit on the Continent. I do not say that that interest has now faded, but it is not kept up by us to the extent to which it ought to be; and to a certain extent, it is, I think, to the election of such members as the gentleman whose name I am now bringing before you, that we can hope to diffuse an intimate knowledge

of this country, and of its literature, and of the quaint institutions which have been preserved through thousands of years, in the West. I think it is very necessary, and from what I have seen of the earnest inquiring spirit and powers of observation contained in his work, Count A. DeGubernatis is well qualified for such duties as I have named ; and he will be an acquisition to this Society. I beg to submit his name for the acceptance of this Society.

Dr. J. Gerson DaCunha said : I have already furnished to the Committee of Management of this learned Society such details on the merits and attainments of my noble friend, Count Angelo de Gubernatis, as entitle him to be enrolled among its Honorary Members. It is unnecessary for me, therefore, to repeat them here, especially as other speakers will, I believe, refer to his principal contributions to both general and Oriental literature. I must, however, invite your attention to one notable trait in the Count's literary character and scientific activity which more than any other accentuates his claim to our recognition. I allude to his constant endeavour, his unremitting efforts to inspire his countrymen—the sons of a country which is, like Greece, akin to ours in classical antiquity, and in all those qualities which lend charm to one's existence—with the taste for Indian literature and with sympathy for India. To attain this object he has, among other means, dramatized Indian subjects, and thus rendered them popular. One of his dramatic idyls, *Savitri*, which I had the pleasure to translate from Italian into English, was two years ago translated again from English into Guzerati by my friend, Mr. Nanabhoy Rustomjee Ranina, the author of a Guzerati lexicon, and performed at the Gaiety in the presence of such distinguished critics as our present Chairman. I have much pleasure in seconding the proposition.

The Hon. K. T. Telang said : Gentlemen,—Not being acquainted with the language in which most of Count A. De Gubernatis' works have appeared, I am not able to speak with as much authority on the subject as I should have desired, but there are one or two circumstances which I have read which relate to the Count's activity in the matter of Oriental literature, which has convinced me that the honour we propose to confer upon him is thoroughly deserved. The history of the movement of Oriental learning in Italy is a very short one compared with its history in Germany and elsewhere ; and the history of that movement may be said to be the history of the Count's own efforts for popularising Oriental literature in his own country with his activity,

for which, I am sure, this Society will consider thanks are due to the Count, and a recognition for which has been proposed. The Count was the able Secretary of the Oriental Conference held in Florence lately, and he is also the editor of a very important periodical which is devoted to Oriental subjects, and I remember that his name was mentioned in connection with an essay on the subject of the vicissitudes of Aryan civilization. He is very sympathetic in his treatment of the essays which were furnished for competition, and the very deep feeling of his criticism on the successful essay showed with what great sympathy he entered into the study of the ancient history and literature of this country, and the use he made of it in his practical work.

The distinguished visitor was then elected unanimously; and he then read in Sanskrit a paper on "Indian Studies in Italy."

OM!

GANEÇĀYA NAMAH!

Ṛṣibhavadyānām kshamam pūrvam yac'e yad videṣi sarvaprac'-
deṣānām uttamam ṛṣimadāryavartam āgatas tasyām vicrutāyām
sabhāyāmyatra katipayā deṣag'ā bahavaṅc'a pratic'ideṣag'āryavartamitrā
mahāpaṇḍitāḥ sīdānti saṃskṛitām bhāshām prayuktvā, bhṛiṇandhar-
shayāmi.

Athā, ṛṣibhavadyāryavartapratnac'aritre pratnābhāshāyān'ṅc'ac'irāt-
sthitas tasyā ekasyāḥ puṇyabhāshāyāḥ prayogaḥ paramam me dharmam
adya pratibhāti.

Smarāmi tv Itālyādeṣe Phirentsenāmanig'apushpapure g'ātena
bānig'ena Philippasassetitīṣrutena saṃskṛitabhāshānamadheyam pra-
thamam pratīcine deṣe g'n'āpitan. Dakṣiṇāpathaprākṛitāni saṃskṛi-
tān'ṅc'a bhāshām antarā dharmiketālyādeṣavasino Beskidenobilidellā-
tombāṅc'a sarvatha veduḥ. Saṃskṛitakāvyānāntu subhatamam Rāmā-
yaṇam prathamaItālyādeṣag'o mahāpaṇḍitāḥ ṛṣigarresya Europāvishaya
avatārayāmāsa. Sāmpratanstvitālyāpathasyāshṭāsu mahāvidyācālāsu
saṃskṛitābhāshāg'nānam apnuvate. Yasya c'hatro 'ntanyo Maratsih-
Kālidāsanāṭakān, Dhṛtasanāgaman'ṅc'āvatārayāmāsa, mahāc'āryo
G'avannih Phlekyas Tariṇapure mahāsaṃskṛitābhāshāvyākaraṇam lile-
kha. Saṃskṛitābhāshāvyākaraṇasaṅgrahakarakāḥ Karalo G'ūssanis;
tasimāc'e'āshṭavakī agṛitam anuvāditam. Milānapure sa sikshayati ṛṣimahā-
paṇḍitenāskolīna sahā yo prathama Aryavartaprākṛitānītalāyadeṣaprā-

kṛitānic'a samyog'ayāmāsa. Pādavūpure tu saṃskṛitābhāshācīkshaka nig'acrīveberaḥc'a pūrvatarāṃ ḥishyaḥ Pullēnāma g'ainakakathā viḥeshato yathā pratnagranthāṃ saptavarshāntarenetālyādeḥam mama priyamitrāt ḥṛidākunād ūpanitān sāvadhānam avatārayati. Pisāpure ḥṛitetsaḥ cīkshako katipayasamskritapṛākṛitagranthabhāgānyatnenodag'ahre. Ramāpure ḥṛilig'n'āno vāgmī saṃskṛitāpārasikābhāshācīkshakah; Perug'yapure vāḥeshikamaṅgalavidyālpagranthān' g'nāpāyamāsa. Navapure tvuttareṇa ḥṛikarbākṛā Rīgvedakatipayasūktanalopākyāna- mṛic'hākatikāḥ subham anuvadītāḥ.

Tato 'dyātināryavartadarḥaṇārtham, Mumbayāpuram abhyāgato bhadrantaṃkshanan' ḥc'intayami yasmim bhavadīyānām samayena saṃskṛitābhāshā satyabhāshāupalabhyā; kim punah?

Saṃskṛitābhāshā āryarāg'n'ām aryatamā bhāshā pūrvam āsid. Yathā tasyāḥ kshayenāryavartsya saṃkshayo'rabdhas tathāryapunyabhāshā prakramād asya ḥṛideḥasya pratikāram pratīkshami

Sarve parapanditā ye tadbhāshābhyāse pravartanta āryavartag'anam pūg'ayanti. Tena hetuna viḥeshato bhavadbhir asmac'c'a mahāyatnam saṃskṛitābhāshāprac'arāya pratidināṃ kartavyam.

Adya tvātmagatam ḥṛiweberaḥ ḥishya Itālyādeḥ yathācākytā Āryavartam pūgāyitum utsāhayāmi. Tenārthena mahyam ihāgatāya yushmāḍṛikpaṇḍitamadhya styanta upabhoga.

Ḥṛimadbhavadiyānām agre sahāyyam āptvā dvididhenopayenāryavartag'n'ānam Itālyādeḥ prac'arayitum ācāuse; pūrvam āryavartiyadrayālayam nig'apushpapure nityan darḥaṇīyannirmitvā dvityanstv Aitālyāsyātikārāg'asābhāyā ṛig'una bandhuna nig'adeḥ sarvāryavartapaṇḍitanām paṇāny nig'ānic'aniraparasparan'ḥg'nāpitvā. Itālyādeḥa Āryavartamahāpūg'ā c'irādbhavati. Yada tasmin'ḥ gn'ānāmānāpurve vishaya āryavartiyadray yama hāprayan'ḥc'eshyāmy ashmeshu c'āryavartasyārtham bṛihadvidyāvṛittīḥ kshipram bhavisyati; bhāvateshu c'a mahānandirnūnam g'anishyate vadāitalyadeḥayaḥcāvic'akravartīnāv Ambertam Margāritān'ḥc'a nig'arāg'yāryāvartag'nānarakshakā tasya vṛiddāye sarvavidhānaprayuktāni sthitam tayoh sumantriṇām sahāy yenapalayantāu yathātathamḥroshyanti.

Āryavartāya ḥubham astu.

Subjoined is a translation of this paper :—

OM!

SALUTATION TO GANESHA!

First of all, Gentlemen, I crave your indulgence, for I, a stranger having arrived in this glorious India, the first of all the Eastern countries, am afraid of being thought presumptuous for speaking the Sanskrit language in this Noble Assembly, where are seated some learned Indians and many learned friends of India. But, Gentlemen, it is a long time since I have devoted my mind to the study of the ancient history and ancient language of India, and it seems to me that it is here my supreme duty to speak only this sacred tongue. I remember that it was Filippo Sassetti, a great merchant of Italy, born in Florence, the city of flowers, who first made known to the West the name of the Sanskrit language. The languages of the Dekkan, as well as the Sanskrit, were known to three Italian Missionaries, Beschi, De Nobili and Dellatomba. It was an Italian scholar, the learned Gorresio, who first translated in Europe the most beautiful of the Sanskrit poems, the Râmâyana. And now the Sanskrit language is taught in eight Italian Universities. The distinguished Professor Giovanni Flechia of Turin wrote a large Sanskrit Grammar, and his pupil Antonio Marazzi translated into Italian the dramas of Kâlidâsa, and the Indian Comedy entitled "The Congress of Knaves." Carlo Giussani published a short Sanskrit Grammar for beginners, and translated the little philosophical poem entitled *Ashtavakra-gîta*; he teaches at Milan, where the celebrated scholar Ascoli first compared the phonology of the dialects of India with those of Italy. In Padua the Professor Pullé, who was once my pupil, as well as that of Professor Weber, is diligently working at the translation of a Collection of Jain stories from ancient Manuscripts taken to Italy some seven years ago by my dear friend, the illustrious Da Cunha. At Pisa the Professor Teza interpreted carefully portions of Sanskrit and Prakrit Books. In Rome the illustrious Professor Lignana teaches splendidly the Sanskrit and Persian, while at Perugia my dear pupil, Gerolamo Donati, made known a little work on *Vaisheshika* philosophy, entitled "The Science of Happiness." And last, at Naples, the learned Professor Kerbaker translated beautifully some Vedic hymns, the episode of the Nala, and the drama *Mric'chakatikâ*. As I am myself come to Bombay to visit India, so I believe this to be an opportune moment for requesting you, Gentlemen, to recognize Sanskrit as the language

proper of the scholars intent on the study of India. What else! The Sanskrit was once the noble tongue of the ancient Indian kings, and with its corruption began the decline of India; I now hope that from the progress of this sacred language of the Aryans will arise the revival of this glorious country. All the learned foreign scholars who study this language honour India and her people; it is therefore both your and our special duty to make every effort to promote the study of this tongue. With regard to myself, as pupil of the illustrious Professor Weber, I strive, as hard as I possibly can, to support in Italy the culture of Indian studies. I am for this reason come to India, and it is a source of infinite gratification to me to be among so many learned men. I expect, Gentlemen, by means of your sympathy, to promote in two ways the knowledge of India in Italy—by first of all founding a Museum of Indian objects, to be opened to the public, and in the second place by establishing an Asiatic Royal Society in Italy as a close link between the two countries, trying to approximate and mutually know all the Indian learned scholars and the foreign scholars and friends of India, as well as their researches. India has since long been highly honoured in my country: when in my country, second to none in paying homage to science, an Indian Museum shall be founded, greater will at once become our scientific activity on behalf of India, and to you, Gentlemen, it will certainly afford an occasion of joy to learn that the great King and Queen of Italy, Humbert and Margherite, guardians of the Indian science in their kingdom, protect with assistance of high-minded ministers, all the institutions tending to its progress. Let India be prosperous!

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, who also spoke in Sanskrit, said: Gentlemen,—I have no doubt the members of our Society must have derived a very great pleasure in meeting this day our learned guest, Count Angelo DeGubernatis, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Florence in Italy. The address delivered by him to-day in the Sanskrit language is the first of its kind delivered in this room. This also indicates in the clearest manner possible the great love he evinces towards the study of this ancient language, his heartfelt affection towards the people of this country, and his unceasing energy for the spread of knowledge this language is capable of imparting. His love for India is so strong and zealous that he has preferred to decorate his new residence which he has erected in Florence, by carving the figures of Oriental mythological gods, and he has named it "Villino Vidya," or

“House of Wisdom” or Sophi-house, Sophia or Vidyâ, being the name also of his dear wife. He is not only a Sanskrit scholar himself, but one who is foremost in implanting the love for Oriental studies among his brother residents of Italy. He has published an interesting small work on the Vedic god Indra. He has founded an Oriental academy in Florence. He was General Secretary to the Fourth International Congress of Orientalists, held in Florence in September 1878. He has written three very interesting works on the origin of rites connected with birth, marriage and death; also a large biographical dictionary, which includes biography of Indian pandits also. He has published a work in 18 volumes, on universal literature. He has also published an Indian Cyclopædia, a mythology of plants, and the zoological mythology, a work written in English and translated into German and French. He has also published a story of the Italian traveller in India. He has edited several dramas on Indian subjects. He is an editor of a fortnightly Review of universal interest. These are few evidences of his great and untiring energy for the studies of Oriental literature; it is, therefore, unnecessary for me to dwell much on this subject. Suffice it to say, in short, that he is a true friend of India and its people.

The Chairman:—Gentlemen, with your permission I beg to propose that we offer our best thanks to the Count for the paper which he has read here this evening. This is an innovation, and a very agreeable one. I have not been present here at the reading of any Sanskrit paper, although a short one, interspersed with English extracts, was read here in 1864 or 1865. I trust that this will be the commencement of a new era in our history; and I hope that the interest which this event will excite among our members here will be reflected by the increased interest in Europe, and that it will replenish our stores and contribute to our mutual progress and that of our country.

Mr. Javerilal Umiashunkur Yajnik, in seconding the proposal, said: I am informed that Count A. De Gubernatis has been a student of Sanskrit for the last twenty-five years; and that his object in visiting India is of a twofold character: to see an Indian Museum established in Italy, and to establish an Asiatic Society there; and these institutions will in future be a link between India and Italy; and I think we cannot better reciprocate the sympathy that has been shown by Italy in the study of Sanskrit language and literature than by doing what we have done in having elected him an Honorary Member of

this Society, and in tendering to him our best thanks for the paper he has read.

Mr. Fox: I think I may be allowed to say, as one of the European members of the Society, that it has been a great pleasure to us (the European members) to welcome one who is connected with the most charming, as in old times it was the most cultivated, cities in Italy. I can only hope that the Count's visit will draw India and Italy together, and that the Count will prove a successful promoter of an Asiatic Society in the latter country.

The proceedings then terminated.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 24th November 1885. Col. J. H. White R.E., *Vice President*, in the chair.

The following proposals about periodicals received from members were placed before the Meeting:—

Proposed—

By Dr. Atmaram Pandurang; *seconded* by C. E. Fox, Esq.

That *English Mechanic & World of Science* be taken—*Lost*.

By Dr. Atmaram Pandurang; *seconded* by Rev. Dr. Evans.

That *Proctor's Knowledge* be taken—*Carried*.

By Hon'ble Mr. Justice Birdwood; *seconded* by Rev. Dr. Evans.

That *Le Charivari* be discontinued—*Lost*.

That *Indian Gardener* be taken—*Lost*.

By Hon'ble Mr. Justice Birdwood—*seconded* by Rev. Dr. Evans.

That *Bombay Guardian* be taken—*Carried*.

By Hon'ble Mr. Justice Birdwood, *seconded* by Hon'ble K.T. Telang.

That *Madras Christian College Magazine* be taken—*carried*.

By Dr. Pechey—

That *Huyen's Revue* be subscribed for. On the proposition of C. E. Fox, Esq., *seconded* by Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, it was resolved that the question of subscribing to the periodical be referred to the Managing Committee.

By the Hon'ble Mr. F. L. Latham—

That *Chemical News* be discontinued—*Lost*.

By the Honorary Secretary; *seconded* by Rev. Dr. Evans—

That *Vanity Fair* be struck off the list of periodicals.—*Lost*.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(JANUARY 1884 TO DECEMBER 1885.)

- Accounts, Trade and Navigation, of British India, 1884-85. By the Government of India.
- Administration Report Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, 1883-84. By the Bombay Government.
- Administration Report of Bangalore, 1881-82. By The Resident at Mysore.
- Administration Report, Baroda State, 1881-82 and 1882-83. By the Government of H. II. the Maharaja of Baroda.
- Administration Report, Bengal, 1882-83 and 1883-84. By the Bengal Government.
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