The right bank of the Irrawaddy River near Prome is fringed by a range of hills, and Pottadaung is the name applied to the topmost of seven hills, forming part of this range. The Pottadaung Hill is crowned with a massive rock, called the Hermit’s Cap, and shaped like a Buddhist priest’s alms-bowl. On this rock a platform of brick is raised, on which stands the Pottadaung Pagoda. It is about 30 feet high, and its form and architecture bespeak its masons from the maritime provinces. Near the pagoda is an image-house of these Burmese Era, (1874 A.D.). In this image-house Gautama Buddha is represented in an adoring attitude and asking some boon from Gautama Buddha. One of the caves is devoted to the custody of an inscription engraved on a sandstone slab, about four feet high by three feet wide. The inscription was placed there by Sinbyuyin (1768–1776 A.D.), the second son of Alaungpaya (Alompra). It bears date 1136, Burmese Era, (1774 A.D.). In this image-house Gautama Buddha is represented in a standing posture with the index-finger of his right hand pointing to his beloved disciple, in a praying attitude, begging the sage to

Thus, during 20 assahs of his attaining Rājabhāsha .

Suddhadāna, the eastern side of the Hermit’s Cap — which is surrounded on every side, except the side tree — where it joins the next hill, by sheer precipices of some thousand feet in depth — are three caves cut into the rock. Over these are images of the two traditional moles, also cut in the rock, representing them in an adoring attitude and asking some boon from Gautama Buddha. One of the caves is devoted to the custody of an inscription engraved on a sandstone slab, about four feet high by three feet wide. The inscription was placed there by Sinbyuyin (1768–1776 A.D.), the second son of Alaungpaya (Alompra). It bears date 1136, B. E., (1774 A. D.), and contains a record of his progress from Ava to Rangoon, his placing a new 伞 on the Shwé Dagón Pagoda at Rangoon, and the removal of its old 伞, which was thrown down by an earthquake in 1769, to be enshrined in the Pottadaung Pagoda.

The placing of a new 伞 on the Shwé Dagón Pagoda by Sinbyuyin was symbolical of the consolidation of the power of the dynasty founded by his father in 1757 A. D., of the replacement of the Talaings by the Burmans in the government of United Burma, and of the national jubilation over the successes which attended Burmese arms in the wars with Manipūr, China, and Siam. The ceremony of placing the 伞 was witnessed by the king in person, in order to convince the Talaings, whose abortive rebellion in Martaban had just been suppressed, that his rule was a personal one, and to impress on them the splendour of his power and the resources at his command. Moreover, to minimize the possibility of all future attempts at rebellion, with

1 A 伞 (= umbrella) is the umbrelliform ornament which must be placed on the summit of every pagoda.
the last of the Talaing kings as a centre of intrigue and dissatisfaction, and to remove all hopes of the restoration of a Talaing monarchy, he ordered the execution of Byinnyà Dalà, the cz-kng of Pegn, who had surrendered to Alaungp'ayà.

Lines 1—8 of the obverse face of the stone are in Pali gāthās and the rest are in Burmese prose. The reverse face of the stone is in Burmese prose.

The decipherment of this inscription does not present any palaeographical difficulty, but the formation of certain letters shows that Burmese calligraphy was in a transition state a century ago. ԅ is expressed by ဂ as well as က; က by မ် or က; က by က or က; က by က or က; က by က or က. There are four modes of representing က, namely, က, က, က, က.

The abrupt tone is indicated by placing either single or double dots below the letter, affected: ဗ or ဗ.

The long vowel အ with the heavy tone is expressed by two dots like the visarga is Sanskrit: အသား = ကကို; အသား = ကကို. The vowel အသား is expressed by အ; အသား = ကကို. The vowel အသား is symbolically expressed by a curve placed over the letter affected: အ = က; and အသား by အ. The symbolic အသား is expressed thus: အသား = က. The following letters radically differ in form from those now in use: —; ဗ = ဗ; ဗ = ဗ; ဗ = ဗ; ဗ = ဗ; ဗ = ဗ; ဗ = ဗ; ဗ = ဗ; ဗ = ဗ; ဗ = ဗ.

TRANSLATION.

Obverse Face.

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, and the Fully Enlightened One!

With a pure and serene mind, I do respectfully reverence the Conqueror, who is the highest, the noblest, the greatest of the great, and the giver of the bliss of Nirvāṇa.

The Buddha, who was the highest, the noblest, the protector, and the greatest, stood on the top of the high Pūkālaung rock and pronounced an oracle.

Like the erection of the 84,000 monasteries, pagodas, &c., times (was the building of the pagoda recorded here). On the first day of Māgha 1136, Sakkaraj, and 2318, Anno Buddhæ, when Asurinda had seized the moon and released her from danger, and when an auspicious victory had thus been accorded to Sōma, the king, who was wise and replete with merit and other good qualities, who was mighty and powerful, and whose fame had spread far and wide, caused the Pūkālaung boulder, which is one single mass of rock, to be cleared, and repaired an old pagoda, wherein he enshrined the fallen ใ of the Disgumpa Chêth, which he had purposely ordered to be brought away. To ensure the durability of the pagoda for a great length of time, he made a beautiful bejewelled ใ, (like that) of the pagoda standing on the top of the Himavanta mountain, and planted it on the (Pūkālaung) pagoda. He then proceeded up-stream, and on the auspicious Saturday, the full moon day of Visakhā 1137, Sakkaraj, and 2319, Anno Buddhæ, he held a great festival and planted the beautiful bejewelled ใ (on the pagoda) called Nyândô-myîlûn.

"In virtue of this, my good deed, may I, in the future, become a Buddha, and be able to dispel the ignorance of a great many creatures immersed in ignorance, and may I finally reach the tranquil, transcendent, immutable, blissful, peaceful, and happy city, which is secure from danger of death, re-birth, and old age!

"During the period that intervenes between my present existence and my becoming a Buddha, may all my enemies flee on hearing about my might and power or by seeing my person; and during the same period, may good fortune be my lot, whenever my might and power is heard of or my person seen!"
May the brahmās, dévas, and men of all the lókas, my father, mother, and other relatives share my merit equally with me, and may they rejoice with glad and joyful heart!

May all creatures practice liberality and exert themselves for the good of the Religion; and may the people live in happiness, and increase in honour and wealth!

During 20 asahkhéyas and 100,000 kalpas, the embryo of Gautama Buddha received an assurance of his attaining Buddhahood from each successive Buddha that appeared.

During the cycle of seven asahkhéyas, beginning with the one called nānda, 125,000 Buddhas, headed by Brahmadéva, appeared. At the feet of each of these Buddhas, Our Lord, as a Bódhisattva, buoyed up with joy and hope, prayed to be a Buddha. With faith and zeal, which can never be equalled, he performed works of merit and received from the successive Buddhas of that cycle the assurance of attaining Buddhahood.

During the next cycle of nine asahkhéyas, beginning with the one called sábhabhadda, 387,000 Buddhas, headed by Páciṣpasedya, appeared. At the feet of each of them, our Bódhisattva repeated his prayer of becoming an Omniscient One and the suzerain of the three lókas. He performed good deeds and followed the precepts insculpted by them.

During the next cycle of four asahkhéyas, beginning with the one called sūla, 12 Buddhas, headed by Tașhisa, appeared. After our Bódhisattva had received an assurance of attaining omniscience, nine other Buddhas, headed by Dipaśkara, appeared. During the dispensation of Dipaśkara, our Bódhisattva was possessed of merit and the qualifications necessary for the attainment of Buddhahood. One day, he made his body serve as a bridge for Dipaśkara to step across, and the latter granted him an assurance that he would become a Buddha in the future. This assurance was confirmed by the eight other Buddhas who followed.

During the next 100,000 kalpas, 15 Buddhas, headed by Padumuttara, appeared. Each of these Buddhas confirmed the assurance granted to our Bódhisattva by their predecessors.

Thus, during 20 asahkhéyas and 100,000 kalpas, our Bódhisattva received an assurance of his attaining Buddhahood from 512,027 Buddhas. In his last birth, he became the son of Suddhásana, King of Kapila, by Queen Māyā. His birth took place in a delightful grove of sal trees, and when he grew up, he was surrounded by comforts and pleasures befitting a prince. Three palaces were built for him, which were occupied according to the three seasons. His wife was Yūsodhārā, and he had a number of concubines. At the age of 29 he renounced the world and became an ascetic. After undergoing penance for six years, he, one night, dreamt five dreams. Next morning, he became a Buddha, and received an offering of rice-milk from Sujatā, which he, with relish, ate, while sitting cross-legged on the bank of a river (Nēnājārā). On the evening of the same day, the dévas directed his steps to the spot where the Bódhi tree was. This tree had sprouted forth from the earth simultaneously with his birth, and is worthy of veneration by all dévas and men. Here, the grass-cutter Soḍdiya presented him with eight handfuls of grass, with which he prepared a seat for himself. While remaining under the Bódhi tree, he was assailed by Māra and his hosts on every side: on his right and his left, behind him, in front of him, and over him. The contest, however, could not last long. On the evening of the same day, he merged forth victorious from the struggle and became free from every passion and tie. At dawn on the following day, he comprehended the Four Sublime Truths and attained Buddhahood. The news of this victory and of this attainment was received by the inhabitants of the three lókas with deafening acclamation.

With a view that future generations might embrace a faith and attain Nirvāna, as if they had prayed at his feet, Gautama Buddha promuligated an excellent religion and defined the period of its continuance.

It was the good fortune of the King of Avā to flourish during the dispensation of such a saviour as Gautama Buddha.
The ruler of Ava was assisted in his government by wise ministers, and was happy in the possession of trustworthy friends. He was the possessor of military weapons, soldiers, horses, elephants, and fortified towns, and received tribute from sixteen states, such as Sunparaanta, Tampadipa, and Kampa. His capital, Batta, was the storehouse of all kinds of precious minerals and the repository of all wealth. He was wise, mighty, and powerful, and had reigned to subjection all the other rulers of the world. . . . He was of opinion that, although he might exert himself in various ways to ensure the continuance of the excellent religion promulgated by the Greatest of Conquerors, . . . . . . . . .

Reverse Face.

His glorious Majesty King Sinbyutin, the possessor of the hpat sînyâd and many other white elephants, and of gold, silver, and ruby mines, the Suzerain of all the other rulers, and the overlord of the sixteen states, namely,—

Sunparaanta, with its districts Kalé, Tennyin, Yò, Tilin, Salin, and Sgò; Binnh-Katattama, with its districts Udattari and Pândaung; Bima, with its districts Kubôn, Yangmyă, Muttama, and Pagò (Pegu); Ayyutthaya, with its districts Dwârvat, Yoday, and Kamânpak; Hartpunâna, with its districts Zimmè, Labôn, and Anhâ; Tarsenâtha, with its districts Chandapéri, Sînpâpèi, and Mainglôn; Khêmâvara, with its districts Kyaington and Kyaingkaung; Jotinagara, with its districts Kyaingyôn and Maingâ; Kampa, with its districts Mônê, Yanga, and Mûnî; Mahimsaka, with its districts Mógôk and Kyâtpyin; Sên (Chinmasâtha), with its districts Bâmô (Bhamo) and Mainga; Álavi, with its districts Mâgaung and Mûnhyin; Manipura, with its districts Kâbô and Mâwîn; Jîyavâdthama, with its districts Jîyavati and Kêtumati; Tampadipa, with its districts Pagôn, Myinzaing, Pinyâ, and Ava; left its overlordship of the Ava diâtrit, for its purpose of worshipping the pagoda, wherein were enshrined the parâbhyâs of three Buddhas, as well as the hairs of Gautama Buddha, given him on the 49th day of his Bhûshâkood to the two brothers Taphussa and Bhallika, with a view that these relics should be objects of adoration by all dësas and men. The was endowed with such might and power, that any desire of his would be consummated by the co-operation of the two kings. He was desirous of placing a 18 covered with pure gold on the Sandjatin Chêti, which is 900 bâdaung in perimeter, 225 in diameter, and 183 in height.17

On Sunday, the 8th waxing of the moon of Pyth, 1136, Sakkatî, the King left Ava; with the magnificence of the Pagoda, leaving the city of Mahâsasana for the purpose of worshipping at the Chûjhama Chêti. He was escorted by 80 battalions of land and naval forces; by 1,600 elephants, headed by the hpat sînyâd; by 500 ponies from the royal stables, headed by the royal charger, Nîbâyinbyân, which was four taung, two mâikes, and four leibis high; by

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17 The British Burma Gazetteer, II, 634, gives the measurements as 1885 ft. perimeter, and 321 ft. plus 28 ft. for 17, total 325 ft. height. This text gives the measurements as 1484 ft. 64 inch. perimeter : 225 ft. 81 inch diameter : 271 ft. 113 inch height. There is no reconciling possible of these measurements. The base of the pagoda is in fact octagonal and not circular.—En.
20,000 cavalry men; by other members of the four-fold army; by various tributary Sōbwās and Myōtsē; by ministers and military commanders of different grades, who were distinguished for their birth, character, and talents; and by the members of the royal family, consisting of sons, brothers, kinsmen, queens, concubines, and attendants (of the King). The King embarked on a beautifully-wrought jewelled raft, furnished with all regal splendour. Four white umbrellas were planted on the raft, which was surrounded by various kinds of gilt boats and other rafts. During his progress, the King was accompanied by over 200,000 infantry, cavalry, and elephants. At every stage on the journey, high festivals were held. On Monday, the 8th of the waning moon of the same month, Prome (Pyemyo) was reached, and the King took up his temporary residence on the sand-bank at the mouth of the Nawinchaung.

In the 8th year of his Buddhahood, Gautama Buddha, at the solicitation of the merchants of Vānijjagāma in Sunāparanta, visited the sandal-wood monastery built by them, and left two impressions of his Holy Foot on the banks of the Namātī river, for the adoration of all dévas and men, including the people of the Myān Country. On his return, he turned round the soles of his feet, and pronounced an oracle on the summit of a hill, which, in after times, was called the Pawāttākādaung. The King, observing that the pagoda erected by his ancestors on that hill would not last for ever, resolved to replace it by another, which would last throughout the 5,000 years allotted by Buddha for the continuance of the Religion, and which would be an object of adoration by all men. As he was possessed of such might and power as to cause the consummation of his wishes by the co-operation of the Nāgas, who watch over the Religion, and by Sakras and other Nāgas, the #4 of the Digōn Sāndōshin was brought away by Sakras and the Nāgas for the purpose of being enshrined together with images, chānti, bone-relics, and hair-relics. In order that the pagoda to be built might last throughout the 5,000 years allotted for the continuance of the Religion, its foundations were laid on a massive rock. Gold, silver, and mūgyō bricks were laid as foundation-stones, and the building of the pagoda, which was 16½ bāndawungs in diameter, was begun on Wednesday, the 9th of the waxing moon of Tabōdaw, 1136, Sakkarāj, and 2318, Anno Buddhæ. As when King Siridhammasōka built 84,000 pagodas, &c., there was an eclipse of the moon on the evening of Wednesday, the 1st of the waxing moon of Tabōdaw. When the moon had become bright and clear, in the capacious receptacle-chamber were deposited great numbers of gold and silver images and chānti, bone-relics and hair-relics, and many representations of the Buddha at the Máhabūdhisattāṭhāna. The building of the pagoda was finished on the 7th day of the waxing moon of Tabōdaw, and it was named the Nyānāmōyint. On its completion, it was worshipped by the King, his queens, sons, daughters, brothers, kinsmen, ministers, and generals.

The King left Prome on the 8th day of the waxing moon of Tabōdaw. He placed a golden #4 on the Digōn Sāndōshin Chānti, and completely covered it with new gilding Wednesday, the full moon day of Tabauung. From the date of his arrival to the 2nd of the waxing of the moon of Tagh, 1137, Sakkarāj, he held high festivals in honour of the pagoda and made great offerings. On his return, he reached Prome on the 8th day of the waxing moon of Kason 1137, Sakkarāj. At an auspicious hour after midnight on Saturday, the full moon day of the same month, the King placed a golden #4 on the Pawāttākādaung Pagoda, and completely covered it with gilding. An offering of food and priestly requisites was made to the Royal Preceptor and a great many other monks, and festivals were held in honour of the occasion.

"For this, my good deed, may I become an Omniscient One, surpassing others in wisdom, and

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18 An alloy of gold and copper in proportions of half and half.
Obverse Face.

lane Z.Paddaggesele is a Pali translation of the Burmese appellation Pawtadanda, the "foot-print hill," which is supposed to have subsequently been corrupted into Ptetadanda.

According to a tradition, which is fully recorded in the Mahyyadawin, Gautama Buddha, in the fifth year of his Buddhahood, was presented by the two brothers, Mahapunna and Chālapuṇṇa, with a sandal-wood monastery situated at Vajjigatama, otherwise called Lēgaing, in Sunaparanta. The sage accepted the gift, and occupied the monastery for seven days. During his temporary residence there, he left two impressions of his left foot: one, on the top of the Thitsabān Hill, at the solicitation of the Rishi Sachchhabandha (Thitsabanda), who had been converted to Buddhism, and the other on the left bank of the Mānaḥauṃ at the solicitation of Namantā, King of the Nāgas.

On his return, from the top of the Pētādaung Hill, where he turned the soles of his feet, Gautama Buddha saw a piece of cow-dung floating in the sea, which stretched to a range of hills on the east. At the same time, a mole came and paid him homage by offering him some burrowings. On seeing these two omens the Master smiled, and being asked by Ānanda the cause of his doing so, he replied: "My beloved Ānanda, after I have attained parinirvāṇa, and after the Religion has flourished for 101 years, five great events will happen: (1) there will be a great earthquake; (2) a great lake will appear at the Pētā point; (3) a river, called Samṭ Samyek, will appear; (4) the Pētā Hill will rise up perpendicularly through the upheaval of the earth; (5) the sea will recede from the land on which Thattekhettāra will be built in after times. The mole before us will be incarnated as Duttabauṃ, King of Thattekhettāra, from whose reign will date the establishment of my Religion in the Country of the Mraṃmas."

The above tradition appears to be pregnant with historical truth. Both historical and geological evidence goes to show that the country up to Prome was, at one time, under the sea. A hill, to the south of that town, is called to this day Akauktaung or Custom Hill, from its having been a station, where customs dues were collected from the ships that visited the port.

The following extract from Mr. Blanford's account, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XXXI, 1862, fixes the probable age of the Pōpā Volcano in the Myingyan District of Burma:

"The period during which Puppā (Pōpā) was in action was therefore, in parts at least, not later than that of the deposition of beds containing remains of Elephas, Mastodon, Rhinoceros, Hippopotamus, and Ruminants. The geological age of these beds has, with some doubt, been considered to be Miocene, but from their general fauna and especially from the abundance of bones of Bos and Cervus, a more recent date may, I think, with at least equal probability, be assigned to them. There can be no question but that the fires of Puppā have long been extinct. Its thick coating of jungle and grass, and the existence upon it of a species of plants and animals, which, for want of a suitable habitat, cannot exist in any neighbouring locality, and the evidence of the effects of sub-aerial denudation on its surface, render it certain that it must long have been in a condition for vegetation to flourish upon it; but it is scarcely possible, even in the dry climate of Upper Burma, that a volcano of Miocene age should have retained its form so perfectly. It is more probably Pliocene. Its bulk is not great, and, from the absence of other vents in the neighbourhood, so far as is known, it is scarcely probable that its volcanic activity can have extended over a lengthened geological period. I could not learn that there was the slightest tradition among the people as to its ever having been in

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20 [Both legend and inscription fix Sunaparanta as the Mina District of Burma, but see ante, Vol. XXI. p. 121, the word is apparently synonymous with the Shan Sampurday, "to the S. E." of the Shan Country, which = (7) Champasāρ, = Cambodia. With Sampurday compare the Sampājaṭ of the inscription = the Laos country.—Ed.]

21 Mokana = Bam, the spelling and pronunciation by the Burmans of their own name.

22 Sirikhettāra = Sirikhettārām, a corruption. 
action within the memory of man, a circumstance, on the grounds mentioned, extremely improbable. The occurrence, on the summit, of the common brakes, and doubtless of other plants of temperate regions, renders it probable that the close of the glacial period found its surface in a fit state to support vegetation. 15

Line 3. — The Jinachakka or Anno Buddha, corresponding to the year of Sakkaraj or vulgar era, is indicated throughout the inscription by mnemonic words used in astrology. The method of expressing numerals by means of words is also a South-Indian practice, which is fully described at pages 57—59 of Burnell’s Elements of South-Indian Paleography. It may be noted that the Burmanas reckon their Era of Religion from 544 B. C., the year, according to them of the parinirvana of Gautama Buddha.

Line 4. — The Digumphacheti of the Pali appears to be a translation of the Dagôn Chëtt, now called the Shwê Dagôn the celebrated pagoda of Rangoon. The correct appellation should be Tikumphachett according to prices 16-17 of Forohhammer’s Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma. I., The Shwê Dagôn Pagoda.

Reverse Face.

Line 2. — It is the belief of the Buddhists of Burma that the Shwê Dagôn Pagoda contains the relics of the four successive Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, namely, the water strainer of Kakusantha, the bathing-robe of Kâpâgamana, the staff of Kassapa, and eight hairs of Gautama.

Lines 3 — 8. — The division of the Burmese Empire under Sînyûyin into sixteen states or provinces is interesting, as it illustrates the substitution of classical names of India for native apppellations. See Appendix B to Yule’s Mission to Ava for similar classification effected during the reign of Dâlun Mindañy in 1858 A. D. 24

Line 7. — Kaônwûyin is the Burmese appellation for Manipur. Sir Arthur Phayre derives Mwûyin from Moraña or Moriya, and identifies it with the Kubô Valley in the Upper Chindwin District (Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XXXIII. page 16). In the Mahdydzawin it is stated that Dhajarajâ, a king of the Sakya race, settled here, after his expulsion from Northern India about the middle of the 6th century B C. Upper Pagôn was built by him. He married Ngàcchêmna, the Queen of Bhinâka, the last of the Tagaung kings, who, on his expulsion by the Têtars, fled to Malê and died there. On the destruction of the Tagaung dynasty the people were divided into three divisions and one emigrated to the Shân States; the second to the country of the Puôs and Kârrâna, over which Muduchitta, son of Kânrâjâyî, had formerly ruled as king; and the third remained at Malê with Ngàcchêmna. The finding among the ruins of Tagaung of terra cotta tablets, bearing Sanskrit legends, affords some corroboratiom to the statement of the native historians that, long before Anbra’tz’s conquest of Pagôn in the 11th century A. D., successive waves of emigration from Gangetic India had passed through Manîpit to the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy, and that these emigrants brought with them letters, religion and other elements of civilization.

Line 8. — Jçyavaddhans is the name of the ancient kingdom of Toungoo (Taung-nêd).

Line 9. — The Hân Sînyûy, or the white elephant called Hân, was one of the animals, from the possession of which King Sînyûyin (Lord of the White Elephant) derived the title, which he is known in history.

11. — The charger called the Nàrbayinbyân, which is described, in the language of on, as being 4 tavungs, 2 maws, and 4 lêvitâs, or nearly 22 hands high, appears to be presented by foreigners. A Burman pony rarely exceeds 13 hands.

As a contribution to the orthography of this word I may note that a French traveller of 1756 calls it la De Dicn. See Touung-Pao, Vol. II. p. 397 f. Forohhammer’s conclusions are, I think wrong. At any rate they are not actually supported by any authoritative document I have yet seen. — Ed.

[Mindon named some of the quarters of Mandalay by Pâl names.—Ed.]
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.  [JANUARY, 1892.]

Line 15.—Batanāpura, is the classical name of (Ava) Awâ or Isâwâ, or Shwâ Wâ, ‘the golden entrance,’ as it is called in the language of poetry and song. It was founded by Brahmānāya in 1364 A.D., its site being selected for its strategic position at the confluence of the Myî(t)angê and Irrawaddy rivers, and for the swampy nature of the ground on its open face. Ava was the capital of Barma Proper for nearly five centuries. It witnessed the Chinese and Shan invasions, the desperate struggle for supremacy between the Burmans and the Talaings, and lastly a British army advance within four marches and dictate its own terms to Bāgydê at Yândabê. Through its antiquity as the capital of Barma, it is better known among the neighbouring nations than Shwêbê, Sagaing, Amarapûra, or Mandalay. Even to this day, the seat of the Burmese Government is known to the Chinese as Awâ, and the Shâns call the Burmese king ‘Khum hô khâm Awê,’ the Lord of the golden palace of Ava.

Line 17.—The sand-bank at the mouth of the Nawinchaung, where Sînbyûyin took up his temporary residence, may be seen to this day.

Line 18.—Mrântaing means the country of the Myân. Sir Arthur Phayre derives Mrâmâ from Brahmâ (see page 2 of his History of Burma). The exact derivation and meaning of the designation, by which the Burmans are known, have not yet been settled. The term Mrâmâ is not met with in Burmese history till the First Century A.D. In Marco Polo’s Travels, Burma is referred to as the kingdom of Mien. The Burmans are known among the Chinese as the Mien, and among the Shâns as the Mân, the same appellation by which the Mongols are known among the Chinese. In the accounts of Burma written in Pali the country is known as Marammadêsâ. If Sir Arthur Phayre’s derivation is correct, it is difficult to justify the action of the learned priests of the 14th and 15th centuries in making use of the barbarous appellation Maramma in lithic inscriptions as well as in literary works, while they had the familiar term Brahmâ for their national designation.25

The various theories on the subject are thus summarized in the British Burma Gazetteer (Volume I, pages 141–142).

"The name by which the Burmans call themselves is Myâmâ or Mrâmâ, commonly pronounced Byâmâ or Bam-mâ (Bamâ). Mr. Hodgson appears to conclude that the appellation can be traced to the native name for ‘man’: Sir Arthur Phayre that it is derived from Brahmâ, signifying ‘celestial beings,’ and was not adopted till after the introduction of Buddhism and after several tribes had been united under one chief: and Bishop Bigandet that it is another form, or a corruption, of Mien, a name the Burmans brought with them from the Central Asian plateau."

Line 32.—The Royal Preceptor was the Atûk Sayâdê, whose full title was Mahâtulayasadhāhamrājaguru. He was the Dāpanâbing or Buddhist Archbishop, appointed by Alaung-p’ayâ, when the latter became king. The Sayâdê retained his office throughout the reign of five kings, and was removed by Bôdôp’ayâ for his schismatic doctrines.

NOTE ON SOME AJANTA PAINTINGS.

BY L. A. WADDLE, M. B.

In February 1892 I communicated to the Bengal Asiatic Society a detailed description of that fragmental fresco hitherto known as ‘the Zodiac,’ which occupies a conspicuous place in the verandah of Ajantâ Cave No. XVII. By a reference to the extant paintings of the Lâmas, I was able to interpret its details and restore its chief blanks. It is a Bhavana-chakra or Pictorial Cycle of Existence, and its chief value for scholars lies in the fact


26 "A mere fragment now remains."—Ferguson and Burgess, Cave Temples, p. 310.
THE POSUSDAUNG INSCRIPTION.

TRANSCRIPTION INTO MODERN BURMESE CHARACTERS.

Obverse face.

(о) သူ့ကြက်စိုက် သေကြာက် ကျော်ကြား ထူထောင်ခဲ့သည်။ သူ့ကြက်စိုက် သေကြာက် ကျော်ကြား ထူထောင်ခဲ့သည်။

(1) သူ့ကြက်စိုက် သေကြာက် ကျော်ကြား ထူထောင်ခဲ့သည်။ သူ့ကြက်စိုက် သေကြာက် ကျော်ကြား ထူထောင်ခဲ့သည်။

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THE POSUDAUNG INSCRIPTION. [INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

...
INDIAN ANTIQUARY. THE POIU-DAUNG INSCRIPTION. [ 3 ]

(18) तन में से ज्ञाता कुछ साहित्यिक विनिमया संरचना की उपस्थिति का रूप नहीं होता। यद्यपि उन्नति का अर्थ है तथापि अतुल्य है। तब साहित्यिक विनिमय बनाया है। जिसमें विनिमय है। जिसके अनुसार उन्नति का रूप नहीं है।

(19) जन्मभूमि के साहित्यिक विनिमय संरचना का अर्थ है कि यद्यपि उन्नति का रूप नहीं है। तब साहित्यिक विनिमय बनाया है। जिसमें विनिमय है। जिसके अनुसार उन्नति का रूप नहीं है।

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The Poubudaung Inscription.

Reverse face.

(9) အပြည်ပြည်သူ့အနေဖြင့် သို့မဟုတ် အလိုအပူ လူသိများသော ရာသီး ရာပေါ် တွင် ပြောပြခြင်း လိုအပ်သည်။

(10) အလူ့အလူ့ လူသိများသော ရာသီး ရာပေါ် တွင် ပြောပြခြင်း လိုအပ်သည်။

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THE POSUIDAUNG INSCRIPTION.

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(၇) သူငယ်စိတ်စိုးစွဲခြင်းမှာ အာဏာသိမ်းထိုးထားသည်။ သူငယ်စိတ်စိုးစွဲခြင်းသည် လူမျိုးကျော်သော အခြေအနေအတွက် ရှိသော အခြေခံအမျိုးမျိုးများနဲ့ ကိုင်ဆောင်သော စီမံခန့်ခံချက်လက်ရာများကို လျော့စားသည်။

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(၁၀) သူငယ်စိတ်စိုးစွဲခြင်းမှာ အာဏာသိမ်းထိုးထားသည်။ သူငယ်စိတ်စိုးစွဲခြင်းသည် လူမျိုးကျော်သော အခြေအနေအတွက် ရှိသော အခြေခံအမျိုးမျိုးများနဲ့ ကိုင်ဆောင်သော စီမံခန့်ခံချက်လက်ရာများကို လျော့စားသည်။

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(၁၂) သူငယ်စိတ်စိုးစွဲခြင်းမှာ အာဏာသိမ်းထိုးထားသည်။ သူငယ်စိတ်စိုးစွဲခြင်းသည် လူမျိုးကျော်သော အခြေအနေအတွက် ရှိသော အခြေခံအမျိုးမျိုးများနဲ့ ကိုင်ဆောင်သော စီမံခန့်ခံချက်လက်ရာများကို လျော့စားသည်။

(၁၃) သူငယ်စိတ်စိုးစွဲခြင်းမှာ အာဏာသိမ်းထိုးထားသည်။ သူငယ်စိတ်စိုးစွဲခြင်းသည် လူမျိုးကျော်သော အခြေအနေအတွက် ရှိသော အခြေခံအမျိုးမျိုးများနဲ့ ကိုင်ဆောင်သော စီမံခန့်ခံချက်လက်ရာများကို လျော့စားသည်။
JANUARY, 1893.] NOTE ON SOME AJANTA PAINTINGS.

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that in the outer circle are pourtrayed in concrete pictorial form, the twelve siddhas, regarding the exact sense of which there have been so many divergent opinions, owing to scholars hitherto having had only the ambiguous Pāli and Sanskrit terms to interpret from.

Again from Lamaic sources, I now offer a note on two more of the Ajantā paintings, which may be of interest at the present time, when a new edition of these paintings is being published.

I.—Avalokita as 'The Defender from the Eight Dreads.'

This painting is also in Cave XVII., forming No. B in the series of photographs of Mr. Griffith's copies, and § IV. in the report of Dr. Burgess, who, in his brief note of eight lines, entitles it 'the Litany of Avalokitéśvara,' and notes that 'of the oval compartments at each side only a few can be partially made out.'

This picture is not very uncommon in Tibet, where it is known as 'Avalokita'—The Defender from the Eight Dreads.' It is thus described by the great Lama Taranatha in his gsung-khuns or The Hundred Thousand Sayings.

Ārya Avalokita is represented in a standing posture in the form of a rīshka of a white complexion, with one face and two hands. The right hand is in the 'bestowing' attitude (mudra). The left hand holds a rosary and an anointing vase or pitcher. He is dressed in white silk, with Amitābha seated in the locks of his hair.

The secondary figures depict scenes, which are eight in number, four being on each side of the central figure. On the right are the following scenes:—

1. Dread in Fire. Two villagers being at enmity, one of them set fire to the other's house; when the one in the burning house, unable to escape, prayed 'O! Avalokita!' Instantly over his house appeared a white cloud, which gave forth a copious shower of rain, and so the fire was quenched.

2. Dread in Prison. Once a thief entered the king's store and finding there a vase of wine drank deeply, and becoming intoxicated fell asleep. In the morning the king's servants found him and having fettered him cast him into prison. In his distress the man prayed to Avalokita. Then a bird of five colours, an incarnation of Avalokita, appeared and loosened his chains, and the prison door was opened and the man escaped to his home.

3. Dread in Plunder. A wealthy merchant set out to Maru, with a thousand camels and five hundred of the best horses laden with valuables. He saw by the way the bones of many previous travellers; who had been murdered by robbers; and he himself was attacked by these robbers. In his fear he prayed to Avalokita, when instantly appeared a host of heroes armed with swords — incarnations of Avalokita himself — who came to the merchant's rescue, and defeating the would-be robbers the merchant escaped in safety.

4. Dread in Water. Five thousand merchants went to the Southern Ratnādīlp (= Ceylon) in three ships. In returning to their own country they filled one ship with jewels and setting sail they reached Chandan-bhūmipradhan-dīlp. The 'wealth-owners' (spirits) of the ocean being angry, sent storms which blew the ships out of their courses. And when the ships were enveloped in a mighty wave and about to founder one of the merchants prayed to Avalokita. Then instantly the storm ceased, and they all reached their own countries in safety.

* gpyan-ras-grīlp. — There is no element in the word representing śūra.
* Drung-stong. The rosary is almost a chikha of Avalokita.
* gpyi-bling ( = literally 'crown of head ' + 'to put '). Bong, Si-yu-ki, II. 137, appears to have misinterpreted this object. It is also believed to hold perfume.
* Tsan-idan-nag-mehhog kyi gling, probably the Sunderbans or their eastern section, the modern Bandwip.
On the left hand of the central figure are depicted the following scenes:—

6. Dread of Enemy. A king named Otibishar was sleeping in a grove, when a party of armed enemies surrounded him and were about to kill him, when he prayed to Avalokita, who instantly appeared, and from beneath his feet arose a fearful wind which dispersed the enemies to 'the ten directions.'

6. Dread of Elephant. A girl went to a forest to gather flowers. She encountered an elephant named Khûnî (= bloody), which caught her around the waist with his trunk and was about to kill her, when she prayed to Avalokita. Then the elephant instantly released her and she escaped unhurt.

7. Dread of Lion. A wood-cutter went to a forest, and met a hungry lioness which was about to seize and eat him. Being much terrified he prayed to Avalokita. Then instantly appeared a white boy dressed in tree-leaves and lifting him up bore him off through the air and set him down in the midst of the city.

8. Dread of Venomous Snakes. A courtesan on her way to a merchant's house after dark, after leaving her house was attacked by a black venomous snake. In her fear she prayed to Avalokita, then the snake immediately became white (=harmless) and disappeared into the river.

II. 'The Nine Bodhisattvas.'

This group of Buddha and 'The Nine Bodhisattvas' is also in Cave XVII. and forms photograph 'B' details of L' of Griffith's Series and paragraph §XXXI of Burgess, who merely notes regarding it that Buddha stands surrounded by four Arhats and two Bodhisattvas.6

'The Nine Bodhisattvas' consist of four unadorned disciples standing in front, and in the background five bejewelled and crowned lay devotees. Taranatha describes them in his sūtra bzgya or The Hundred Deeds. Following his description, I give here a key to the picture, in which the firm-line ovals represent the faces of the figures in the foreground, and the dotted ovals the faces of the background figures of the group:—

1. Sākya Muni.
2. Samantabhadra, incarnate as a disciple of Buddha.
3. Vajrapañi. do.
5. Avalokita. do.
6. Brahma, incarnate as an earthly king to hear Buddha's teaching.
7. Indra. do. do.
8. Īśvara. do. do.
10. King Prasenajit10 of Kosala, a contemporary of Buddha and one of his first converts.

This is of course a mythical arrangement of Buddha's disciples. But the Lamas, following their Indian traditions, explain that four of the historic disciples of Buddha and four of

6 Literally 'son.'
10 gyal-pa dang-snying-las. See also Conze de Kâśâi in Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 75, 294, &c.
his lay hearers were incarnations of the deities and Māhāyāna Boddhisattvas above specified. Attention is invited to the rosary as the chinā of Avalokiteśvara. Īdra's third horizontal eye in the forehead is also characteristic, and Īdra is usually the umbrella-holder to Buddha.

In conclusion, I may note that for several years I have been engaged on a work dealing with quite an untrodden field of Indian Buddhism, for the study of which I have had exceptional opportunities, viz., 'The Tantric Buddhism of Magadha as illustrated by its remains, and in its relations to the Lamaic Pantheon.'

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACHETI,

1475 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

The absence in the Buddhist Church of any organized ecclesiastical hierarchy under a central Government renders it imperative that some kind of efficient check should be devised for the due maintenance of discipline, harmony, and moral control. It was, therefore, ordained by Gantams Buddha that twice in the month, at full moon and at new moon, and also once a year, at the end of the rainy season, meetings should be held, where the assembled priests should be asked whether they had committed any of the offences mentioned in the Pātimokkha, or whether the commission of such offences by any of them had been seen, heard of, or suspected by the others. The former meetings are called upāsatha and the latter pavāraṇā. For the purpose of holding these meetings, at which it is the bounden duty of all priests to attend, it is necessary that a convenient and central place should be appointed. Such a place is called a simā, and the ceremonial for its consecration is prescribed in the second khandhaka of the Mahāvagga, a part of the Vinaya Pitaka. This ceremonial has, however, been interpreted in various ways by the commentaries and scholia on the Mahāvagga, such as the Vinayaṭṭhakathā, Sadrathaṭṭhaṇīṇī, Vinatāvinīḍāṇī, Viṇayajīhikā by Vajrabuddhithera, Kaṭṭhāvītaraṇī, Viṇāyavimokkhaṭṭhakaparāṇa, Viṇāyasagahaparāṇa, Simdhaṭṭhaparāṇa, and the Simdhaṭṭhakaraṇagaha; and the object of the Kalyani Inscriptions is to give an authoritative ruling on these varied opinions, and to prescribe a ceremonial for the consecration of a simā, which shall be in accordance with what is laid down by Gautama Buddha, and which, at the same time, shall not materially conflict with the interpretations of the commentators.

Incidentally the inscriptions are meant to prove the 'apostolic succession' of the Buddhist priesthood of Burma, and give a good deal of valuable information as to the geography of the period. So many positive current dates are also given, with references to Sinhalese and Burmese History, that the historical truth of many of the statements contained in them should be capable of conclusive proof.

A simā serves another purpose than that above explained. It is the place where the upasampada ordination and other ecclesiastical ceremonies are performed. Unless the consecration of the simā is considered to be valid, the ceremonies performed therein are held to be null and void. Hence a simā is intimately connected with the existence of the Buddhist Priesthood, on which the whole fabric of Buddhism rests.

The following account of the manner in which simas are at the present day consecrated in Burma will be of interest, as showing how the accretions of ages have modified the simple ceremonial of Gāntama Buddha. A piece of land suitable for the consecration of a simā, and generally measuring about 105 or 126 feet in perimeter, is obtained from the British Government, which declares that the land is visuṭṭhaba, that is to say, land in respect of which revenue and all usufructuary rights have been irrevocably relinquished by the secular authorities in favour of the Buddhist Priesthood. Within the limits of this land, the learned and qualified priests, who have been appointed to perform the ceremony of consecration,

1 The modern Burmese word for this is ba ng, a place sima.
mark the extent of the simā. At the distance of about ten feet from the boundaries, thus marked an outer boundary-line is indicated. The land enclosed within these two boundary-lines is levelled and cleared and besmeared with mud. When the mud is dry, allotments of space, measuring six by three feet, are marked out in rows with lime or red earth, and an awning is constructed over the whole ground. Then a Chapter, consisting of ten or fifteen priests, take their seats in the first allotment of space in the first row and proceed to intone by turns the kammavāchā for the desecration of a simā, it being held necessary that, for the proper consecration of the new simā, the one which may possibly exist on the same site, should be first desecrated. This ceremony is repeated till the last allotment of space in the first row is reached. The priests then seat themselves in the last allotment of space in the second row and continue the intonation of the same kammavāchā. The same ceremony is repeated till the first allotment of space in the second row is reached. Thus, once in a forward order, and then in a reverse order of the allotments of space arranged in rows, is the same kammavāchā intoned till the number of rows has been exhausted. The ceremony of desecrating a simā is repeatedly performed for about a week or ten days. After this, one or two days' rest is given to the officiating priests.

Twenty or thirty learned and qualified priests are now selected; and they proceed to mark the limits of the proposed simā, such limits being smaller in extent than those of the visuddhā. At the four corners of the site of the simā, and also on its sides, pits are dug deep enough to hold as much water as will not dry up before the conclusion of the intonation of the kammavāchā for the consecration of a simā — such water being regarded as the boundary. At the distance of a foot and a half from these pits, towards the inside, bamboo trellis work is set up, and the space thus enclosed is decorated with various kinds of flags and streamers, water-pots covered with lotus and other flowers, plantain trees, sugarcane, coconut flowers, banyan leaves, and nedd grass. The awning mentioned above is likewise adorned with a ceiling of white cloth and with festoons of flowers.

Meanwhile, the pits are continually filled with water, so that it may not dry up before the ceremony is over. When the time approaches for the ceremony to begin, no more water is poured into the pits. Near each of them, a junior priest is stationed to furnish the officiating senior priest with replies in respect of the boundaries of the simā. At the appointed hour, the senior priest, holding a kammavāchā, slowly walks along the boundary-line of the simā. Approaching the Eastern 'water-boundary' he asks: — "Purathimādyā dīdyā kīṣa vimittan?" and the junior priest answers; — "Udakābh, bhastī." Similar questions and answers are asked and given also at the South-eastern, Southern, South-western, Western, North-western, Northern, and North-eastern points of the site, and to make the boundary-line continuous, also at the Eastern and South-eastern points, which have already been proclaimed. The questions and answers are asked and given first in Pali and then in Burmese. The same ceremony of proclaiming the boundaries is repeated by two other senior priests in succession. After the boundaries have thus been proclaimed three times, the kammavāchā for the consecration of a samāsaãadavāsaãasiṣma is intoned seven (or eight) times by three of the priests at a time. After this, the kammavāchā relating to the consecration of an avippavāsasiṣma is chanted.

At the conclusion of the above ceremonies, a statement recording the year, month, day, and hour at which the simā was consecrated, the names of the senior priests who officiated at the ceremonies, and the name of the simā, is publicly read out. Lastly, in honour of the occasion, drums and conch-shells are sounded, and muskets are fired, and a shout of acclamation is raised by the people.

The above account is similar to that recorded in the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions, which are frequently cited or appealed to as the ruling authority on the ceremonial relating to the consecration of simās.
Dhammachāti, or Rāmāḍhipati, King of Pegu, who erected these inscriptions in 1476 A. D., was an ex-priest, who, in emulation of Asoka, Srīsaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabahu, and other Buddhist kings of old, made the purity of Buddhism one of the objects of his earnest solicitude. The main object in founding the Kalyāṇi-simā appears to have been to afford to the Priesthood of Rāmaṇādēsa2 a duly consecrated place for the purpose of performing the upāsatha, upasampāda, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies, and indirectly to secure continuity in their apostolic succession from Mahinda, the Buddhist Apostle to Ceylon. It was held that the succession from Sōna and Uttara, the missionaries to Suvaṇṇabhamī, had been interrupted in Burma because of the violent political convulsions to which the country had been subjected. In the 11th century A. D., the Talaing Kingdom of Patōn was conquered by Anuraddha or Andaratīsā, King of Patōn; and two centuries later, the Patōn monarchy was, in its turn, overthrown by three Shān brothers, who took advantage of the dismemberment of the Burmese Empire caused by a Chinese invasion in 1284 A.D. While the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy was passing through troublous times, the Talaings of the lower country had been fighting among themselves after they had regained their independence from subjection to Burma. Thus, during the four centuries that preceded the accession of Dhammachāti, Burma had scarcely enjoyed peace for any great length of time, and matters appertaining to the Buddhist Religion had not been efficiently supervised or regulated.

The Kalyāṇi-simā derives its name from the fact that it was consecrated by the Talaing priests, who had received afresh their upasampāda ordination at the hands of the Mahāvihāra fraternity, the spiritual successors of Mahinda, on the Kalyāṇi River near Colombo. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Buddhist priests from all parts of Burma, from Ceylon and Shān, flocked to it to receive their upasampāda ordination. Even at the present day, priests, whose ordination is of doubtful validity, will suffer themselves to be re-ordained in it.

In preparing for the present study of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions, owing to want of time, I had no access to the original stone-slabs. The text was collated from two palm-leaf manuscripts, one of which was found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer, and the other was procured from the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. On the whole, the latter manuscript, marked (B) preserves a better text, and has been generally followed in the present paper. Numerous palm-leaf copies of the Pāli text of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions are extant, and are carefully preserved owing to their containing an account of the proper ceremonial of consecrating a simā. No apprehension need, therefore, exist that there is any material divergence between the present edition and the original text of the inscriptions. Indeed, the general accuracy of the MSS. above alluded to will be shown later on in this Journal.

The Kalyāṇi Inscriptions are situated at Zaingganaing, the western suburb of the town of Pegu. They comprise ten stone slabs covered with inscriptions on both sides, and are arranged in a row. Owing either to the vandalism of the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito, who, for ten years, held supreme power in Pegu at the beginning of the 17th century A. D., or to the insensate fury of Alompra's soldiery, who plundered Pegu in 1757 A. D., all of them are more or less broken; but the fragments, which are lying scattered about, are capable of at least partial restoration8. When whole, their average dimensions were about 7 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches thick. There are 70 lines of text to each face, and three letters to an inch. The language of the first three stones is Pāli, and that of the rest is Talaing, being a translation of the Pāli text.

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1 The modern "Kingdom of Pegu," that is, the Talaing Country.
2 The Government of Burma has very kindly entrusted to me the task of restoring these invaluable documents to their original condition, as far as is now practicable. The work has already begun.—Ed.]
I would here advert to the absolute silence of these lithio records regarding the celebrated Buddhist divine Buddhaghosa, the author of the Visuddhi-Magga and Aṭṭhānālīni, and the Apostle who is reputed to have brought a complete set of the Buddhist scriptures from Ceylon to Pātōn in the 5th century A.D. If the story about Buddhaghosa’s advent to Pātōn be historically true, the event would have been considered to be an important epoch and would certainly have been mentioned in these inscriptions, which give a résumé of the vicissitudes of Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon, and which were erected by a king, who was called from the cloister to the throne, and to whom every kind of information was accessible. Considering that the identification with the Suvannabhūmi of the ancients has been urged in favour of three countries, namely, Rāmaññadāsa, the Malay Peninsula, and Cambodia, in all of which gold is found, one cannot help being sceptical as to the historical accuracy of the account relating to the mission of Buddhaghosa to Pātōn. Such scepticism becomes somewhat confirmed, when it is borne in mind that there is no palaeographical affinity between the Talaing and Siamese alphabets, and that Cambodian writers affirm that the great divine came to their country, vide Bowring’s Kingdoms and People of Siam, (Vol. I, page 38). See also the conclusions of Mr. Foulkes in his careful researches into the legends of Buddhaghosa, ante, Vol. XIX, pp. 121-122.

My notes to the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions are in preparation, and will form the subject of a separate study with a transcription of the Pāli text into the Burmese character.

In brief the ‘contents’ of the Pāli text on the three stones are as follows:—

**OBVERSE FACE OF THE FIRST STONE.**

Introductory Observations.

Consecration of the Third Buddhist Council and despatch of missionaries. Arrival of Sāha and Uttara at Golamattikanagara in Suvannabhūmi. Decline and fall of Rāmaññadāsa. Ins conquest by Anuruddha, King of Pugāna (Pagā). King Srisisāghabhādhl-Paṇḍakamabālu reforms Buddhism in Ceylon. Uttarājivamahāthēra, Preceptor of the King of Pugāna, visits Ceylon. His pupil, Chhapata remains behind; and, after ten years’ residence, returns home, accompanied by four other thērās. Schisms in the Buddhist Church at Pugāna consequent on the death of Uttarājivamahāthēra.

**REVERSE FACE OF THE FIRST STONE.**

Introductory Observations. — (Concluded).

Schisms at Dalanagara and Muttimanagara. Such ecclesiastical ceremonies as the consecration of a sīnā and upeṣampadda ordination are performed in various ways. Accession of Rāmadhipati. His reflections on the valid manner of consecrating a sīnā.

**OBVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.**

Mission to Ceylon.

The King’s reflections concluded. After consultation with the learned thērās he is confirmed in his opinion regarding the sīnāvipattī and pariṇāvipattī of the upeṣampadda and other ecclesiastical ceremonies in Rāmaññadāsa. Twenty-two thērās are invited to visit Ceylon and introduce into Rāmaññadāsa the Siamese form of upeṣampadda ordination, as practised by the Mahāvihāram sect, founded by Mahinda. The invitation is accepted. Offerings for shrines and priests in Ceylon, and presents for King Bhūvanakābabu, as also letters for priests and the king, are prepared. Chitraḍātā and Rāmadētā accompany the thērās to Ceylon.

**REVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.**

Re-ordination of the priests from Rāmaññadāsa.

Departure of the party in two ships. Chitraḍātā’s ship arrives first. Reception by the King of Ceylon. Rāmadētā’s ship arrives. Various shrines are visited. The priests from Rāmaññadās—
dasa are re-ordained on the Kalyani River by a Chapter elected from the Mahavihara sect. The Sinhalese King confers titles on them. Ramaduta's ship returns home and arrives safely. Chitrarduta's ship is wrecked at Kalambu (Colombo). Chitrarduta's party is again shipwrecked. The members of the party travel on foot to Navapatha, whence four theras and their disciples travel on to Komalapatha. Of the latter party, six theras and four young priests die and the rest reach home.

OBVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

Consecration of the Kalyani-sima.

Ramadhipati's reception of the eleven theras, who return by Ramaduta's ship. A site is selected for the consecration of a sima for these theras. Enquiry is held into the antecedents of the theras and their disciples. A Chapter consisting of nine theras and five young priests is appointed for consecrating the proposed sima. Ceremonies of desecration and consecration are performed, and the sima is named the Kalyani-sima, after the river where the officiating priests received afresh their upasampadda ordination. The priests of Ramaññadesa request Ramadhipati to be permitted to receive the Sinhalese form of the upasampadda ordination. Suvappasobhaṣathera is appointed upajjkhaya.

REVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

Establishment of the Sinhalese form of ordination in Ramaññadesa.

The priests of Ramaññadesa receive the Sinhalese form of upasampadda ordination in the Kalyani-sima. Ramadhipati's edict to the priesthood regarding admission into the Order. Expulsion of pseudo-priests from the Order. Royal gifts to bhikkhus and samaṇeras. Hortatory verses.

I will now give a translation of the MS. Text. The transcribed text which follows the translation is that collated from the MSS. above alluded to.

TRANSLATION.

Obverse face of the first stone.

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully Enlightened One.

May the excellent Religion of the Conqueror flourish and prosper, and may reverence be paid to Buddha!

The purification of the Religion of the Conqueror was effected by Ramadhipati, King of Ramaññadesa. An account of this event will be related.

During the reign of Ramadhipatiraja, King of Ramaññadese, the Religion of the Conqueror became purified.

Two hundred and eighteen years had passed away since the attainment of Parinirvana by the Fully Enlightened One, the Sage of the Sakya, when Dhammasokaraja was inaugurated as king. In the fourth year after this event, owing to Nigrodhasamajera, the King had great faith in the Religion of Buddha; and the gifts and honours to the priests greatly increased, while those to the heretics diminished.

The heretics, for the sake of gifts and honours, embraced the ascetic life among certain priests, received the upasampadda ordination, and promulgated their own heresies, such as the Sassastra heresy. Some took orders themselves, assumed the guise of priests, and taught their own heretical doctrines. All these heresies mixed promiscuously with, and resided among, the priests, who performed Uposatha and such other ecclesiastical ceremonies. Owing to this cir-

* As the Burmese reckon the parinirvana to have taken place in 544 B.C., this yields 322 B.C. as the traditional date of the conversion of Asoka to Buddhism.
cumstance, the Saṅgha considered that the pariṣad was corrupt, and would not perform uposatha. Therefore, for seven years, the performance of this ecclesiastical ceremony had ceased in the Asokarama monastery.

On account of these circumstances, King Dhammāsoka became desirous of purifying the Religion by removing the impurity, heresy, and corruption that had arisen in it, and secured the co-operation of Moggaliputtatissamahāthāra. Having acquired, by study, the knowledge that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vibhajjavādī, and that those who professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, were heretics, the King convoked an assembly of all the priests. Those who held similar doctrines, were commanded to form themselves into groups, and each group was dismissed one by one. There were six millions of priests professing the Religion, who, if asked what the belief of the Fully Enlightened One was, would say that he was a Vibhajjavādī, while the sinful, heretical priests, who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, numbered sixty thousand. The King directed all the sixty thousand sinful priests to leave the Order, and, saying: "Now that the pariṣad has been purified, let the Saṅgha perform uposatha," returned to the city.

Therefore, Moggaliputtatissamahāthāra performed uposatha in the Asokarama monastery in the company of all the six millions of priests. This being concluded, he promulgated, in an enlarged and expanded form, but on the lines indicated by the Blessed One, the treatise called Kathavatthu, of which a summary had been expounded by the Blessed One. Subsequently, like as the venerable Mahākassapathāra selected five hundred priests, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had attained to the possession of the six abhiññā, and the four pāṭisambhiddas, and convened the First Council, which sat for seven months; and like as the venerable Mahāyasathāra selected 700 priests, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had attained to the possession of the six abhiññās and the four pāṭisambhiddas, and convened the Second Council, which sat for eight months; even so did he (Moggaliputtatissamahāthāra) select 1,000 priests, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had attained to the possession of the six abhiññās and the four pāṭisambhiddas, and convened the Third Council, which sat for nine months. At the conclusion of this Council, he foresaw, that, in the future, the Religion would be established in foreign countries, and sent such theras as Majjhantikathāra with the injunction: "Do you establish the Religion in such and such countries." Of these theras, he sent Mahāmahindathāra to establish the Religion in the Island of Tambatani, and Sūnatthāra and Uttarathāra to establish the Religion in Rāmaṇāḍāsa, which was also called Suvannabhūmi.

At that time, a king, called Sirimāsoka, ruled over the country of Suvannabhūmi. His capital was situated to the north-west of the Kālasabhappabhatachātiya. The eastern half of this town was situated on an upland plateau, while the western half was built on a plain. This town is called, to this day, Gōjamattikanagara, because it contains many mud-and-wattle houses resembling those of the Gōla people.

The town was situated on the sea-shore; and there was a rakkhast, who lived in the sea, and was in the habit of always seizing and devouring every child that was born in the King's palace. On the very night of the arrival of the two theras, the Chief Queen of the King gave birth to a child. The rakkhast, knowing that a child had been born in the King's palace, came towards the town, surrounded by 500 other rakkhases, with the object of devouring it. When the people saw the rakkhast, they were stricken with terror, and raised a loud cry. The two theras, perceiving that the rakkhast and her attendants had assumed the exceedingly frightful appearance of lions, each with one head and two bodies, created (by means of their supernatural power) monsters of similar appearance, but twice the number of those accompanying the rakkhast; and these monsters chased the rakkhases and obstructed their further progress.

* Near Bilin in the Shwégyn District.  
  * Ayetpama in the Shwégyn District.
When the pisdcJuts saw twice their own number of monsters created by the supernatural power of the two theras, they cried out: "Now we shall become their prey," and, being stricken with terror, fled towards the sea. In order to prevent the return of the pisdcJuts, the theras established a cordon of guards around the country, and preached the Brahmacaj7asutta to the people, who had assembled together. At the conclusion of the sermon, 60,000 people attained to the comprehension of the Truth; 3,500 men and 1,500 women renounced the world, and the rest were established in the 'Three Refuges' and the silas. Thus the Religion was established in this country of Ramaññadâsa by the two theras in the 536th year\(^7\) that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvâna by the Fully Enlightened One.

Thenceforward, in Ramaññadâsa, all princes, born on the anniversary day of that event, were named Sudhammapura. In order to shield all new-born infants from the danger of being seized by the rakshas, the appearances created by the supernatural power of the theras, were inscribed on armlets, wristlets, and leaves, and placed on their heads; and a stone, on which the same appearances were engraved, was placed on the top of a hill to the north-east of the town. This stone may be seen to this day.

Since its introduction, the Religion flourished for a long time in Ramaññadâsa. In course of time, however, the power of Ramaññadâsa declined, because civil dissensions arose and the extensive country was broken up into separate principalities, and because the people suffered from famine and pestilence, and because, to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent Religion, the country was conquered by the armies of the Seven Kings. Owing to these calamities, the priests, residing in Ramaññadâsa, were unable to devote themselves, in peace and comfort, to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts; and the Religion also declined.

During the reign of Manîhati, who was also known by his princely name of Sûriyâkumâra, the power of the kingdom became very weak. This happened in the 1600th year\(^8\) that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvâna by the Fully Enlightened One.

In 1601, Anno Buddhæ, and 419, Sakkarâj, King Anuruddha, the Lord of Arimad-danapura, took a community of priests together with the Tipitaka (from Ramaññadâsa), and established the Religion in Arimaddanapura, otherwise called Pugâma.

One hundred and seven years after this event, or in the year 526,\(^9\) Sakkarâj, King Sûrisâgabhodhî-Purâkkamabâhu purified the Religion in Lañkâdipa.

Six years after the latter event, or in the year 532, Sakkarâj, Uttarâjvamahâthâra, the Preceptor of the King of Pugâma, with the object of worshipping at the shrines in Lañkâdipa, set out for Kuśimapura,\(^10\) saying to himself: "I shall embark in a ship with a great many priests." Who was this Uttarâjvamahâthâra? He was a native of Ramaññadâsa, and was a pupil of Ariyavañathâra, who was a disciple of Mahâkâlathâra, a resident of Kappuñganagâra,\(^11\) Mahâkâlathâra was a pupil of Prânaññasimahâthâra, who lived at Sudhammanagâra.\(^12\) This mahâthâra was endowed with lûkiyajîhâna and abhiññâ. Being thus gifted, he would, every morning, proceed to Magadhâ and sweep the court-yard of the Mahâbhodhi tree in Uruvâjâ, return to Sudhammapura, and go on his alms-pilgrimage. One morning, while he was sweeping the court-yard of the Mahâbhodhi tree, certain traders, who lived in Uruvâjâ, and were on their way to Magadhâ from Sudhammapura, saw him, and, on their return, related what they had seen to the people of Sudhammapura. Thus it was that the possession of supernatural powers by Prânaññasimahâthâra, as a concomitant of his attainment of lûkiyajîhâna and abhiññâ, became known.

\(^{To be continued.}\)

\(^1\) Or 308 B.C. \(^2\) Or 1064 A.D. \(^3\) Or 1194 A.D. \(^4\) The modern Basselin. See ante page 18f. \(^5\) Kabosing near Twanté in the Hanthawaddy District. \(^6\) The modern Dûthîn in the Ambert District.
THE NAME "BASSEIN."

BY MAJOR B. O. TEMPLE.

The name Bassein is perhaps the most irritating of all Anglo-Indian corruptions, for there are three towns in the Indian Empire so named by Europeans at the present day, and none of them are so known to the natives.1

The most important of these towns is Bassein in Burma, then comes Bassein in Bombay, and lastly there is Bassein in Berar. The natives of these respective countries call Bassein in Burma Pabong, Bassein in Bombay Wasai, and Bassein in Berar Básim or Wásim.

Old European names for Bassein in Bombay have been Baxai, Baçaim, Bassein, Bessi; but those for Bassein in Burma have been far more diverse, puzzling; and, it may be said also, interesting. It has been known by many variations of such widely differing words as Cosmin, Persaim and Bessi.

To take Cosmin first. Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v., quotes Cosmin in 1518 and 1545, Cosym in 1554, Cosmi in 1566 and 1585, Cosmin in 1570 and 1587. In 1800 Symes quotes a chart by Wood, called the "Draught of the River Irrawaddy or Irabatty," published in 1796, which gives both Cosmin and "Persaim or Bassein," as towns 30 or 40 miles apart. I have in my possession an atlas of old maps of the regions about Burma, and from these I can add information on this point. Cosmi appears in du-Va's map of the "Royaume de Siam et des Pays circonvoisins," 1655; in Van der Aa's maps in 1720, (1) dresses sur les voyages de Nuno de Cunha, (2) dérives par Lopo Soares d'Albegaria, (3) Dutch map after Nuno da Cunha, (4) Dutch map after Ralph Fitch, (5) Dutch map after Lopo Soares d'Albegaria, (6) Dutch map after Fernando Perez d'Andrado (7) Dutch and French maps after Casper Balby; in Pierre Mortier's map of "Les iles d'Andamao, Ceylan, les Maldives," 1740. Cosmin appears in that fine scientific production Coronelli's Route Maritime de Brest a Siam, 1685; in del'Ile's Carte des Indes et de la Chine, 1705, copied in 1710, and again by Covens and Mortier in 1720; in Van der Aa's maps, 1720, (1) dérit par Ralph Fitch, (2) Dutch map after Cesar Frederiks; in a French map, 1764, "Carte des Royaumes de Siam, de Tunquin, Pegu, Ava, Aracan." And, lastly, a French map, "Carte de l'Empire Birman dressée et dessinée par Desmadryl jeune, 1825" gives Persaim as 35 "milles anglais" north of Cosmin, Persaim being the most important place.

For Persaim, Yule, s. v., quotes Dalrymple's Repertory in 1759, a chart by Capt. Baker in 1774, Symes in 1798, and Wood's chart above mentioned in 1796. These two last he quotes for both Bassein and Persaim,4 and also for "Persaim or Bassein." Crawford, Embassy to Ava, p. 513, quotes Lester, 1757, for Persaim.

Bassein appears to have come into use about the beginning of this century. It is Bassein throughout in Wilson's Documents relative to the Burmese War, 1827, who quotes, p. xlvii. a Gazette Notification of 1826. It is Bassein also in Jackson's map, 1826, attached to Wilson's book. Boileau Pemberton's exceedingly rare and admirable "Map of the Eastern Frontier of British India with the adjacent countries extending to Yunnan in China," 1838, has Bassein. But for the lower portion of the "Irawattee River" Pemberton expressly quotes "the chart of the late Colonel Wood of the Bengal Engineers and the map of Major Jackson, Deputy Quarter-Master-General of Bengal." Snodgrass, Burmese War, 1827, p. 289, also has Bassein throughout. By the time of the Second Burmese War in 1852 Bassein seems to have become thoroughly established, vide Wilson, Narrative of the Burmese War in 1824-6, 1852, p. 81; Laurie's Pegu, 1854, pp. 216ff; and in most authors of the period.

The evidence then is that up to 1764, A. D., Cosmin was the usual European name for the

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1 As an instance of the rise of corruptions in place names in the East, I found an impressive photograph of the great Abuan Cave in the Amborel District labelled in a Bangaon Photographer's show-book, "The Coocoon Cave."

2 When the author was stationed at Bassein in Burma, about 17 years ago, letters for "Bassein" were constantly sent to the wrong place.


4 Persaim occurs at pp. 57, 58, 68, etc. in Symes.
place, that by 1800 the situation of "Cosmin" had become forgotten, that by 1750 Persaim had also become established, and that Bassein began to supersede Persaim about 1800.

The modern Burmese name is Pabêng, by ordinary Burmese phonetics used for Pübêng, spelt Pusin and Pusim.

In the Kalyâng Inscriptions (1476 A. D.) we have Kusima-nagara for Bassein and Kusimamandala for the Bassein division of the Talaiang Territories (Ramaññadésa). In the Kaung-mûdâ' inscription (1550 A. D.),6 we have Kûbêng, and in the Pûtâlaung Inscription (1774 A. D.) we have again Kûbêng (spell Kusim). Yule says, s. v. Cosmin, that Alanarp'âyâ changed the name from Kûbêng to Pabêng on his conquest of the Talaiang Country in 1755-60. This is comparable with that monarch's well-known deliberate change of the name Dâgûn to Yàngûn (Rangoon) in 1755, but Yule's statement is unfortunately bad history, because we have Yule's own and other evidence to show that Persaim (Pabêng) was used before the date of Alanarp'âyâ's conquest in 1755-60.

It is, however, evident from the above quotations that the Burmese changes of sound must have been synchronous with the European attempts to pronounce them: that as long as the Burman said Kâbêng, the European said Cosmin, etc.: and that when the Burman changed his pronunciation Kâbêng to Pabêng, the European used Persaim. The uncertainty in the initial consonant was still observable among the Burmans up to nearly the middle of this century, for Yule, Ava, p. 352, quoting Colonel Burney, 1830, says it is uncertain whether he wrote Kothein or Pothein for Bassein:— "The letter in Burney's MS. is doubtful."

This change from initial P to K in such names is not isolated, and is probably purely phonetic, for we have a well-known place name in Upper Burma, now called Pak'tân (spelt Puk'tân), which in old Burmese MSS. is written Kuk'tân. Doubtless upon this hint other examples might be unearthed.

The s in such words as Bassein, Syriam, Tenassereim, Cassay,7 where the Burman distinctly uses b, may be due to two causes.

Firstly, the Talaiang pronunciation may be responsible, as the Talaiangs use s for the same letter that the Burmese pronounce b. The Talaiang pronunciation of the name Bassein is Pasêm or Pasim, according to dialect.

Secondly, many early European writers, such as Sangermano, could not say b and attempted to reproduce the sound by s. In Sangermano we have many instances of s for b in parts of Burma beyond the influence of the Talaiang tongue.

Thus, Sangermano, in a short account of the Burmese language, writes, p. 145:— "Thus, I go is suâ sè; I went, suâ bî; I will go, suâ mà." And again:— "Thus, the imperative go is suâ tô; is he gone, suà bî lâ; by going, suà lièn." These vernacular expressions are really pronounced bûâ sè, bûâ bî, bûâ mà, bûâ dô, bûâ bî lâ, bûâ-lièn.8

Besides the above we have such strong instances on the following:— p. 95, seîn-bêng ; p. 144, sâm-bêng (three); p. 78, saumocht=bûâbâukchî, a sergeant, (see ante, Vol. XX. p. 433), p. 104, Mengasaloi, by mistake for Mengalasot, for the well-known book Miingalâbôk ; pp. 35:

8 Yule, Mission to Ava, p. 207.
6 Yule, Hobson-Jobson, quotes in support Forchhammer's Notes on the Early Hist. and Geog. of British Burma, No. 2, p. 18. Forchhammer's statement that the word pûbêng means a "hot image-house" is false etymology, for no Burman would use the expression, but would say "bûbêng," besides bûeng is not an "image-house," but a "hall of ordination." It may be interesting to make the following quotation from Seyer, Embassy to Ava, 1800, p. 23:— "Previous to his departure from Dagon, Alompra laid the foundation of the town now so well known by the name of Rangoon or Drangoon, which signifies victory achieved (sic). Here stood in former days a large populous city called in the Pali Singuanta. And here is a puzzle: close to "Dagon" in two maps by Van der Aa, 1720, both after Casper Balby, is a place called "Lagoon." If this was Rangoon the received tale falls.
9 The pages refer throughout the paper to the reprint of 1888.
9 It must be remembered that, as Sangermano wrote in Italian, all his transcriptions of Burmese sounds must be treated as Italian words.
Similar evidence is forthcoming from Quirini, who wrote in 1781 about Bishop Percoto, the missionary to Pekg and Ava. The good Bishop landed in Burma in 1761, and died in 1776. In this book we have *Sattou=Thaton (Parìtn) at p. 131; Savady=Tharawaddy (Pawwadi) at p. 177; Siriam throughout; "il Re Pegnano Sinimgh-To" = Damvindô, at pp. 98, 100; "questo libro, il quale Sinimgh-To chiamosi" = Damminda at p. 94, and the word again at p. 78; *Cassee=Kabô at pp. 76, 179.

The pronunciation of Persâin¹⁰ must have been nearly Pasëm, and that of Basssein has always been Bassin, both due, no doubt, to Talaing dialectic variation. In Sangermano, who wrote between 1783 and 1808, we have contemporary evidence of the sound of the word, at the time that Basssein began to supersede Persâin, in Bassino, thrice used by him at pages 67, 158 and 174. There has however been used a variant spelling side by side with Basssein in Bassinn: *sede a French copy of Wood's chart, 1795; Symes, *Embassy to Ava, 1800, pp. 16, 17, 18, 28, etc.; *Two years in Ava, 1837, p. 244; and a tract entitled *Negrais Island and Basssein, 1852, by J.-Martin, *passim. Ever since Sangermano's time, *s has usually stood in Burmese transliteration for short *i and frequently does so still, but to show the variant sounds represented by Symes and the writers of his and later times by identical letters I may quote his Taliem, p. 34, for Talaing. Doveton, *Reminiscences of the Burmese War, 1852, has, p. 276, Kokien and, p. 279, Kokien for Këkkaing.

Quirini in the book above quoted, *Vita di Monsignor G. M. Percoto, 1781, never mentions Basssein, getting no nearer than "Negrazâ"' nuova colonia degli Inglesi" (p. 117), unless we read a curious expression at p. 93 to include Basssein: "li Regni di Battiam, Martaban e Pégû, cui spettava la città, e porto di Siriam." It may be as well to note here that the evidence now collected upsets the theory that the Besyngtaï (Pòlemî): of Ptolemy represents the people about Basssein, or that the Besyngra (Phawae) River is the Basssein River, or branch of the Irrawaddy (Erêvâ).¹² At the same time it is right to note the following evidence: In a version which I have of Ptolemy, *undecima Asis Tabula, 1592, there occurs Besynga s. In another version of 1590, copied by Sanson d'Albeville in a Latin map called *Indica Vetus, 1674, there occur Besyngtis Reg, Besynga s., and Besynga Emporium.

Postscript.

Sangermano requires editing by the light of the increased knowledge of Burma that has been gained since he wrote, and the English edition of his work was published,¹³ and the work is well worth undertaking. The book is full of information as to the rise and cause of many common Anglo-Burmese words of the present day, and all the forms of vernacular words in it are worth study and annotation. The persistent use of *s for *i is curious, thus:—p. 59, Zabâ to Sôhâ; p. 57, etc., Zwingus=Singed; p. 55, etc., Zompusim=Sinhdbâsin; p. 50, etc., Mâbbî=Mahâbî (Shwêh=Motchhobo, see post, p. 20); p. 67, *niço=sât()dô (the bahkhâ of Indian armies); p. 90, *svadô=svadô for *svadô (=Pâli dhammad = the modern pronunciation sañô; p. 130, *nacô, an evil spirit, for nâthô,

¹⁰ As to the * in this word it should be noted that in Rangoon the name of a well-known citizen, Râl Bhâgwan Dîr Bahdiz, is sometimes written by Europeans "Bergwin Dow," as representing their pronunciation of the name, accent on the first syllable. So Persâin may well represent the sound of Pasën.
¹² *Negrais, the Negrovia of Sangermano, p. 88.
It is also worth noting that he writes, p. 58, Siam as we do, but throughout his book Sciam for Shàn.

The sounds of ג and ג always puzzled him, thus he wrote, p. 67, midighi and icadhği for myōdajī and gudajī. The hard sound of the Burmese ky, k'y, g'y and g'y (which letters also represent the modern Burmese pronunciation of kr, k'r, g'r and g'r) appears in the above two words, and in sesawachi above quoted, and also in the following: pp. 66, etc., wunghī for wunji; pp. 91, etc., ponghī for p'ōnjī. This hard pronunciation is still common among Europeans in Burma in spite of the usual vernacular soft sound of k and g as ch and j in such circumstances.

Quirini's book is of much the same value in this connection, though it has never been translated. Besides the instances of his expressions already given he writes suemudō (pp. 77, 141) for shawmūdō, while giving a correct explanation of the import of the word. He has rondaiyōndō: Cariani, as also has Sangermano (pp. 35, 36), = Karena, with which may be compared Crawford's (Embassy to Ava) Karianes (p. 354, et passim): and many other interesting words and names.

Quirini has further a curious Miazza Pra Re dell' Ava, (pp. 79, 151, etc.), evidently meant for S'mbytbyyn (1700-1775). Miazza Pra may possibly stand for Myōdū (P'aya), a title of that mighty monarch as prince.

FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

No. 4. — The Gardariya and the Rañi of Lalpur.

Once upon a time a Rājā went to hunt in a jungle. As he was returning he reached a great river on the bank of which was a fig tree (bargad) and then he sat down to rest. Meanwhile a boat appeared, coming from the direction of the city of Lalpur. On it a woman was sitting. She looked at the king and let go the iron anchor of the boat into the water. After this she dropped a ruby into the water, and opening her bodice showed him her breast and smiled at him, showing her teeth. Then she raised the anchor and went away in the boat. The Rājā fall into great fear and returned to his palace, and went to sleep on his couch. Then a hand-maiden brought him his food, but she could not wake him. She returned and told the Rāñi, who went herself to the Rājā, but she could not make him sit up or speak. Then the Rāñi proclaimed in the city that whoever could make the Rājā speak should receive half the kingdom. Many people came and tried to wake him, but no one succeeded. Then a shepherd woman (gadērim) came to the Rāñi and said to her, "My husband is grazing his sheep in the jungle; if he be sent for he can wake the Rājā." The Rāñi sent her soldiers to bring the Gardariya. He said: "If one of the king's clerks (muusaddī) comes and makes a list of my sheep, and the king's soldiers graze them for me, I will come." The Rāñi ordered this to be done. So the

Della Vita | di Monsignore Giò; Maria Percoto; della congregazione di S. Paolo; Missionario ne' Regni di Ava e di Pegu; viario apostolico e vescovo; M. Persi, di Santa Croce, in Roma, a cura di R. T. C., 1893. [1]
Gaḍarīyā came and sat by the Rājā and after some time he woke. Then the Gaḍarīyā asked him what he had seen, which caused him to sleep in this way. The Rājā got up and took the Gaḍarīyā with him to the jungle. They reached the same river where the fig tree stood. Then the Rājā told the Gaḍarīyā what he had seen. The Gaḍarīyā asked what he wished. The Rājā replied that he wished to see this woman. The Gaḍarīyā asked if he knew from where she had come and where she had gone. The Rājā replied that he did not know. The Gaḍarīyā answered—"As she threw the ruby (lildī) into the water, she lives in Lālpur; from her showing you the upper bone (asthō) of her chest, it appears that her name is the Bone Queen (Asthārāhī), and as she showed you her teeth, she must be the daughter of the Tooth King (Dantṛōjā)." So they both went off in the direction of Lālpur. They asked every one where Lālpur was, but could get no trace to it. At last, when it was very late, they came to a village, where they saw a man ploughing with a pair of oxen, one very large and the other very small. The Gaḍarīyā said to him, "If you could not buy an ox to match the larger of the pair, why don't you sell the large ox and buy another small one and save a few rupees?" The ploughman answered, "How can I buy or sell?" The Gaḍarīyā said to the Rājā, "I know that there is something curious about this ploughman's wife. Let us stay with him for the night and I will afterwards explain it to you." So they arranged to stay with him for the night and went on ahead to his house. The ploughman's wife said, "There is no room here for you, but you can sit a short distance off." When the ploughman came back from the field and heard what had happened, he made his wife give them a place to stay, and asked them if they would eat anything. They refused, and after some time the Rājā fell asleep in the ploughman's hut.

The Gaḍarīyā remained awake. At midnight a lover of the woman came and went inside. As dawn came he said to her, "Give me some place to stay, as I cannot go away now." So she told him to go into the large mud granary (kuthād) inside the house, and plastered up the opening with clay. In the morning the Rājā and the Gaḍarīyā wanted to go on, but the ploughman would not let them go till they had eaten. Then the Gaḍarīyā said to the ploughman, "There is something in your granary which does not grow in our country. Let us take it and we will convey it to our land and grow it there." The ploughman agreed to let them have it, but his wife objected. The Rājā said, "Why do you object to give us such a trifle?" Then they opened the granary and the man appeared, whom, having made over to the ploughman, the Rājā and the Gaḍarīyā went their way.

As they went on they came to a garden which was in charge of a gardener woman (mālinū) and there they halted. She used to supply the Rānū of that land with flowers. The Gaḍarīyā, knowing that it was the Rānū, who had come in the boat, sent a message to her by the Mālinū that the traveller, whom she had met near the fig tree, had arrived. The Rānū put some gold coins (ashraflī) in a tray, and covering them with rice secretly, gave it to the Mālinū, and, as if to show her displeasure with her, marked her five times on each cheek with black, and told her to give the tray to the traveller and dismiss him from her house. If she failed to do so she would have her children forced to work at stoking the furnace of the grain parcher. The Gaḍarīyā, when he heard the account of the Mālinū's interview with the Rānū, said: "There are still ten days of the dark-fortnight remaining. When the light-nights come you will obtain an interview." When that time elapsed he again sent the Mālinū to inform the Rānū that the traveller still awaited her pleasure. The Rānū again appeared displeased, and gave the Mālinū, as before, a tray filled with gold coins for the traveller and, marking each of her cheeks with five lines of white dismissed her. Then the Mālinū came back, and striking the Rājā with a house broom (bālūṣaṇa), ordered him and his companion to leave her house. After five days the Gaḍarīyā again sent the Mālinū to the Rānū to announce that the traveller was still waiting. The Rānū again appeared displeased and pushed the old woman out of the wicket of her palace. But the Gaḍarīyā consoled her and enquired what had happened. Then he told the Rājā, "The Rānū means that it is by this wicket you are to go and visit her."
When night fell the Raja went to the wicket. When he arrived there he found a silken string hanging from the roof of the palace. The Gašariya said: “Ascend by this cord and visit the Rani.”

He went up, found the Rani there, and sat down beside her; but through modesty he chanced to sit by the end of her couch, and the Rani, believing him to be a fool, gave him some pãs and dismissed him. On his return he told the Gašariya what had happened, and he replied: “Well, as you did not obey my orders, you will not see her again.”

Then the Gašariya purchased a small tent and he and the Raja got themselves up as ascetics (sãdhã) and stayed outside the town. He told the Raja to personate an image of Siva, and if anyone came to sit motionless and silent. He himself took a rice pounder (mûsul) and went about the city saying, “I have worshipped Mâhâdeva for 12 years and in answer to my austerities he has appeared on earth.” All the people came to worship the deity. Finally the Raja of the land and his daughter the Rani came to worship. The Gašariya stopped him outside and said: “If you want to do worship, you must dismount and enter on foot.” So he worshipped, and after him the Rani,—she who had gone in the boat,—came to worship. The Gašariya made her too come in on foot. As she came in the Raja, suspecting who she was, opened his eyes. The Gašariya said, “All my trouble is wasted.” Thus the Rani was alarmed at seeing that the god had come to life, and went and told her father, the old Raja, who came and offered the Gašariya a handsome reward to take the deity out of his land, lest he should incur his curse. Finally the Gašariya obtained a karor of rupees from the old Raja. When he got the money he and the young Raja left the place.

They went on to a neighbouring city, and then the Gašariya sent for a goldsmith (wanâri) and had a quantity of splendid jewellery made. Then he dressed the young Raja in women’s attire and adorned him with the jewellery, and promised to bring him back to the old Raja’s city and again introduce him to the young Rani, but that he was not to come until the Rani gave him leave. The Gašariya then purchased a fine horse and a litter (pâłkti). He mounted the horse himself, and took the young Raja in women’s dress in the litter. When the old Raja heard that this equipage was approaching he went out to meet them and escorted them to his palace. The Gašariya said to the old Raja: “I am a Raja myself and this lady is the wife of my younger brother who has gone on his travels. I am going to search for him: meanwhile I request that you will allow this lady, my sister-in-law, to stay in the female apartments.” The Raja said, “I agree. She can remain with my daughter.” So the young Raja went into the female apartments, and the Gašariya went away on pretence of searching for his missing brother.

Then the young Raja in women’s attire stayed with the Rani. Some time after, one of the handmaidens suspected that he was a man in disguise and told the Rani’s brother. So he went to the Rani and said, “I must see the person that is with you, as I suspect he is a man, not a woman.” The Rani said, “If you see her it must be in private, and you can come after four days and investigate the matter.” When he had gone away the Rani said to the young Raja, “There is an inner room in the palace and in it is a well. Stand inside with a drawn sword, and when my brother comes in cut off his head.” So on the day her brother was expected she shut up the Raja in the inner room, and told her brother to go in and make his inquiries. As he came in the Raja cut off his head and flung his body into the well. Then the Rani advised him to go back to the Gašariya and let him out by the secret wicket of the palace.

The Rani then raised an outcry and said that her brother had eloped with the lady who was in her private apartments. Hearing this news her father, the old Raja, was much distressed in mind: and the Gašariya dressed the young Raja in his own clothes and sent him back to the palace with instructions to demand the return of his wife, to listen to no excuses, and only to withdraw his claim when the old Raja agreed to marry him to his daughter. This all happened as the Gašariya instructed him. The old king was deeply ashamed that his son had eloped with the lady. So he was obliged to assent to the Gašariya’s terms. So in the end the Raja married the Rani and they lived happily ever after — and the Gašariya was suitably rewarded.
SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

The note under the above heading, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 94, is interesting as drawing attention to the use of Sanskrit words in the far East, and it must be admitted that all the Burmese words mentioned in it are clearly derived direct from Sanskrit and not through Pāli. At the same time I can scarcely agree with the learned author in considering that any of such words relate to social life. It would seem, on the contrary, that they relate almost entirely to the ideas of philosophy, of theology, and of astrology, which are precisely the subjects in which Sanskrit words have made most headway in the Non-Aryan languages of Southern India. Most of the latter class of languages in the far East, (Chinese forming a noteworthy exception), would indeed seem to be deficient in the more abstract terms which they have consequently borrowed from the Sanskrit. In the case of Burma, where partial civilisation was introduced by the Buddhist missionaries from India, it is natural to find a considerable number of the more abstract terms derived from the Pāli, and such words are, as a general rule, transliterated according to the old system of Burmese vowel-sounds, thus showing that they were introduced at a period not long subsequent to that when the language was reduced to writing. It seems, however, pretty certain that from very ancient times indeed the kings of Burma kept Brāhmaṇa astrologers at their court for the purpose of making forecasts, fixing dates, and what not. Now the Brāhmaṇas have unquestionably always used Sanskrit works in performing their duties,—indeed they would most certainly seashew any Pāli books on astrology and cosmogony, even if such existed. It is natural also that they should interlard their reports and speeches as much as possible with Sanskrit words, (the more high-sounding the better,) for the purpose of adding weight and abstractness to their rigourotes, and a certain proportion of such words would thus come to be adopted by the Court, and thence by the more cultivated classes. Further, the courtiers would gladly adopt from the Brāhmaṇa any grand Sanskrit titles which might please the king’s ear, and thus in both these ways a certain number of Sanskrit words would creep into the language, though owing to the circumstances of their introduction probably not into common use. A further source for the supply of Sanskrit words would be translations from books in that language, which have undoubtedly from time to time been made in Burma.

It is natural therefore that there should be a certain number of Sanskrit words in Burmese relating to philosophical pseudo-scientific and courtly expressions, but we should certainly be surprised to find any such terms in common use, even at this epoch. The list of words given by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko scarcely supports Dr. Trunckner’s theory of an early Pāli form, and so far as internal evidence goes they would seem to have been borrowed at a comparatively late epoch in one of the ways above mentioned.

To illustrate this position we will discuss scrip- tim the twenty-one words adduced.

The first of these is advay अद्वय, which is principally used in Sanskrit as an astrological term, signifying the ‘orbit’ or ‘way’ of the heavenly bodies, from which the meaning in Burmese of ‘length, duration’ is obviously a derivation. The word is, however, an extremely rare one, and its meaning would probably not be understood by nine educated Burmans out of ten. The use of the short tone in this, a word of Sanskrit origin, is noteworthy.

The form which the word amrita अमर्त (अमरत) has assumed in Burmese is a decidedly anomalous one, though it is more than doubtful whether the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form of it had formerly the value (ə) attributed to it by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko, who, it may be remarked, gives no reasons for adopting this spelling. The final letter also is given as  따른 and not  in 1 Dr. Jubb’s dictionary, no alteration, moreover, having been made in this spelling by the late “Spelling Reform Committee” of which Mr. Taw Sein-Ko himself was a member. This being so, the Burmese word would be transliterated amunik, adopting the modern pronunciation of the penultimate vowel. That the letter had always the ai sound is almost certainly not the case, though it does not by any means follow that it was always pronounced ə, as it still is when final. But from this very fact of the change of the vowel sound it can be shown that the word amrita was adopted into the Burmese language at a comparatively late period, long after it was first reduced to writing by the Buddhist missionaries. For it may be taken as granted that this vowel belonged originally to the ə ‘verga’ (so to speak) and not to the i one, and it seems incredible that a Burman in trying to pronounce the vowel sound in amrita should render it by ə, ə, &c. On the

1 [The ə, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 95, is a misprint for ə: see also my note on an analogous spelling, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 103.]—Ed.
other hand, the vocalic ri of the Sanskrit would be naturally rendered first by ri in Burmese, (the r being still extant,) after which the strengthening or vṛddhi on the elision of a final a, of the vowel i to ai, (the modern sound of the vowel) though somewhat anomalous in Burmese is a perfectly legitimate example of the compensation for the loss of a vowel common in many languages. The late date of the introduction of this word into Burmese is also borne out by the final letter k which shows that the modern practice of confusing the sounds of final k and t was already in existence. The application of the epithet amrātha (amṛita) to the Buddhist nirādha is obviously modern and needs no discussion here.

According to the corrected spelling, the Sanskrit abhishēka (अभिषेक) is represented in Burmese by bhīṣık, (not bhīṣisik,) which word is if anything rather nearer to the Pāḷi than the Sanskrit. This is, however, a matter of small importance, as this word was very probably indeed introduced by the Brāhmaṇas with the king of Burma. It may be added that the fact of the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form being i and not ē is a proof of its late introduction (see amṛita).

With regard to chakrā, चक्र (transliterated by chakrā in accordance with the Burmese tendency to throw the accent on the second syllable), this word originally meant the disc of Viṣṇu and has since come to mean any supernatural weapon. The Burmese use it particularly to denote the weapon of Śakra (see below), but a far commoner word is chak, which is obviously derived from the Pāḷi chakka. We have therefore in Burmese two forms of the original root, one of which is very commonly used, and has formed compounds with several indigenous words, whilst the other is comparatively rare and is used principally in the language of flattery and in the more 'high-falutin' books. Under these circumstances the inference is irresistible that the former or Pāḷi word was that originally used, and that the Sanskrit word has been introduced subsequently by some courtly scholar.

Chakravāla, चक्रवाल means originally in Sanskrit the range of mountains supposed to encircle the world, but in Burmese it means generally the world itself. The received cosmogony in Burmese with its central Mrang 8- marched, (Mèrra) mountain.

2 It would be interesting to know how the author would account for mèrr = Mèrra.—Ed.
3 Mr. Taw Sein Ko is doubtless right in deriving this word from kalpa, but at the same time the words alālpā-kālpā quoted by him are always pronounced, in Arakan &c. &c., is so obviously of Brahmancial origin that little importance could in any case be attached to this word. It seems very probable that the Burmese have derived their cosmogony from the Brāhmaṇa astrologers at the Court.

The same observations apply to chakravati, 'universal ruler,' as to chakrā, the word having probably come into use through the courtiers at the king's court, and who are more cunning flatterers than the Brahmans? The last syllable we would derive direct from the Sanskrit nominative vartī, the Burmese phonological ideas coinciding very much with those of the old speakers of Pāḷi.

Chakram चक्रम. This seems to be rather a doubtful Sanskrit word, — at any rate it is not given in Monier Williams' Dictionary. There may possibly be such a word with the meaning "promenade" derived like chakravāla from kram, but, so far as we can see at present, authority is wanting, and such being the case it is unnecessary here to discuss further this word.

The Sanskrit dvāra, द्वार, meaning 'staff' or 'wealth,' (and generally used in Southern India with the latter signification) becomes ḍro in Burmese spelling, but is there used solely in philosophical works to signify 'substance' or 'matter,' and has never come into common usage. It is evidently a purely scientific term probably introduced by some translator of a Sanskrit work on philosophy. As regards the word for planet (groh) we need only say that if any word was likely to be introduced by the Brahman astrologers it would be this.

The Sanskrit kalpa, कल्प, and the Pali kappa have both derivatives in Burmese, namely kambādha and kap, but as precisely the same observations apply to these as to chakrā and chak it is unnecessary to discuss them further.

Mrigasiras मृगसिरस and Pushya पुष्य are merely the names of two lunar nakṣatras and it is therefore natural to find the Burmese equivalents derived from Sanskrit and not from Pāḷi.

Parīśat, (as it is now spelt,—not parīśada) is defined in Judson's Dictionary as a 'religious assembly,' but it is also used for an assembly in general. The original Sanskrit word means rather a 'council,' as in a Court, or an assembly of ministers, and it is not a violent assumption to at least, as spells, and not as cālāpā- cālāpā. The change of final i to a is however not unknown in the Tibeto-Burman family, cf. Lushai lāl, and Southern Chin lā, 'a chief.'
It is however possible that this name may have become popularised through a Burmese translation of some Sanskrit Buddhist work, in which this disciple formed a prominent figure; but the matter requires further investigation.

Sattava has the meaning in Burmese only of a 'rational being,' though in Sanskrit besides the common meaning of 'goodness' it denotes beings in general, and not merely rational ones. It seems probable that the Sanskrit form of this word (which is mainly used in philosophical works), was adopted in Burmese, because in that language the Pâli root satta would have been identical with satta "seven," and might have led to confusion.

Last on the list given by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko is Shikra,* (whose name is however more correctly spelt by Dr. Judson as Sakra,) and who is styled by him the "Recollecting Angel of Buddhism." In giving this personage the latter title however the learned writer must surely have allowed this religious zeal to overstep his discretion, as a very little inquiry would have shown him that the popular Burmese "Thajà" is simply our old friend Indra (Sakra) somewhat altered to suit Burmese (not Buddhist) ideas. In spite of their Buddhist professions no people are less atheists than the Burmese, and in addition to the old wet or spirit worship (common to all races of the Tibeto-Burmese stock), they have adopted as a superior kind of spirits many of the Hindu gods. Indra (Sakra) is naturally the chief of these, and has from one cause or another come to occupy a very conspicuous place in Burmese ideas. Now however much the Buddhists in India may have found it expedient to adopt the Hindu cosmogony it is very unlikely that the early Buddhist missionaries in Burma, finding themselves amongst a Mongoloid race of spirit-worshippers would have dragged any Hindu gods into their religious system; and the absence therefore of a Pâli synonym is easily a explained. It is true that in several of the Zâts, the Sakrâ-mang (Thajà-min) is brought in as a kind of Deus ex machina, but no argument can be drawn from this until the date and place of origin of these stories is more definitely ascertained. (The fact of Sakra (Indra), being made to figure favourably in Buddhist stories would seem to imply that this god was very popular amongst the Hindus converted by Buddhism, and hence it was considered expedient to incorporate him into the Buddhist system), So warped have the modern

wrong spelling in English can be shown to be due to this cause.

* The word déva is commonly understood to mean a spirit or fairy by the Burmese.

* The ancient remains in the Talaiing Country do not bear out this idea. -Bn.

* The popular etymology of this word would seem to be responsible for this alternative spelling. Many cases of
ideas of śakra become that it is even supposed that there is a whole class of spirits of that name of whom Sakra-mang (Indra) is chief, but never until now we fancy has that worthy figured as the Buddhist Recording Angel. Truly, mutato nomine de te fabulæ narratur.

In connection with Śakra it may be noted the well-known Burmese sankran is obviously derived from the Sanskrit Sukracaturī, meaning the passage of the sun from one sign to another. It may be predicated with equal certainty that both words were introduced by the Brahmans at the king’s court.

Bernard Houghton, C. S.

A NOTE ON THE NAME SHWE-DAGON.

The name Shwe-Dagon has always been a stumbling-block to antiquaries. It is now spelt Takun and pronounced Dagon. But in the last and earlier centuries it was evidently also pronounced Digon, for Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Dagon, quotes Pinto, 1546, to this effect, and the word is always Digon in Flouest’s account of his travels in 1786. It is always Digon (except once: “Digon capitale del Pagh,” p. 149) in Quiriñi’s Via di Monseguro G. M. Pecoto, 1781: and it is Digon in a map by Antonio Zultea e figli, Venesia, 1788.

Yule further quotes Gasparo Balbi, 1656, for Dogon, and Fisch, 1837, for Dogonana. Dogon also occurs in eight of Van der Aa’s maps in my possession dated 1720: and Douon in French maps, dated 1705, 1710, 1720 and 1764. The modern pronunciation of the word was used in 1755, for Yule quotes the Oriental Repository, both for Dagon and Dogon. Smyth, Embassy to Ava, 1803 (pp. 18, 23) has Dagon. Crawford, 1859, Embassy to Ava (pp. 340, 347) calls it Dagon. There is further a curious word Toedegon in one of Mortier’s maps, 1740.

In the Pāla 18 daung Inscription, 1774 A.D., the shrine is called, in Pāli, Digumpachetī, so that the Burmese Dagon (=Digon) = the Pāli Digumpa. The form Digon would be a legitimate equivalent in the vernacular for Digumpa. Pace Forchhammer, Notes on the Early Hist. and Geog. of British Burma, No. 1, the name of Rangoon, or more correctly of the town round the Shwe-Dagon Pagoda, then newly restored and enlarged, in the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions, (1476 A.D.) is Tigunganagara, and not Trikumbara, or Tikumbara, as he says, following the modern (false?) Paliism of the Burmese literati, who always write Tikumbara and Tikumbha-chittī. Whether Digion or Dagon is a Burmese derivative from a Pāli form Tigunga or Digumpa, or whether the latter are false Paliisms for the Burmese word is not yet certain: but the presumption would be in favour of the latter hypothesis, we then have to fall back on Digion or Dagon as an indigenous or borrowed word.

Now the modern Anglo-Indian word dagoba, formerly also dagope, dagop and dagob, is no doubt derived ultimately from the Pāli (and ? Prakrit) dhātugabba = Skr. dhātugabha, which in modern Siūhalese is dāgaba. It means a receptacle for Buddhist relics, but, literally, an inner chamber for deposits (śravas, cella). Yule says that to derive dagon from the same source as dagaba is mere guess-work. There is, however, more in favour of this derivation than of any other yet produced, so far as I know. Thus, we have dāgaba, Siūhalese, admitted from dhātugabba, and as far back as the 16th century we have a persistent word tigunga or digumpa (=dagon, dīgon) in Burma with the same meaning. Until a clear derivation is made out, it is, therefore, not unsafe to say that dagon represents some medieval Indian current form of dhātugabba. This view is supported by words gompa, used in the Himalayas about many of Buddhist shrines in the Pāli, by its pronunciation of the last sound, in the Pāli form as a half of the compound dhātugabba.

The derivation of Dagon from a Talaing word Takkun, and the legend attached to it, may be safely discarded as folk-etymology, and the derivation from tikumbara or tikumumba is even more open to the charge of guess-work, though accepted by Yule, who follows Forchhammer blindly, as final. For, in the first place, either form is a doubtful reading from the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions; in the next place neither Trikumbara-nagara in Sanskrit nor Tukumbar-nagara in Pāli would mean ‘Three’ hill City, as Forchhammer, loc. cit., says, kumbha being in no sense a ‘hill,’ which is kula; and in the third place, there are not (pace Forchhammer)

1 [See note to Vol. XXI. p. 208 n. 6, on this word.]
2 It is curious to note how in some parts of the Kāśī the Brahmans are used to make play of the part of the modern ‘villain,’ whilst at the same time he is always resorted to for purposes of divination and state-craft.
three hills on the site of the Shwé-Dagón Pagoda at Rangoon.

There is another Shwé-Dagón at Martaban, now said to be so-called because it was founded at the same time as the great Shwé-Dagón at Rangoon, but it is quite possible that it was really so named because it also was a ‘golden dagoba.’

R. C. Temple

NOTES AND QUERIES.

RATANASINGHA—SHWÉBO—MOUTHSHOBO—KÖNGBAUNG.

The Burmese are so fond of Pāli designations for places in their epigraphic, official and historical documents, that it will be necessary, as these are further studied, to prepare a ‘classical map’ of Burma. This I hope to do before very long.

The name above given, Ratanasíngha, or as the Burmese pronounce it Yèdaná Déngá, is typical of these classical and semi-classical names, of which many are quite modern inventions. The second part if it is not singha, as Gray in his Alompra Dynasty supposes, but śiṅgha.

There are three Burmese words, all having the same phonetic value, viz., śeṅghá, which are written respectively śiṅgha, śiṅghá, and śiṅgha. Śiṅgha is a kind of gold used in ornaments. Śiṅghá is said to mean ‘the Capital.’ Śiṅghá is said to mean ‘a meeting point, a place where four cross-roads meet.’ The Burmese meaning attached to the name Ratanasíngha is ‘the meeting point of the treasuries.’

The Pāli word for śiṅgha is śīṅgh = Skr. śīṅghi and śīṅgati. śiṅgha appears in Pāli, however, as śiṅghá, and in Skr. as śīṅghá or śīṅghá, otherwise ńká. I cannot trace in the classical languages the śiṅgha which would apparently be a legitimate enough derivative from the root common to śiṅgha and śiṅgha. All the three words, and at any rate śiṅgha and śiṅgha, are traceable to a stem, which in Skr. is śīṅghi, ‘a top or summit.’

Ratanasíngha is the Pāli form of the Skr. rāma, ‘a gift, a treasure,’ and appears in the classical name for two famous Burmese towns, viz., Yedaná-páthá and Yedanóbón. Yedaná-páthá = Ratana-

1 It is also written with its true Pāli form, śīṅghá. See below in the text.

2 Ratanasíngha in Phayre, Hist. of Burma, p. 152.

3 Sākṣgātha, Pāli Sākṣgāthá, (= Skr. Sākṣgāthá) was a division of the old Talaing kingdom of Pago (Hāshāgāthá in Pāli), and is now the Tharawaddy District.

4 The feh in this word and the feh of Phayre’s form of it (see next note) are interesting. The letter pronounced by the Burmese as ś is the ch of the Nāgarī Alphabet, and was always represented by the school to which Phayre and the writers of his time belonged by fe, for some reason I have been unable to ascertain. The aspirated form, pronounced by the Burmese as s (=ch of Nāgarī), Phayre and the others wrote feh and

pura = Áva, as the English pronounce the well-known word, = Awá and Íñwá, as Burmese pronounce it. Yèdanábón = Ratana-páthá = Mandalay.

Ratanasíngha = Shwébo, the first Capital of the Alompra Dynasty and the home of Alaungp'áya (Alompra) himself.

Shwébo, as the town is now known, is the Mouthshobo of Phayre and the old histories, documents and maps.

Near Shwébo is a famous reservoir, known as Kóngťaung, and hence to the Burmese the two names have become synonymous. They so appear in the title of the eighth king of the Alompra Dynasty, 1587-1591 A. D., who is known to us as Paráwadi (Tharawaddy), his title as prince, but to the Burmese as Shwébo or Kóngťaung, his title as king.

R. C. Temple

Mouthshobo represents the Burmese word Mûksóbo (spelt Musg0pÔ3), the old name for Shwébo. It means the cooking-place (p'Ô3) of the hunter (musd0g, pronounced mûksó).

There is a curious legend attached to this name. When the Talaings in 1751 A. D. turned out the Burmese (Taung-ńgõ) Dynasty of Áva there was current a prophecy that one of the p'Ô3 (an apparent pun on the word bd, spelt bd, = Pāli, bala, a leader) would restore the Burmese line. At that time there were three towns having the suffix p'Ô3 (bd) to their names, viz., Mûksóbo, Oybdô now a deserted town in the Mandalay District, and a third, whose full name and site are now forgotten, in the Magwe District. The duty of turning out the Talaings full four years later to Mûksóbo, under the leadership of Alaungp'áya.

Taw Srin Ko.

often also ñé. This last arose from assimilation to the other aspirates they employed, such as lk, kg, kt, kth, &c., in place of the usual bh, ph, th, dh, &c. This latter habit arose from the pronunciation of the Nágari s by the Burmese both as b and Ś, which these writers represented by th, as in English. Hence feh really s and Mouthshobo = Moutshobo. The pronunciation of more in the above word is gauged by Phayre’s writing it mû. Mouthshobo and Moutshobo are in fact nothing but attempts to transliterate the characters represented by Mûshobo.—En.

5 [Phayre, Hist. of Burma, p. 150, explains “Moutshobo” as the home of the hunter-captain, i. e., mûksô, hunter, bû(Ô), leader.—En.]
ON arrival at Kusimanagara, Uttarājīvamahāthāra embarked in a ship, accompanied by many other priests and by a sāmaṇḍra, whose age was fully 20 years. Who was this sāmaṇḍra? Why was he called Chhapāṭasāmaṇḍra? His parents were natives of Kusimaraṭṭha, while he himself was a pupil of Uttarājīvamahāthāra. He was called Chhapāṭasāmaṇḍra, because his parents were natives of a village called Chhapāṭa, in Kusimaraṭṭha.

Uttarājīvamahāthāra embarked in a ship and set out for Lankādīpa. On his arrival there, the mahāthāras, residing in Lankādīpa, came together in a body and accorded him a meet reception. As they were well disposed towards him they said: "We are the spiritual successors of Mahāmāhināstheṭra, who established the Religion in Lankādīpa, while you and the other priests in your company are the spiritual successors of the two mahāthāras, called Sūpa and Uttara, who established the Religion in Suvaṇṇabhāmī. Let us all, therefore, perform together the ceremonies incumbent upon the Order." Having spoken thus, they performed the upasampadā ordination on Chhapāṭa, the twenty-year old sāmaṇḍra.

After this, Uttarājīvamahāthāra, having accomplished the object of his visit, namely, the worshipping, &c., at the shrines in Lankādīpa, made preparations to return to Pugāma.

Then the priest Chhapāṭa thought thus: "If I were to return home with Uttarājīvamahāthāra, owing to the impediments caused by my relatives, I should not be able to enjoy that peace and quiet, which are conducive to the study of the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries. I am, perhaps, advisable, therefore, that I should, with the permission of the mahāthāra, remain in Lankādīpa, and return home only after I have mastered the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries." Accordingly, Chhapāṭa asked permission from Uttarājīvamahāthāra and remained behind in Lankādīpa.

Uttarājīvamahāthāra, accompanied by his large company of relatives, embarked in a ship, and returned to Kusimanagara. Thence he proceeded to Pugāma, and took up his residence there.

Meanwhile, the priest, Chhapāṭa, by dint of hard study, had acquired a knowledge of the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries; and, as he had completed his tenth year in ordination, he acquired the designation of thēra. Being now desirous of returning to Pugāma, he reflected thus: "If I were to return home alone, and if, in the event of the death of Uttarājīvamahāthāra, I did not wish to associate with the priests of Pugāma in the performance of eucharistical ceremonies, how could I, in the absence of a paṭcchavaggaṇa, perform such functions separately? It is, perhaps, proper, therefore, that I should return home in the company of four other priests, who are well-versed in the Tipiṭaka."

After reflecting thus, he appointed Sivalīthāra, a native of Tāmalīthī, Tāmalīnḍāthāra, the son of the Rāja of Kambōja, Ānandāthāra, a native of Kiṭchīpurā, and Rāhulāthāra, a native of Lankādīpa, to accompany him, and, embarking in a ship, returned to his native country. These five mahāthāras were well-versed in the Tipiṭaka, and were learned and able; and, among them, Rāhulāthāra was the ablest and the most learned.

On the arrival of these five mahāthāras at Kusimanagara, the time for journeying on to Pugāma was unseasonable, because of the approaching vassa, and they, accordingly, observed their vassa at Kusimanagara. The site and walls of the monastery, where they spent the vassa, may be seen to this day, on the south side of Kusimanagara. At the conclusion of the

13 Tāmalīthī is probably Tāmālk in Bengal; Kambōja is either Cambodia or the Śan States, and Kiṭchīpurā is probably Conjeeveram in Madras.
observes the vassa, Chhapatamahāthēra celebrated the ājāṅgika, and set out for Pugāma, accompanied by the four thēras.

Meanwhile, a few days before the arrival of Chhapatamahāthēra, Uttaraṭivamahāthēra had died.

On reaching Pugāma, Chhapatamahāthēra heard that his own teacher, Uttaraṭivamahāthēra, was dead, and repaired to his tomb and performed such acts as that of making obeisance and asking the forgiveness of the deceased. He then took counsel with the four thēras, addressing them thus: “As the mahāthēras of Lankādīpa associated with our teacher, the venerable Utāravijyamahāthēra, in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, it is proper that we should now perform such functions after associating ourselves with the priests of Pugāma, who are the spiritual successors of Sūnathēra and Uttaraṭi. However, our teacher, Uttaraṭivama-mahāthēra, who was a native of Rāmaṇānāḍēsa, was formerly the sole Head of the Church; but now, the priests of Mārammadēsa²⁴ have become Lords of the Church, and we are not disposed to associate with them in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies.” Thus, through pride, Chhapatamahāthēra declined to associate with the priests of Pugāma in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, and he performed such functions separately.

It should thus be borne in mind that, in the year 543,¹⁵ Saka Karṇā, and the 124th year that had elapsed since the introduction of the Religion to Pugāma in Mārammadēsa from Sudhammanagara in Rāmaṇānāḍēsa, the Religion from Lankādīpa was established in Pugāma.

At that time, a king, called Narapatipajyāṣṭhēra, was ruling in Pugāma. He conceived a feeling of great esteem and reverence for the five mahāthēras, and, after having had a bridge of boats constructed on the great river Brāhmaputra (Irrawaddy) to perform the vāmaṇo ordination on the many priests who desired to receive it. In consequence of this, the mahāthēras gradually gained influence and their following grew in numbers.

One day, the king ordered to be held in honour of the occasion of his giving a great offering to the koṭhī for the ordination of a large number of priests. In that occasion, Rāhulathēra saw a beautiful dancing-girl, and the delight in addiction became burdensome to him. He longed to be a mahāthēra and made preparations to carry out his object. Chhapatamahāthēra and the three other mahāthēras repeatedly expounded religious discourses to him, and, in a body, entreated him to turn away from the course he had resolved to take. But the religious discourses expounded by the four mahāthēras, by way of admonition, were of no avail in turning his mind. They, therefore, said: “Brother, we have expounded to you various religious discourses by way of admonition, and yet, we have not been able to turn you away from your object. Such being the case, do you forbear to become a layman here, but go to Rāmaṇānāḍēsa, and there embark for Malayadīpa, where you may carry out your wish.” Being repeatedly urged to adopt this course, he went to Rāmaṇānāḍēsa, and thence by ship to Malayadīpa.

Now, the King of Malayadīpa was desirous of learning the Vinaya, and Rāhulathēra taught him the Khuddasikka together with its commentary, and instructed him in the meaning of the text of the whole of the Vinaya. The King was pleased with the thēra, and presented him with an alms-bowl filled with many kinds of gems. Rāhulathēra accepted the gift, became a layman, and married.

Subsequently, of these four mahāthēras, Chhapatamahāthēra died, and the surviving three mahāthēras, namely, Sivalammahāthēra, Tāmālvindamahāthēra, and Anandamahāthēra, continued to maintain the Religion in splendour in Pugāma.

One day, the King of Pugāma, having conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for th-

¹⁴ Burush proper, as distinguished from Rāmaṇānāḍēsa, the land of the Taladīpa.
¹⁵ Taka yields the date 1181 A.D.
three *mahādhāra*, presented them with three elephants. The two *mahādhāra*, namely, Sivalimahatthāra, and Tāmalindamahatthāra, liberated their two elephants in a forest. But Anandathāra, saying to himself: — "I shall make a present of my elephant to my relatives living in Kitchipura," proceeded to Kusimanagara and shipped it off. The two *mahādhāra* then said: 'Brother, when we received our elephants, we set them free in a forest. Why have you caused pain to an animal by making a present of it to your relatives? Your action is improper." Anandathāra replied: "Why, Reverend Sirs, have you spoken to me in this manner? What! Reverend Sirs, has not the Blessed One declared that kindness to one's relatives is a sacred duty?" The two *mahādhāra* continued: "Ananda, you are indeed headstrong. If, brother, you will not accept the advice and admonition from elders like us, do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and we shall perform ours in like manner." Thenceforward, the two *mahādhāra* performed their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and Anandathāra performed his likewise.

In course of time, Tāmalindamahatthāra, for the benefit of his pupils, who were learned, wise, and able, said to the laymen, belonging to the ruling and other classes, that came to his presence: "O laymen, the priests are learned, wise, and able; but, because of their not being supplied with the 'four requisites,' they are unable to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts. Laymen, it is our desire, therefore, that these priests should be furnished with the 'four requisites.' Should you undertake to do this, the priests would certainly be enabled to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts." The *ṭhēra* thus procured the 'four requisites' by means of *vachāvinnatti*. Then Sivalimahatthāra said to Tāmalindathāra: "Brother, the acquisition of 'requisites,' by means of *vachāvinnatti*, was censured by the Blessed One; but why, brother, have you procured the 'four requisites' by means of *vachāvinnatti'? Your action is improper." Tāmalindathāra replied to Sivalimahatthāra: "Reverend Sir, the acquisition of 'requisites,' by means of *vachāvinnatti*, was censured by the Blessed One, when such property was for oneself; but, Reverend Sir, the 'four requisites,' procured by me by means of *vachāvinnatti*, were not for myself. I thought that, if my pupils, who are learned, wise, and able, obtained the 'four requisites,' and devoted themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, and to the observance of the precepts, the interests of the Religion would be promoted; and therefore, I procured for them the 'four requisites' by means of *vachāvinnatti*." Sivalimahatthāra again said to Tāmalindathāra: "Brother Tāmalinda, is this your explanation? Do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and I shall perform mine likewise. Brother Tāmalinda, association in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies is agreeable only when the parties taking part in the performance are of the same mind and opinions and are amenable to the advice and admonition of each other." Thenceforward, these two *mahādhāra* performed their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately.

At that period, there were, in Pugāma, four distinct communities of priests, each of which formed a separate sect, namely,—(i) the successors of the priests, who introduced the Religion from Sudhammanagara; (ii) the disciples of Sivalimahatthāra; (iii) the disciples of Tāmalindamahatthāra; (iv) the disciples of Anandamahatthāra.

Of these communities, that of the spiritual successors of the priests, who introduced the Religion from Sudhammanagara, was called by the Marammas of Pugāma the 'Purima' fraternity, because of their anterior arrival; and the remaining communities, whose members were the spiritual successors of the priests, who introduced the Religion from Sihaḷadīpa, were called the 'Sihaḷa' fraternity, and also the 'Pacchima' fraternity, because of their later arrival.

Two of these three *mahādhāra*, namely, Sivalimahatthāra and Tāmalindamahatthāra, passed away according to their deaths after maintaining the Religion in splendour to the end of their lives; and Anandathāra, after spending fifty-four rainy seasons in maintaining the
Religion in splendour in Pāgāma, also passed away according to his deeds in the year 607, Sakkārajī.¹⁶

Reverse face of the first Stone.

May the Religion of the Conqueror shine forth in splendour!

A sāvārapa, called Sāriputta, who was a native of Padippajėyya village,¹⁷ in the province of Dala, went to Pāgāma and received the upasampāda ordination at the hands of Ānandaṭhāra. He studied both the Dhaṭama and the Vinaya together with their commentaries. Being thus well-versed in the Dhamma and the Vinaya, the fame of the learning, wisdom, and ability of the priest, Sāriputta, spread abroad. The King of Pāgāma heard about his fame, and reflecting:—"If the priest, Sāriputta, is learned, well-informed, a seeker of knowledge, wise, and able, and, if the members of his body are perfect, I shall do him honour by appointing him to be my Preceptor," sent messengers to institute enquiries. The messengers sent by the King, accordingly proceeded to enquire whether the members of the body of the priest, Sāriputta, were perfect. In the course of their enquiry, they found that one of the big toes of the priest was too short, and reported the result of their investigation to the King. The King thinking inwardly: "The priest is not perfect in all the members of his body," presented him with a great many offerings, conferred on him the title of Dhammavilāsathāra, and dismissed him with the injunction: "Do you maintain the Religion in splendour in Rāmaṇaṭāsa."

Dhammavilāsathāra proceeded to Rāmaṇaṭāsa, and taught the Dhamma and the Vinaya to a great many priests in Dalanagara.¹⁸ The people of Rāmaṇaṭāsa called, at the time, the fraternity of these priests at Dalanagara, the Sīhalajapakkhambhikkhusaṅgha, and designated as the Ariyārahantapakkhambhikkhusaṅgha, the fraternity of priests who were already in the country and were the spiritual successors of Sūpañimahāṭhāra and Uttaramahāṭhāra.

There was a learned mahāṭhāra, belonging to the Ariyārahantapakkhambhikkhuśaṅgha, who lived in a monastery situated near the mouth of a river, in the Lakkhiyapura province,¹⁹ called the Bakṣa, because of its teeming with fish, which served as food for paddy-birds. Near the monastery, was a market, and not far from the latter was a settlement where a great number of Kambōja prisoners of war were located. On account of this fact, the market was called the Kambūja Market, and the monastery was called the Kambōjapāṇapavīhāra, because of its vicinity to the Kambōja Market. The mahāṭhāra, living in the monastery, was, in like manner, called the Paṭhasha-Kambōjapāṇapavīhārāṭhāra. Subsequently, the designation Paṭhasha-Kambōjapāṇapavīhārāṭhāra was changed to Kambōjapāṇamahāṭhāra.

A pious nobleman, called Śrījeyavaḍijana, who was living at Dalapūra, built a monastery near a great lake, and invited the Kambōjapāṇamahāṭhāra to occupy it. At that period, because the Kambōjapāṇamahāṭhāra was the oldest and most celebrated member of the Ariyārahantassāṅghapakkha, in Dalanagara, the whole of that fraternity was designated the Kambōjapāṇamahāṭhārasaṅghapakkha.

In after times, the designation Kambōjapāṇamahāṭhārasaṅghapakkha fell into disuse, and the fraternity was called the Kambōjapāṇasāṅghapakkha. However, the latter term Kambōjapāṇasāṅghapakkha itself fell into disuse, and the fraternity came to be known as the Kambōjassāṅghapakkha.

Because the Ariyārahantassāṅghapakkha, in Dalanagara, was called the Kambōjassāṅghapakkha, the same designation was, thenceforward, applied to that fraternity in the whole of Rāmaṇaṭāsa.

¹⁶ i.e., in 1869 A.D.
¹⁷ Near Bangoon.
¹⁸ The modern Dāl, about 15 miles S. E. of Bangoon.
¹⁹ Lēkrāk near Twentē in the Hanthawaddy District.
²⁰ i.e., the Shin Market.
There were in Muttimanagara—(i) the Kambójasánghapakkha; (ii) the Sihála-
nánghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Svalimaháthára; (iii) the Sihála-
nánghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Támalinda-
maháthára; (iv) the Sihála-sánghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Anandamaháthára; (v) the Sihála-sánghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Buddhavahúsmaháthára, the Preceptor of the Queen, who went to Sihála-
dópa and received his upasampádd ordination there, and who, on his return, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately in Muttimanagara; and (vi) the Sihála-sánghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Mahásámimaháthára, otherwise called Mahánigamaháthára, who visited Siháladópa and received his upasampádd ordination there, and who, on his return to Muttimanagara, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately.

Through the inability of these six divisions of the Order to perform ecclesiastical ceremonies together, various fraternities and sects arose into existence.

Owing to the want of a large number of priests, who were well-versed in the Tipitaka, learned, wise, and able, and who could, after meeting and consulting together, investigate as to what was proper or not, the maháthára, belonging to any of these six sects, would, whenever they had to perform such ecclesiastical ceremonies as the consecration of a simá and the upasampádd ordination, carry out their object in a manner that appeared fitting to them, thinking inwardly: “We, indeed, are wise and qualified.”

There were some thérás, who, wishing to consecrate a simá on a gáma-háttta of whatever size, would place boundary-marks all round it, and carry out their object by inducting within the hatthapéda the priests who were within the boundary; but they would not effect purification through the acts of inducting within the hatthapéda the priests living outside the boundary, of receiving the declarations of assent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited exclusion. In such a simá the upasampádd ordination would be performed.

There were some thérás, who declared: “If it is desired to consecrate a simá on a gáma-
háttta, such consecration should be carried out after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the hatthapéda, &c., the priests residing round that gáma-háttta, who are inside or outside the boundary.” Therefore, whenever a simá was to be consecrated, they thought that it would be difficult to purify the whole of the gáma-simá, and would not ascertain the true nature of the characteristics of a vissukáma. They, however, assumed that, if a piece of land, with its boundaries defined, was granted by a king, that land was a vissukáma; and they would ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of a piece of land, which they had chosen, and whose area would be sufficient for the consecration of a simá, or of a piece of land of larger area. They would then consecrate the simá after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the hatthapéda, &c., the priests residing on the gáma-háttta, but without effecting purification in regard to the whole of the gámaríthá. In such a simá the upasampádd ordination would be performed.

There were some thérás, who, holding the opinion that “there would be mutual confusion, if two baddha-simás were connected with each other by the branches of trees, &c., but there would be no such confusion, if a baddha-simá and a gáma-simá, or two gáma-simás, were connected with each other by the branches of trees, &c.,” would, whenever there was a simá to be consecrated on a gáma-háttta, perform the consecration without cutting off the branches of trees, &c., which connected that gáma-háttta with the others around it, but after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the hatthapéda, &c., the priests residing on that gáma-háttta. In such a simá the upasampádd ordination would be performed.

There were some thérás, who would not ascertain, in every way, the characteristics of rivers or lakes, mentioned in the páthi and the affhakáthas, and who, without ascertaining well
the interpretation of the words mentioned in the affhakathās, namely, avamabhāvanās avamabhāvṣaṇam upeśamphādānaṃ would, in this excessively rainy region of Rāmaṇīśvara, perform the upeśamphādā ordination in a udakakīkāpetrakṣa consecrated on a river or lake, which was devoid of its respective characteristic.

There were some thēras, who, whenever they wished to consecrate a sīru on a gāmakītta, would cut off the branches of trees, &c., that connected it with other gāmakīttas, and carry out their object through the acts of inducting within the hatthakṣaṇam the priests residing inside or outside the boundary of that gāmakītta, of receiving the declarations of ascent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited exclusion. But, whenever there was an upeśamphādā ordination to be performed in such a sīru, the ceremony would be performed without cutting off the branches of trees, &c., which connected that gāmakītta with others.

In the two thousand and second year that had elapsed since the Purinīrvāṇa of the Fully Enlightened One, and the 820th year of Saka era,23 there reigned in Janapada, Rāmadhipati, who, assuming the title of Strīparivāraḥ Mahārājaviśvajīra, ruled justly and righteously and afforded protection to the people of Rāmaṇīśvara, which comprised the three provinces of Kusimamāṇḍala, Hāvavatīmaṇḍala, and Māttimāṇḍala.24 He was the Lord of a White Elephant, whose colour was like that of the white esculent water-lily, or of the jasminum multiflorum, or of the autumnal moon, and was replete with faith and many other qualities. He was well-acquainted with the languages of various countries, and with many manual arts, such as masonry and carpentry. He was, moreover, learned and well-read, and was versed in the Vīpadikas and the sciences of śāstra, bhāṣākaraṇa, chanda, alabdha, astrology, medicine, and arithmetics, pertaining to the Veda. The King had exceedingly deep faith in the Religion of the Teacher, and the following thoughts arose in his mind: "The upeśamphādā ordination is dependent on that of pabbiṣajjā, and the basis of the Religion itself is the upeśamphādā ordination, which in order to be appropriate, inviolable, and valid, must be possessed of five characteristics, namely, simhāmpatti, pariṣṭamppatti, vaṭṭhamaṇḍapatti, ṣaṭṭimaṇḍapatti, and annaśāvahamppatti. Of those characteristics there exist means of attesting the validity of vaṭṭhamaṇḍapatti and ṣaṭṭimaṇḍapatti, owing respectively to the ability of a candidate for the pure form of the upeśamphādā ordination to fulfill the condition of the former, and to the accessibility of qualified dehāryas, who could recite the kusumacchāka with correct intonation. But, by what criterion can I ascertain the non-existence of simhāmpatti and pariṣṭamppatti?"

The King, in repeatedly investigating and considering the ruling of the Vinaya as regards the consecration of a sīru, which would be in conformity with the intension of the Blessed One, as interpreted by the authors of affhakathās, śīkṣā, and pakaraṇas, consulted both the spirit and the letter of the following works, controlling the affhakālaḥ by means of the pāli, the śīkṣā by means of the affhakālaḥ, and the pakaraṇa by one another, and, at the same time, calling what was gone before with what came after:—the Vinaya-pāli; the Vinayaśūkha; the Vinayaśūkha called the Sāvatthikāpiṣṭa; the Vinayakītta called the Vinayapradyotaṇaśīkṣā; the Vinayaśūkha written by Vajracalikādhitaṇa; the Māthābhikālaḥ called the Kudākaparikṣaṇa, together with its śīkṣā; the Vinayavrūkṣhaśūkha together with its śīkṣā; the Vinayaśūkhaśūkha together with its śīkṣā; the Śīkṣāpravakaraṇa; and the Śīkṣāpravakaraṇa. To the King, who repeatedly investigated and repeatedly considered this question, the ruling of the Vinaya appeared to be thus:—

"If it is desired to consecrate a sīru on a selected site, whether it be a pakaraṇgāmakītta or a simhāmakītta, whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue,

23 Or 1463, A. D.
24 These comprise the major part of what are now known as the Rōcein, Tīlāngwa, Hennada, Hantaowan, Pago, Shitgaya and Ambait Districts of Lower Burma.

25 The modern Pago.
and which possesses the following characteristics, namely, that it is inaccessible to men and women; that it is favourable to the exercise of the four triyāpattas; that it is not a place subjected to noise; and that the usufructuary right, exercised in respect of it, is capable of supporting life;—the branches of trees, &c., connecting that pakaśidgāmaṁkēṭṭa or visunghāmaṁkēṭṭa with other gāmaṁkēṭṭa should be cut down; and a number of boundary-marks should be placed around the site selected for the consecration of the simā, should such simā be a mahāsimā, whose extent is difficult to apprehend and whose form is not well defined. If, however, it is desired to consecrate a bhuddakāsimā, whose form is triangular, and whose extent is easy to apprehend, three boundary-marks should be placed. But if the form of the simā to be consecrated is square or rectangular, four boundary-marks would suffice; and if the form is a polygon, the number of boundary-marks should be in proportion. The connecting branches of trees, &c., which are either within or without the boundary, should be cut down, and the extent of the simā clearly defined. Of all the priests residing within or without the boundary of that gāmaṁkēṭṭa, those who are worthy of the privilege, should be inducted within the hatkāpaṇa, and the declarations of assent of those who are absent, should be received, the remaining priests being excluded from the gāmaṁkēṭṭa. For the purpose of guiding travelling priests, guards should be stationed all round the gāmaṁkēṭṭa; and, in order to notify the fact publicly, flags and streamers should be planted at various places; and the boundaries should be proclaimed three times by the sounding of drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments. Eventually, the simā should be consecrated by having the kammaṇḍūlā read with proper intonation. The consecration of a simā, which is attended by such ceremonies, is inviolable and valid; and the upasampādā ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a simā, are likewise inviolable and valid.

"The characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that, during the four months of its continuance, an uninterrupted shower falls once every half month, or every fifth day; that of a deficient rainy season is; that a shower falls after the lapse of a half month; and that of an excessive rainy season is, that the intervening period between one shower and another is less than five days, that is to say, rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption).

"If, during the four months of an equable rainy season, the under-robe of a bhikkhuśi crossing a stream, at any place, whether it be a landing-place or not, is wetted to the extent of one or two finger-breadths, such a stream acquires the status of a nādi. If, during the four months of the rainy season, which is an equable one because of rain falling once every half-month, the under-robe of a bhikkhuśi crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, such a stream acquires the status of a māhaṇādi. If, during the four months of the rainy season, which is an equable one because of rain falling once every tenth day, the under-robe of a bhikkhuśi crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, such a stream acquires the status of a mājjasimāṇaṇādi. If, during the four months of the rainy season, which is an equable one because of rain falling once every fifth day, the under-robe of a bhikkhuśi crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, such a stream acquires the status of a bhuddakaṇaṇādi.

"If, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an equable one, the under-robe of a bhikkhuśi crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, but is not wetted when the rainy season is a deficient one, it should not be declared that such a stream does not acquire the status of a nādi, because a deficient rainy season cannot be the criterion in determining its status. If, however, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an equable one, the under-robe of a bhikkhuśi crossing a stream, at any place, is not wetted, but is wetted when the rainy season is an excessive one, it should not be declared that such a stream acquires the status of a nādi, because an excessive rainy season can neither be the criterion in determining its status.

"A lake is of spontaneous origin. It is not excavated by any one, but is filled with water that flows from all round it. If, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an
equable one, there is, in a reservoir of such description, water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablation, such a lake acquires the status of a jātassara. If a lake, which satisfies such a condition, when the rainy season is an equable one, does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablation, when the rainy season is a deficient one, or during winter or summer, it should not be declared that such a lake does not acquire the status of a jātassara.

"If, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an equable one, a lake does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablation, but satisfies this condition when the rainy season is an excessive one: such a lake does not acquire the status of a jātassara.

"This Rāmāśāla is a very rainy region, but how could one know that its rainy season is an excessive one? That the rainy season comprises four months is thus declared in the atthakathā:—'Yasodāhi navaśhāsa chatam māde.' But, in this country of Rāmāśāla, the rainy season comprises six months. Because it is said that the characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that rain falls every fifth day, methinks that the characteristic of an excessive rainy season is, that rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption).

"In this country of Rāmāśāla, sometimes once every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption), sometimes once every seventh or tenth day, the rays of the sun are invisible, and the sky becomes cloudy and murky, and a continuous shower of rain falls. Therefore, it is established beyond doubt that the rainy season of Rāmāśāla is an excessive one.

"For the reasons stated above, in this country of Rāmāśāla, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner described, the under-robe of a bhikkhu, crossing a stream of such description, at any place, is wetted. On such a mahāśāla an udābhikkhapāsaṁ may be consecrated, and the upasampāda ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable.

"If, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls as described above, a lake of such description contains water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablation: on such a mahāśāla an udābhikkhapāsaṁ may be consecrated; and the upasampāda ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable."

The following thoughts arose in the mind of Rāmādhūpi, to whom the valid manner in which a sīmā should be consecrated, had appeared, as described above:—

"There are some thēras who, wishing to consecrate a sīmā on a gāmākhāta, carry out their object by inducting within the hatthapāsa the priests residing inside the boundary, but without effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the hatthapāsa, &c., all the priests residing on that gāmākhāta. The consecration of such a sīmā by the thōra is invalid by reason of parisāvapattī.

"If, in order to alienate the revenue of a selected place, whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue, and which is situated on a pahāṭyāgāmakāta, the boundaries are again defined, and the place itself is given away by the ruling authorities: such a place acquires the status of a viṇūgāmakāta. The consecration of a badhikasarīṇa is consummated at the conclusion of the recitation of the kammaṇḍola, and not merely by the proclamation of its boundaries. Therefore, the land referred to above, which is situated inside the boundary, does not acquire the status of a viṇūgāma, because of its perpetually forming a part and parcel of the gāmasimā; nor does the sīmā become a badhikasarīṇa, because the lands, both inside and outside the boundary, constitute but one gāmasimā. If all the priests residing on that very gāmasimā, who are deserving of the privilege, are not inducted within the hatthapāsa; if the declarations of assent of those, who are entitled to send them, are not received; if those who deserve exclusion, are not excluded; and, if only the priests residing within the boundary are inducted within the hatthapāsa: the consecration of the sīmā (attended by such ceremonies)
is violable and not in accordance with the law. The upasampadda ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a simd, are void by reason of the invalidity of its consecration.

"There are also theras, who ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of some place selected by them, but which does not possess the characteristics of a gama. Considering that such a place is a vissaripamahetta, they select a site on it, and consecrate a simd by inducting within the hatthapadsa only the priests residing at that place, and not all those residing on the whole of the pakaerigamahetta. The consecration of the simd by these theras is void by reason of parisaviupatta. Therefore, because of simdvipatti, the upasampadda ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a simd, are invalid.

"There are also other theras, who, wishing to consecrate a simd on a gama, do not cut down the branches of trees, &c., connecting that gama with others, but carry out their object after effecting purification through the act of inducting within the hatthapadsa the priests residing on that gama. By reason of parisaviupatti, the consecration of the simd by these theras is invalid.

Obverse Face of the second Stone.

"As there is mutual junction between two baddhasimdes, because of their being connected by the branches of trees, &c., there is mutual junction between a baddhasimde and a gama, or between two gamasimdes, because of their being connected by the branches of trees, &c. By reason of simdvipatti, the upasampadda ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a simd, are void.

"There are other theras, who perform the upasampadda ordination and other ceremonies in an udakukkhapa simde consecrated on rivers and lakes, that are devoid of their respective characteristics (judged by the conditions prevailing) in the exceedingly rainy region of Ramanaaddes. By reason of simdvipatti, the upasampadda ordination and other ceremonies, performed by these theras, are void. As to this exceedingly rainy region of Ramanaaddes: during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, the under-robe of a bhikkhuní crossing a river, at any place, may not get wet (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal). But owing to excessive rainfall in this country, the under-robe will get wet. Judging, therefore, by the wetting of the under-robe, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a river acquires the status of a nadi? Again, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, a lake may not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal). But, owing to excessive rainfall in this country, during the four months of the rainy season, it will contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution. Judging, therefore, by the sufficiency of water in such a lake for the purpose of drinking or ablution, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a lake acquires the status of a jatasaarar?

"There are also some theras, who, desiring to consecrate a simd on a gama, cut down the branches of trees, &c., connecting that gama with others, and carry out their object by inducting within the hatthapada, &c., all the priests residing inside or outside the boundary of that gama. But, whenever the upasampadda ordination and other ceremonies are performed in such a simd, the connecting branches of trees, &c., of that gama are not cut down. The upasampadda ordination and other ceremonies of these theras are, therefore, void, by reason of parisaviupatti, caused through the confusion (of boundaries) of such baddhasimde and gama. If, on the other hand, these theras perform the upasampadda ordination and other ceremonies in a valid baddhasimde, or on a pakaerigamahetta, or vissaripamahetta, possessing the characteristics of a gama, or on a mahanaad possessing the characteristics of a nadi, or on a jatasaara possessing the characteristics of a jatasaara, or on a samudda possessing the characteristics of a samudda, they may constitute a Chapter; but the functions, performed by them,
are void by reason of parisavipatti, caused through their having been ordained in a sīnu, whose consecration was invalid for the reasons indicated above, or on a vinayādhamma, that does not possess the characteristics of a ādā, or on a kuddakanadadha, that does not possess the characteristics of a ṣādhi, or on a kuddaka-jātissāvadha, that does not possess the characteristics of a ṣādhu.

Then King Rāmaṇādhipati became aware of the existence of simāvīpatti and parisavipatti of the upasammpaḍa ordination and other ceremonies in Rāmāṇādāsava, and thought thus:—

"The simāvīpatti and parisavipatti of the upasammpaḍa ordination and other ceremonies appear to me in the manner indicated above. Now, there are, in Rāmāṇādāsava and Haustravati-nagara, many priests, who are well-versed in the Tipitaka, learned, and able; and I am not sure whether the simāvīpatti and parisavipatti of the upasammpadha ordination and other ceremonies appear to them in the same manner. It is, perhaps, advisable that I should ask all of them to investigate the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the Vinayapitaka, together with its affhakathaśa and fikha, to compare and collate the affakathadhya with the pd̤i texts, the fikh with the affhakathadhya and what follows with what is gone before, and to give an authoritative ruling, based on the Vinaya, as to the valid manner of consecrating a sīnu."

All the priests, who were well-versed in the Tipitaka, were accordingly asked to give an authoritative ruling, based on the Vinaya, as to the valid manner of consecrating a sīnu.

Then, in compliance with the request of King Rāmaṇādhipati, all the priests, who were well-versed in the Tipitaka, investigated the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the Vinayapitaka, together with its affhakathadhya and fikh, and, through repeated comparison and collation, perceived the existence of simāvīpatti and parisavipatti, and communicated to the King the result of their enquiry as to the manner prescribed in the Vinaya.

The King said to himself: "The excellent compilers of affhakathadhya have declared that the Religion of Buddhā will last 5,000 years; but alas! only 2,047 years have now passed away since the Enlightened One attained Buddhahood, and the Religion has become impure, tainted with heresy and corruption, and the upasammpadha ordination has also become invalid. This being the case, how can the Religion last till the end of 5,000 years?" The King again reflected thus: "Being aware of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that have arisen in the Religion, methinks that in order to ensure the continuance of the Religion to the end of the period of 5,000 years, it is essential that it should be purified by resuscitating the pure form of the upaspapadda ordination. However, if I do not exert myself and remain indifferent, I shall be guilty of not having intense love for, or faith in, the Blessed Fully Enlightened One, and of being devoid of respect and reverence for Him. It is, therefore, I think, expedient that the purification of the Religion should be effected by me. How shall I first call into existence the pure form of the upasammpadha ordination, and establish it in this country of Rāmāṇādāsava? There are men having faith, belonging to good families, and desirous of receiving such upasammpadha ordination. If, at my instance, they receive it, the Religion will become purified through the existence of a pure form of the upasammpadha ordination."

The following were the thoughts that arose in the mind of King Rāmaṇādhipati, who considered about the condition of the Religion:—

"It is said that, in the 236th year, that had elapsed since the attainment of Pariñiyatana by the Fully Enlightened One, Mahāmāhinidathā, who was sent by Mōghaligut-tattamahāthaya, went to Tampbapanidipa, and established the Religion. Devānampiyatana, King of Sinhālida, conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for the therā, and founded the Mahāvihāra monastery. During the period of 218 years, that elapsed since the foundation of the Mahāvihāra, the Religion remained pure, and there was only one detractor, namely, that of the residents of the Mahāvihāra. Then King Vattagāmanī-

\* This yields a date, 90 B.C.
Abhaya conquered Dāthiya, King of the Damājas, and attained to kingship in Lānkhādīpa. After founding the Abhayagiri-vihāra monastery, this King was defeated by a confederacy of seven Damāja princes, and was obliged to fly the country and remain in hiding for fourteen years. (On his restoration) he invited a tātha, called Mahātissa, who had afforded him assistance during his exile, and presented the monastery to him. This Mahātissathāra, however, used to associate with lay people, and, for this very offence, had been expelled from the Mahāvihāra by the fraternity of that monastery. Thenceforward, the priests were divided into two sects, namely, that of the residents of the Mahāvihāra, and that of the residents of the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

"In the 357th year that had elapsed since the foundation of the Abhayagiri-vihāra monastery, a king, called Mahāsena, ruled over Lānkhādīpa for 27 years. This king, in the course of his reign, founded the Jētavānavihāra monastery, and presented it to Tissa-thāra, a resident of the Dakkhinavihāra, who associated with wicked people, and was of an intriguing and licentious character, but for whom he conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence. Thenceforward, the priests of the Jētavānavihāra monastery detached themselves from those of the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra monasteries, and thus arose the (third) sect of the residents of the Jētavānavihāra monastery.

"Thus, 600 years had not yet elapsed since the establishment of the Religion in Lānkhādīpa, when the priests in that Island were divided into three divisions, and three sects were formed. Among these sects, that of the Mahāvihāra was extremely pure and orthodox; but the remaining two were neither pure nor orthodox. In course of time, however, in Lānkhādīpa, the number of the orthodox priests gradually decreased, and their sect became weak, while the unorthodox priests continually received fresh accession of strength owing to increased numbers. These heretical sects did not conform to the rules of the Order, and were followers of evil practices. Owing to this circumstance, the Religion became impure, and tainted with heresy and corruption.

"In the 1472nd year that had elapsed since the establishment of the Religion in Lānkhādīpa, the 1708th year that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvāna by the Master, and the 16th year since the inauguration of Mahārāja Srīsaṅgaṅgadāhi-Parakkamabahu as ruler of Lānkhādīpa, that king, by seeing the priests, who, though professing the Religion, did not conform to the rules of the Order, and followed evil practices, became aware of the existence of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that had arisen in the Religion, and he thought thus:

"If such an one as I, knowing the existence of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that have arisen in the Religion, do not exert myself and remain indifferent in the matter of effecting its purification, it will be said of me that my love for, or faith in, the Fully Enlightened One, and my respect and reverence for Him, are not intense. It is, perhaps, expedient that I should afford support to the Mahāvihāra fraternity, who are orthodox, whose conduct is in conformity with the rules of the Order, and whose superior is Mahākassapathāra of Udumbaramāri; and that, as Asoka, King of Righteousness, with the assistance of Moggali-pattatisanamahāthāra, afforded support to the great fraternity of exceedingly pure and orthodox priests, who declared that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vibhajjavādi, and effected the purification of the Religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the 60,000 impure and sinful priests who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, even so, should I purify the Religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the large number of impure, unorthodox, and sinful priests, who do not conform to the rules of the Order, and are followers of evil practices, and by constituting the fraternity of the residents of the Mahāvihāra, the only sect (in my kingdom)."

77 I.e., before 289 A. D. The 600 years must have nearly elapsed, however, because \( 315 + 27 = 352 \) years is the date of Mahāsena's death.
78 This yields the date 1104 A. D.
The King acted accordingly, purified the Religion, and caused a covenant to be entered into by the priests. In after times, with a view to purifying the Religion, Vijayabahuraja and Parakkamabahuraja caused (similar) covenants to be made.

From that time up to the present day, there has been existing in Lakhadipa, a sect of priests, who are the spiritual successors of the fraternity of the Mahavihara, the exceedingly pure and orthodox sect, whose members conformed, in a proper manner, to the rules of the Order.

"I (Ramadhipati) shall, therefore, invite, in a respectful manner, learned and qualified priests to receive the extremely pure form of the upasampada ordination in Lakhadipa, and to establish it in this country of Ramanaadse. By inducing men of good family, who have faith, and are desirous of taking orders, to receive it, and by thus calling into existence the pure form of the upasampada ordination, the Religion will become purified and free from impurity, and will last to the end of the period of 5,000 years."

Accordingly, King Ramadhipati invited the twenty-two theras, headed by Moggalana, and addressed them thus: "Reverend Sirs, the upasampada ordination of the priests in Ramaanadse now appears to us to be invalid. Therefore, how can the Religion, which is based on such invalid ordination, last to the end of 5,000 years? Reverend Sirs, from the establishment of the Religion in Sihaladipa up to the present day, there has been existing in that island an exceedingly pure sect of priests, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahavihara monastery. If, Reverend Sirs, you go to Sihaladipa, and, after selecting out of the fraternity, whose members are the spiritual successors of the priests of the Mahavihara, a Chapter, who are pure and free from censure and reproach, receive at their hands the upasampada ordination in the udakukkhapanima consecrated on the Kalyanti River, where the Fully Enlightened One enjoyed a bath; and, if you make this form of the upasampada ordination the seed of the Religion, as it were, plant it, and cause it to sprout forth by conferring such ordination on men of good family in this country of Ramanaadse, who have faith and are desirous of taking orders, the Religion will become pure and last till the end of 5,000 years.

"Reverend Sirs, by your going to Sihaladipa, much merit and great advantages will accrue to you. Reverend Sirs, on your arrival in Sihaladipa, an opportunity will be afforded you of adoring and making offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic, to the Bodi tree, headed by the one which was the Southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gay), to the Ratnachethiya and other shrines, and to the Chethiya of the Holy Foot-print of the Blessed One on the top of the Samantaika Hill. Therefore, Reverend Sirs, your great accumulation of merit will increase. For the reasons stated above, I beseech you the favour of going to Sihaladipa."

To this the theras replied: "Maharaja, your excellent request is, indeed, in conformity with the law, because it is actuated by a desire to promote the interests of the Religion. The visit to Sihaladipa will increase our great accumulation of merit. We, therefore, grant you the favour, and will visit Sihaladipa." Saying thus, the theras gave a promise.

On receiving the reply of the theras, the King directed the preparation of the following articles to serve as offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic: a stone alms-bowl, embellished with sapphires of great value, and having for its cover a pyramidal covering made of gold weighing 50 phalas; an alms-bowl, with stand and cover complete, made of gold weighing 90 phalas; a golden vase weighing 30 phalas; a duodecagonal betel-box made of gold weighing 80 phalas; a golden relia-receptacle weighing 33 phalas, and constructed in the shape of a chetiyaya; a reli-receptacle made of crystal; a reli-receptacle, embellished with pieces of glass resembling mardrasite gems; and golden flowers.

For the purpose of offering to the Ratnachethiya and other shrines, to the Holy Foot-print, and to the twenty-two Bodhi trees, the following articles were prepared: 85 canopies of various colours; 50 large, gilt, waxesn candles; and the same number of small, gilt, waxen candles.
For presenting to the mahāthēras of Sihālādīpa the following articles were prepared:—40 boxes containing cotton cloth of delicate texture; 20 silk and cotton upper robes of various colours, namely, red, yellow, motley, and white; 20 betel-boxes of motley colour, manufactured in Haribhūja; four stone pitchers; eight painted pitchers manufactured in Chinadēsa; and 20 fans manufactured in Chindēsa.

Rāmādhipatīrajā, the Lord of Rāmaṇānādēsa and of the White Elephant, sent respectful greeting to Their Reverences the Mahāthēras of Sihālādīpa, and thus addressed them by letter:

"Reverend Sirs, for the purpose of adoring the Holy Tooth and other Relics I have sent priests with offerings. Vouchsafe to afford them assistance in making such offerings. With the twenty-two thēras and their disciples, I have sent Chitrādūta and Rāmadūta together with their attendants. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, to afford them such assistance as they may require in seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic and making offerings to it. After seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it, the twenty-two thēras and their disciples will proceed to elect from among the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery, a Chapter of priests, who are free from censure and reproach, and will receive at their hands the upaśampadā ordination in the udakūkkhāpasimā consecrated on the Kālyāṇī River, where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath. May it please the Venerable Ones to afford them assistance also in this matter?" Thus was prepared a letter addressed to the mahāthēras of Sihālādīpa.

The following articles were prepared for presentation to Bhūvanēkabāhu, King of Sihālādīpa:—two sapphires valued at 200 phalas of silver; two rubies valued at 430 phalas; four pieces of variegated China cloth, of great value, for making long mantles, which would cover the wearer from neck to foot; three pieces of thick, embroidered China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; two pieces of plain, thick, China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; one piece of plain, white, thick, China cloth; two pieces of green, thick, embroidered, China cloth; one piece of plain, green, thick, China cloth; two pieces of plain, black, China cloth; one piece of yellow, thick, embroidered China cloth; one piece of red, thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture; one piece of thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture, and of white and dark blue, or ash colour: in all, 20 pieces of China cloth; the same number of variegated silk cloths called pavīṭī, and 200 mats wrapped up in leather cases. The letter addressed to Bhūvanēkabāhu, King of Sihālādīpa, was in import similar to that addressed to the mahāthēras of that Island, and was inscribed on a tablet of gold.

Having thus prepared everything that was necessary, the King presented the twenty-two thēras with the following articles:—44 boxes of fine cotton cloth for making the thīkaṭas robes; 22 carpets made of the wool of Marammadēsa; 22 variegated leathern rugs; 22 variegated Haribhūja betel-boxes, with covers; and many other articles required for food and for medicinal purposes on the voyage.

The twenty-two priests, who were the disciples of the thēras, were each presented with a piece of cloth called ḫatiputta, and a thick, embroidered, carpet manufactured in Marammadēsa.

The twenty-two thēras and their disciples were consigned to the care of the two emissaries, Chitrādūta and Rāmadūta, into whose hands were likewise delivered the above-mentioned offerings intended for the Holy Relics, the letter and presents for the mahāthēras of Sihālādīpa, and the letter inscribed on a tablet of gold and presents for Bhūvanēkabāhu, King of that Island. Two hundred phalas of gold were given to the emissaries for the purpose of providing the twenty-two thēras and their disciples with the 'four requisites,' should any mishap, such as scarcity of food, arise. The eleven thēras, headed by Moggalānathāra, together with their disciples, were embarked in the same ship as Rāmadūta, while the remaining eleven thēras, headed by Mahāstvalithēra, together with their disciples, were embarked in the same ship as Chitrādūta.
Reverse Face of the second Stone.

The ship, in which Râmâdûta embarked, left the mouth of the Yóga River on Sunday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month Mâgha 887, Sakkâraj, and went out to sea.

The ship, in which Chitrâdûta embarked, however, left the mouth of the same river on Monday, the 12th day of the dark half of the same month, and going out to sea, reached, through skilful navigation, the port of Kalâmbu on the 8th day of the dark half of the month Phaggûsa.

When Bhûvanâkâbânu, King of Shâladîpa, heard the news (of the arrival of the ship), he, on the new-moon upâsthâ day of the month Phaggûsa, directed that a welcome be accorded to the eleven thérâs and Chitrâdûta. He was exceedingly delighted when he had heard the letter read out, which was inscribed on a tablet of gold, and brought by Chitrâdûta, and which was sent by Râmâdhipatimahârâjâ, who was replete with faith and many other good qualities and who, being a descendant of Lords of White Elephants, was himself Lord of a White Elephant, which was possessed of all the characteristics (of such animals), and whose colour was very much whiter than that of a conch-shell, the jasminum multiflorum, the white-lily, or the autumnal moon. The King (of Shâladîpa), having exchanged the compliments of friendship and civility with the thérâs and Chitrâdûta, arose from his seat, and with his own hands, offered them betel-leaf with camphor. He likewise had arrangements made for the entertainment of the thérâs and Chitrâdûta.

On the following day Chitrâdûta delivered to the maha thérâs of Shâladîpa the letter and the presents sent by Râmâdhipatimahârâjâ; and the maha thérâs, saying: "Whatever is pleasing to Râmâdhipatimahârâjâ, that will we perform," gave a promise.

The eleven thérâs, who embarked in the same ship as Chitrâdûta, perceiving the non-arrival of their brethren, who embarked in the same ship as Râmâdûta, reflected: "With the permission of the King of Shâladîpa, we shall remain in the Island of Lânâdîpa, awaiting the arrival of these thérâs." They accordingly asked permission from the King, and remained there awaiting the arrival of the thérâs, who embarked in the same ship as Râmâdûta.

Meanwhile, the ship in which Râmâdûta embarked, missed the route to Anurâdhapura, and meeting with adverse winds, performed a difficult voyage; and it was not till Sunday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Chitrâ, that she reached Valligâma.

Now, at Valligâma, resided a Shâla minister, called Garâvi, who had rebelled against the King. At the time of the arrival of the ship, the younger brother of the King of Shâladîpa had proceeded by ship to the same village, accompanied by many other ships conveying armed men, in order to fight the rebel minister. The latter was struck with terror, and, being unable to defend himself, fled the village and sought refuge in a forest. The village having fallen into his hands, the King's brother took up his residence there. The soldiers of the rebel minister remained in hiding at various places between Valligâma and Jayava’dhamanâgara, and were a source of danger to the people who passed by that way. Owing to this circumstance, the King's brother withheld permission from the thérâs and Râmâdûta, who were desirous of going to Jayava’dhamanâgara. However, on the second day of the dark half of the first of the two months of Âsâlha, 888, Sakkâraj, permission was obtained and the thérâs and Râmâdûta left Valligâma. After passing five days on the journey, they arrived at Jayava’dhamanâgara on the 6th day.

When Bhûvanâkâbânu, King of Shâladîpa, heard about the arrival of the thérâs and Râmâdûta, he directed that a welcome be accorded to them. After he had heard read out the letter of Râmâdhipatimahârâjâ, inscribed on a tablet of gold, which was brought by Râmâdûta,
he was delighted, and, in the manner indicated above, exchanged with the thérās and Rāmatūṣa the compliments of friendship and civility, and had arrangements made for their entertainment.

On the following day, Rāmatūṣa delivered to the mahāthéras of Sihaladipta the letter and presents sent by the King, who was the Lord of Haṃsasavatānagara; and all the mahāthéras gave a promise to Rāmatūṣa similar to that given by them to Chitradūṭa.

After a month had elapsed from that date, the thérās, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradūṭa, visited Anurādhapura, and adored the Ratanachēṭiya, Mariṣhvatīchēṭiya, Thūpa-rāmacēṭiya, Abhayagirīchēṭiya, Silīchēṭiya, Jēvāvanachēṭiya, and the Mahābōdhi tree, which was the Southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayā), and saw the Lōhāpaśāda. They likewise, to the extent of their ability, removed grass, creepers, and shrubbery found growing in the court-yards of the various chēṭiyas, and cleaned their walls. After fulfilling such religious duties as were performed subsequent to making offerings, they returned and arrived at Jayavāṣhānanagara.

The Sihala King now thought that the time had arrived for him to exhibit the Holy Tooth Relic for the adoration of all the thérās, who had come by the two ships. On Sunday, the 1st day of the dark half of the second month Āsālha, and the day on which vassa residence was entered upon, he had the whole of the tower containing the receptacle of the Holy Tooth Relic decorated, had a canopy of cloth put up, and had an offering made of scents, lights, incense, and flowers. The mahāthéras of Sihaladipta were set apart on one side, while the twenty-two thérās and their disciples, who had come by the two ships, together with Chitradūṭa and Rāmatūṣa, were invited to be present. The Holy Tooth Relic, contained in a golden receptacle, was brought out in order that the twenty-two thérās, and Chitradūṭa and Rāmatūṣa might see and adore it, and make offerings to it. Then the Sihala King, calling to mind the letter of Rāmatūṣhipatirāja, had the Holy Tooth Relic deposited in the golden relic-receptacle sent by the latter, and had a white umbrella placed over it. The golden vessel containing theRelic, the golden vase, and the golden duodecagonal betal-box were deposited together, and shown to the twenty-two thérās, and Chitradūṭa and Rāmatūṣa.

"Reverend Sirs, and Chitradūṭa and Rāmatūṣa, may it please you to let me know the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant?" asked the Sihala King, who, saying to himself: "Whatsoever may be the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant, I shall act accordingly," issued commands to the Sihala ministers and directed the construction of a bridge of boats on the Kalyāṇī River, where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath. A tower and a canopy of cloth were erected on the bridge, and various kinds of hanging awnings were likewise put up. Vīdagamamahāthēra was requested to elect from among the fraternity of priests, who were the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery, a Chapter, who were free from censure and reproach; and he accordingly elected a Chapter of twenty-four priests such as Dhammakittimahāthēra, Vanaratnamahāthēra, Pañchoharīvēvasāvā-maṅgalahathēra, and Sihalajayuvatājohāryathēra. Having thus had a bridge of boats constructed, and a Chapter of priests elected, the King invited the twenty-four ordaining priests, headed by Dhammakittimahāthēra, on Wednesday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month of Āsālha, and had them conducted to the bridge of boats, and had the forty-four priests of Rāmaṇāndāsa ordained by them. In conformity with the custom followed by the Sihala mahāthēras of old, whenever priests from foreign countries were ordained, the forty-four priests of Rāmaṇāndāsa were first established in the condition of laymen, and then admitted to the Order as ānāṇāras through the act of Vanaratnamahāthēra, who presented them with yellow robes, and accepted their profession of faith in the 'Three Refuges.'

On the night of Wednesday, five thérās, namely, Moggalāthēra, Kumārakassapathēra, Mahāsīvālathēra, Sāriputthēra, and Nāgasagārathēra were ordained in the presence of the Chapter of the twenty-four priests, Dhammakittimahāthēra and Pañ-
chaparívāṇavāsī-maṅgalalāthāra being respectively the upajjhāya and ācariya. On the night of Thursday, the 12th, ten thāras, namely, Sumanathāra, Kassapathāra, Nanda-
thāra, Rāhulathāra, Buddhavanathāra, Sumagalahathāra, Khuṭjanandathāra, Sūría-
tathāra, Gunasāgarathāra, and Dhammarakkhitathāra were ordained, Vanaratanamahā-
thāra and Pañcchiparívāṇavāsī-maṅgalalāthāra being respectively the upajjhāya and ācariya. In the course of the day on Friday, the 13th, seven thāras, namely, Chitra-
maṅgalalāthāra, Javanapāṇāṭhāra, Chulakassathāra, Chulāsivālithāra, Manisārathāra, Dhamma-rājikathāra, and Chandanāsārathāra were ordained, Vanaratanamahāthāra and Pañcchiparívāṇavāsī-maṅgalalāthāra being respectively the upajjhāya and ācariya. On Saturday, the 14th, the twenty-two young priests, who were the disciples of the thāras were ordained, Pañcchiparívāṇavāsī-maṅgalalāthāra and Sīhārājyuvatījā-
chariyathāra being respectively the upajjhāya and ācariya.

When the twenty-two thāras of Rāmaṇāḍēra had been ordained, the Sīhāra King invited them to a meal, at the end of which, he presented each of them with the following articles:—
three yellow robes; a curtain and a canopy manufactured in the country of Gōcharatī; a lea
tern made in variegated colours; a fan shaped like a palmyra, but made of ivory, carved by a skilful turner; and a betel-box. Then the Sīhāra King said:—"Reverend Sirs, you will return to Jambudīpa and maintain the Religion in splendour in Haṁsa-vatī-
pura. If, Reverend Sirs, I present you with any other gifts, no reputation would accrue to me, because such gifts are subject to speedy decay and dissolution. Therefore, I shall now confer titles on you. If, Reverend Sirs, this is done, such titles would last throughout your life-
time." So saying, he conferred on the eleven thāras who embarked in the same ship as Rāma-
āḍēra, namely, Mōggalanathāra, Kumārakkassathāra, Nāpasāgarathāra, Buddhavan-
thāra, Nandathāra, Rāhulathāra, Suranga-lathāra, Dhammarakkhitathāra, Chitra-
maṅgalalāthāra, Kassathāra, and Manisārathāra, the following titles respectively: Śrivai-
ghabhodhīṣāmi, Kittisārīmēghasāmi, Parakkamāvahānsāmi, Buddhaguhānasāmi, Śīla-
śudāpavindīdhasāmi, Guparatandarhasāmi, Jindālaśkrasāmi, Ratana-mālinīsāmi, Suddhamatējasāmi, Dhammarāmasāmi, and Bhūvanēkabāḥnasāmi. On the eleven thāras, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradūla, namely, Mahāśiva-
thāra, Sāriputtathāra, Sumanathāra, Chulakassathāra, Chulāsivālithāra, Sūría-
tathāra, Gunasāgarathāra, Javanapāṇāṭhāra, Chulāsivālithāra, Dhammarājikathāra, and Chandanāsārathāra, the following titles were respectively conferred: Tilīka-grurasāmi, Śrivaranataśasāmi, Maṅgalārhasāmi, Kalyāṇitissāsāmi, Chandana- 
agirisāmī, Sridevi-mahākāraśasāmi, Vannavātīsāsāmi, Ratana-lakārasāmi, Mahālāvāsāmi, Udumbarāgirisāmi, and Chīla-jāhāyatīsāsāmi.

The eleven thāras, who embarked in the same ship as Rāmaṇāḍēra, together with the latter, left Jayavaṛdhana nagara and returned to Vallīgāma. The eleven thāras, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradūla, however, returned to Jayavaṛdhana nagara, after adorning the Padava-
lājāchātīya, called the Shipāda, which is situated on the top of the Samantakūsa Hill.

The eleven thāras, who had returned to Vallīgāma, embarked on Wednesday, the sec-
ond day of the light half of the month Bhadda, and returning home, arrived at the mouth of the Yōga River on Thursday, the second day of the dark half of the same month.

When Rāmāchāpipatīrāja, received the tidings that the thāras, who embarked in the same ship as Rāmaṇāḍēra, had arrived at the mouth of the Yōga River, he bethought himself: "Considering that these thāras visited Sīhāra at my solicitation, and that they are the inaugurators of the upasampad order, it would not be proper to send any of my officials to welcome them. It would, indeed, be appropriate that I should myself welcome them on my return from Tīgumpana nagara, where, on the mahāpavṛṣad day, which falls on the full-moon day of Assayāra. I shall present the chātīya containing the Hair Relics of the Fully Enlightened

80 Rangoon.
One, obtained during His life-time, with a large bell made of brass, weighing 3,000 tolas.”

Agreeably with this thought, he wrote a letter saying: “As I am visiting Tigumpanagaram, may it please the Venerable Ones to remain in that town?” And, after making arrangements for their entertainment, he had them disembarked from their sea-going vessel and conveyed to Tigumpanagaram in river-boats.

Meanwhile, the eleven theras, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradüta, missed the appointed time favourable for returning to Rāmaññadėsa, because the Sīhala King had said to them: “Reverend Sirs, it is my desire to send an emissary to Rāmādihipatimahārāja, the Lord of the White Elephant, with presents, including a religious gift in the shape of an image of the Holy Tooth Relic, embellished with a topaz and a diamond, valued at a hundred phalas, which were constantly worn by my father, Parakkamabūhumaḥārāja. When the vessel, now being fitted out for my emissary, is ready, an opportunity will be afforded to her of sailing in the company of your ship. May it please your Reverences to postpone your departure till then?” The eleven theras and Chitradüta, therefore, waited for the emissary of the Sīhala King and anchored their ship at the port of Kālambu. Meanwhile, a violent wind, called pārādha, arose and sank in the sea the large sea-going vessel, in which passengers had already embarked. When the Sīhala King received the intelligence that Chitradüta’s ship had foundered in the sea, he said thus to the theras and Chitradüta: “If you have no ship, you might embark in the same ship as my emissary, and return home.” Accordingly, the theras and Chitradüta, together with his attendants, embarked in the same ship as the emissary of the Sīhala King and left the port of Kālambu.

Sailing out to mid-ocean, the ship continued her course through the Straits of Sīlla, which lies between Sīhalaḍīpa and Jambudīpa. After three nights had elapsed since the ship left the port of Kālambu, she was wrecked by a violent storm, and, immersed in sea-water, she remained fast between the jutting peaks of rocks. All the passengers, realizing their inability to extricate the ship from amidst the rocks, collected all the timber and bamboos that happened to be in her, and, constructing a raft of them, and embarking on it, crossed to the coast of Jambudīpa, which was close by.

Having lost the presents, the emissary of the Sīhala King returned to Sīhalaḍīpa. The theras and Chitradüta, however, travelled on foot to Nāgapaṭṭana, and there visited the site of the Padarikūrāma monastery, and worshipped the image of Buddha in a cave, constructed by command of the Mahārāja of Chinnadėsa on the spot, on the sea-shore, where the Holy Tooth Relic was deposited in the course of its transit to Lahkāḍīpa in the charge of Dāṇḍakumāra and Hāmamālā, who were husband and wife. Thence they travelled on to the port of Nāvitaṭṭṭikaṇ. At this port resided Māliparākṣya and Paṭhaṭṭiya, two intendants of the port, who annually sent two ships for trading purposes (to Rāmaññadėsa.) In doing so, they sent presents for Rāmādihipatimahārāja, and thus, because of their having exchanged with him the compliments of friendship and civility, they conceived feelings of great respect and honour for him. Owing to this circumstance, they provided the theras with food, clothing, and residence, and treated them with much reverence. Chitradüta was likewise provided with clothing, food, and lodgings. The intendants of the port then said: “Reverend Sirs, when our ships start from this port, may it please you to embark in them in order to be once more near the Lord of the White Elephant?” Accordingly, the four theras, namely, Tilākkaguruthēra, Ratanālaṅkārāthēra, Mahādēvathēra, and Chulabhayatissathēra, and their four disciples resided with them. The remaining seven theras, however, saying: “We shall embark, together with the seven priests, in a ship at Kāmalapāṭṭana,” went and resided at that port.

On Wednesday, the fourth day of the light half of the month Visākhā, 889, Sakkatāj, the three theras, namely, Tilākkaguruthēra, Ratanālaṅkārāthēra, and Mahādēvathēra,
embarked in the ship belonging to Mālimparakāya, while Chālābhūyatisathārā embarked in the ship belonging to Paccāchajjha, and they left Nārupaṭṭana. Of those thēras, the three, who embarked in the same ship, reached the mouth of the river, which takes its source in the Nāgaratī Mountain, on Friday, the 13th day of the dark half of the month Vīsākhā, and arrived at Kuśmanagāra on Tuesday, the 1st day of the light half of the month Jāṭha. Chālābhūyatisathārā, however, arrived at Hāmasavatinagāra on Tuesday, the 13th day of the light half of the month Āsālha.

Of the seven thēras, who, together with the seven priests, went and resided at Kōmalapaṭṭana, Mañgalaṭhārā, accompanied by his own attendant priest, as well as by those of Vanaṭhārā and Siridantadhūthārā, embarked in a ship, commanded by Binda, and left Kōmalapaṭṭana on Wednesday, the new-moon day of the month Bhadda, 841, Sakkarāj. They reached the mouth of the river, which takes its source in the Nāgaratī Mountain, on Friday, the 1st day of the light half of the month Kattika, and, touching at Kuśmanagāra on Monday, the 11th, eventually arrived at Hāmasavatinagāra on Friday, the 14th day of the dark half of the month Kattika.

The remaining six thēras and the four young priests had been dead, as they were unable to obviate the consequences of demerit and the course of the law of mortality, to which all living beings are subject. Alas! “Whatever is material is subject to change and dissolution.”

Obverse face of the third Stone.

On Thursday, the 8th day of the light half of the month Assayuja, 838, Sakkarāj Rāmādhupatimahārāja, with the object of presenting a great bell to the Kṣaṇḍikātūthātīrīya,26 embarked on a barge surmounted by a golden spire, and, escorted by a number of boats, headed by golden boats, such as the ādavimāṅga, proceeded to Tigumpanagāra. On Tuesday, the 13th day of the light half of the month Assayuja, the day of his arrival at Tigumpanagāra, he invited the eleven thēras, who embarked in the same ship as Rāmādītalīṣ, and served them with various kinds of delicious food. He likewise presented each of them with two couples of cloths for their ichāsara robes, and, having exchanged with them the customary compliments of friendship and civility, commanded that their residence be shown to them.

Rāmādhupatimahārāja had grand festivals held for three days; and on Thursday, the day of maḥāpāvaṇaṇa, the great bell was conveyed to the quadrangle of the Kṣaṇḍikātūthātīrīya, in order that it might be presented to it. On Friday, the 1st day (after the day of maḥāpāvaṇaṇa), offerings were made to the priests residing in Tigumpanagāra, and the King commanded that largesse be given to paupers, way-farers, and beggars. On Sunday, the 3rd day (of the dark half of the same month), eleven boats were adorned in a reverent manner, and ministers were sent to escort the thēras. Having thus made preparations for escorting the thēras, Rāmādhupatimāraja left Tigumpanagāra on the morning of Monday, the fourth day, and, reaching, in due course, Hāmasavatinagāra on Friday, the eighth day, entered the bejewelled palace, which was his home. The thēras, however, halted a day at a ferry near the Mahābuddharāja,29 and on Sunday, the tenth day, ministers were sent with many boats appropriately adorned, with various kinds of flag and streamers flying, and with the sounding of gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments, to wait upon the thēras, who, on their arrival, were ushered into the palace.

When the thēras had entered the Royal Palace, called the Ratamahārāja, they presented Rāmādhupatimahārāja with the following articles: — a casket containing the sandal-wood powder, with which the Holy Tooth Relic was besmeared; an image of the Holy Tooth Relic; some branchlets, leaves, and seeds of the Boddhi tree; a treatise giving an account of the purification of the Religion effected by Sīrrisāṅgahabodhi-Parakkanabāhubhūmārāja, Vijayaśāhabhūmārāja, and

26 Nāgaratī. 27 Bassein. 28 The Shwedagon Pagoda at Rangoon. 29 The Kyaikkyun Pagoda near Pegu.
Parakkamabahu maharajj; a treatise setting forth the covenants entered into, at the solicitation of the said kings, by the priesthood for the observance of the Order;” a letter sent by the Shaha theras and a book recording the covenants entered into by them; a book of gathas written by Viparanatamahaththara; and a letter from the Shaha King, Bhuvanakabahu. Ramadhipatisamhara accorded a gracious greeting to the eleven theras, and commanded his ministers to escort each of them to his monastery with many flags and streamers flying, and with the sounding of gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments.

Then the following thoughts arose in the mind of Ramadhipatisamhara: “These eleven theras visited Shaha Lipa, and have now returned bringing from thence the pure form of the upasampada ordination. In this city of Haassavat, there does not exist any pure buddhasimha, nor any mahamahal, possessing the characteristics of a nada, nor any mahajatasawara possessing the characteristics of a jataswara, nor any gamaakhetta whose purification can easily be effected. Where can these theras perform such ecclesiastical ceremonies as upasatha or upasampada ordination?

“Surely, it is proper that I should cause a search made for a small gamaakhetta, that can easily be guarded, and there have a buddhasimha properly consecrated by these theras. If this is done, they will be in a position to perform, in that simha, such ecclesiastical ceremonies as upasatha or upasampada ordination.” Ramadhipatisiraja accordingly sent his attendants to search for a gamaakhetta answering the description. During the course of their search, the King’s attendants found on the skirts of a forest to the west of a mahachetiya, called Mudhava, a gamaakhetta belonging to the Minister Narastra, which was small and could easily be guarded; and they reported accordingly to the King. Ramadhipatisiraja personally inspected the site, and considered that it was a gamaakhetta, which could easily be guarded, and was an appropriate spot for the consecration of a simha. The ground of a selected place on that land was cleared of jungle, the site of the proposed simha was marked out, and a house was built in the middle of that site. The inside and outside of that house, as well as the site of the proposed simha, and a selected place outside that site, were smeared with cow-dung. Then a fencing was erected enclosing the whole place on its four sides, and four openings with doors were constructed. In order to obviate the junction of that gamaakhetta with others around it, the means of connection, such as the branches of trees, &c., both on the ground below, and in the air above, were cut down, and a small trench, about a span in depth and the same in width, was dug. Not far from the site of the proposed simha, and on its west side, a monastery, a refectory, a lavatory, and a privy were constructed for the use of the eleven theras, who were to perform the ecclesiastical ceremony; and they were invited to take up their residence in that monastery.

Ramadhipatisiraja again reflected: “The eleven theras, and the eleven young priests, who are their disciples, have returned from Shaha Lipa after receiving there the exceedingly pure form of the upasampada ordination. It would, however, be as well that I should enquire as to whether these theras and their disciples are free from censure and reproach. Should any of them be not free from censure and reproach, their exclusion, in spite of their having received the exceedingly pure form of the upasampada ordination from the Chapter of priests appointed to consecrate the simha, would be pleasing to us; because a simha constitutes the basis of the Religion, and also because the inclusion of priests, who are not free from censure and reproach, though they may have received the pure form of the upasampada ordination in the Chapter consecrating a simha, would, in after times, afford matter for objection to the enemies of the Religion.”

Accordingly, the King sent learned men to institute enquiries. On enquiry it was found that, previous to their receiving the Shaha form of the upasampada ordination, one thera and four young priests were not free from a measure of censure and reproach, which was not of a grave character, but only of a trivial nature; and the matter was reported to the King. Ramadhipatisiraja was, however, determined to maintain the Religion in extreme purity, and excluded
(from the Chapter) the thiras, together with his disciple, as well as the four young priests, who, before receiving the pure form of the upasampada ordination, were not free from a measure of censure and reproach, which was not of a grave character, but only of a trivial nature. The King then resolved that the remaining ten thiras and the six young priests, who had received the exceedingly pure form of the upasampada ordination, and were free from the smallest measure of censure and reproach, were qualified to constitute a Chapter for the consecration of the simad.

When the time approached for the consecration of the simad, out of those (ten) thiras Guparatana, together with his own illness, returned to his own monastery, accompanied by his pupil, and remained there. Therefore, the nine thiras, namely, Sirisasngabodhisatti, Kittisriimeghasami, Prakamabhusami, Buddhaghosaasami, Jinalakkarasami, Ratana-malasami, Dhaddhammatasami, Sadhammaratamasami, and Bhavanakabhusami, and their disciples, five young priests, namely, Saigharakkita, Dhammavilasa, Uttara, Uttama, and Dhammassara, — in all, fourteen priests — took up their residence in the monastery built on the west side of the site of the proposed simad.

Then the King, who was desirous of having a simad consecrated, came to the following conclusion: “If, at a place, where priests desire to consecrate a simad, there does not exist an ancient simad, the simad consecrated, at that place, is valid; but, if otherwise, the new simad is null and void, because of the doubtful defect of the junction and overlapping of simads.

Therefore, it is only by the desecration of the ancient simad at that place, that the validity of the new simad to be consecrated, can be secured. For this reason, previous to the consecration of a simad, the ceremony of desecrating the simad (which may possibly exist on the site), should be performed.” The King accordingly had preparations made for performing the ceremony of desecrating the (existing) simad in accordance with the procedure expressly laid down in the affhakath.

"Priests, an avippavessasimad may thus be desecrated by means of the tiekiniara.” There are certain conditions to be observed by a priest desecrating a simad. The following are the conditions. Standing on a khandasimad, a mahasimad, called avippavessasimad, should not be desecrated; and similarly, standing on a mahasimad, called avippavessasimad, a khayasimad should not be desecrated. It is only when standing on a khandasimad that another khandasimad may be desecrated; and the same rule applies mutatis mutandis to the other class of simads. A simad is desecrated for two reasons, namely, (i) in order to make a mahasimad of one, which is originally a khudakasimad, with a view that its area may be extended; (ii) in order to make a khudakasimad of one, which is originally a mahasimad, with a view that sites for monasteries may be granted to others. If, at the place of desecration, the existence of both khudakasimads and mahasimads, called avippavessasimads, is known, a simad may be desecrated or consecrated. If, however, the existence of a khudakasimad is known, but not that of a mahasimad, called avippavessasimad, a simad may be desecrated or consecrated. If, on the other hand, the existence of a mahasimad, called avippavessasimad, is known, but not that of a khudakasimad, it is only by standing on such places as the premises of a chetiya, a bodhi tree, or an upadana hall, which are undoubtedly outside (the limits of an avippavessasimad), that a simad may be desecrated; but by no means can it be consecrated. If, however, a simad is consecrated, there will be a juncture of simads, and a viharaasimad will be transformed into an aviharaasimad. Therefore, the ceremony of desecration should not be performed.

If the existence of both kinds of simads is unknown, neither desecration nor consecration should be effected. A simad is invalidated by means of the kommaavaadvad, or through the declaration of the Religion, or because those who do not know a simad, are incompetent to recite the kommaavaadvad. Therefore, desecration should not be effected. Because it is said that it is only when (the different classes of simads) are well-known, that desecration or consecration may be effected; priests desiring to desecrate a simad, and who are aware of either the existence of an ancient simad or its extent, may, by stationing there duly qualified priests, desecrate an
ancient simd or consecrate a new one. The interpretation appears to be that, if the extent of an ancient simd is unknown, that simd cannot be desecrated, nor can a new one be consecrated.

But the Vimatisviniddaya says: "There are some theras, who, in the case of such vikdra-simads, would convene a Chapter of five or six priests, would station them in a continuous row of places, which are each about the size of a bedstead, and whose distances are determined by the fall, all round, of stones thrown, first from the extremity of the vikdra-simad, and then towards the inside and outside of its limits, and would successively desecrate an avippavigsimad, and a samadasvadkaksimad. If either a khaṇḍasimad or a mahásimad exists on that vikdra, the priests standing, as they do, in the midst of the simads, would, from a maitatthana, certainly desecrate that simd, and the gdmasimad would remain. In this matter, it is not essential, to know the simd or its extent. But it is necessary for the reciters of the kammavāchā to say: 'We shall desecrate the inside of a simd,' (and to act accordingly).

"It is stated in the affhakathā that those, who are aware of the existence of a khaṇḍasimad, but not that of an avippavigsimad, are qualified to effect both desecration and consecration, and that thus, although the extent of a mahásimad is unknown, desecration may be effected. On the authority of this statement, they say that at any selected spot on the remaining gdmasimad, it is appropriate to consecrate the two kinds of simads and to perform the upasampadā ordination and such other ceremonies. This dictum appears to be correct; but it should be accepted after due enquiry." The interpretation of these theras, therefore, appears to be correct. With regard, however, to the desecration of a simd with an ordinary, but not a great, amount of exertion, by those, to whom the performance of the ceremony is difficult, because of their not knowing the existence of an ancient simd or its extent, it is said in the affhakathā: "If both classes of simd are not known, the simd should not be desecrated or consecrated." This dictum does not, however, mean to indicate that, although the existence of the simd to be desecrated may not be known, if great exertion is put forth that simd will not be desecrated.

If, at a place where a new simd is desired to be consecrated, the existence of an ancient simd, or its extent, is unknown; if, at selected spots within and without the places suitable for the fixing of the boundary-marks of the new simd to be consecrated, allotments of space, each measuring about four or five cubits in length are marked out in rows or groups; and, if duly qualified priests station themselves in the said continuous rows of the allotments of space, and effect the desecration of a simd: how can there be no desecration of the existing ancient simd at that place, and how can only the gdmasimad be not left? The King, therefore, had the ceremony of desecrating a simd performed in the following manner:

On the inside of the places, suitable for fixing the boundary-marks of the new simd to be consecrated, allotments of space of five cubits each in length and the same in breadth were marked out, and allotments of similar dimensions were marked out also on the outside; and, by means of a line drawn with lime or chalk, rectangular spaces in rows were marked out. Then the nine theras and the five young priests were invited, and the ceremony of desecrating a simd was performed in the manner described below. The said fourteen priests stationed themselves in the first rectangular space of the first row of the allotments of space, and read seven times the kammavāchā for desecrating a simd at seven different spots; then stationing themselves successively at each of the remaining rectangular spaces in the first row, they continued reciting the kammavāchā till the last rectangular space was reached. Again, beginning with the last rectangular space in the second row, they stationed themselves successively in a reverse order till the first rectangular space in the second row was reached, and read the kammavāchā. Thus, in the manner described above, the kammavāchā was read at every rectangular space in each of the two rows, in a forward order in the first, and in a reverse order in the second. When the number of rectangular spaces had been exhausted, the ceremony of desecrating a simd was concluded. It should be borne in mind that this ceremony was concluded on Saturday, the 7th day of the light half of the month Migastra.
On the 8th day, Râmadhipatirâja, in order to have the ceremony of consecrating the simâ performed, visited the place in the morning, and had the preliminary arrangements carried out in the following manner:

On the outside of the site selected for consecrating the simâ, and facing the four quarters, four boundary-marks were fixed; and in order to bring into prominence the advantage derived from fixing the boundary-marks in a form other than that of a four-sided figure, each of the additional four boundary-marks was placed at the end of a line drawn from the middle of the line joining each of the two corners facing the four quarters. Within the space thus enclosed by the eight boundary-stones, a rope was stretched, and along it a line was drawn on the ground. As the simâ was to be consecrated within the line, and, as it was desirable to make manifest the limit of its site, a small trench, a span in depth and the same in width, was dug outside that line. In order to obviate junction with other gymnâkkhita, both inside and outside the limit of the boundary-stones, such means of connection as the branches of trees were cut down. The small trench was smeared with mud, and some water was placed in it. The eight boundary-stones were beautified with gilding and vermilion, and were wrapped up in red and white cloth. By way of showing honour to the Blessed One, near the boundary-stones, umbrellas, banners, lamps, incense, and flowers were offered; water-pots, whose mouths were covered and adorned with kumâda flowers, were placed; and other offerings such as of cloth were made.

The preliminary arrangements connected with the consecration of the simâ having thus been carried out, the nine thérâs and the five young priests were invited, and the eight boundary-marks in the eight quarters, commencing with the one in the first quarter, were successively proclaimed. The proclamation was continued till the first boundary-mark, which had previously been proclaimed, was reached. In this manner the boundary-marks were proclaimed three times.

On the following morning, flags and streamers were planted at various places around the gymnâkkhita belonging to the Minister Narashâ; drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded; and the guards, mounted men, and swift messengers, who had been stationed for the purpose of stopping the progress of travelling priests, and of causing other priests reading on that gymnâkkhita to be speedily excluded from it, were sent out to patrol all round it. It was only when the absence of other priests on that gymnâkkhita had been reported, that the gymnâva-pâda relating to the consecration of a simâ was read seven times with proper intonation, and that the ceremony of consecration was concluded. At the conclusion of the ceremony, gongs and other musical instruments were sounded three times, and the populace were commanded to raise a shout of acclamation. In commemoration of the consecration of this simâ by the priests, who had received their upasampâda ordination in the udakukkhepasimâ situated on the Kalyânî River, it received the appellation of the Kalyânî-simâ.

Previous to the consecration of the Kalyânî-simâ, and also since the return of the thérâs from Shaladîpa after receiving their upasampâda ordination there, the leading priests, who were imbued with faith, learned, and able, had approached Râmadhipatirâja and said to him thus: "Mahârajâ, it is, indeed, an anomaly that we, who have received both the pâdabhâjî and upasampâda forms of ordination of the Religion of Budhha, and practised all the precepts that have been enacted, should find our upasampâda ordination to be impure. We desire, Mahârajâ, to receive the upasampâda ordination at the hands of these thérâs, and thus shall our ordination become pure." To this Râmadhipatirâja thus replied: "Bhavânand Sirs, if any leading priests who are replete with faith, should, after investigating the ruling of the Vinaya, that is, in conformity with the intentions of the Blessed One, find that their upasampâda ordination is impure, and should desire to receive the pure form of the upasampâda ordination at the hands of the thérâs, who have returned home after receiving such ordination at the hands
of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the extremely orthodox Mahāvihāra sect, I am not in a position to say to them: 'Do receive it,' or to prevent them by saying; 'Do not receive it.' On the other hand, if the leading priests should, after investigating the ruling of the Vinaya, that is in conformity with the intention of the Blessed One, find that their upasampādā ordination is pure, and should not desire to receive at the hands of these therās the form of the upasampādā ordination, that has been handed down by the ordained priests of Sihaladipa, I would not venture to urge them by saying: ‘Do receive it.’ The ruling of the Vinaya should, indeed, be the guiding principle. Do you investigate the Dhamma well.”

Then Rāmapīthapīrāja thought thus:

“The office of upajjhāya is the basis of both the pabbajjā and the upasampādā forms of ordination; and it is decreed by the Blessed One that such an office should be conferred only on qualified priests, who, by reason of their having been ten years in orders, have acquired the status of a therā. But these therās received their upasampādā ordination this year only; and not one of them is, therefore, qualified for the office of upajjhāya. Whence can we get such an upajjhāya? He, indeed, is qualified for the office of upajjhāya, who has returned home, after receiving the pure form of the upasampādā ordination at the hands of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the Mahāvihāra sect. After appointing such a one as upajjhāya all the leading priests, who are desirous of receiving the form of the upasampādā ordination, that has been handed down by the spiritual successors of the ordained priests of Sihaladipa, will be afforded an opportunity of receiving such ordination at the hands of these therās, who have returned from that island.” Accordingly, the King commanded that a search be made for such a priest. Then Parakkamabhūsamithāra said: “Mahārāja, there is a therā called Suvannasobhana. He received his upasampādā ordination at the hands of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the Mahāvihāra sect. He is, indeed, qualified for the office of upajjhāya. Mahārāja, he is a solitary dweller in the forest, and observer of dūthisaṅgas, has few desires, is easily satisfied, and austere in his mode of living, eschews all evil through an innate feeling of shame, is repentant of his sins, an observer of the precepts, and is learned and competent.” The King sent messengers to invite Suvannasobhanathāra, and asked him, “Reverend Sir, when you visited Sihaladipa, in which sīna were you ordained, and what was the strength of the Chapter that ordained you? Who was your upajjhāya, and who your kammavāchakariya? How many years have elapsed since you received your upasampādā ordination in Sihaladipa?”

Suvannasobhanathāra replied thus to the King: “Mahārāja, in the udakukkhāpasima situated on a mahājātassara, called Kalambu, and at the hands of a Chapter composed of innumerable priests, with Vaṇnaratanamahāthera, ex-Mahāsaṅgharāja, as my upajjhāya, and with Vijayabhānu-saṅgharāja, who was formerly known as Bāhulabhaddathēra, as my kammavāchakariya, I received my upasampādā ordination. Since then twenty-six years have passed away.” The King was extremely delighted, and invited the therā to assume the office of upajjhāya in respect of the priests desiring to receive the upasampādā ordination. The therā then said: “Mahārāja, the therās of old, in whom human passion was extinct, disregarded their own interest in effecting the purification of the Religion in foreign countries. Mahārāja, I will follow in the footsteps of these holy men, and even like them, will purify the Religion.” So saying, he gave a promise to the King.

Reverse face of the third Stone.

Immediately after the consecration of the sīna, the priests, who had faith, and were learned and able, and who, being aware of the impurity of their previous upasampādā ordination, were desirous of receiving the form of ordination, that had been handed down through a succession of the ordained priests of Sihaladipa, approached the King and renewed their former request. Having approached the King, they said: “Mahārāja, now that a sīna has been consecrated in a valid manner, and that a mahāthera, who is qualified for the office of upajjhāya,
has been appointed, we are prepared to receive the Sihala form of the upasampada
ordination."

On the morning of Monday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Migasira, the
King visited the Kalyânpisimâ accompanied by the leading priests. The nine thers,
together with the five young priests, and Suvanaasôbhâpatheya, who was qualified for the office
of Upâjihâya, were invited and seated in the Kalyânpisimâ. Setting aside the leading priests,
who were desirous of receiving the Sihala form of the upasampada ordination, the King
approached the thers, who had visited Sihaladipa, and having approached them, said to them
thus: "Reverend Sirs, these leading priests are desirous of receiving, at your hands, the Sihala
form of the upasampada ordination. Vouchsafe, Reverend Sirs, to confer such ordination
on them."

To this the thers replied: "Mahârâjâ, we were sent by you to Sihaladipa, where we
received the pure form of the upasampada ordination at the hands of the fraternity, who are the
spiritual successors of the Mahâvihâra sect. Mahârâjâ, previous to our receiving such ordination
at their hands the mahâthîras of Sihaladipa addressed us thus: 'Reverend brethren, this is
the custom of the Sihala mahâthîras of old. Previous to the conferment of the upasampada
ordination on priests, who have come from foreign countries, they are directed to make a con-
fession that they have become laymen, to doff their priestly robe, to suffer themselves to be
established in the condition of laymen by accepting the gift of a white garb, and again, to
become sâmâôiras by receiving the pabbajja ordination, by accepting a gift of the priestly
robe, and by professing openly their faith in the 'Three Refuges.' (It is only when all these
stages have been passed through, that they are permitted) to receive the upasampada ordina-
tion in their capacity as sâmââôiras. It might be asked: What is the reason of such procedure?
Reverend brethren, the priests, who came to this country with the conviction that their previous
upasampada ordination was impure, but that the Sihala form of it was pure, being imbued with
faith, received fresh upasampada ordination. Reverend brethren, these priests would sub-
sequently attach themselves to others who might have been their own disciples, and, being dis-
satisfied with their condition, would, disregarding the time that had elapsed since their new
ordination, reckon their status from the date of their old one. This is not approved by us:
hence the custom described above. Therefore, if you, who are replete with faith, desire to
receive the pure form of the upasampada ordination, do you not in accordance with the custom of the
mahâthîras of Sihaladipa. If you comply, we shall be able to confer the upasampada ordination
on you; but if you do not, by reason of not being in accordance with custom, we shall be
unable to confer such ordination on you.' It was only when we had conformed ourselves to
the custom of the mahâthîras of Sihaladipa, that they conferred the upasampada ordination
on us."

Then the large number of leading priests said: "Reverend Sirs, since you yourselves
received the pure form of the upasampada ordination only after conforming to the custom of the
mahâthîras of Sihaladipa, even in this wise, do we, who are replete with faith, desire to receive
it. Therefore, we are prepared to receive the pure form of the upasampada ordination after
conforming ourselves to the custom of the mahâthîras of Sihaladipa." The thers, who had
returned from Sihaladipa, being thus in concord with all the leading priests, the latter, headed
by Dhammakittithâra, were eventually treated in accordance with the custom of the mahâthîras of Sihaladipa, and the upasampada ordination was conferred on them, with
Suvanaasôbhâpatheya as upâjihâya, and with the nine thers, who had returned from
Sihaladipa, as achariyas, the kammavâchá being read by two of these thers in turn.

On Monday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Migasira, which was the first
day of the conferment of the upasampada ordination, Râmâdhipâtihâra was present in person,
and directed the preparation of a bounteous supply of food and various kinds of drinks suitable
for consumption before or after noon, for the use of the thers, who conducted the ordination
ceremony, of the leading priests, who had been ordained, and of other leading priests, who were
candidates for the ordination. For the purpose of eliciting the acclamation of śādhu at the conclusion of each conferment of the upaśaṃpadā ordination, drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded. Scribes skilled in worldly lore, and innumerable nobles and learned men were appointed to note the number of priests that had received the upaśaṃpadā ordination. And, in order that the ceremony might be performed at night, many lamps were provided. It was near sunset when the King returned to his palace.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D’PENHA.

No. 15.—*The Parrot’s Tale and the Mainā’s Tale.*

Once upon a time there was a king who had an only son, the pride of his parents. The prince grew up strong and beautiful, and no pains were spared to give him a fitting education. When he was old enough the king got him married to the daughter of a neighbouring king, and they lived happily for some time in their father’s house.

After a few months the prince wanted to go and live with his wife in another country. So he got a ship fitted for the voyage, and at once set sail with her. Now, when they had got half the way the prince remembered that he had a pōpat (parrot) at home, which he would have liked to take with him, and he said to his wife:—“Oh dear! I left my parrot behind me at home.”

This put the princess in mind of her mainā, which she, too, had forgotten at the time of leaving their palace, and so she, too, said:—“Yes, dear, I, too, have left my mainā behind me, which I should have liked to have taken with me.”

They, therefore, turned their ship round homewards, and when they had returned to their house, the prince took his parrot and the princess her mainā, and again set sail. After a favourable voyage they reached their destination, where they hired a large house, and put up there.

When a few days had passed the princess one day said to her husband:—“My dear, we are now married and live happily. I should like to see my mainā married to your parrot, and I am sure they will like it.”

“Very well,” said the prince; “we have only to put them into one cage, and they will be a married couple. What more is necessary to be done?” The princess then told him to go and fetch a cage, which he did, and they both took the parrot and the mainā, and put them into it. Now it must be known that parrots and mainās seldom agree; so they pecked at each other, and pecked so long and so fiercely, that they plucked each other’s feathers to such an extent that both began to bleed, and looked like lumps of live flesh.

The following morning the prince took them some food, but he was astonished when he saw the state they were in, and wondered what was the matter with them, whereupon the mainā said:

“Listen, O king, to my story. There once lived a king who had an only son, who was brought up with great tenderness, and when he was old enough he was married, whereon he left his father’s house and lived with his wife. He was very profligate, and had many friends who were daily entertained at a sumptuously laid-out table. In the meanwhile his wife had gone to her parents’ house. In the course of his profligacy the prince soon squandered all his treasure, and, as is always the case, his friends all abandoned him. The poor prince had now barely anything left to maintain himself on, and he thought he would go to his wife’s house where he doubted not he would be welcomed by his royal father and mother-in-law. He,

1 [A novel version of a very old tale. The previous tale published in Vol. XXI. p. 374 should have been numbered 14. — Ed.]
therefore, took the earliest opportunity to go there, and, as he expected, he was given a cordial welcome.

"The prince lived in his wife's house for several months, when he again thought of his friends. So he told his father-in-law that he wished to take his wife with him. The father-in-law had no objection; on the contrary he gave them plenty of money, and moreover offered to send his regiments with them, if necessary, to escort them. The prince, however, accepted the money, but refused to take any one with him.

"On the way they had to pass a forest, and he took this opportunity to rob his wife. He had recourse to the following stratagem. They had passed a well, and he said he was thirsty and wanted to drink some water from it, but the princess offered to go and fetch the water. Before she went her husband said to her: — 'You will do well to remove all the jewellery and costly garments you have on, for this forest is infested with thieves and robbers, and should any of them see you they are sure to rob and even kill you.'

"The princess thought her husband's advice sensible, and so divested herself of all her jewellery and costly garments, and went to the well to fetch the water. The prince quietly followed her to the well. She drew out one pitcher which she drank herself, and stooped to draw a second, when her husband caught her by the legs and threw her into the well, where she remained for a long time, but was rescued by a passer-by, and went back to her father's house. Her father asked her what was the matter, and why she came back in that state. She never said a word against her husband, but said that she had been robbed by thieves in the jungle, and did not know what had become of her husband.

"The prince, after throwing his wife into the well, bundled up all her jewellery, money, and whatever else he could, and went to his own home. Once there, he again joined his wild friends and ate and drank with them, till he had once more squandered all his wealth, as well as his wife's jewellery and rich garments, which had brought him an immense sum of money. When everything had been disposed of, his friends, who saw he was sliding into poverty, again left him, and would not so much as even speak to him. What is a man to do in such circumstances?

"He thought to himself: 'My wife is dead. I must go and tell some tales to my father-in-law, and so squeeze some more money out of him, or how shall I live?'

"So thinking he started immediately for his father-in-law's house. After a tiresome journey he reached it, but to his utter embarrassment he saw his wife standing at a window of the palace. In shame and confusion he retraced his steps, but his wife, who was very kind-hearted and pitted his condition, called out to him, and said: 'Come in, daw, come in. Why do you turn back? There is nothing surprising in your behaviour. Such occurrences are not very rare.'

"The prince, though quite ashamed and confused, again went and lived for some time with his wife at her father's house. A few months afterwards he again told his father-in-law that he wished to go home with his wife. His father-in-law allowed them to go with the greatest pleasure, again giving an immense sum of money, besides jewellery and garments to the princess. This time, however, the prince took his wife home in safety, and having given up his extravagance and bad society, lived with his wife in peace and prosperity.'

And then the maid ended her story with this moral: "Such, O king, is the character of husbands, and you can now imagine to yourself the reason of my being in the position you see me."

When the maid had finished her story, the parrot said: "You have listened to the maid's tale, O king, which teaches us that husbands are bad; but wait one moment, and listen to my story, which will shew you that wives are no better than their husbands."

"Very well," said the prince; "out with what you have to say."
The parrot (pipaf) then began:—

"Listen, O king. There once lived in a certain country a well-to-do couple, husband and wife. It came to pass that the husband had to go to a distant country for employment, and there he had to spend several years. In his absence the wife was day and night visited by a paramour, with whom she ate and drank and made merry. When some ten or twelve years had elapsed she received a letter from her husband that he was soon coming back, and that she might expect him on a certain day. That day soon came, and with it her husband, who came home with a large fortune; but when he reached his house, to his great regret he found his wife sick. Of course, she was not really sick, but only pretended to be so, and had tied up her head and ears with a kerchief, which gave her an appearance of a really sick person.

"During the day she sent a message privately to her paramour not to visit her, as her husband had come home, but that she would come to his house. The day passed, and night came on, and the husband, who had to perform the domestic business himself on account of his wife's illness, being quite fatigued, went to bed and slept very soundly. In the dead of night the wife arose and took the road to her paramour's house.

"Now it happened that a ākāit, who had learnt that the husband had come back after amassing a large fortune, thought of visiting his house that night with a view to carrying on his vocation of plundering. So just as the ākāit at the dead of night was about to break into the house he saw the wife come out of it.

"'I will not rob the house to-night, but will follow this woman, and watch where she goes, and what she does,' said the ākāit to himself, and went quietly after her.

"She went on and on for a long while till she came to her paramour's house, which she entered, and there saw her paramour apparently sleeping. But he was really dead, having been visited by the wrath of God, and killed in his bed. Thinking he was only asleep, she called out to him in endearing terms, and threw herself on the corpse, but not a word came from him in return. Upon this she shook him and asked him why he was angry, why he did not speak to her, and such like questions. At length, after trying to make him speak for more than an hour, she ceased from her attempts; but before going away she thought: — 'Well, well, if you will not speak to me, let me at least kiss you for perhaps the last time.'

"'But as she put her lips to the corpse it opened its mouth and bit off her nose!' Streams of blood ran to the ground, and she was at a loss to know what to do; for how could she go home without a nose? What would her husband and her neighbours say? What answer was she to give when questioned about her nose? In this plight, and thus thinking she retraced her steps homewards.

"On her way there was a hut in which lived an old woman, on whom she called, told her everything, and asked her advice. The old woman was at once ready with an answer, and told her to resort to the following stratagem:—

"'Go home,' she said; 'and quietly lie down beside your husband, and when you have been there for a little while, get up and make a noise, saying, 'My husband has bitten off my nose, my husband has bitten off my nose.' When people collect at the noise they will believe you.'

"Having taken the old woman's advice, the wife went home, and lay down by the side of her husband, who was still fast asleep. After half an hour or so she got up and suddenly commenced bawling out: — 'My husband has bitten off my nose, my husband has bitten off my nose!' It was nearly dawn by this time, just at the time when people generally begin to be awake, and in consequence a great throng of neighbours was attracted by the wonderful story of a husband...

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2 The original expression for these words are: pūa to māhāi nōdī, itīdā Parmālistaṁhāikā tikattā pākāī, ānī to melā; the literal meaning of which is: "but he was not asleep, God sent him a punishment, and he died."
bitten off his wife's nose! When the neighbours saw her they assumed she was telling the truth, and some of them advised her to lodge a complaint against her husband before the magistrate! Accordingly, she went and filed a suit at the magistrate's Court. Her husband was immediately summoned to answer the complaint, and as for evidence there was no lack, for had not the whole neighbourhood seen his wife without her nose before dawn by his side!

"Her husband appeared before the magistrate, and pleaded ignorance of the matter, but was at last convicted and sentenced to be hanged. But fortunately for him, the dākhāt, who had watched his wife on her night's excursion, had also come to the Court to see how the case was being conducted, and what the ultimate result would be. He now stood up before the magistrate and asked leave to say a word or two, which was given him. He then told the story: first about himself, who and what he was; how, having learnt that the accused had come home after several years' absence bringing, with him a large fortune, he had determined to plunder his house, how, when he came in the night on his plundering errand, he saw the complainant come out of the house and go to her paramour's: how he changed his mind about plundering and followed her quietly; how he saw what she did with the corpse of her paramour, who was killed by the wrath of God; and how, finally, as she stooped to kiss him, the corpse bit off her nose! He also told the magistrate how she had entered the old woman's hut, who advised her to play the trick which had brought the accused before the magistrate. He then asked the magistrate to lend him the services of two peons, and on the magistrate complying with his request he went and brought the corpse with the piece of the nose still in its mouth! The magistrate ordered the part of the nose to be removed from the mouth of the corpse and to be placed on the nose of the wife, and it fitted her exactly!

"The magistrate then gave judgment accordingly, cancelled the sentence of death passed on the husband, and ordered instead the wife and the old woman to be hanged. The dākhāt was handsomely rewarded by her husband, and went away, and ever thereafter left off robbing.

"Such, O king, is the character of women. Judge for yourself the reason for the plight I am in."

When the prince had heard the stories of the mainḍ and the parrot, he saw there was a great deal of truth in both the stories! But at the end he got them both reconciled, and they then all lived happily together:— the prince and the princess; and the parrot and the mainḍ.

**MISCELLANEA.**

With reference to Note B on page 168, Vol. XXI, ante, it is worthy of remark that similar ideas prevail in Burma as in Bihar. It is believed there that, if a person looks steadily at a child or animal and says how well or beautiful it is, it will forthwith become ill. This is called ḷ-a-wu-kya, i.e., "man-magic falls (to it)." The evil eye can be averted by a string called let-puš (or armlet) tied round the arm or neck, and this is even worn by pregnant women to protect the child within them. In the latter case, however, it is called ṣa-yat let-puš, its more especial function being to protect against a hobgoblin, called Mi-yatma. Sometimes women are hired for as long a period as five days simply to guard pregnant women against this latter personage. The use of a string as an amulet is also known to the Southern Chins, as is shown by the following extract from Appendix IV to my Essay on the Language of Southern Chins and its Affinities:

"Four or five days after the birth of a child it is duly initiated into the clan and placed under the guardianship of the Khm. A cotton string, (called khvanklāi) is tied round its wrist for a few days; as a sign to all evil spirits that the child is under the latter's protection."

**BERNARD HOUGHTON.**

1 Also "a-w-šu, 'mouth-magic' and let-ašu, 'hand-magic.' Another expression is ḷ-a-kya.
THE original of the subjoined inscription belongs to the Government Central Museum at Madras, and is referred to in Mr. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 24 (Madras Museum Plate No. 15). Two impressions prepared by Dr. Fleet, and the original copper-plates which had been lent to Dr. Hultzsch, have been kindly placed by him at my disposal for publication in this Journal.

The inscription is engraved on seven copper-plates, each measuring 11½" by 4½", strung on a ring, whose diameter is about 3½" and which is ½" thick. The weight of the seven plates is 328½ tolas and that of the ring 11½; total 339½ tolas. The ring contains no traces of having borne a seal, and the copper-plates seem to have been issued without it. Each of the plates is slightly folded at the extremities, so as to make rims on two of the opposite sides in order to protect the writing from defacement. The first and the last plates are engraved only on one side, and the remaining five on both sides.

The inscription contains two passages in the Sanskrit language and the old Grantha character. The first of these consists of six verses in the beginning (lines 1 to 19) and the second of four of the customary imprecatory verses at the end. The rest of the inscription is in the Tamil language and the Vatelluttu or Chātra-Pāṇḍya alphabet, as it has been termed by Dr. Hultzsch, but is interspersed with a large number of Sanskrit words written in the Grantha character. The following is a list of the words and syllables in the Tamil portion of the inscription which are written in the Grantha character:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line 33.</th>
<th>ka-bhūmi.</th>
<th>Line 56.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>bhûmi.</td>
<td>from Bhārgava to sūtra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>kula-dhāna.</td>
<td>57.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>aravinda-mukha.</td>
<td>Bahyṛtjan Sīhu-Māra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Karavandapu.</td>
<td>58.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46f.</td>
<td>ēvamādi-vikrama.</td>
<td>Šāstra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Manu-dāśīśā-mārga.</td>
<td>60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>guru-charitam.</td>
<td>Srivara-maṅgala.</td>
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<tr>
<td>50f.</td>
<td>kāṇāka-tōdhanā.</td>
<td>61f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>from Pāṇḍya-nāthan</td>
<td>sarvva-paribhāra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>rājya-varsha.</td>
<td>72. Pāṇḍya.</td>
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<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>ndharma.</td>
<td>72f. mataṅgajādhyakshan.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>karmma.</td>
<td>76. mra-sāsana.</td>
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<td>54.</td>
<td>Magadha.</td>
<td>76f. vidyā-gēya-saṅgīta.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>mahādē.</td>
<td>78. Vaidya-kula.</td>
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<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Sabdājī.</td>
<td>79. mahā-sāmanta.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grāma.</td>
<td>80. Vīra.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vidya-dāvata.</td>
<td>81. DhTarataran Mūrtti.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84. mra-sāsana.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>92f. Arikṣary.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The historical introduction (ll. 19 to 46) is in High Tamil and possesses one characteristic of Tamil poetry, viz. constant alliteration. The only inscriptions in the Vatelluttu alphabet that have been hitherto published, are the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravivarman which appeared in a former number of this Journal,1 and the three inscriptions mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch in the introductory remarks to his paper on those plates (ante, Vol. XX. p. 287).

1 ante, Vol. XX. pp. 285-292. Mr. S. M. Naṭṭeṭ Śāstrī has published his own version of this grant in the September number of Vol. IX of the Christian College Magazine. The following misreadings in it may be noted as the most important:

Line 1. Śrī Amachchar for śṛṭhī, Ko Pāékkan. 2. iruppattaram, nālppatt-ārām.
The alphabet employed in the subjoined inscription differs slightly from that of the four others, in the latter, the individual characters have a tendency to slant towards the left, while in the former they are more straight. This has perhaps to be accounted for by the different nature of the writing materials commonly in use, and the mode of holding the style, prevalent in the two parts of Southern India to which these inscriptions severally belong. The use of Sanskrit words and Grantha characters is very common in the Pandya grant, while in the four others most of the Sanskrit words have assumed Deviśiian forms and are written in the Vaiṭṭuttu alphabet. In the latter some of the characters are distinctly round, for example ṭ, ṭ, ẓ and ṣ, while in the former they are not quite round. It is not possible to say which of these two is the more developed form, until the immediate source of the alphabet is determined, and the two types of characters compared individually with those of the parent alphabet. From other Pandya inscriptions which are published, we know that, besides the Vaiṭṭuttu, the Tamil alphabet was also used in the Pandya kingdom. The former was probably imported from the Chōra kingdom and the latter from the Chōla country. As the earlier Pandya inscriptions, like the present one, are found engraved in the Vaiṭṭuttu character, and the later ones, — like the stone inscriptions found at Maduram, Tiruppuraṇikaram and other places, and the large Tiruppūvaṇam copper-plate grant of Kulaśekharas-Pandya,— in the Tamil alphabet, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was the former that was originally used in the Pandya kingdom. The latter was probably introduced during the time when the great Saiva devotees, Tiruṇaṅgasambandar and Tirunavukkaraiyar, flourished, or on the occasion of a subsequent Chōla conquest. The forms which the characters have assumed in the present inscription, might be due to the influence of the Tamil alphabet on the original Vaiṭṭuttu. This Pandya grant also throws some light on the Vaiṭṭuttu numerals, as the plates are numbered on their left margins. The number on the third plate is rather indistinct, and the symbols for four, five, six and seven seem to be closely allied to the corresponding ones used in Tamil inscriptions, while those for one and two do not exhibit any intimate connection with the known South-Indian numerals. The investigation of the origin of the Vaiṭṭuttu numerals is closely connected with, and must throw considerable light on the question of the immediate source of the Vaiṭṭuttu alphabet. We must have a complete set of the Vaiṭṭuttu numerals and their earlier forms, and the earlier forms of the Vaiṭṭuttu alphabet, before we can speculate on the origin of either of them, or on the relation which existed between them. Dr. Burnell has expressed himself as follows on this question:— "Of all the probable primitive alphabets with which a comparison of the Vaiṭṭuttu is possible, it appears to me that the Sassanianian characters with the inscriptions presents most points of resemblance." A comparison of the Vaiṭṭuttu characters with the Tamil alphabet, which is used in ancient inscriptions found in the Chōla country and in other Tamil districts, yields the following results:— The symbols for ʈ, ṭ, ẓ, ṭ, ṭ, ẓ and ṭ are almost the same in both, while those for a, ā, u, ū, o, k, ū, ch, p, m, ṣ, v, ṭ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>.ASCII</td>
<td>.ASCII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Saivariṣṭi</td>
<td>Saivariṣṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>mudāvavhdum</td>
<td>mudāvavhdum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>aravakadiya</td>
<td>aravakadiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>koykum</td>
<td>koykum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>oritam</td>
<td>oritam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>koṣampon</td>
<td>koṣampon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>vilokil and pārivar for vilakki and vagniya.</td>
<td>vilokil and pārivar for vilakki and vagniya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>āḍā vaiṭṭi kai for āḍā-vaiṭṭi kai</td>
<td>āḍā vaiṭṭi kai for āḍā-vaiṭṭi kai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>aṭṭheku</td>
<td>aṭṭheku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Maka] and [isari for mavaṭṭal and isari.</td>
<td>Maka] and [isari for mavaṭṭal and isari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>pārapattu and Malaiyampati for uppattu and Malaiyampati.</td>
<td>pārapattu and Malaiyampati for uppattu and Malaiyampati.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The seven small lines of writing on the right margin of the second side of the second plate seem to have been entirely ignored.

1 South-Indian Palaeography, 2nd edition, p. 51.
and y are not quite dissimilar, and those for i, a, ai, ye, t and u do not exhibit any points of close resemblance. In the subjoined inscription more than two hundred and fifty of the vir̄mas are distinctly marked, in most cases by means of a dot attached to the top of the letter. In some cases the dot is attached to the right or to the left of the letter. There is no attempt at marking the vir̄mas either in the Jews' grant or in the Syrian Christians' grants,—if the copies published in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII. are faithful,—as well as in the Tirunelli grant. As regards Tamil inscriptions, we find that the vir̄mas are sometimes marked only in the oldest ones. If the marking of the vir̄ma had the same history in the Vaṭṭaḻuttu script as it seems to have had in Tamil inscriptions, we should conclude that the present grant belongs to a time earlier than any of the inscriptions from the Western coast hitherto discovered.

Of the Pāndya kingdom nothing like a connected history is known, and it is doubtful if it will ever be possible to get a really trustworthy account of it from the earliest times. That it was a very ancient one, is established by various facts. According to some versions of the Mahābhārata, Arjuna is believed to have gone to the Pāndya kingdom during his rambles in the South. The Buddhist king Aśoka refers to the Pāṇḍyas in one of his edicts. The late Dr. Caldwell considered it nearly certain that it was a Pāṇḍya king who had sent an ambassador to the emperor Augustus of Rome. From the Greek geographers who wrote after the Christian era, we learn that the Pāṇḍya kingdom not only existed in their time, but rose to special importance among the Indian states, though no names of Pāṇḍya kings are known. Tāṭtukkuṭi (Tuticorin), Koṅkai, Kāyai, Kallimēḍu (Point Calimere), Kumari (Cape Comorin) and Pāṁbaṅ (Pamban) were known to the ancient Greeks. Kālīdāsa, the great dramatist, refers to the Pāṇḍya kingdom as one of the provinces overrun by Raghunātha in his tour of conquest. The astronomer Varāhamihira refers to this kingdom in his Brhatasamhitā. The frequent mention of the Pāṇḍyas in ancient inscriptions shows that the kingdom continued to exist and that some of its rulers were very powerful. The Western Chalukya king Pulikērti II. (A.D. 610 to 634) boasts of having conquered the Pāṇḍyas among others. The Pallavas are constantly reported to have conquered the Pāṇḍyas. The inscription of Nandivarman Pallavamallī published by the Rev. T. Foulkes, refers to a victory gained by the Pallava general Udayachandra against the Pāṇḍya army in the battle of Manipura. The Chalukyas,—Western as well as Eastern,—and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings sometimes boast in their inscriptions of having conquered the Pāṇḍyas. It was, however, with the Chēras and the Chōlas that the Pāṇḍya history was more intimately connected. They formed the 'three kingdoms' of the South, and were constantly at feud with one another. Each of the kings

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3 It is in connection with a marriage of Arjuna that the Pāṇḍya kingdom is supposed to be mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Dr. Caldwell (History of Tinnevelly, p. 13) says that only the Tamil prose translation and the southern Sanskrit versions of the epic state that Arjuna's bride belonged to the Pāṇḍya family, while most of the northern Sanskrit versions state that her father was the king of Maṇipura.
5 History of Tinnevelly, p. 17. Captain Tufnell in his Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India, Part II. p. 3, says that the small insignificant Roman copper coins found in and around Maṇiṣa in such large numbers and belonging to types different from those discovered in Europe, point to the probability of the existence at one time of a Roman settlement at or near that place. Mr. Sewell in his Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 291, seems to have first started this theory to explain the discovery of the small Roman coins.
7 Rasbhumaṇḍa, iv. 40.
8 Dr. Ker's edition, iv. 10.
9 ante, Vol. VIII. p. 245.
10 ante, Vol. VIII. p. 276; the reading of the first line of Plate iv. first side, is not Maṇṇakūṭakāṃḍram as the published text has it, but Maṇṇakūṭakāṃḍram.
11 For the Western Chalukya conquest of the Pāṇḍyas see Dr. Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties of the Bombay Presidency, pp. 27, 28 and 29. Only one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings is explicitly stated to have conquered the Pāṇḍyas. For the Eastern Chalukya conquest see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 51.
12 In Tamil, the phrase maṇu-vastram, 'the three kings,' is used to denote the Chēra, the Chōla and the Pāṇḍya kings. In Tamil inscriptions madu-vāṟṟam, and in Kanarese ones maṇu-vāṟṟam are used to mean the same three kings; see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 111, note 2.
of any one of these dynasties often called himself ‘the destroyer’ of the other two kingdoms. As the history of the Chéras is now very little known, we have only what has been done for the Chola history to fall upon. The Chola king Parântaka I. calls himself Madirai-kopâ", or in Sanskrit, Madhurântaka, ‘the destroyer of Madura.’ Mr. Foulkes’ inscription of the Bâga king Hastimalla reports that Parântaka I. conquered Râjasimha-Pândya. One of the grandsons of the same Chola king was also called Madhurântaka, while one of his great-grandsons, Aditya-Karikâla, “contended in his youth with Vira-Pândya,” and another great-grandson, Kâ-Rajâkârsarivarman alias Râja-râjadêvâ, “deprived the Sejjiyas (i.e. the Pândyas) of their splendour.” In two of the Tanjore inscriptions (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 3, paragraphs 5 and 6, and No. 59, paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 9 and 1), the conquest of the Pândyas is mentioned along with that of Sëramâng, the Chera king, and in one of them (No. 59, paragraph 3), it is said that both of them were defeated in Malai-nâlu. Perhaps this shows that the Chera king and the Pândyas united in opposing Râja-râja. The son of the last-named Chola king, Kâ-Parâkârsarivarman alias Râja-rânda-Cholâdévâ, was also called Madhurântaka. The immense number of copper coins found in the Madura bâdâr, containing the legend Râja-râja, and the Chola inscriptions which are to be found in the Pândya country, almost establish the Chola conquest. Dr. Hultzsch’s latest Progress Report (Madras G. O., dated 6th August 1892, No. 544, Public) mentions several Pândya princes. Of these, Manâbharana, Vira-Kârala, Sundara-Pândya, and Laûkâkava alias Vikrama-Pândya, who had undertaken an expedition against Vikramabahu of Ceylon, were contemporaries of the Chola king Kâ-Rajâkârsivarman alias Râjârâjanâdêva (No. 12 of Dr. Hultzsch’s list); Vira-Kâsura, the son of Brvâlilahâ, was a contemporary of Kâ-Rajâkârsivarman alias Vira-Râja-râjanâdêva I. (No. 14 of the list). A third Cholâ king, No. 18. Parâkâsârivarman alias Vira-Râjârâjanâdêva II., whom Dr. Hultzsch identifies with the Eastern Chalukya Kâlottunga-Cholâ, is reported “to have cut off the nose of the son of Vira-Pândya, to have given Madura to Vikrama-Pândya, and to have cut off the head of Vira-Pândya.” In the inscriptions of the Chola king Râja-râjanâdêva, found at Tanjore and elsewhere, the Pândyas are always mentioned in the plural number (Sejjiyar, Pândyar). An inscription, found on one of the walls of the great temple at Chidambaram in the South Arcot district, reports that Kâlottunga-Cholâ conquered ‘the five Pândyas.’ The defeat of the five Pândyas is also referred to in the historical introduction of the inscriptions of Kâ-Rajâkârsivarman alias the emperor Srî-Kâlottunga-Cholâdéva (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 58, and ante, Vol. XXI. p. 256), who was evidently identical with the Kâlottunga-Cholâ of the Chidambaram inscription. Again, the word Pañchâsya, ‘one of the five,’ is used in inscriptions as well as in Tamil literature as a title of the Pândya kings. It may, therefore, be concluded that very often, if not always, there were five Pândya princes.

14 The seals of Pândya copper-plate grants, of which two are now known, and published in Sir Walter Elliot’s Coins of Southern India, — one belonging to the large Tiruppâvaram grant and the other to the “Madacolam” grant, — contain the following emblems: — two fish, a tiger and a bow. The fish was the Pândya emblem. But the insertion of the tiger and the bow, the Chola and the Chera emblems, is meant to indicate that the kings who issued these grants, conquered the Cholas and the Cheras. In the description of the seals of the two Leyden copper-plate grants, published in the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. only the fish and the tiger are mentioned. The bow, which must have been there, has evidently been mistaken for something else. Some of the Chola coins also contain these three emblems; e.g. No. 162 of Sir Walter Elliot’s Coins of Southern India, whose legend has been read by Dr. Hultzsch as Gândhapâkâa (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 924), and Nos. 155 and 164 of the same, whose legends are Srî Râjanâadâ and Ulauma-Odikâ, respectively.

ruling at the same time. 21 Almost throughout the Tamil districts of Southern India we meet with Pāṇḍya inscriptions which, to judge from the characters employed in them, must belong to some of the later kings. Among these may be mentioned Sundara, Vira, Vikrama, Kulāśṭhika and Parākrama. Marco Polo mentions a "Sonder Bandi" of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, 22 who may be identical with the Sundara-Pāṇḍyas of the inscriptions. Later on, the Pāṇḍyas kingdom fell a prey to the ambition of the Vijayanagara kings and their feudatories. Coins bearing one or other of the names Sundara-Pāṇḍyas (Sundara-Pāṇḍya), Vira-Pāṇḍya (Vira-Pāṇḍya) and Kulāśṭhara (Kulāśṭhika), are not infrequently met with in the bāzhār of Tanjore and Madura. Another coin, bearing the legend Śamarakōla-galaṅ (i.e. in Sanskrit, Samarakolāha), 23 a name which occurs in the traditional lists of Pāṇḍya kings, is also found. He was a king whose dominions extended as far north as Kāchipura, where an inscription, dated during his reign, is found, and contains the Saka date 1391 expired. 24 From this inscription we learn that he was also called Puyāpākavīra (i.e. in Sanskrit Bhuvanakavīra), a name which is likewise found on coins. 25 Coins bearing the legends Kākochi-vālasāgum Purvamā, 26 Ellādatalaiy-adāu, 27 Jāgavira-Bāma, 28 Kālitya-Bāma, 29 Śēra-kula-ad[4]man, 30 and Pādala, 31 are generally ascribed to the Pāṇḍya dynasty. From Tamil inscriptions we learn that the capital of the Pāṇḍyas was Madura, and that their dominions were very extensive. That their emblem was the fish, is borne out by inscriptions as well as coins. 32 From certain names which occur in Kanarese inscriptions, and which are referred to in Dr. Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties of the Bombay Presidency, it may be concluded that there was a family of Pāṇḍya chiefs ruling in the North as feudatories of one or other of the Kanarese dynasties. Probably, some member of the Pāṇḍya dynasty of Madura, for some unknown reason, migrated to the North and established for himself a small principality; and his successors appear to have preserved their family name. Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍyadēva, 33 Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva 34 and Vijaya-Pāṇḍyadēva 35 were ruling the Nonambavādi.

21 The Kālīgātta-Parasyi (canto xi. verse 61) mentions five Pāṇḍya princes who had been defeated by Kūlotṭunga-Chola. This king was, as has been shown by Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai (ante, Vol. XIX. p. 383) and Dr. Fleet (ante, Vol. XX. p. 379 f.), identical with the Eastern Chalukya Kūlotṭunga-Chōḍadeva I. (Saka 955 to 1034), and it is very probable that it is this defeat of the Pāṇḍyas that is referred to in the Cidambaram inscription and in the inscriptions found at Tanjore and other places.

22 Dr. Caldwell's History of Tīmūr, p. 35. See ante, Vol. XXI. p. 281, where the date of the accession of Sundara-Pāṇḍya is calculated from materials supplied by Dr. Hulsch. We have thus obtained the date of one of the several Sundaras.

23 Sir Walter Elliot's Coins of Southern India, Nos. 134 and 125.

24 Dr. Halswede's Progress Report for February to April 1890, Madras G. O. dated 14th May 1890, No. 355, Public.

25 Sir Walter Elliot's Coins of Southern India, No. 133; 26 ibid. No. 145.

26 This is the reading of the legend on Elliot's No. 133 suggested by Dr. Hulsch (ante, Vol. XII. p. 384) who ascribes it to Sundara-Pāṇḍya. The Rev. J. E. Tracy of Tirumangalam, in his paper on Pāṇḍya coins, published in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, had read Ellā-ngarasy-iṭan.

27 Sir Walter Elliot's Coins of Southern India, No. 144. This legend has been read by Mr. Tracy.

28 Mr. Tracy's Pāṇḍya Coins, No. 3, and Elliot's No. 147. In an inscription of the Jambhmāra temple on the island of Śrīraihogam (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 211) Sundara-Pāṇḍya is called Laṅkāda-laṅyana-dārāyana-Bāma, 'a second Bāma in plundering the island of Laṅkā.' It is not impossible that the biruda Kālitya-Bāma bears the same meaning and is intended to denote the same Pāṇḍya king.

29 Mr. Tracy's Pāṇḍya Coins, No. 11 (wrongly for No. 6).

30 ibid. No. 1. The legend on No. 130, Plate iv. of Sir Walter Elliot's Coins of Southern India has been read Kōrka-dāḷaṅ. But the correct reading seems to be: [1.] Kōr-2[2.2] ga ko [3.] pā[4]. Kōrka means 'the Cōḷa country.' "One who conquered the Cōḷa country would be an appropriate biruda for a Pāṇḍya king. In the Tiruppaṇākṛum inscription, published in the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV, Sundara-Pāṇḍya has the biruda Kōrka vālasā-gaja-virūp, 'one who is pleased to distribute the Cōḷa country,' which has been mired (pp. 44 f.) Kōrka-vālasā-gajavirūpa.

31 The Rev. E. Lovettal in his Coins of Tīmūr (p. 7) says that "there must be two distinct Pāṇḍya dynasties, one in Kōrka and one in Madura, and there were several branch lines, especially of the Madura Pāṇḍyas. Both the chief lines had the elephant and the battle-axe as their royal marks, probably because they were closely related to each other." He adds (p. 8) that, later on, "the Madura Pāṇḍyas chose the fish mark as their dynastic emblem, that is, when they left Buddhism they changed the elephant mark and took instead of it a pure Visāṇu mark—th
Thirty-two thousand as contemporaries of the Western Chālukya kings Vikramāditya VI., Sūndara III. and Jaya-dēkanalla II. respectively. A Yaḍava inscription belonging to the time of Kṛṣṇa (Suka 1175), refers to "the Pāṇḍyas who shone at Gutti."26 The Hoysala king Ballāla II. "restored to the Pāṇḍya his forfeited kingdom when he humbled himself before him." The kingdom referred to consisted of Uchchaṅgi, — part of the Kōṅkaṇa, — and the districts of Banavati and Pāṇṅgūl.37

So much of the Pāṇḍya history we learn from inscriptions, numismatics and contemporary authorities. We shall now see what Tamil literature has to say on this dynasty. The following are some of the Tamil works which may be expected to throw some light on Pāṇḍya history: — Tiraṇṭaiyādalpūṟṇam, Periyapurūṟam, Pattupṭaṭu and Perappattu. The boundaries of the Pāṇḍya kingdom are thus laid down in Tamil works: — the river Velḷāru to the north; Kumari (Cape Comorin) to the south; the sea to the east; and 'the great highway' to the west. According to Dr. Caldwell, the river Velḷāru is the one which rises in the Trichinopoly district, passes through the Pudukkōṭai state, and enters the sea at Point Calimere; and the same scholar has identified 'the great highway' with the Achehankōvil pass.38 This would include a part of the modern state of Travancore into the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The Pāṇḍya king is often called Korkaiyāṭṭi, 'the ruler of Korkai.' From this fact it may be concluded that Korkai was once the Pāṇḍya capital.39 In later times the seat of the government was certainly Kōḻiḷ (t. e. Madura). The Tiruvīḷaiyādalpurūṟam is an account of the divine sports of Śiva, as represented by the god at Madura, and professes to give a history of that town and its kings from very early times. It also furnishes a list of Pāṇḍya kings, most of the names in which sound more like bīradas than actual names. Whether the accounts given in this work are based on genuine tradition or not, it has not been possible to determine from a lack of ancient Pāṇḍya inscriptions. It is almost certain that there are some historical facts contained in it. But they are so much mixed up with myths and legend that it is at present hardly possible to distinguish historical facts from worthless matter. The sixth verse in the Sanskrit part of the subjoined inscription refers to victories gained by some of the ancient Pāṇḍya kings over Indra, Varuṇa and Agni, and reports that the garland of Indra had been wrested from him by the Pāṇḍya kings, and that some of them survived the great Kaḷaṇa. Some of the chapters of the Tiruvīḷaiyādalpurūṟam describe the futile attempts made by Indra to destroy the Pāṇḍya capital, Madura. One of these consisted in inducing Varuṇa to flood the city and drown it under water. A great deluge is said to have occurred during the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Krtivibhūṣaṇa, after which Śiva re-created Madura as it was said to be.

It is this legend that is referred to in the present inscription by the words makkal-kaḷaṇa-uttāriṇuḥ. Again, in the chapter headed Parargusamukku-koḻivalōkhaṇa-gaṭṭiya-pāḻalaṁ ("the chapter which describes how Varagunha was shown the world of Śiva"), the then reigning king Varagunha-Pāṇḍya is said to have gained a victory over the Chōḷa king. In the 16th verse of this chapter, the Chōḷa king is described as Nēṟṟi-poruppan, and his army denoted by the expression Kti-ilai. It is not impossible that it was the Chōḷa king Kō-Kkiḷḷi who is spoken of as having been defeated by Varagunha-Pāṇḍya. This Chōḷa king is mentioned in the large Leyden grant and the copper-plate inscription of the Baḷa king Hāstimalla, as one of the ancestors of Vijayāla. The Kallīṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟartment of this king.

36 Dr. Caldwell, in the Introduction (p. 130) to the second edition of his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, says that this purāṇa was probably translated from Sanskrit at the request of Āṭivarāna-Pāṇḍya, the poet king of Madura, and that it dates from the 16th century. To this Pāṇḍya king is generally attributed the composition of the Tamil poem called Naṟṟḷaḷaṅ (Naṟṟḷaḷaṅi); see the remarks on pp. 144 f. of the Introduction to the Comparative Grammar as regards the other literary productions of this king.
37 In verse 18 of the chapter headed Irdic-prāmanaparīṉam, he is described as follows: taptum ūruttam-Drugar-koḻadaṇa-suyam, 'he, who, walking alone, seized the jewel of the Uragas (Nēṟṟḷaṇa).'
38 In Paṭṭiṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟعراض, the same king is called Nāgaratṭaṅka-Kōḻaṇa, and the tradition about the son of an illegitimate son to him by the Nēṟṟḷa princess is referred to. In other Tamil works the name Kti-ilai; see note, Vol. XIX. p. 399.
That Varaguṇa- démarche was a historical personage, is shewn by the same Bāṇa grant, which reports that the Gaṅa king Prithivilapati, who was a contemporary of Amoghavarsha, defeated the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa in the battle of Sṛi-Purambya ‘not Sṛipura, as it is on page 373 of the Salem Manual, Vol. II.). Sṛi-Purambya has probably to be identified with the village called Tiru-Puram byam in Sundaramūrti-Nāyānm’s Tevāram, and Purambyam in Tirunāgasambandar’s Tevāram. The exact place occupied by Kō-Kkikil in the Chōla genealogy, is not known. The two inscriptions which mention the early Chōla kings, say that Karkēla, Kō-Chēvaṅkaṇā and Kō-Kkikil belonged to the Chōla family. Of these two authorities, the Leyden grant mentions Karkēla first and Kō-Kkikil last, while the Bāṇa inscription mentions Kō-Kkikil first and Kō-Chēvaṅkaṇā last. The Kaliṅgātita-Paraṇi mentions Kō-Kkikil first and Karkēla last. Thus the three authorities for Chōla history that are now known, do not give a regular genealogy for this period, and one may doubt if it will ever be possible to reconstruct it and to determine the dates of these kings from Chōla inscriptions alone. There is only one Varaguṇa mentioned in the traditional lists of the Pāṇḍya kings. Consequently, the information that we now possess for Pāṇḍya history, offers no obstacles to the identification of the Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya of the Bāṇa inscription with the Varaguṇa of the Tirunāgaiyādaiyāpurāṇam. This purāṇa has a chapter⁴⁴ which describes how the ‘god at Madura’ sent the great musician Bāṇa-Bhadra with a letter to Śrāman Pūrṇamaṇi, the Chōra king, who was a contemporary of the Saiva devotee Sundaramūrti-Nāyānm. The letter directed the Chōra king to give presents to the musician, which was duly done. The same event is referred to in that chapter of the Periyapurāṇams which gives an account of the life of Śrāman Pūrṇamaṇi.⁴⁵ In this narrative we have perhaps to take ‘the god at Madura’ to mean the Pāṇḍya king. If this suggestion is correct, it would imply that the Chōra king was a vassal of the Pāṇḍya. From the Tirunāgaiyādaiyāpurāṇams we also learn that the old college (sahgam) of Madura was established during the reign of a certain Vaṭṭaśekhara-Pāṇḍya, and was provided with a miraculous seat (palagais) by the god Sundarēśvara.⁴⁶

The second of the works enumerated as throwing some light on the Pāṇḍya history, is the Periyapurāṇams. The accounts contained in this work may be considered less open to question, as some of the statements made in it have been strongly confirmed by recent discoveries. As the author does not profess to write a history, but only the lives of the sixty-three devotees of Siva, the historical information contained in it is only incidental. One of these sixty-three devotees was Neṭumaraṇaṇ, a Pāṇḍya king. He is described as having been victorious in the battle of Nelvēil.⁴⁶ This is probably Tinnevelly (Tirunelvelil). As the battle was fought in the Pāṇḍya country itself, it implies that the king only succeeded in repelling an invader from the North or from Ceylon. We are told that he married a daughter of the Chōra king, whose name is not mentioned, that he was originally a Jaina by religion, and that his queen, who was a Saiva at heart, sent for the great Tirunāgasambandar, who succeeded in converting the king to the Saiva religion through a miraculous cure of his malady, which the Jaina priests could not make any impression upon. The date of this Pāṇḍya king and, with it, that of Tirunāgasambandar are still wrapped in mystery. That Dr. Caldwell’s identification⁴⁷ of this king, who was also called Sundara-Pāṇḍya, with Marco Polo’s “Sonder Bandi” is incorrect, and that the three great Saiva devotees Tirunāgasambandar, Tirunāvakkaraiyar and Sundaramūrti-Nāyānm must have flourished prior to the eleventh century A. D., is, however,

⁴¹ Sir Walter Elliot, in his Coins of Southern India, p. 128 f. has published six lists of Pāṇḍya kings. In the first two kings are mentioned with the name Varaguṇa, while each of the other five mentions only one king of that name.
⁴³ Chapter 37 of the Madras edition of 1884.
⁴⁴ Naṭa-sahgamante padosam, chapter 31 of the Madras edition of 1889.
⁴⁵ Nelvēil rega-sahgam-Naṭa-sahgam, whose fortune was constant (and who gained) the battle of Nelvēil, occurs in verse 8 of the Tirunāgaiyādaiyāpurāṇam, which contains a list of the sixty-three devotees of Siva, and which was composed by Sundaramūrti-Nāyānm.
clearly established by inscriptions found in the great temple at Tanjore. The Perigapurāṇam informs us that one of the Chōla kings ruled also over the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This was the Saiva devotee Kō=Chehengit-Chōla-Nāyagir, who was also called Saṅgāraś. The same king is, as stated above, mentioned in the large Leyden grant as one of the ancestors of the Chōla king Vijayalaya. His conquest of one of the Chēra kings is described in a small work called Kālavai-nilāyana, the text and translation of which have been published in this Journal (ante, Vol. XVIII. pp. 253-263). The Perigapurāṇam tells us that he built several temples of Siva in different places. Sundaramūrti-Nāyagir refers to his Tēvālam to one at Naippālam in the Tanjore district, and Sundaramūrti's predecessor, Tiruṅagamamban, to another at Tirum-Ambār. This last reference furnishes us with one of the limits for the period of the latter poet, the other limit being the time of Śrāvānīr Perumāl, who was a contemporary of the former poet.

Another of the Tamil works which may be of use to the student of Pāṇḍya history, is the Pattrupāṭu (i.e. "the ten poems"). As the name implies, it consists of ten poems, or rather idylls, composed by different members of the college of Madura, to which reference has already been made. Of these, two are dedicated to Neṭunjēliyan, a Pāṇḍya king. The first of these two, called Madurai-kkū́jī, was composed by Marudaśār of Māhīguḍi, and the second, called Neṭundaḷadai, by Nakkiraṇar, the president of the college. The first refers to a battle fought at Tālaim-Aṇanggam by the Pāṇḍya king against the Chēra and the Chōla kings and some minor chiefs. Some of the ancestors of Neṭunjēliyan are also incidentally mentioned. The name of one of them was Vadhīlambanai-Pāṇḍiyar according to the commentary. This, however, could not have been the actual name of the king, but only a biruda. Another of the ancestors of Neṭunjēliyan was Pal-yiga-sālamu-kudum-Pernvaludi, whose piety is very highly spoken of. As I shall have occasion to speak of this king in an article on another Pāṇḍya grant which I am going to publish, I shall now be content with a mere mention of his name.

The last of the Tamil works above enumerated, as being of some use to students of Pāṇḍya history, is the Pattrupāṭu. This work is unpublished, and consequently, the historical value of its contents cannot now be stated precisely. The Pattrupāṭu is said to describe in detail the battle of Tālaim-Aṇanggam, which is referred to in the Madurai-kkū́jī. Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai, M. A., of the Maharaja's College at Trivandrum, refers, in an article published in the August number of Vol. IX of the Madras Christian College Magazine, to another work called "Eraissar Agapporul." This work, he adds, is generally ascribed to Nakkiraṇar and celebrates the prowess of a Pāṇḍya king who is called Arikēśari, Varōḍaya, Parākũśā and Vichārī, and mentions among his conquests "Vilinjam (near Trivandrum), Kotar (near Nagarcoil), Naraiya:u, Chēvoor, Kadaiyal, Aṇukudi and Tunnevelly." It is thus clear that Tamil literature is not devoid of works that throw some light on Pāṇḍya history. Their contents, however, have not been the means to test their usefulness. It is important here to note that the Sinhalese Chronicles might, with advantage, be consulted to elucidate some of the points in Pāṇḍya history, which may be left obscure by Tamil literature and the Pāṇḍya inscriptions.

As I have already remarked, the subjoined inscription opens with six Sanskrit verses. Of these, the first invokes Brahma, the second Vishṇu and the third Siva. This might be taken as an indication of the non-sectarian creed of the reigning king. As, however, he has the biruda...
parama-Vaishāva, 'the most devoted follower of Vishṇu,' in line 51, and as, in 1. 35 f., he is reported to have built a temple to Vishṇu, we have to understand that the king, though a worshipper of Vishṇu, was not intolerant towards other religions. The fourth verse describes the Pāṇḍya race as descended from the Moon as ancestor. The fifth refers to Mahāravman and some of his ancestors, and describes him as the 'destroyer of the Pāḷlavas' (Pāḷava-bhaṇḍana). The sixth verse describes his son Jatiḷavarman. The Tamil portion is dated during the seventeenth year of the reign of Neṇūjaḍaiyaṇ. Evidently, Jatiḷavarman and Neṇūjaḍaiyaṇ denote the same individual and are synonymous. Jatiḷa is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil Saḍaiyaṇ (one who has matted hair), a name which is also applied to Siva. The adjective Neṇum may qualify the word ṣaḍai, and the name would then mean 'one whose matted hair is long.' But it is more probable that Neṇum has to be understood as a sort of title prefixed to the names of some of the Pāṇḍya kings. In line 61 of the Madurai-bhājana, a Tamil poem already referred to, one of the Pāṇḍya kings is called Neṇiyōṇ. Neṇumaraṇ of the Pāḷapurāṇam and Neṇūjaḍaiyaṇ of the Pattuppāṭṭu are names in which the prefix Neṇum is used as a title. If translated, these two names might mean 'the tall Pāṇḍya.' The names Neṇumaraṇ, Neṇūjaḍaiyaṇ and Neṇūjaḍaiyaṇ are quite similar, and one is almost tempted to think that they must have denoted the same individual. Beyond this similarity of the mere names we possess no materials for their identification. In the present inscription, the king Neṇūjaḍaiyaṇ is called Teṇṇap, Vāṇavar and Sembīyaṇ. Teṇṇap or Teṇṇa, 'the king of the South,' is used as a title of Pāṇḍya kings in Tamil inscriptions and literature. Vāṇavār and Sembīyaṇ are titles applied to the Chēra and Chōla kings, respectively. The fact that this Pāṇḍya king assumed the Chēra and Chōla titles, shows that he conquered those kings, or was, at least, believed to have done so. A similar fact in connection with Chōla history is revealed by the title Mummudi-Chōla, which was assumed by one at least of the Chōla kings. Mummudi-Chōla means 'the Chōla king who wore three crowns, viz. the Chēra, the Chōla and the Pāṇḍya crowns.'

After giving the above-mentioned titles of the king, the Tamil portion of the inscription enters into an account of his military achievements which occupies nearly two plates. The battles of Veḷḷiṇag, Viṇṇam and Seṭṭjakkudū against an unknown enemy are first mentioned. The king next attacks a certain Adiyaṇ and puts him to flight in the battles of Ayiraṇēli, Ayirur and Pugaliṇur. The Pāḷlavas and Kēalla, who are his allies, are also attacked and defeated. The king of the Western Kōṇgū is subsequently attacked, and his elephants and banner taken as spoils. The whole of Koṇgū is then subdued, and 'the noisy drum sounds his (i.e., the king's) name throughout Kūṭakabhumī.' The king enters Kāṭiyaṇappēṭtura, and builds a temple 'resembling a hill' to Vishṇu. The ruler of Viṇṇa is then conquered and put to death; his town of Viḷiṇam, 'whose fortifications are as strong as those of the fort of Lāṅkā,' is destroyed, and 'his elephants, horses, family treasure and good country' captured. The Pāṇḍya king afterwards builds a wall with a stone ditch round the town of Kāraṇandaipuraṃ.

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65 A facsimile of the seal of the Tiruppayyaṇam copper-plate grant, a transcript and translation of which are published in the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV, pp. 51-58, is given on page 123 of Sir W. Elliot's Coins of Southern India. It contains a Sanskrit inscription which ends with the name Jatiḷavaran. In line 18 of the first plate of the inscription occurs the Tamil form of this name, viz. Saṭṭiravarman, and in line 14, the actual name of the king, Kulaṭākharadāva.  
66 See note 14, above.  
67 In the Tiruppayyaṇam copper-plate grant the name Veḷḷiṇag-kuruichchi occurs twice (Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV, p. 23, Plate xi a, lines 3 and 5) in the description of the boundaries of the granted village. As the word kuruichchi is not found in Tamil dictionaries, it is probable that kuruichchi is a mistake, if not a miscasting, for karīchchi, which has almost the same meaning as the word pāḷava, which precedes the name Veḷḷiṇag in the text of the present inscription. Veḷḷiṇakuruichchi means 'Veḷḷiṇag, (which is) a village belonging to a hilly or forest tract,' and pāḷavai Veḷḷiṇag which occurs in the text, would mean 'Veḷḷiṇag, (which is situated) in a forest or hilly tract.' Consequently, it is not impossible that the two villages are the same. Mr. Sewell in his Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 244, mentions a village called Veḷḷiṇag in the Malabar district, which is 28 miles north-north-west of Cannanore. Another village of the same name is mentioned in the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV, p. 77, text line 60.  
68 It is not certain if Ayiraṇēli and Ayirur have to be taken as denoting two distinct villages. It is not impossible that Ayirur is the name of the village and Ayiraṇēli means 'one thousand vells (of land). Perhaps the village of Ayirur had only one thousand vells of cultivated land.
The battle of Sejiyakkudi was one of the first fought by the king. The name which means 'the Pâñjya village,' 66 might indicate that it was situated in the Pâñjya country. If it was, the battle must have been fought either against a foreign invader or a rebellious feudatory. It is not apparent who Adiyâŋ was, against whom the king next turned his arms. Æiravâlí, where one of the battles against Adityâng was fought, was probably included in the Chôâla dominions, as it is said to have been situated on the northern bank of the Kâvârâ. The fact that the Pallava and Kârâla kings were his allies, might indicate that he was not a minor chief. These considerations lead to the inference that he was probably a Chôla. Nedûnjiâdaiâng calls himself Sembiâng (i.e. the Chôla), but the conquest of the Chôlas is not explicitly stated in the historical introduction, and no Chôla king of the name Adiyâng is known. The kings of that dynasty had, each of them, several names and many birudas. 67 There are, however, only two cases known from inscriptions, of wars between the Chôla and Pâñjya kings, in which the names of the contending kings are given. Of these, the first is the war between Râjasinha-Parâñjya and the Chôla king Parântaka I. which is mentioned in the inscription of the Bâna king Hastimalla, and the second is that between the Chôla king Aditya-Karikâla and Vira-Pâñjya, which is referred to in the large Leyden grant. It is more probable that Adiyâng was identical with the king of Western Kôngû, who was captured by Nedûnjiâdaiâng. Adigaiâng, also called Adigaâng, is mentioned in the Periyapurâgam as an enemy of the Saiva devotee Pugal-Sôja, a Chôla king whose capital was Karuvâr (i.e. Karur in the Coimbatore district). Adigaiâng and Ëângi are mentioned in the unpublished Tamil work Purântâpurâgam, as kings, in whose praise the well-known Tamil poetess Avvaiyar composed several verses. In his South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 106, Dr. Hulseghe has published an inscription which refers to certain images set up by Adigaiâng and Ëângi, and to their repair by a successor of his, who was called Vvâmuktasâranâgâvâla (in Tamil, Viçukâdagâjâi), the lord of Takaâ, and who was the son of a certain Bâjâratâ. This Takaâ has probably to be identified with Tagadur, which is referred to in the Purântâpurâgam as having been captured by a Chêra king. The syllables which are transcribed as Kâjivâypâppurâ, may also be written Kâjivâypâppurâ. In Sundaramûrti-Nâyaângâ’s Tïvâram (Foster Press edition, 1883, p. 114; Arunâçâla Mudaliâr’s 3rd edition of the Periyapurâgam, 1884, pp. 7 and 22) Kâjivâypâppurâ is mentioned. But there is no clue given as to the situation or the village. Consequently, we cannot decide whether the village mentioned in the present inscription has to be identified with that referred to in the Tïvâram or not. Besides, Kâjivâ or Kâjivâpy is reported to be the name of a village ‘in the Tanjore district. The name Kâjivâypâppurâ may also be explained as ‘the large village in or near Kâji, i.e. Kâshîpura. The building of a temple to Viâbû at this village might then refer to the construction of the Varadarâjasâvâmin temple at Little Conjeeveram, which is not far from the Pallava capital Kâchî. Kaakâbhâmû, ‘the land of kites,’ might then be taken for Tirukkaâkkukürâram, 68 which is a few miles distant from Chingalaput. But the conquests which are recorded in this part of the inscription, relate mostly to the western half of Southern India. Besides, if Kaakâbhâmû is pronounced as it is written, it does not rhyme with Kônhâbhâmû which it ought to do. Consequently, though the name is written Kaakâbhâmû, the second of the ks being Grantha, the composer evidently pronounced it Kaîgâbhâmû, which is the Tamil form of Gaîgâbhâmû, the

66 A name quite similar to Sejiyakudi is Vëmâgaî, which occurs three times in the Tiruppadâpam grant (Plate xi a, line 9; Plate xi b, lines 4 and 8). The second and third Sentences of note 60 read as follows:—Vëmâgaî means ‘one who wears (a garland of flowers of) the Ëângû (the margosa or mâm tree, Azadirachta Indica).’ The Pâñjya king is often represented in Tamil literature as wearing a garland of margosa flowers. Consequently, Vëmâgaî denotes the Pâñjya king, and the village is evidently called after him.

67 For example, Kô-Kârâkâvâminan alias Kârâjâdava had the following birudas:—Sôja Arumolî, Mvnumudi-Chôla, Bâjâratâ, Nîyesaîdâva and Sâvâgâdâkkhâm (Christian College Magazine, Vol. VIII. p. 271). And his son Kô-Parâkâkâvâminan alias Bâjâjâdava-Chôla was also called Mudârakâdava, Gaîgâkôdopa-Chôla and Ulukka-Chôla.

68 Tirukkaâkkukûram, ‘the sacred hill of the kites,’ is the name given to the hill as well as the village close to it. The village is sometimes also called Pâkulîttirîthâ, ‘the bathing-place of the birds (i.e. kites);’ see ante, Vol. X. p. 183 f.
well-known Gaṅga country. That such incorrect spellings were not uncommon in ancient days, is shown by an inscription of the great temple at Tanjore (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 35, line 156), in which the word chaturvēduṁāṅgalam is written chaturvēduṁakālam. Its connection with the town of Kāchāli being thus rendered improbable, Kāchāliyā-pāṭur may have to be understood as ‘the large village of Kāchāliyā or Kānchiyāyā’, the r which ought to have been the result of sanādh between p and a, having been assimilated and its place taken by a second r.23 In Tamil dictionaries, Vēn is mentioned as one of the twelve districts, where Kōdu-Taniḻ (i.e. vulgar Tamiḻ) used to be spoken. Viliṉam, which is mentioned in the inscription immediately before Vēn, is probably ‘Vilinjam’, which, as has been already stated, was a place in Travancore captured by one of the Pāṇḍya kings. From the manner in which Viliṉam and Vēn are mentioned in the inscription, it may be concluded that the former was one of the towns, if not the capital of the latter.24 According to Mr. W. Logan’s Malabar (Vol. I. p. 240, note 2), Vēnādu was, in ancient times, identical with the modern state of Travancore. Karavanappuram is the last place mentioned in the historical introduction. Karavanappuram is mentioned in a small Vaṭṭēḻuttu inscription, which, with the permission of Dr. Hultzsch, I publish below from a photograph received from by Dr. Burgess.

**TEXT.**

1 Srī [1*] Kō-Maṇān-Jaḍaiyarku
2 rājya-vai[r]sham āpādavu śēllā-
3 niṣṭā maṟṟ-avaru mahā-
4 sūnantā-āgya Karavantapur-acchi-
5 vāśī Valiyapan25 Pāṇḍi-AMI-
6 raman̄galav-araiyam= ā[r]*]-i-
7 ya SattānGANavadi ti-
8 rutuviṭadu tiru-kk[6'][r]*]-i-
9 lum śrī-ṭaṭiṇamun idaṇ[u]-
10 ram=niḷadum [1*] m[a]rā-sava-
11 rku dharma[p]-[n]n26 āgya Na-
12 kaṅgoriyar= cheya-
13 ppaṭadu Durggā-ḍēṭi-kō-
14 [r]*]jilū= Jēšṭai-kō[r]*]-jilum [1*]

23 Examples of similar assimilation are nāṭpadu for nāṭpadu (forty), kōppanam for kōppanam or kō-panam (a quarter fanam) and kēkkīru for kērēṭa or kēl-ōṭa (a quarter cash). The village of Kānchiyāyā is mentioned in Mr. Foulkes’ inscription of the Pallava king Nandivarman and its Tamil endorsement, and in the grant of Nandivarman Pallavamallaka and its Tamil endorsement. About its position Mr. Foulkes remarks as follows in the Ilem Manuscript, Vol. II. p. 334:— ‘It is clear that Kānchiyāyā lay, either wholly or in principal part, on the right bank of the Pāḷār, in the upper or upper-middle, part of its course, somewhere above Vellore.’ The large Leyden grant lines 96 ff.) and some of the Tanjore inscriptions (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. Nos. 9 and 10) mention an officer of Rāja-kāṭērēn who was a native of Kānchiyāyā. From an unpublished inscription of the ruined temple at Kōṭam-bandai in the Aroor taluk, North Aroor district, it appears that this village belonged to Pēr-Arēr-āṇu in Uyakkoŋ-gār-rajanāla, which last was, according to a Tanjore inscription (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 4, p. 47), situated between the rivers Aṅkīl and Kāṭrī. Kānchiyāyā is mentioned in a Tamil inscription dated Svāma 1547, which is published in the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. pp. 154-156. It is not improbable that the village of Kānchiyāyā which is mentioned in the inscriptions published by the Rev. T. Foulkes, was situated in the Koṅgu country. If it was, it may be the same as the Kānchiyāvēl of the present inscription, granted that there was no one place of that name in the Koṅgu country.

24 Among the conquests of Kaḷīṭṭaṉa-Obolā, the Kaḷīṭṭaṉa-Purusam (canto xi. verse 71) mentions Viliṉam, which was very probably identical with the Viliṉam of the present inscription and with the ‘Vilinjam’ mentioned in the ‘Erāyamār Apporputi’ (ante, p. 65).

25 Valiyān is a corruption of the Sanskrit Vaṭīya, which actually occurs as the name of a family in line 76 of the copper-plate inscription which is the subject of this paper.

26 Read dharma-pati. The apparent length of the vowel in pa on the photograph may be due to the bad pasting of the impressions before photographing. If this is the case, paraś for paraś would be a mistake similar to that of rava for rava which occurs several times in the inscriptions of the Rāja-kāṭēram temple at Tanjore (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 46, lines 8, 18 and 20).
Prosperity! While the sixth year of the reign of Ka-Maṇḍa-Jaḍaiyaṇ was current, Sattān Gaṇapati, who was his (i.e., the king’s) great feudatory (nāhāṣ-dāmānśa), who resided in (the village of) Karavantapura, (who belonged to) the Vāidya (race), (and) who was the chief of Paṭḍī-Amidamaṅgalam, repaired the sacred temple, the sacred tank (sri-tadāga) and (all) that is charitable (in connection with) this (tank). Besides, Nakkaṅgori, who was his lawful wife, built a temple of the goddess Durgā and a temple of Jyēśthā.67

As is seen from the above translation, this inscription is dated during the sixth year of the reign of Ka-Maṇḍa-Jaḍaiyaṇ, and mentions a certain Sattān Gaṇapati, who was the chief of Paṭḍī-Amidamaṅgalam, and was living in the village of Karavantapura, which is very probably identical with the Karavandaparam mentioned in the subjoined inscription. The characters in which the above short inscription is engraved, are the same as those of the present one. It is therefore not impossible that both of them belong to the reign of the same king.

In the long historical introduction of the subjoined inscription, there is no clue as to the date of the grant. As paleography is a very unsafe guide in determining even the approximate dates of South-Indian inscriptions, we must wait for further researches to enable us to ascertain the date of the Pāṭḍa king Neṇṇaṭa-daiyaṇ. This inscription records the grant of the village of Vēḷaṅgudi in Tēṇ-Kalavali-nāḍu,68 whose name was subsequently changed into Sṛvavama-vaṅgulam. The donee was Sujjata-Bhaṭṭa, the son of Sīhu-Miśra, who lived in the village of Sābbālī which had been granted to the Brāhmaṇas of the country of Magadhā. Sujjata-Bhaṭṭa may be a vulgar form of the name Sujjata-Bhaṭṭa. The name Sīhu-Miśra shows that the donee’s father must have been an immigrant from Northern India. Sīhu is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit sīha, and Miśra is a title borne by some of the Brāhmaṇas of Northern India. It is extremely interesting to learn that there was a colony of Magadhā Brāhmaṇas settled in the Pāṭḍa country. The circumstances under which, and the time when, this settlement took place, are not known. The ḍaṇṭi of the grant was Dhṛtarāṣṭra Mātrī-Eyipāṇ, the great feudatory of the king and the chief of Viramaṅgalam, who was born in the village of Vaṅgajandai. Special reference is made to the excellence which his family had attained in music.

Some of the graphical peculiarities of the Tamil portion of the subjoined inscription require to be noted here. As in all other Tamil and Vaṣṭijutta inscriptions, the long o and the long e are not marked, though I have, for practical reasons, made these marks in the transcript. The distinction between long and short e is not strictly observed. The i in kaṇḍu (line 54) and uṭi (line 80) seem to be distinctly long. In line 48, the i of ṣikṛt appears to be short. In line 52 ni in niṇ and ni in niṇa are exactly alike. In the Sanskrit portion (line 8) iriṣṭam may also be read ṭiṣṭam. Mēkṣa is written nākṣu in line 65. The most important, however, of these peculiarities is, that the rules of Tamil saṅkhī are not observed in many cases. Of these the following may be noted:—

| Line 20 | 'āṇai oruṅguṇḍaṇ instead of 'āṇai-y oruṅguṇḍaṇ. |
| Line 23 | 'aḍā-oli |
| Line 24 | mā-irmum |
| Line 24a | ā-ira |

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67 Jyēśthā or, in Tamil, Śīṭṭal or Māḥērī, ‘the elder sister,’ is the goddess of misfortune, who is believed to be the elder sister of Lakṣhaṇ, the goddess of wealth; see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 60, note 7.
68 The Tirappattiram copper-plate grant, which has been referred to more than once, mentions a village called Vēḷaṅgudi (Plate xi a, line 18) and a river called Kaḷavali-nilāguṇa (Plate xi a, line 8 and 10). Perhaps the village of Vēḷaṅgudi granted by the present inscription belonged to a district which was situated to the south of the above-mentioned river, and which was, consequently, called Tēṇ-Kalavali-nilāguṇa. Compare the name Vaṭṭakarai-Bhajarendra-vaṅgulam, which occurs repeatedly in the Tanjore inscriptions (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II No. 4, paragraph 18, and passim), and in which Vaṭṭakarai, ‘the northern bank,’ is used with reference to the river Kaḷēri.
Of these I have corrected only kō-il and ā-ira in the text, because the former is likely to be misunderstood, and the latter is distinctly wrong. In some of the other cases, the sanshdi, though optional in usage, would be necessary according to the rules of grammar. Among the rest, there is a considerable number of cases in which the sanshdi is not optional. Such violations of the rules of grammar are not uncommon in other inscriptions; but there is an unusually large number of them in this grant. Many of these anomalous cases occur in the historical introduction (II. 19 to 46) which is in High Tamil, where they are not expected. The fact that the small Vaṭṭelutu inscription published above, also contains some of these peculiarities, shows that they were not merely local. The style of the whole of the Tamil portion of the subjoined inscription is almost free from mistakes, and shows that the composer could not have been ignorant of the rules of sanshdi if they had been commonly in use. These rules could not have been absolutely unknown as they are observed in a few cases in this grant. Consequently, we are led to the conclusion that the rules of sanshdi, which are given in Tamil grammars, were not universally recognized and followed in the Tamil country, at the time when these inscriptions were composed. But this inference cannot be established without comparing a large number of other inscriptions belonging to the same period.

TEXT.

First Plate.

[On the left margin] Svasti [11*]

1 Brahma vyaṅjita viṣva-tantram-sanagam vaktraś-chaturbhir griṇaṃ-bibhrad-balapatainga-pinga-

2 latara-chohhāyaṣ́-jaṣ́-maṇḍalaṁ [1*] ādyan-mābhī-saraḥ praśūti-kamalam Vishnur-adhishṭhāyū-

3 kaṇṭā pushṭā pramadāśā-ĉhirāya bhavatām puryaḥ purāṇo muniḥ s [1*] yasmād-avivatvaṁ para-

4 mābhāryaḥ bhūtād yugānu yasminna eva praviśati punar-viśvam ēṣad-yugā-

5 nā[1*] tad-vās-ĉohhandomaya-tanu vayaḥ-vahanaṁ daitya-ghātī jyūṭih pāṭu dyu-

6 ti-jita-nāv-ambhādām-ambhūja-nātram s [2*] aṁhās-saṁghatiḥāraniḥ-saṁdhyā- sām-pa-

7 m-bhaktiṁ yasyāḥ kurvataṁ-atr-sāmuthra cha saṁbhavanty-avikalā-sama-

Second Plate; First Side.

8 tayō dāhinām [1*] utaśāśaṁ-āmbhura-śriyam kalayaṭo yāsuṆīttmā[rū*].

9 ge lasan-maulau nākasadām Pināki-charapau tau vās-ĉhirām rakṣa-
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[March, 1893.

10 tamb [38] Ahum-mumla-prakṣitīm-āṃjita-jyotiḥsah yasya dēvaḥ yasyā-Ā.
11 gasyō viṣṭa-Nahvah-āmbhōbi-Vindhyah purōdhā [19] saśvad-bhāgyā
12 jaladhi-raśāna yēna viśvaṃbhac-ṛṣyāḥ sā-van-dīrgagā-jayati yasia yah.
14 lā-śap-utāśāśa Sṛggadhidhmā-Jālāḥ-Bhārata-jaya-kyātāḥ yādēvah-vah.
15 taḥ [13] jātaḥ Pallava-bhāṣaśān-pi samarṣa sarvva-kshamābhūḥ-bām-drāmdad-kānta-
mad-bhāsha-bhīma-kā-

Second Plate; Second Side.

16 tākaḥ Śrī-Māravarmā uṛjpaḥ [58] tasmāi-Tārādhiniḥīkād-Buddha iv vībudhā
Pa[3]maṃ-nābhad-dvī-śyā-
17 t-Pradynmānā dynama-dhānsa-Tripurabhīda iv-ṛṣyakta-sakṣāḥ Kumāraḥ [19] jīta
Jambhāri-kalpō
18 jagatī Ṣaṭṭilavrmma-[ti] viṅkhyāta-kṛṣṭāḥ sarvrv-ārvv-śr-cara-graha-dahana-viḥām-

Third Plate; First Side.

21 uṇā kavandum [19] Pallavāgamnā-Kārakagum-āṅg-avag-ka
22 g-āgi=ppal-pāci-duṇ pār ṣelīya-ppavavum-ṃga-pparṇa
23 mdu kula-pālun-guṇa-pāllum-ṃgaṃ vando viṣṭ-iruṇa
24 pāca-dōṇ mṛ-ṛchag-ṛc-ṛvavai-ṃu-ṛm-pāllum-ıda
25 pāppaṇa viṣṭuṇā-Kṛṣṇa-Koṭṭham-ṛd-apam-pamagai-kkuk
26 ṛṭyāṇa-kopṇu pṃṇu koṇi apī-ṃṣa-neṇu-māda-Kṛṭṭapam adil
27 tīt vāttu-Kṛṣṇakabhumī-adap-savuna-gaṇ-munaṭa taṇ pīya-arajau
28 koṣgabhumī adi-paṭṭutu-koṇkā-jalai pūṭ-jīvīta-paṭhtu
29 lai-apu-pavai-Kaṇṭhavayaapāṭur pukku-Tīrumalikāk-

Third Plate; Second Side.

31 ga agal-ṛvavai-agąż-ṛruṭhum41 pāṭi-ṛb-dadil paraṇā-ḥṛgī
galowągnam-galava-ṅdum aspy-ḷaṅkagīril-ṛaṇ-id-āga mā
32 y-lāṅgum-neṇu-māda-mādil Viḷihiṃ-adu-alaya-ṛkkoṛp
33 vēlai urai niKKi vṛṣṭ-aṭtai Vṛṭ-maṅgaṇi vṛṇ-agaj
34 t-avag viṣṭ-nidi-duṇ kṛyug-ṛng-ṛng kulai-kkajir-ṛg-ṛg-ṛg
36 t-saḷaiyavar-āi-neṇu-gaṇ-ṛm-bagulag-gōr-maṭṇd granbhavum pulamb-
37 dhum pop-ṛd-ṛd-neṇu-vṛdi-Kṛḷavandapram poliv-ṛṣya-ṛkṛq-agṣa
38 radōr-kall-aṅgdoja vīsāmubk bōndra

Fourth Plate; First Side.

39 ṣamb-ṛdavag-ṛaṇ-ṛṇi-neṇu-madilai vaṣṭiv-amaittum [19] ēva
40 māḍi-viṃśaṅvaṇal-ṛṇi-aṇyā-ṛpala śeyda Ṣal-paṛ-ṛkṛq-Kṛṭṭp
41 puṟa Malar-magaoja vṛṇi-ṛmum Manu-dāsikta-mṛgagāṭām

Read Padma".  "Read koṇวาด-jālai.  "Read ṣivāya.
Madras Museum Plates of Jatilavarman.
MXBOH, 1893
MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF JATILATABMAN.

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

56 I virumbappadum Bhāṛgava-gōta-sambhūtan Āśālāyana-sītra-
57 ttu Bahvrijan Śītu-Mikraṇku magaṇ-āgī yaṭja-vindai-ōđ-eś-
58 jāda-sāstraṅgalai=kkaraṇ-kaṇḍa Satjita-Bhāṭṭarka=Tten-Kala-
59 vai-ṇāṭṭu Vālaṅgūḍiya=papandā=ttan palam=bē-
60 r nikkī Sṛtvara-mangalam=ena=pṭiyar=ṛṭṭu brahma-dēyam-a-
61 ga=kkṛkṛmaṇiyam miyṭiḥiyum uḷl=aḍ̐ga sarvva-
62 pariḥrām=āga=mmṛḍ-āṭṭi=kkṛkṛkkaṇḍapāṭṭadu [11*] maṛ-
63 p=idaṇ peru-nāṅg=ella [1*] kḷ-ella Nilaiṇkāmna-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

64 ṅgalatt=ellaikkum Millandiyaṅkudi ellaikkum
65 mēkkum-tegod-ella Perumagaṅṟṟr=ellaikkum=Kāṭḍi-
66 kkuṇḍi ellaikkum vaṭakku=mangīya-ṛṭṭ̫=mṛn̄-
67 l-ella Kaḍambeṅgudi ellaikkum Kuraṅgūḍi
68 ellaikkum=kkalikkum vaṭav-ella Kāṭḍa-
69 vayaḷ=ellaikkku=ṭṭṛkkum=ivv-iśaiṭṭa pe-
70 ru-nāṅg=ella agattu=kkalln=gaṭṭiyu=nā-

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

71 ṭṭi manṇavaṇḍadu paśiyinā vaḍiv-amai-
72 ya pūḍī sūḷudāṅ Pāṇḍyaṛkku maṭaṅgaṭṭhīyaṇṭa-a-
73 n Pāṇḍi-ilāṅgā-mangala=ppēr-araiṇaṇ-ā-
74 giya Koluvivr-kkṭṭattu=KKoluṛvṛ-occha-
75 ṣugai=Sūrīdaraṇ [1*] tāng=idaṅkk=ṭṭad̐ṭṭ̐i-a
76 y=ṭṭāṃra-ṭṭasanaḥ=jevṛittāṅ vāḍya-gē-
77 ya-saṅkīṭaṅgalāṇ=maḷiv=veṇdyīva Vanga-

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

73 ṭṭaṇḍai Vaidya-kulam viḷaṅga=ṭṭogṛ ma-
74 maṇavaṇku mahā-samdantaṇ-āy māṛ-araīsara
75 vaṭa-tulaṅkum Viramaṅgala=ppēr-araīsara
78 ṣugai Ḍhhrataraṇ Mūrtti-Eyaṇaṇ [1*] maṛṇ-ṇdaṇa=
79 kāṭṭaraṇ malar-adi eṇ muḍi mēḷaṇa e-
80 ṣrū korravasdy paṇṭti-aruḷi=ṭṭṛṛṇ=ena

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

84 ṭṭāṃra-ṭṭasanaḥ=jevṛittāṅ ॥ Brahmadēya-paripā-
85 laṅkā-ṛitē n=anne-dēsi bhuvī dharmma-sāḍhanam [1*] ṭaṇya cḥ-ḍpaha-
86 ṛaṇḍ-ṛitē tāṭhē n=anne-dēsi bhuvī pāpa-sāḍhanam [1] Bahbhī-
87 r=vavasūdhā dātā ṛājbjh=Ṣageś-āḍībhī [1*] yasya yasya yad bhū-
88 mīs=ṭaṇya ṭaṇya tāḍh phalam ॥ na viśaṇaḥ viśaṇ=ṣty-ṣhuv brahmaśvaṇa vi-
89 sham=chāyātē [1*] viśaṇ=ekākinaḥ hanti brahmaśvam ṭutra-pattra-
(Verse 1.) May that pure ancient sage (Brahma),—who resides in the primeval lotus, which has sprung out of the tank of Vishnu’s navel, who invokes with his four mouths the sinless Brahman (i.e. the Veda), which has revealed all sciences, and who bears a mass of matted hair, the colour of which is redder than the morning sun,—maintain for a long time your joy!

(2.) May that extremely wonderful lustre (of Vishnu), whose body consists of the Veda, who rides on a bird, who destroys the Daityas, whose splendour surpasses that of a new cloud (in blackness), who has lotus eyes, from whom this universe springs at the beginning of the Yuga and into whom it again enters at the end of the Yuga, protect you!

(3.) May that pair of feet of Pinakin (Siva), which remove all sins, by practising strict devotion to which, perfect success is produced to men in this world and in the next, and which appear to be lotuses (placed) as ornaments on the heads,—(which bear) glittering diadems,—of the gods,—protect you for a long time!

(4.) May that Panchya race,—which is white with fame, by which this earth, that has the ocean for its girdle, has been perpetually enjoyed,78 the first ancestor of which is said to be the nectar-rayed god (i.e. the Moon),77 and the family priest of which was Agastya, who vanquished Nahasura, the ocean and the Vindhya (mountain),—be victorious for a long time!

(5.) In this (race), after those who had deprived Vasava (Indra), who had survived the disaster of the great Kalpa, and who were famous by victories over the lord of heaven (Indra), the lord of the waters (Varuna) and Bhārata (Agni), had passed away, was born the illustrious king Māravarma, who, though he destroyed the Pallava79 in battle, captured terrible armies (kafila) of rutting elephants by crushing the armies of all rulers of the earth.

(6.) Just as the wise Budha (sprang) from the lord of stars (the Moon), Pradyumna from the first Padmanābha (Krishna), and Kumāra (Subrahmaṇya) (who wears) an active lance, from the destroyer of Tripura (Siva), (who is) an abode of lustre, so, from him (i.e. Māravarman) was born (a son), who was renowned in the world by the name Jaṭilavarman, who was equal to Jambhalī (Indra), (and) whose irresistible valour burnt the planet (consisting of) the great arrogance of all the rulers of the earth.

Tamil portion.

(Line 19.) The lord of kings (who possesses) stout shoulders resplendent with (i.e. expressive of) strength, who is such (as is described above), who has fought against the southern

72 Read "poutralam.
73 The word saiva, which is here translated ‘perpetually,’ also means ‘repeatedly,’ which would imply that there were intervals when the Pāṇḍya dynasty was not supreme.
74 The tradition preserved in Tamil literature that the Pāṇḍya belonged to the lunar race, is here confirmed; see pp. 4, 6, 8 and 17 of the Archaeological Survey of Southen India, Vol. IV.
75 From other Pāṇḍya inscriptions which have been published, it appears as if Indra had presented his garland to the Pāṇḍya family; see pp. 6, 17, and 43 f. of the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. It was this garland which Rādjendra-Chola took away from the Pāṇḍya king along with the crown of Sundara; see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. 1, p. 86, line 3, and p. 100, line 7.
76 The word ‘though’ (ap) in the translation has to be explained by the double meaning of palovam and kafila, each of which signifies also ‘a bracelet.’
ocean (ten-alar), (who is not only) Tēppaṇ (the Pāṇḍya king) (who bears) a long lance with spreading lustre, (but also) Vaiṣṇavaṇ (the Chēra king) and Sembināṇ (the Chōla king) who governs in harmony the whole world, (surrounded by) the ocean (which is) full of incongruous noise, — by orders (dyā), (which bear on the seal) the great fish (kuṟal) (banner which flutters on) the northern mountain (i. e. Mēṟu), — bent, on that day, the cruel bow, so that the enemies might be destroyed at these places: — Viṉṇam, Sēḻiyakkudi and Vēḻlor; (situated) in a forest (full of) the golden flowers of the beautiful puṟul-kuṟaṭṭi (♀ plant).  

(Line 24.) Having seen Adiyan (who wore) a resplendent lance, turn to flight at Ayirār, (at) Puṟajāyūr and at Ayiravēli (situated) on the northern bank of the Kāviri, (which has) abundant waters (and which is) rich (in) fields, — (he) seized his (the enemy's) chariot (adorned with) sounding bells, along with a troop of horses (which were) fierce in battle; when the Pallava and the Kērala (kings), having become his (the enemy's) allies, swelled and rose like the sea with numerous armies, so that the earth trembled, and when the western and eastern wings (of the army) joined, and were encamped (together), (the king) advanced against (the enemy) with a troop of spearmen and despatched a detachment, so that disaster befell both of them on both wings; captured the powerful king of Western Kōṅgu, along with (his) murderous elephants; placed (his) banner within the walls of Kūṇal (i. e. Madura), which has spacious halls decorated with precious stones; subdued Koṅgabhūmī, so that the noisy drum was sounding his fame throughout Kāṅkabhūmi; unfastened the string of the cruel bow; entered the large village of Kāṅchiyāvāl (?) (situated) in a woody region (that was) beautified by flower gardens; and built a temple resembling a hill to Tirumāl (i. e. Viśṇu) (in which) he might joyfully abide.

(L. 36.) (He) unsheathed the victorious weapon, in order to destroy (the town of) Viḷīṭam, which has the three waters of the sea for (his) ditch, whose strong and high walls which rub against the inner part of the receding sky, rise so high that the sun has to retire in his course, which is (as strong as) the fort in the beautiful (island of) Ilaṅgasī (Lāṅkā), and

50 While his ancestors claim to have conquered Viṇuṣa himself, the present king modestly says that he only united against the southern ocean. This tradition of the victory gained by the Pāṇḍyas over the sea, is also preserved in a large Tiruppurâvâlam copper-plate grant of Kulaśēkara-Pāṇḍya, where a village, or part of a village, is called after a plain Veḷḷāṭṭai-veṇṭag, 'one who has conquered the floods or the ocean.' In the same inscription, villages and private individuals are called after the following names and birudas of Pāṇḍya kings: — Tājāyāli-bhagī, 'one who makes gifts without hesitation,' Viṭa-Ge Paísgh-Eṇṭag, Viṭa-Pāṇḍya-Eṇṭag, Indra-libam, 'one who is equal to Indra,' Paṭkrama-Pāṇḍya, Varṇagama, Sṛvallabha and Sandama-Pāṇḍya. Of these, Sṛvallabha has been mentioned (ante, p. 68) as a Pāṇḍya king, whose son was a contemporary of the Chēra king Kōṅ-bālakśarivarmam alīs Viṅ-āḷiṇḍrāda. I. ulasēkara-Pāṇḍya himself, in whose reign the grant was issued, might have borne some of these names and birudas. It is rest, however, belonged to his predecessors.

51 The great fish evidently refers to the two fish which we find on Pāṇḍya coins and seals. Vaṭe-varṇi, 'the entire mountain,' might refer to the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district, which is sometimes represented as a northernmost boundary of the Tamil country. But, in other Pāṇḍya inscriptions which have been published, it is distinctly stated that the fish banner was flitting on Mount Mēṟu (Adāja-pporuṇa, Kanakadēna and Kanaka-Mēṟu); see the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. pp. 6, 10, 13, 15, 22 and 48.

52 The day was evidently well known to the composer of the inscription and to his contemporaries.

53 Neither kuṟaṭṭi nor puṟul-kuṟaṭṭi is found in Tamil dictionaries; kuṟaṭṭi is, according to Winslow, 'a gourd, Trichosanthes Palamata.' With puṟul-kuṟaṭṭi compare puṟul-murukkaṭṭi and puṟul-murukkaṇći which are the names of two plants.

54 In a Tamil inscription of the Tanjore temple (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. p. 47) this river is called Kēviri, and in two Sanskrit inscriptions found in the Trichinopoly caves (Vol. I. pp. 29 and 30), the word is spelt Kēviri. The epithet which is given to it in the first of the two Sanskrit inscriptions, viz. ārāma-nilā-dhāра, 'wearing a garland of gardens,' might suggest a possible derivation of the name. Kēviri, the name found in Tamil inscriptions, perhaps means 'cutting through or intersecting (tr) gardens (kūr).'

55 Another possible translation of the same passage is: — 'captured the powerful king of Western Kōṅgu along with his murderous elephants; imprisoned (him) within the walls of Kūṇal (i. e. Madura), which has jewel-like and spacious halls decorated with banners.'

56 The sea is supposed to contain three kinds of water, viz. rain water, river water, and spring water. Another translation of the passage which describes Viḷīṭam would be the following: — Viḷīṭam, whose lofty halls and walls are resplendent with jewels, (and which) with (its) temple which has the three waters of the sea for its ditch, and which she against the interior of the vast sky, — is like the fort in the beautiful island of Ilaṅgasī (Lāṅkā), whose long walls rise so high that even the sun has to retire (in his course).
whose lofty halls and walls are resplendent with jewels, conquered and destroyed the king of Vaiśā, who had a victorious army, and took possession of murderous elephants resembling hills, horses with manes, the family treasures and the fertile country, along with his magnificent treasures.

(Line 42.) (He) built, along with a broad stone ditch, a lofty wall whose top never loses the moisture (caused by) the sky coming in contact (with it), and the clouds resting (on it), so that (the town of) Karavandapuram might get resplendent, which has beautiful halls and long streets, (where even) warriors are afraid of the arrow (like) pointed and long eyes of women with lotus faces.

(Line 46.) Having achieved these and many other similar conquests, having entered (the city of) Kūḍāla (which has) a hall of jewels, being seated (on the throne) along with the goddess of the flower (i.e. Lakshmi), having followed, (like his) father, the path pointed out by Maṇu (i.e. the king), and having himself performed the uprooting of thorns (i.e. rebels), (he) is protecting the whole world (surrounded by) the ocean.

(Line 50.) While the seventeenth year of the reign of (this) Neṣṭunjādaiya, —the king of the earth (who bears) a high crown (on which are set) jewels of permanent luster, who is the lord of the Paṇḍyas, is fond of learned men, is the foremost of heroes, is very brave, is the destroyer of enemies and the most devoted follower of Viṣṇu, —was current:

(Line 53.) Having considered that charity was always his duty, (he) gave, with libations of water, (the village of) Viṣṇu-gūḍi in Ten-Kalavāḷi-nāḍu, —having cancelled its former name from old times, and having bestowed (on it) the (new) name of Sūṭvaru-maṅgalam, as a brāhmaṇādaya and with all exemptions (pariṇāma), including kārāṇmāri and māyādhi, to Śuṣja-Bhaṭṭa, who was the son of Śihu-Miṣra, who had thorougly mastered all the Viśvāsīs along with the knowledge of sacrifices, who was born in Bāhravavāgīṭrā, followed the Aśvānīyana-sātra, and was a Bhāṛjī, who was believed by the goddess of learning (Śarasvati), and who resided in the village called Sabdāṇi, which had been apportioned to the Brāhmaṇas (magnificently) from the good country called Magadha.

(Line 62.) The four great boundaries of this village are: —The eastern boundary (is) to the west of the boundary of Niḷakṣitamāngalam and of the boundary of Miḷjanda-yakūḍi; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the boundary of Perumagāytr and of the boundary of Kaḷīkakūḍi; the western boundary (possessing) permanent beauty, (is) to the east of the boundary of Kaḷinda-gūḍi and of the boundary of Kuraṇgūḍi; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the boundary of Kāḷavayal.

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77 The word sīṃbū means 'moist land, slippery ground.' The literal translation of the passage which describes Karavandapuram is as follows: "whose top is a place in which the moisture, (caused by) the clouds retreating on it (immediately) after the sky has plunged into water, never ceases."
78 The word pīṇgaṭum seems to be used here as an expletive, like mṛgyā in lines 68 and 88, and vāgu in line 75.
79 The technical meaning of these two terms is not clear. According to Winlow, the word kāṭāra means ‘husbandman’ or ‘agriculturists.’ According to Dr. Gundert’s Malāyālam Dictionary, kāṭāra, which must be the same as the Tamil kāṭaim, means ‘freeth,’ verbal agreement between Jaimi and Cudiyu about their respective rights to inhabit mortgaged grounds. Mīḍyakhi literally means ‘overlordship.
80 i.e. aṅyagāḍa.
81 This is evidently the country of the same name in Northern India. The fact that there was a colony of Magadha Brahmans settled in the Pahlava country, shows that communication between Northern and Southern India was not so infrequent in ancient days as might be imagined. This inference is confirmed by some of the inscriptions of the Chāṇa king Rājendra-Chola, in which he is reported to have extended his military operations as far as the river Ghagā, and to have conquered Bengal (Vaṭiṣaḷa-dēnā) and the Kūśāna country (Kūḷāṇi-nāḍā); see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. pp. 68 and 160, and Vol. II. p. 108.
82 There is a village of this name mentioned in the large Tīrupudāvāram copper-plate grant (Plate viii, line 3).
83 A village of the same name is mentioned twice in the grant above referred to (Plate v b, line 5, and Plate ii, line 1).
84 According to the Manual of the Travancore District, "Triskkurnagudi" is a village in the Nāgānēri taluk, close to the Travancore frontier. See ante, Vol. II. p. 266, where the village is mentioned with its proper spelling, Triskkurneṣaṇi.
FOLKLORE IN HINDUSTAN.

BY W. CROOKE, C.S.

No. 4.—The Lucky Herdsman. 1

Once upon a time a herdsman was watching some sheep near the jungle, when a tiger came out and asked him for a sheep. The herdsman said: "They don't belong to me. How can I give you one?" "All right," said the tiger, "I will eat you some night soon." When the herdsman came home, he told his wife, and she said: "We had better get some of the neighbours to sleep in the house as a guard." So some of the neighbours brought their beds and slept in the herdsman's house. The herdsman's bed was in the middle. In the middle of the night the tiger came in quietly, and raising the herdsman's bed, carried it off on his shoulders. When he had gone a little distance the herdsman fortunately woke, and, as he happened to be passing under a banyan tree, he caught hold of one of the shoots and climbed up. The tiger, knowing nothing of this, went off with the bed.

The herdsman was so afraid of the tiger, that he stayed up in the tree all day. In the evening a herd of cows came from the jungle and lay down under the banyan tree. They remained there all night and next morning went off, as usual, to graze. When they had gone away, the herdsman came down, removed all the manure, and cleaned the place.

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1 In this name, Jangō is synonymous with the Sanskrit yuvāroja. The village was evidently called after the heir-apparent to the Pāṇḍya throne.

2 The custom of determining the boundaries of a donative village with the help of a female elephant, seems to have been quite common in ancient times; see the large Tiruppadisam copper-plate grant, Plate i a, lines 3 to 5, and the large Leyden grant, Plate ix a, line 175.

3 This is addressed to the reigning king's successors.

4 A folktale told by Parsottam Māfijbl, one of the aborigines of South Mirāpur.
Next night the cows came again, and were delighted to find the place clean, and wondered who had done them this service. Next morning they went again to graze, and on returning found that the place had again been cleaned. This happened a third time; and then the cows called out, "Show yourself, our unknown friend! We are very grateful to you, and wish to make your acquaintance." The herdsman thought this might be some device of the enemy; so he kept quiet and did not show himself.

Then the cows made a plan. There was one of them, who was a poor, old, weak creature; so they said to her: "You lie here and pretend to be very sick; our friend is sure to come down to help you after we are gone. When he comes catch hold of his dhātī, and detain him until we return." The old cow did as she was told, and caught hold of the herdsman's dhātī, and though he tried to drag himself away, she would not let him go until her companions came back.

When the cows returned, they told the herdsman how much they were obliged to him, and said, "You may have as much of our milk as you want." So the herdsman continued to live in the banyan tree and used to milk the cows every day.

One day, as he was strolling about near the banyan tree, he saw a hole, out of which came some young snakes, who looked very thin and miserable. The herdsman took pity on them and gave them some milk every day. When they got strong, they began to move about in the jungle, and one day their mother met them. "Why! how is this?" said she; "I left you starving, and you are now well and strong." Then they told her how the herdsman had taken pity on them. Hearing this she went to the herdsman and said: "Ask any boon you will." "I wish," said he, "that my hair and skin should turn the colour of gold." This happened at once and the old snake went away.

One day the herdsman went to bathe in the river. As he was bathing a hair came out of his head, and he put it into a leaf platter (daun) and let it float down the stream. A long way down a Rājā's daughter was bathing. She took up the hair. "My father must marry me to the man who has hair like this." When she came home she would eat no dinner. Her father was distressed and asked the cause. She showed him the hair, and said, "Marry me to the man who has hair like this." So her father sent his soldiers to find the man. At last they traced the herdsman and said, "Come along with me." "I will not," said he. Then they tried to drag him away, but he played on his flute (bānul) and all the cows rushed up, charged the soldiers and drove them away. They returned and told the king. He sent some crows to get the flute. They came and perched on the banyan tree, where the herdsman was staying, and let their droppings fall on him. He threw stones at them, but could not drive them away. At last he was so angry he threw his flute at them, and one crow took it in his bill and flew off with it.

When the Rājā got possession of the flute, he sent another party of soldiers to seize the herdsman. He blew another flute, but this had no power over the cows, and he was captured and carried off.

Then he was brought to the Rājā's palace, married to the princess and given a splendid house and lots of money. But he was unhappy and preferred his life as a cowherd. One day he asked his wife to give him the flute, which the crow had carried off. She took it out of her box and gave it to him. When he blew it the sound reached the cows, and they all rushed to the Rājā's palace and began to knock down the walls. The Rājā was terrified and asked what they wanted. "We want our cowherd," they answered. So the Rājā had to give in, and built a palace for his son-in-law near the banyan tree, and gave him half his kingdom. There the herdsman and the princess lived happily for many a long year.

Notes.

This, a tale told by a genuine non-Aryan aboriginal, a resident in the wild country south of the Sān, is interesting as a variant of the Santal "Story of Jhore," which is given by Dr.
A. Campbell in his Santal Folk-tales, (Pokhuria, 1891) pp. 111, et seq. There are, however, some important differences:—

(1) Jhore quarrels with the tiger, because, when he is called in to judge between him and the lizard, he judges it in favour of the latter.

(2) Jhore is shut up in a bag by his mother, which the tiger carries off.

(3) The animals in Jhore's story are buffaloes, and he wins their affection by looking after their calves.

(4) In Jhore's story the old buffalo cow lies in wait and gets the calves to tell her who befriended them. The dhitā incident is absent in the Santāl story.

(5) Similarly, the snake incident is wanting, and in the Santāl story the Princess simply finds in the river some of Jhore's hair, which is twelve cubits long.

(6) In the Santāl story the Rājā sends a jōgī and a crow to seek for Jhore. Finally a paroquet is sent, who makes friends with Jhore and gets the flute.

(7) After losing his first flute Jhore calls the cows with another, and finally the paroquet has to steal the bundle of flutes, which Jhore has.

(8) The buffaloes in the Santāl story come to the king's palace, because Jhore's wife would not believe the story about the love of the buffaloes for him, which he was always telling her. So he has a pen made thirty-two miles long and thirty-two miles broad and the buffaloes come at the sound of his flute and fill it. These are the domesticated buffaloes of the Santāl nowadays.

The story is also of interest from its obvious analogies to European folklore. The cowherd's flute is the oriental equivalent of the lyre of Orpheus, or the lute of Arion: and we have the incident of the hero being saved by his lute in No. 126 of Grimm's Tales, "Ferdinand the faithful and Ferdinand the unfaithful." The feeding of snakes is also common property of folklore. In the Gesta Romanorum, chap. 68, we have the snake who says to the knight: "Give me some milk every day, and set it ready for me yourself, and I will make you rich." There are further instances given in Mr. Andrew Lang's edition of Grimm. (Vol. II. pp. 405, et seq.) So with the golden hair, which, however, is usually that of the heroine: see Grimm's Goosegirl, with his notes (Vol. II. p. 382.) I know there is some European equivalent of the hero (or heroine) being recognised by the golden hair floating down the river, but I cannot lay my hands on the reference just now, as I am away from my library. However, we have the same incident in the "Boy and His Stepmother" in Dr. Campbell's Santāl Collection. Altogether, this story is interesting, and probably other readers of the Indian Antiquary can suggest additional parallels.

Note by the Editor.

This tale is, like some of Mr. Crooke's other tales, simply an agglomerate of incidents to be commonly found in Indian folktales generally. Instances innumerable of each incident in some form or other could be culled from my notes to Wide-awake Stories and from this Journal. To take these incidents seriatim:—

That of the bed and banyan tree is mixed up with very many Indian tales, but for 'tiger' read 'thieves.' A good specimen is to be found in Wide-awake Stories, pp. 77-78.

Grateful animals and their doings are also exceedingly common everywhere in Indian nurseries. A collection of instances from Indian Fairy Tales, Folktales of Bengal, Legends of the Pājāb and the earlier volumes of this Journal will be found at p. 412 of Wide-awake Stories.

Golden hair belong, in every other instance I have seen, to the heroine, and instances of the incident of a golden hair floating down a stream and leading both to good fortune and to calamity are to be found collected at p. 413 of Wide-awake Stories.

1 I do not wish by this statement to detract from the value and interest of Mr. Crooke's tales. They, in fact, strongly support the theory I propounded in Wide-awake Stories, and which has since been accepted by the Folklore Society.
In this tale the golden hair leads up to a very simple and boldly stated variant of the impossible task as a preliminary to marriage, which is often really nothing but a folktale reminiscence of the ancient custom of the swayyamvara. Many instances will be found collected at p. 489 of Wide-awake Stories.

Flute stories are as common in India as in Europe. Perhaps the best of all in the East is the exquisite Pañjâbî tale of "Little Anklebone," which is comparable to Grimm’s "Singing Bone." This tale is known in the Pañjâb as "Gīṭāṭā Rām" and is to be found in Wide-awake Stories, pp. 127 ff.

I have quoted above from Wide-awake Stories, as that is the latest publication, so far as I know, giving a collection of incidents in Indian folktales, but, from the many folktales from all parts of India published in this Journal in the eight years that have elapsed since that book was issued, many further instances could be easily adduced in support of the above notes.

A FOLKTALE OF THE LUSHAIS1.

BY BERNARD HOUGHTON, C.S.

The Story of Kangori.

Her father, who was unmarried, was splitting bamboos to make a winnowing basket, when he ran a splinter into his hand. The splinter grew into a little child (After a time) the child was brought forth motherless and they called her Kangori. Even as a grain of rice swells in the cooking, so little by little she grew big. Two or three years passed by and she became a maiden. She was very pretty, and all the young men of the village were rivals for her favour; but her father kept her close and permitted no one to approach her. There was a young man named Kāmī. He took up the impression of her (foot from the ground) and placed it on the bamboo grating over the house-fire (there to dry and shrivel up), and so it fell out that Kangori became ill.

Kangori’s father said, “If there be any one that can cure her, he shall have my daughter.”

All the villagers tried, but not one of them could do any good. However (at last) Kāmī came.

“I will cure her, and I will marry her afterwards,” said he. Her father said, “Cure the girl first and you may then have her.”

So she was cured. The foot-print, which he had placed to dry on the fire-shelf, he opened out and scattered (to the wind). Kangori became well and Kāmī married her. “Come, Kangori,” said he, “will you go to my house?” So they went. On the road Kāmī turned himself into a tiger. Kangori caught hold of his tail, and they ran like the wind. (It so happened) that some women of the village were gathering wood, and they saw all this; so they went back home to Kangori’s father and said, “Your daughter has got a tiger for a husband.” Kangori’s father said, “Whoever can go and take Kangori may have her;” but no one had the courage to take her. However, Phôchîl and Hrangchâl, two friends, said, “We will go and try our fortune.” Kangori’s father said, “If you are able to take her you may have her;” so Phôchîl and Hrangchâl set off. Going on, they came to Kāmī’s village. The young man Kāmī had gone out hunting. Before going into the house Phôchîl and Hrangchâl went to Kangori. “Kangori,” said they, “where is your husband?” “He is gone out hunting,” she said, “but will be home directly.” On this they became afraid, and Phôchîl and Hrangchâl climbed up to the top of the high fire-shelf. Kangori’s husband arrived—“I smell the smell of a man,” said he. “It must be me, whom you smell,” said Kangori. Night fell, everyone ate their dinners and lay down to rest. In the morning Kangori’s husband again went out to hunt. A widow came and said (to the two friends), “If you are going to run away with Kangori take fire-seed, thorn-seed, and water-seed with you.” So they took fire-seed, thorn-seed, and water-seed; and they took Kangori also and carried her off.

Kangori’s husband returned home. He looked and found Kangori was gone; so he followed after them in hot haste. A little bird called to Hrangchâl: “Run! run! Kangori’s husband will catch you,” said the bird. So (the friends) scattered the fire-seed, and (the fire sprang up and) the jungle and under-growth burnt furiously, so that Kangori’s husband could not come any farther.

When the fire subsided, he again resumed the pursuit.

1 From Major T. H. Lewis’s Progressive Exercises in the Lushai Dialect, Calcutta, 1891. The story was taken down by the author as told by a Lushai.)
The little bird cried to Hrangchal: "He is catching you up," so they scattered the water-seed, and a great river widened (between them and their pursuer).

However, Kungori's husband waited for the water to go down, and when the water went down he followed them as before. The bird said to Hrangchal, "He is after you again, he is fast gaining on you, sprinkle the thorn-seed," said the bird. So they sprinkled the thorn-seed and thorns sprouted in thickets so that Kungori's husband could not get on. By biting and tearing the thorns he at length made a way, and again he followed after them. Hrangchal became dazed, as one in a dream, (at this persistence of pursuit), and crouching down among the roots of some reeds, watched. Phothir cut the tiger down dead with a blow of his ddo. "I am Phothir," said he. So the tiger died.

Hrangchal and the others went on again, until they came to the three cross roads of Kuavang, and there they stopped. Phothir and Hrangchal were to keep guard turn about. Hrangchal went to sleep first, while Phothir stayed awake (watching). At night Kuavang came. "Who is staying at my cross-roads?" he said. Phothira (spoke out boldly): "Phothira and Hrangchal (are here)," said he; "crouching under the reeds, we cut off the tiger's head without much ado." On this Kuavang understood (with whom he had to deal), and, becoming afraid, he ran off. So Phothira (woke up Hrangchal saying), "Hrangchal, get up; you stay awake now, I am very sleepy; I will lie down. If Kuavang comes you must not be afraid." Having said this, he lay down (and went to sleep). Hrangchal stayed awake. Presently Kuavang returned. "Who is this staying at my cross-roads?" he said. Hrangchal was frightened. (However) he replied: "Phothira and Hrangchal (are here) they killed the tiger that followed them among the reed-roots." But Kuavang was not to be frightened by this; so he took Kungori (and carried her off). Kungori marked the road, trailing behind her a line of cotton thread. They entered into a hole in the earth, and so arrived at Kuavang's village. The hole in the earth, by which they entered, was stopped up by a great stone. In the morning Phothira and Hrangchal began to abuse each other. Sake Phothira to Hrangchal, "Fool of a man," said he, "where has Kungori gone? On account of your faint-heartedness Kuavang has carried her off. Away! you will have to go to Kuavang's village." So they followed Kungori's line of white thread, and found that the thread, entered (the earth) under a big rock. They moved away the rock, and there lay Kuavang's village before them! Phothira called out: "Ahoy! give me back my Kungori." Kuavang replied, "We know nothing about your Kungori. They have taken her away." "If you do not (immediately) give me Kungori I will use my ddo," said Phothir. "Hit away," answered Kuavang. With one cut of the ddo a whole village died right off! Again Phothir cried, "Give me my Kungori." Kuavang said, "Your Kungori is not here." On this Phothir and Hrangchal said, "We will come in." "Come along," said Kuavang. So they went in and came to Kuavang's house. Kuavang's daughter, who was a very pretty girl, was pointed out as Kungori. "Here is Kungori," said they. "This is not she," said Phothir, "really now, give me Kungori." So (at last) they gave her to him.

They took her away. Kungori said, "I have forgotten my comb." "Go, Hrangchal and fetch it," said Phothir, but Hrangchal dared not venture. "I am afraid," said he. So Phothir went (himself) to fetch the comb. While he was gone, Hrangchal took Kungori out, and closed the hole with the great stone. After this, they arrived at the house of Kungori's father. "You have been able to release my daughter," said he, "so take her." Kungori however, did not wish to be taken, said Kungori's father, "Hrangchal is here, but where is Phothira?" "We do not know Phothira's dwelling-place," was the reply.

So Hrangchal and Kungori were united. Kungori was altogether averse to the marriage. but she was coupled with Hrangchal whether she would or no.

Phothira was married to Kuavang's daughter. Beside the house he sowed a koy-seed. It sprouted and a creeper sprang (upwards like a lâzâder). Phothira, when he was at Kuavang's, had a child (born to him); and he cooked some small stones (in place of rice), and, when his wife was absent, he gave the stones, which he had cooked, to the child, saying, "Eat." While it was eating Phothir climbed up the stalks of the creeper (that had sprang up near the house), and got out (into the upper world). He went on and arrived at the house of the Kungori's father. They had killed a gaddi, and were dancing and making merry. With one blow Phothir cut off the head of Hrangchal! Kungori's father cried. "Why, Phothir, do you cut off Hrangchal's head?" "I was obliged to cut it off," said Phothir. "It was I who released Kungori from Kéimîl's village;
Hrangchala dared not do it. When Kuavang carried off Kungori also, Hrangchala dared not say him nay. He was afraid. Afterwards we followed Kungori’s line of cotton thread, which lead us to Kuavang’s village. Kungori (after we had released her from there) forgot her comb. We told Hrangchala to go and fetch it, but he dared not. ‘I am afraid,’ said he. so I went to get it. He then took Kungori and left me behind, shutting the hole in the earth with a great stone. They went away.

I married Kuavang’s daughter, and, while she was absent, I climbed up the stalks of the creeper, and came here.” On (hearing) this; “Is it so,” said they, “then you shall be united.” So Hrangchala died and Phothira and Kungori were married. They were very comfortable together, and killed many gaevi. They possessed many villages, and lived happy ever after. Thus the story is concluded.

**MISCELLANEA.**

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SIX UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

1.—Arthuňa Stone Inscription of the Paramâra Châmuṇḍârâja, of the (Vikrama) year 1136.

Dr. Hörnle has sent me, some time ago, a very imperfect pencil-rubbing of an inscription discovered at Arthunā 1 in Bâjputâna, together with a rough transcript of the text and an English translation of it, received from Mahâmâhopâdhyaya Kavirâj Śyânañ Dâs, member of the State Council of Mârwâ. This inscription contains 53 lines of writing which cover a space of 2' 6" broad by 2' 2" high. The writing appears to be well preserved. The size of the letters is about ¾". The characters are Nâgârī. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 87.

The inscription is a prasâasti or laudatory account of a line of princes or chiefs who belonged to the Paramâra family, and its object is, to state (in line 44) that the prince Châmuṇḍârâja, in honour of his father Mañjânâda, founded a temple of Siva, under the name of Mañjânâda, and to record (in lines 45-50) the endowments made in favour of that temple. The prasâasti was composed by the poet Chandra, a younger brother of Vîjayaśakara and son of Saunâtisâkara, of the Sâkara family. 2 And it is dated in line 53:—sântvat 1136 Phâgum-sundi 7 Bûkra, corresponding, for Vikrama 1136 expired, to Friday, the 31st January A. D. 1090, when the 7th titik of the bright half ended 30 h. 3 m. after moon sunrise.

Beginning with two verses which invoke the blessings of Dâvî and Siva (Śâkîâkham), the poet tells the well-known fable how on Mount Arbuda (or Âbå) the sage Vaishishtha, when his cow Nandini was carried off by Viśâmitra, produced from the sacred fire the hero Paramâra, who defeated Viśâmitra. In the family of Paramâra there was born in the course of time Vaïrisiñha (line 8), who had a younger brother, named Dambarasâthi (line 10). And in the family of Dambarasâthi was born Kânkadâva (line 11), who near the Narmâda defeated the forces of the ruler of Karpaṭâ and thus destroyed the enemy of the Mâlava king Śrîharsha, but who apparently lost his own life on that occasion. Kânkadâva’s son was Chânâga (line 18); his son was Satyârâja (line 14); from him sprang Mañjânâda (line 16); and his son again was Châmuṇḍârâja 3 (line 30), who is said to have defeated Śindhurâja. Beyond what has been stated here, the inscription contains nothing of importance. The princes Vaîrisiñha and Śrîharsha, mentioned above, are of course the well-known Vaîrisiñha II. and Śrîharshâdâva-Sîyaka of Mâlava.

2.—Chítôr Stone Inscription of the Guhfla Family, of the (Vikrama) year 1381.

Sir A. Cunningham has supplied to me a pencil-rubbing, 4 taken by Mr. Gârrick, of the inscription at Chîtôr of which a photo-lithograph has been published in his Archæol. Survey of India, Vol. XXIII. Plate xxv. This inscription contains 54 lines of writing which cover a space of 2' 6" broad by 2' 7½" high. Line 39 appears to have been almost completely scratched out; otherwise the writing is on the whole well preserved. The impression of the stone is given in Plate xxv. Mr. Gârrick reports that at a small hamlet called Nintor, 5

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1 I cannot find Arthunâ on the maps at my disposal. In the papers sent to me it is stated that “a sight of the ruins of Arthunâ confirms the view that a large city existed there in ancient times, where only a small village stands at present, surrounded by several temples in ruins.” The rubbing of the inscription was procured through the assistance of the Political Agent of Bâzawâk.
2 The names of the writer and of the engraver are illegible in the rubbing.
3 In Archæol. Survey of India, Vol. XXIII. p. 124, Mr. Gârrick reports that at a small hamlet called Nimtor,
size of the letters is about \( \frac{3}{4} \). The characters are Nāgari. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 61.

This is a prośasti of the Guhila family of Mēḍāpāta, similar to the Mount Ābī stone inscription of Samarasinha of the Vikrama year 1342 (ante, Vol. XVI. p. 345), and composed by the same poet Vēdasāman (line 54) who, indeed, in line 46 of the Mount Ābī inscription refers to this and similar prośasti, composed by himself. It was engraved by the artistan Sajjana (line 54), and is dated in line 54—saṁ 1381 vareṇā Āśādhā-sudī 3 Bhūkṛ Pusyā, corresponding, for northern Vikrama 1381 expired, to Friday, the 8th June A. D. 1274, when the 3rd tithi of the bright half ended about 20 h., and when the moon was in Pushya for about 17 h. after mean sunrise.

The inscription opens with verses invoking the blessings of Śiva (Śrī-Samādhīśvara,3 Trinayana, Chandrachāḍa) and Gancā. The poet then states that he is about to eulogize the Guhila vaśā. He glorifies the country of Mēḍāpāta, and its town Nāgarahadā; and relates how through the favour of the sage Hārtarāmi Kippa became lord of Mēḍāpāta. Afterwards he gives the names of the descendants of Kippa, from Guhila to Narāvarman, and praises each of them in three or four verses, in general terms which are of no historical value. After verse 60 he adds in prose—sansāra-vāsāc-caryānām deśīya-praśasti vacānayanam.

The princes glorified are:—
1. Bappa.
2. Guhila (v. 13).
3. Bhōja (v. 15).
4. Bhīsa (v. 18).
5. Kalabhōja (v. 21).
7. Bhartṛbhṛṣṭa (v. 27).
8. Siṅhā (v. 30).
9. Mahāyaṇa (v. 33; in the Mount Ābī inscription called Mahāyika).
10. Shumnāya (v. 38).
13. Baktikumāra (v. 46).

3 This shows that Śrī-Samādhīśvara in line 46 of the Mount Ābī inscription is a name of Śiva.
4 This finally settles the meaning of the same word in verse 8 of the Mount Ābī inscription.
5 This name is doubtful, because the rubbing is here very faint.
Verses 10-20 give the genealogy of the two brothers Pahladeva, or Pañhaja and Hamasarja. This part of the inscription commences with a verse in praise of the fort of Gòpâchala (or Gâwliar). At Gòpâchala lived a family of Kâyasthas, of the Kâsapa gòtra, who had come from Mutchur. In that family there was a certain Alâha, whose son was Kânhada, whose son again was the minister (awastrin) Vîjâha. Vîjâha married Mânâg, who bore to him two sons, Gângadèva and Yamunarâ. Gângadèva married Loûd, and she bore to him four sons, Palîha, Haîrâka, Sîva, and Hamasarja.

4. — Sarwâya Stone Inscription of Ganapati of Nalapura, of the (Vikrama) year 1248.

Dr. Burgess has also supplied to me a pencil-rubbing of the inscription, found in a tank at Sarwâya, eight miles to the east of Sitpî, which is mentioned in Sir A. Cunningham’s Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. II. p. 316. This inscription contains 33 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3’’ broad by 1’’ 11” high. The writing is well preserved throughout. The size of the letters is about 3”. The characters are Nâgari. The language is Sânakrit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 33.

The inscription is a prasâasti, the proper object of which is to record (in verses 23-28) that, during the reign of Ganapati, the son of the prince Gòpâla, the thakkarâ Vâmanâ (evidently a high official) built a public tank (âdikâr), clearly the tank at which the inscription has been found. The prasâasti was composed by the poet Sêma-mira, a son of Sêmanyâ, written by Mahârâja, the son of Sômarâja; and engraved by Dâvasîna, the son of Mâdhava. And it is dated in line 33 — sarvâla 1248 Chaitra-sudra 8 Gurudina Pushya-nakshatres, corresponding, for southern Vikrama 1248, to Thursday, the 27th March A. D. 1293, when the 8th Ishâ of the bright half ended 17h. 17m., and when the moon entered the nakshatra Pushya 9h. 51m. after mean sunrise.

The inscription opens with three verses invoking the blessings of the goddess of eloquence Sûrâdâ, and of the gods Krișna (Mâhâ-dhava) and Hara. It then has a verse in praise of the town Mathurâ on the Yamuna, from which, as we are told further on, proceeded a family of Kâyasthas, known as the Mâthuras. In that family there was one

Chandra, of the Kâsapa gòtra; his son was Dêlahâ; his son Kâsava; his son Padmanâha; and his son Dêhula. Dêhula had three sons, Udâya, Nâmâ and Alîhâ. Of these, Nâmâ married Padmâ, the daughter of Mahârâja; and she bore to him three sons, Dhânî, Vîjâya-deva, and Vâmâna who built the tank, mentioned above. Vâmâna married first Âjâyadâ (†), a daughter of Lôhâja, and afterwards Hôma, a daughter of Asadâva.

5. — Khârâd Stone Inscription of Ratanâdâva III. of Ratanapura, of the Châlî year 883.

Dr. Burgess has also supplied to me a pencil-rubbing of the inscription at Khârâd in the Central Provinces which is mentioned in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. VII. p. 201, and Vol. XVII. p. 43. This inscription contains 38 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3’’ broad by 1’’ 6’’ high. To judge from the rubbing, the writing has suffered a good deal all the way down on the proper left side; but with a good impression all that is important might nevertheless be made out with certainty. The size of the letters is about 3’’. The characters are Nâgari. The language is Sânakrit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 44.

The inscription is dated in line 28: — Châlî- samvat 883, corresponding to A. D. 1181-82; and it is valuable, because (in lines 4-15) it gives a complete list of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanapura down to Ratanâdâva III., and proves thus beyond doubt that there really were three chiefs of Ratanapura, called Ratnakarâ or Ratnâdâva.

Besides we find in this introductory part of the inscription some names of persons and places which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty. In the family of the Hathayas there was a prince (evidently Kôkalla) who had eighteen sons (line 5), one of whom was Káltîga. His son was Kamala, the lord of Tumnapa; from him sprang Ratnakarâ I.; and then came Prîthvîdeva I. His son was Jâjâlalâdeva I., who defeated Bhujabalâ, the lord of Suvârnapûra (Jâjâlalâdeva- nipatis-tat-stûnar-abhâ-va-Suvârnapûra-nâtham | Bhujavâ- (ba)lam-sava (ba) lam chakrâ ni-jha-bhujavâ-va (ba)-latah samikâ yâh 11). Jâjâlalâdeva’s son was Ratnâdâva II. (line 6), who defeated the prince Chôjâgåtha, the lord of the country of Kâlîngâ. His son was Prîthvîdeva II. (line 8); and his son

name Harîrâka also occurs in a fragmentary inscription at Udâyapur in Gâwliar; ante, Vol. XX. p. 84.

1 This is perhaps the Lôhâja mentioned in the preceding inscription.


3 See t. 33.
again was Jājalladēva II. (line 10), who married Sōmalladēvi14 (line 12), and whose son was the prince Rāmaddēva III. (line 18), during whose reign the inscription was put up.

6. — Nāgpur Museum Stone Inscription of Brahmadēva of Bāypura, of the (Vikrama) year 1468.

To Dr. Fleet I owe a good impression of the Nāgpur Museum inscription, brought from Bāypur in the Central Provinces, which is mentioned by Sir A. Cunningham in his Archaol. Survey of India, Vol. XVII. p. 77. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 10" broad by 1' 4 1/2" high. With the exception of a few aksaras which are broken away in the bottom lines, the writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is about 1/4". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. By far the greater part of the inscription is in verse. The whole is written very carelessly.

The inscription opens with eight verses in honour of Ganēśa, Bhārati, the author's preceptors, and the god Śiva. It then records the foundation of a temple of Haṭakāśāra24 (Śiva) by the Nāyaka Hājirājādēva, apparently a minister or other official of the chief Brahmadēva of Bāypura, in the following prose passage (in lines 9-12), which I give as I find it: —


This passage is followed by a verse in praise of the town Bāypura, and by other verses (in lines 13-17) which give the genealogy of Brahmadēva. At Bāypura there was the great prince Lash- midēva (Lakshmīdēva); his son was Śrīnaka; his son Rāmaddēva; and his son again Harī- rājā-brahman (in the sequel called simply Brahmadēva). The concluding lines of the inscription (18-25) have reference to the founder of the temple, Hājirājā, and are void of interest.

The date of this inscription I have ante, Vol. XIX. p. 26, shown to correspond to Friday, the 10th February A. D. 1402. Of the four princes, the Khālārī stone inscription of Brahmadēva of the Vikrama year 1470 (for 1471) mentions three, under the names of Śrīnaka, Rāmaddēva, and Harībrāhmadēva, referring them to the Kalachuri branch of the Haṭhayā family. And a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek12 in the Central Provinces, of which I owe a pencil-rubbing to Dr. Fleet, mentions Śrīnaka and Rāmaddēra.

Göttingen.

PAUSHA SAMVATSARA

IN THE KASIKÁ-VIBITTI ON P. IV, 2, 21.

A copper-plate inscription of the Kāmba king Mrigēśa, of about the 6th century A. D., published by Dr. Fleet, ante, Vol. VI. page 24, is dated in line 10:—

The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. By far the greater part of the inscription is in verse. The whole is written very carelessly.

The inscription opens with eight verses in honour of Ganēśa, Bhārati, the author's preceptors, and the god Śiva. It then records the foundation of a temple of Haṭakāśāra (Śiva) by the Nāyaka Hājirājādēva, apparently a minister or other official of the chief Brahmadēva of Bāypura, in the following prose passage (in lines 9-12), which I give as I find it: —


This passage is followed by a verse in praise of the town Bāypura, and by other verses (in lines 13-17) which give the genealogy of Brahmadēva. At Bāypura there was the great prince LashAddādēva (Lakshmīdēva); his son was Śrīnaka; his son Rāmaddēva; and his son again Harīrājā-brahman (in the sequel called simply Brahmadēva). The concluding lines of the inscription (18-25) have reference to the founder of the temple, Hājirājā, and are void of interest.

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Dr. Burgess.

14 This name (and perhaps the whole verse in which it is contained) also occurs in line 9 of a much mutilated inscription at Amarkuanah (Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. VII. p. 258) of which I owe a faint pencil-rubbing to
months of the year that month which contains the *Pauahi paurunādasi*, or, in other words, that month of the calendar during which the moon is full in the *nakshatra* Pushya. Differing from Patañjali, the author of the *Kāśi-K-vṛtti* on P. IV, 2, 21, would permit us to form by that rule not only names of months and half-months, but also names of years, and accordingly, in addition to the instances *Pauahi māsaḥ* and *Pauahi rādhamsātiḥ*, he also gives the example *Pauahi samvatsaraḥ*.

When first I read the remarks of the *Kāśi-K-vṛtti* on Pāṇini's rule, I could not but think that there might be some error in the printed text; but I soon found out that the published edition really gives the text which is furnished by the MSS., and from a note of Hēmachandra's on his own rule VI, 2, 98, I became convinced that he was acquainted with, although he apparently did not approve of, Jayādītya's strange interpretation.

That Jayādītya is wrong in forming the word *Pauahi of Pauahi samvatsaraḥ* by P. IV, 2, 21, seems certain. Explained by that rule, *Pauahi samvatsaraḥ* would mean 'the year which contains the *Pauahi paurunādasi*,' or that particular year during which the moon is full in the *nakshatra* Pushya; but, as almost all years have such a full-moon, nearly every year would have to be named *Pauahi*, and since such a year would ordinarily contain eleven other full-moon *tīthīs*, it would, according to Jayādītya, have to receive eleven similar names. To revert to our dates, the year of the first of them undoubtedly contained the *Kāśi-K paurunādasi*, but the year is named *Vaiśākhā*, not *Kāśi-K samvatsaraḥ*.

The fact is, that neither the three great grammarians Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, nor the grammarian Chandra, whose work was known to Jayādītya, have given any rule by which we could account for the words *Pauahi* or *Vaiśākhā* in phrases like *Pauahi samvatsaraḥ* or *Vaiśākhāḥ samvatsaraḥ*; but we do find the requisite rule in the later grammars of Sākaṭāyana and Hēmachandra, and in the *Jaināṅa-vydkarana*.

Hēmachandra's rule VI, 2, 5, is—

udita-gurūr bhād yuktā 'bde;

and his own commentary on this rule is—

"whi gurur brihaspatir yasmin bhā nakahatre tāvichinas triyāmānād yuktā 'rte yathāvhihitam prāyaṃ bhavati sa chād yuktā 'rthā 'bdaḥ samvatsaraḥ; *s"yaḥ* 1 pushyāṇādītaṃguṇāḥ yuktām yuktām Pauhaṃ varham i phalgunibhir uditaṃ."
REVERSE FACE OF THE STONE.
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACHETI,
1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

(Continued from page 32.)

The number of leading priests, who received the upasampadā ordination during the five days, namely, from the 9th to the 13th, was 245. On Saturday, the 14th day, the King sent the following invitation to the 245 leading theras, who had received their upasampadā ordination: "To-morrow, which is a Sunday, and the full-moon uposatha day of the month Migasra, may the Venerable Ones be pleased to perform uposatha in the Kalyāṇismā in the company of the fifteen theras, who conducted the upasampadā ordination ceremony? It is our desire to serve the Venerable Ones with food, and to present them with other requisites at the conclusion of the uposatha, and to derive feelings of piety from such an act." On the morning of the uposatha day, the King, surrounded by a large concourse of people, went to the Kalyāṇisimā, and, having ordered the provision of seats and of water for washing the feet, awaited the arrival of the newly-ordained theras and the fifteen conductors of the upasampadā ordination ceremony. All the theras assembled together, and performed uposatha in the Kalyāṇisimā. At the conclusion of the uposatha ceremony, the King served all of them with a bounteous supply of various kinds of hard and soft food, and with different kinds of betel-leaf, &c., and dhāndjja. The following articles were then presented to each of the theras:—two couples of cotton cloths of delicate texture for making tickṭava robes; a betel-box with cover, areca-nuts, nut-crackers, &c.; a palmyra fan; an umbrella made of the leaf of the wild date-palm (phomis sylvestris); and an alms-bowl with cover and stand.

In compliance with the wish of all the priests, the King conferred the title of Kalyāṇitissamahāthera on Suvannasobhanathāthera.

Thenceforward, the King permanently stationed, in the neighbourhood of the Kalyāṇisimā, nobles and learned men for the purpose of serving food and furnishing the requisites to the ten theras, headed by Kalyāṇitissamahāthera, who, together with the five young priests, conducted the upasampadā ordination ceremony, as well as to the leading priests, who had received their upasampadā ordination in the Kalyāṇisimā, and to the numerous priests who presented themselves for ordination. There were likewise stationed numerous scribes charged with the duty of recording the number of priests ordained; and musicians to sound the drum, conch-shell, and other instruments for the purpose of eliciting the acclamation of sādhu at the conclusion of each reading of the khammavīchā relating to the upasampadā ordination.

The ten theras who conducted the ordination ceremony, the 245 leading priests who had received such ordination, and the numerous priests who were their disciples, confessed, day after day, without interruption, the Sīhāja form of the upasampadā ordination on other leading priests, who came and expressed a desire to receive it.

Bāmādhīpatīrāja of his own accord, and with the approbation of the whole Order, despatched the following message to all the priests residing in Bāmānādāsā:—

"Venerable Ones, there may be men, who, though wishing to receive the pabbajjā ordination, are branded criminals, or notorious robber-chiefs, or escaped prisoners, or offenders against the Government, or old and decrepit, or stricken with severe illness, or deficient in the members of the body in that they have cut or rudimentary hands, &c., or are hump-backed, or dwarfish, or lame, or have crooked limbs, or are, in short, persons, whose presence vitiates the parissā. If people of such description are admitted into the Order, all those, who may see them, will imitate, or laugh at, their deformity, or revile them; and the sight of such men will not be capable of inspiring one with feelings of piety or reverence. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, not to admit, with effect from to-day, such men into the Order."
There may be men, living under your instruction, who desire to receive the upasampadā ordination. Venerable Ones, not to confer on them such ordination, in your own locality, without the previous sanction of Rāmahātipatīrāja or of the leading thers of Haṃsavati-purā. Should, Venerable Ones, you disregard this our command, and conduct the upasampadā ordination ceremony in your own locality, we shall inflict punishment on the parents of the candidates for such ordination, their relatives, or their lay supporters.

There are sinful priests, who practise medicine; and others, who devote their time to the art of numbers, carpentry, or the manufacture of ivory articles, or who declare the happy or unhappy lot of governors, nobles, and the common people, by examining their horoscopes or by reading the omens and dreams, that may have appeared to them.

There are some priests, who not only make such declarations, but also procure their livelihood, like laymen addicted to the acquisition of material wealth, by means of painting, carpentry, the manufacture of ivory articles, turnery, the making of idols, and such other vocations. In short, they follow such unbecoming professions, and obtain their means of livelihood.

There are priests, who visit cotton-fields and preach the Dhamma with long intonation, and trade in the cotton which they happen to receive as offerings.

There are priests, who visit fields of hill-rice, rice, barley, &c., and preach the Dhamma and trade in the grain which they happen to receive as offerings.

There are priests, who visit fields of capsicum and preach the Dhamma, and trade in the capsicum which they happen to receive as offerings.

There are priests, who trade in many other ways.

There are priests, who, contrary to the rules of the Order, associate with such laymen as gamesters, rouëts, drunkards, men who obtain their means of living by robbery, or who are in the service of the King, or with other men and women.

All these are sinful priests. Do not, Venerable Ones, permit these sinful priests to take up their permanent residence under your protection.

But there are also other priests, who are replete with faith, who observe the rules prescribed for the Order, whose conduct is good, and who are devoted to the study of the Tipiṭaka, together with its commentaries, &c. Venerable Ones, permit such priests to take up their permanent residence under your protection.

If, Venerable Ones, laymen, who are replete with faith and are of good family, desire to receive the pabbajjā ordination at your hands, they should be taught calligraphy, and after they have acquired a knowledge of the proper intonation of the letters, they should be instructed in the confession of faith in the ‘Three Refuges,’ and taught the precepts; and eventually, Venerable Ones, confer the pabbajjā ordination on them.

If there are ādhisthātas, who have completed their twentieth year, and are desirous of receiving the upasampadā ordination, they should be taught a brief summary of the chatupārīsuddhiśāla, that are observed by priests, who have received the upasampadā ordination, namely, pātimākkhadhāvanāsita, indriyaśasvāsita, āsavāpārīsuuddhiśāla, and pahohayaśāvapissitaśa. They should farther be instructed both in the letter and spirit of the Bhikkhu-phāṭimākkha and the Ḍhamma-pāṭimākkha, from beginning to end, and be directed to learn by heart the ritual of ordination and the chatuppahohaya-phahohaya-pissitaśa. Do you ultimately report your action to Rāmahātipatīrāja as well as to the leading priests residing in Haṃsavati-purā? These Rāmahātipatīrājas will furnish these candidates with the priestly ‘requisites,’ and have the upasampadā ordination conferred on them.
"Venerable Ones, let all of them conform themselves to such conduct as is in accordance with the precepts prescribed by the Blessed One in the Vinaya.

"It was owing to the division of the priests of Ramaṇāṇadse into different sects in former times, that such impurity, heresy, and corruption arose in the Religion. But now, through all the Venerable Ones being imbued with faith, they have received the Sīhāla form of the upasampada ordination, that has been handed down by the spiritual successors of the Mahāvihāra sect. Whatever may be the mode of tonsure and of dress followed by the mahāthēras of Sīhaladīpa, let such practice be conformed to, and let there be a single sect."

Having sent the above message to the priests throughout the whole of Ramaṇāṇadse, Rāmadhipatirāja communicated the following intimation to the priests, who were possessed of gold, silver, and such other treasure, corn, elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes, male and female slaves:

"Sirs, if you are really imbued with faith, you will endeavour to give up your gold, silver, and such other treasure, corn, elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes, male and female slaves. Having done so, conform yourselves to such conduct as is in accordance with the precepts prescribed by the Blessed One. If you do not endeavour to follow this course, leave the Order according to your inclination."

Some of the priests, owing to their being imbued with faith, gave up all such possessions, and conformed themselves to such conduct as was in accordance with the precepts; while other thēras did not endeavour to give up all their possessions, and they left the Order.

There were priests who had flagrantly committed pārājika offences: these were requested to become laymen. There were others, whose commission of pārājika offences had not been proved, but whose reproachable and censurable conduct was difficult to be justified: these were asked to become laymen. There were sinful priests, who practised medicine, or the art of numbers, &c., as mentioned above; or who lived misdirected lives by following such vocations as painting, &c., as if they were laymen addicted to the acquisition of material wealth; or who traded in the gifts obtained by preaching the Dhamma; or who traded in many other ways: all these were commanded to become laymen.

It was in this manner that Rāmadhipatirāja purged the Religion of its impurities throughout the whole of Ramaṇāṇadse, and created a single sect of the whole body of the Priesthood.

From the year 838, Sakkarat, to the year 841, Sakkarat, the priests throughout Ramaṇāṇamāndala, who resided in towns and villages, as well as those who lived in the forest, continuously received the extremely pure form of the Sīhāla upasampada ordination, that had been handed down by the spiritual successors of the Mahāvihāra sect.

The leading priests were 800 in number; and the young priests numbered 14,365; and the total of the numbers of both classes of priests was 15,085. At the conclusion of the upasampada ordination ceremony of these 800 leading priests, the King presented each of them with the following articles: — two couples of cotton cloths of delicate texture for making tīkṣera robes; a betel-box, with a cover, containing betel leaves, areca-nuts, and a nut-cracker, together with a towel, &c.; an umbrella made of the leaves of the wild date-palm (phcenis sylvestris); an alms-bowl, with a stand and cover, and a palmyra fan. Moreover, suitable ecclesiastical titles were conferred on all the leading priests.

Subsequently, in accordance with his previous promise, the King furnished 601 sāmaṇeras, who had mastered the chatuyāsuddhiśīla, studied the Pātimokkha and the Khuddasakkhā, learnt by heart the ritual of confession and the pachchavekkhama, and completed their twentieth year, with alms-bowls, robes, and all other priestly requisites, and commanded them to receive the upasampada ordination in the Kalyāṇismā. Adding these newly-ordained priests, there were, at the time, in Ramaṇāṇadse, 15,666 priests.
Rāmadhipatiraja, after he had purified the Religion of Buddha, expressed a hope—

"Now that this Religion of Buddha has been purged of the impure form of the upasampadd ordination, of sinful priests, and of priests who are not free from censure and reproach, and that it has become cleansed, resplendent, and pure, may it last till the end of the period of 5,000 years!"

1. In former times, Assakadhammaraja, to whom incomparable majesty and might had accrued, out of love for the Religion, became agitated in mind at the sight of the impurities that had arisen in it.

2. He solicited the assistance of Mogsaliputtatissathra, and effected the purification of the Religion by expelling 60,000 sinful priests from the Order.

3. In Laukālāpa, Parakkamabahuraja, whose name began with Sirisanghabēhi, was friend of the Religion of Buddha.

4. Seeing the impurities of the Religion, agitation arose in his mind, and he expelled numerous sinful priests, who held heretical doctrines.

5. He effected purification by sparing the single orthodox sect, whose members were the spiritual successors of the Mahāvihāra.

6. Subsequently, the purification of the Religion was again, in like manner, effected by other kings as Vijayabāhu and Parakkama.

7. In times past, our Boddhisattva, while fulfilling the pāramī, ruled over the celestial kingdom of Tidasalayasagga.

8. At that time, the Religion of Kassapa Buddha was in existence, and Ānandathēra became Usinnara, and ruled over the kingdom of Bārāṇāsīpura.

9. Although he perceived the impurities, he remained indifferent, and did not effect the purification of the Religion. Then Sakra, the Lord of the dévas, set aside his celestial bliss and,

10. Accompanied by Matali, who had assumed the form of a black dog, went to the King, called Usinnara, and inspired him with fear.

11. Having received a pledge for the purification of the Religion, and after admonishing him, Sakra returned to Tidasalaya.

12. Therefore, King Rāmadhipati, the Lord of Rāmaṇḍadēsa, following respectfully in the footsteps of the virtuous,

13. Purified the Religion with a view that it might last till the end of 5,000 years.

14. For having purified the Religion in the manner described above, I, Rāmadhipati, have acquired merit, which is as inexhaustible as aimātā, the state of purity and quiescence.

15. May the excellent Kings, who are imbued with intense faith, and who will reign after me in Haṁsavatipura, always strive to purify the Religion, whenever they perceive that impurities have arisen in it!

16. Although the thēras, headed by Majjhantikathāra, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had performed their last deeds, took a delight in solitude, they set aside their bliss of aimātā,

17. And, in former times, exerted themselves in the interest of the Religion. Therefore respectfully following in their footsteps.

18. May the priests of Haṁsavatipura, who delight in their condition of purity, and are enthusiastic (in the cause of the Religion) purify, in after times, the Religion whenever they perceive any impurities in it!
19. If this is done, the beings, who are immersed in the whirlpool of the three forms of existence, will be enabled to cross (to the other shore), or to free themselves from the conditions of sin and suffering, or to attain the pure and excellent and supreme Buddhahood, which is embellished with the attributes of the wise and is the fruition of supreme exertion.

Here end the litho inscriptions called Kalyāṇī.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON TUL'ŚI DĀŚ.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, L.C.S.

It is a source of gratification to me, that my attempt to describe the modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān has elicited criticism at the same time kindly and lively, at the hands of native scholars.

In the present article I propose to bring forward some interesting facts about the greatest of Indian authors of modern times, Tulśi Dāś, which that criticism has elicited.

(1) DATE OF THE POET.

The date of this poet has never been a matter of doubt to native scholars, and it was not until after I had completed my work already alluded to, that it ever struck me that it was necessary to verify it. When the publication of Prof. Jacobi's Tables for computing Hindu Dates in the Indian Antiquity (ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 145 and ff.) and in Epigraphia Indica (L. pp. 463 and ff.) placed it in my power to do this, I tested by them the date given by Tulśi Dāś himself for the composition of his Rāmdāyaṇ, but altogether failed to make the week-day come right. After numerous failures I referred the matter to Prof. H. Jacobi himself, who went into it on more than one occasion with inexhaustible kindness. It was some satisfaction to me to find that, while there was no error in my own calculations, there was a way of reconciling the discrepancy between the poet's statements and actual facts. This has since led me to test every other date relating to Tulśi Dāś, which native friends, or the poet's own verses have put in my possession. It will be convenient to give a list of them here.

(a) Date of the composition of the Rām-charit-mānas (commonly called the Rāmdāyaṇ.) (Rām. Bd. XXXIV. 4,6). Sambat 1631; Chaitra 9 sudī, Tuesday.

(b) Date of the composition of the Rām Sat'śat (Rāma-saṭła-ṣat'śata) (Sat. I., 21). Sambat 1642, Vaiḍākha Sudī, 9, Thursday.

(c) Date of the composition of the Pārbata Maṅgal (Pār. I., 5). Jaya sambat, Phālguna Sudī, 5, Thursday.

(d) Date of composition of the Rāmdāyaṇ (Rāmājñāṇ). A tradition, recorded by the editor, Chhakkan Lāl, fixes it at Sambat 1655, Īvaṅgha Sudī, 10, Sunday.

(e) Date of the composition of the Kabīta Rāmāyan. Sambat 1669-71.

(f) Date of drawing up a deed of arbitration (vidē post). Sambat 1669, Āśvaṇa Sudī, 13.

(g) Date of Tulśi Dāś's death. An old tradition fixes it on Sambat 1680, Srāvaṇa sudī 7,

It remains now to test these seven dates, so far as possible,

(a) Date of the Rāmāyan. The authorities are:

1, Rām. Bd. XXXIV. 4, 5 and ff.2


2 I quote from the very correct text of the poem printed by Bābu Rām Din Śīgh, of the Khājīng Bīla Press, Patna. This is by far the best edition of the poem which has yet appeared. In transliterating I represent the sounds for want of a more convenient type, by n. The guttural n (ṅ), I leave without any diacritical mark. This will cause no confusion.
Laying my head at Hari's feet, I tell my tale in Samvat 1631. On the ninth tithi, Tuesday, in the month of Chaitra, was this history made manifest in the city of Ayodhya. On the day which the scriptures sing of as that of Rama's birth, when (the spirits of) all holy places there assemble."

Note. —Rama's birthday is on the 9th of the bright half of Chaitra.

2. The date in the poem is borne out by a passage in the Sam Rasi-dvatt of Baghn Raj Singh (B. 1824).

Prof. Jacobi's calculations give the following results:—

A. — Samvat 1631, expired.

(a) Chaitrādi year. —The date is equivalent to Wednesday, 31st March 1574 A. D.
(b) Kārttikādi year. —The date is equivalent to Sunday, 20th March 1575 A. D.

B. — Samvat 1631, current.

(a) Chaitrādi year. —The date is equivalent to Thursday, 26th March 1573 A. D.
(b) Kārttikādi year. —The date is equivalent to Wednesday, 31st March 1574 A. D., —the same as A (a).

It will be seen that none of these possible dates give the day of the week as Tuesday. Prof. H. Jacobi, therefore, calculated the date according to various Śiddhāntas. With his permission, I here give his calculations in full, in order to place the matter beyond doubt.8

Sam. 1631 expired = K. Y. 4675. (Special Tables I. note).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KY.</th>
<th>4600</th>
<th>(9) 17.60</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>19-45</th>
<th>178</th>
<th>159-95</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 75 years| (3) 19.45 | 178 | 1 | Ind. sudi 9 = 1° 95 Ind. bādi 9 = 12-95.
|         | (3) 7.05 | 188 | [18] |

8 The calculations given here, and also those subsequently given by me, are based on the tables in the Epigraphia Indica.
The month Madhu, or Chaitra, of the Chaitrādi year is to be taken in the first column of the Table III. New moon about 26th sol. Chaitra. Sudi 9 about 4th sol. Vaisakha. Add equation to above value.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
4675 \text{ K.Y.} & \text{(3)} & 7 \cdot 05 \ 188 [13] \\
4 \text{th Vais.} & \text{(1)} & 1 \cdot 02 \ 36 \\
& \text{(4)} & 8 \cdot 07 \ 224 \ 13 \\
& & 0 \cdot 83 \ 14 \text{ March.} \\
& & 9 \cdot 90 \\
\end{array}
\]

31 March 1574 A.D.

(1) The ninth tithi ended about 6 ghaṭ. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 31st March, 1574 A.D.—This date will be calculated hereafter according to several Siddhāntas for Oudh.

If we take column 12 of Table III, we get the date for the Kārttikādi Sam. year 1631 viz.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
4675 \text{ K.Y.} & \text{(3)} & 7 \cdot 05 \ 188 [13] \\
244 \text{th Chaitr.} & \text{(6)} & 1 \cdot 66 \ 920 \\
& & (9 = 2) \ 8 \cdot 71 \ 108 \\
& & 67 \\
\end{array}
\]

(2) The ninth tithi ended on Sunday.

Sam. 1531 current = K.Y. 4674. We calculate both kinds of years.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{K.Y.} & 4600 & \text{(0)} & 17 \cdot 60 \ 15 [12] \\
\text{74 years} & \text{(2)} & 8 \cdot 65 \ 927 \ 1 \\
4674 \text{ K.Y.} & \text{(3)} & 26 \cdot 25 \ 942 [13] \\
16 \text{ Chaitr.} & \text{(4)} & 12 \cdot 73 \ 383 \\
& & (6) \ 8 \cdot 98 \ 325 \\
& & 78 \\
& & 9 \cdot 78 \\
\end{array}
\]

(3) The 9th ended on Thursday.

The Kārttikādi year

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{K.Y.} & 4674 & \text{(2)} & 26 \cdot 25 \ 942 [13] \\
\text{4th Vais.} & \text{(2)} & 11 \cdot 82 \ 283 \\
& & \text{(4)} \ 8 \cdot 07 \ 225 \\
& & 0 \cdot 83 \\
& & 8 \cdot 90 \\
\end{array}
\]

(4) Sudi 9 = Wednesday. This date is the same as (1), as of course it ought to be.

We now calculate according to the Special Tables the date 4th solar Vaiśākha K.Y. 4675.

(1) Sūrya Siddhānta with byja.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Kr.} & 4600 & 210^\circ & 0^\circ & 185^\circ & 59^\prime & 0^\prime \\
75 \text{ years} & 238 & 21 & 0 & 67 & 6 & 18 \\
\text{4 Vais.} & 12 & 11 & 27 & 13 & 3 & 54 \\
& & 26^\circ & 17^\prime & 283 & 41 & 26 \\
\Rightarrow & 109 \\
\end{array}
\]
Corr: Table XXII. 26 g\textdegree, 5° 16' 58" 5° 30' 41" 0 25' 38' \\
11 p. 2 14 2 24 11

— 26 g\textdegree, 11 p. 5° 19' 12" 5° 42' 5" 0 25' 49" (2)

Subtract (2) from (1)

109 20 27 266 3 17 283 41 26
5 19 12 5 42 5 25 49

104° 1' 15" 260° 21' 12" 283° 15' 37"
(3)

Equation for Moon's Anomaly 260° 21 12 = \( \cdot \) 4° 59' * 22"
" Sun's " 283 15 37 = — 2 7 8

\( + 2° 51' 14" \) (4)

Add this to (3) \( \epsilon - \circ \) = 104° 1' 15"

106° 52' 29"
(5)

Result No. (5) is the true Distance of Sun and Moon at mean sunrise at Lankā. We calculate, now, for true sunrise at Benares.

North Lat. 25° 20', Long. + 1 g\textdegree, 13 p. (§ 58)
1 g\textdegree. 12° 11' 13' 4" 59"
13 p. 2 38 2 50 13

14' 49" 15' 54" 1' 12"
(6)

Subtract the Result from (3) 104° 1' 15" 260° 21' 12" 283° 15' 37"
14 49 15 54

108° 46' 26" 260° 5' 18' 283° 14' 25"
(6)

(§ 59) Find the ayandāṭa for 4675 K\textdegree = 3 \times \frac{4675 - 3600}{200} = \frac{3175}{200} = 16° 15' 30" 0' 0'

The sidereal Long. \( \circ \) = 283° 14' 25" — 283° 43' 18" = 31' 7"
" tropical " \( \circ \) = sid. Long. + ayandāṭa = 16° 46' 7": =1006°
(§ 60) On 25° 20' North Lat. the 1800 minutes of the 1st Sign rise in 1332 Arus, therefore 1006° of trop. Long. \( \circ \) in 744. Subtract, 1006° — 744° = 262 aurus, 262 aurus = 44 vindīṭi (palas). Subtract the amount for 44 palas from

103° 46' 25" 260° 5' 18' 283° 14' 25"
8 56 9 35 43

103° 37' 30" 259 55 43 283 18 42
(7)

(§ 61) Equation for Moon's Anomaly 259 55 43 = + 4 57 57
" Sun's " 283 13 42 = — 2 7 10

Sum of Equations = 2 50 47

Add \( \epsilon - \circ \) (5) 103 46 26

106° 37' 18" 3 15

Add correction for Sun's Equation + 16 p.

Result Distance \( \epsilon - \circ \) for true Sunrise at Benares

... The end of the 9th tithi 108° 0' 0' occurred when \( \epsilon - \circ \) had increased by 1° 19' 32" or 6 g\textdegree, 31 p. after true sunrise.
Mean distance 103° 30' 22" being smaller than found above, the final result also will be smaller; we need therefore not go on with our calculation.

By comparing above (5) and (8) we see that \( \zeta - 0 \) at true sunrise in Benares was about 12' 1" less than at mean sunrise at Lanka. Accordingly for Brahma Siddhánta the value of \( \zeta - 0 \) is 107° 48' 45" and the end of 9th tithi about 54 palas after true sunrise at Benares.

If we had taken Oudh the moment would have occurred 7 palas earlier. For Siddhánta Sūrāmāni the result is still farther off sunrise.

Conclusion.—As the ninth tithi ended according to all Siddhántas some time after true sunrise at Benares was about 12' 1" less than at mean sunrise at Lanka. Accordingly for Brahma Siddhánta the value of \( \zeta - 0 \) is 107° 48' 45" and the end of 9th tithi about 54 palas after true sunrise at Benares. If we had taken Oudh the moment would have occurred 7 palas earlier. For Siddhánta Sūrāmāni the result is still farther off sunrise.

Taking everything into consideration, I believe the date of Tulśi Dās to be correct, and I think it impossible to impugn the genuineness of the poem or the verse quoted on the ground that the date is not in the common civil reckoning.

With reference to Prof. Jacobi's final remarks, I may note that some native scholars have impugned the genuineness of Ēdāma Bā. ch. xxxiv. on this very ground of date. The difficulty is certainly a serious one. Prof. Jacobi has proposed one solution, and others have been offered by native scholars. I quote here some remarks on the point, kindly communicated to me by Mahāmahopādhyāya Paścit Sudhākara Drivēti, which are valuable not only for the special purpose which elicited them, but also for the general argument on which they are based. He says, 'I once considered that the recitation of the Ramāyaṇa being in the vernacular,
it first became popular amongst Baniyds and Kayasthas, who began to write the poem in their own alphabet, the Kaitli. It was hence not improbable that the original reading was not Bkawtia-vdra, but Saumya-vdra, i.e., Wednesday, and that saumya subsequently became corrupted to bhauna,—an easy transition in the Kaitli character. Later, however, I discovered that, while Tul'si Das was in Ayodhya, he was not a Vairagi Vaishnava, but a Smarta one. These Smarta Vaishnavas are also great worshippers of Mahâdeva; thus, the poet himself writes in the Bdlalsdnda of the poem “Sambhu prasâda namati hîya kulaś,” and from this we gather that he counted the Râma navamî as falling on the Tuesday, according to the Saiva calculation. According to the Saivas the Râma navamî is calculated as the day whose midday falls on the ninth tithi; because Râma was born at midday, and not as the day on which the ninth tithi ends. Accordingly on the former day the festival of the Râma navamî was held. Tul'si Das was unable to agree with the Vairagi Vaishnavas, as regards eating. They eat together, seated in a row, but he always cooked his food himself and ate separately, and it was owing to this disagreement that after composing the Bâla, Ayodhyâ, and Aranya Kâdâs of his poem, he left Ayodhya and went to Banaras where he completed it, as appears from rândam of the Kishkindhâkâya.'

(b) Date of the composition of the Râm Sat'sâl. Authority, Sat. I. 21.

Ahi-rasand thana-ikhânu rasa
Ganapatî-dvâja Guru-bhâra
dhâvâ silica Siva-janama-tithi
Sat-saiyâ abatâra II

"The (two) tongues of a serpent, the (four) udders of a cow, the (six) flavours, the (one) tusk of Gaçâ (i.e., Sam. 1642), Thursday, the lunar day in the light half of Vaisâkha, which is the birthday of Sîta (i.e., the ninth), is the date of writing the Sat-sâl."

Here again difficulties arise, so I take the liberty of giving the calculations in full for the three possible cases (the Kârtiikâdi current date, being the same as the Chaitrâdi expired one).

Problem. To find the equivalent of Sambat5 1642, Vaisâkha audi 9, Thursday. A. Sambat 1642 expired.

(a) Chaitrâdi year.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{KY. 4600} & = (0) & 17:60 & 15 \{12\} \text{ Ind.} \bullet = 21:08 \\
\text{86 years} & = (3) & 21:32 & 093 [1] \text{ Ind. sa. 9} = 0\text{.08}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{KY. 4636} & = (3) & 8:92 & 8 \{13\}
\text{1 sol. Jyaishtha} & = (1) & 29:50 & 52
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
(4) & 8:42 & 60 \{13\} & 0:57 \\
& 14th April & 1
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
(4) & 8:99 & 28th April
\end{array}
\]

Therefore the 9th tithi expired just after sunrise on Wednesday, the 28th April, 1585 A.D., and was running on the preceding Tuesday.

---

5 Similarly Kyaishna, having been born at midnight on the eighth of the dark half of Bhadrapada, Saivas hold the festival on the civil day (sunrise to sunrise) whose midnight falls on the eighth.

6 Pañjî Sudâmâ Drizvâ points out that it is necessary, if the date is genuine, to assume it to be in the Vikrama Sambat though the word Sambat does not occur in the date. If we take it as a Saka date, the year is 1720, a century after the death of our poet.
NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS. 95

(b) Kārttikādi year.

KY. 4686 = (3) 8:92 8 [13]
21 sol. Vaiśākha = (5) 29:11 900

(1) 8:03 908 13
19 14th March
21

8:22 48th March = 17th April.

Therefore the 9th tithi expired on Sunday the 17th April 1586 A. D.

B. Sam. 1642 current = KY. 4685.

KY. 4600 = (0) 17:60 15 [12] ind. ● = 1'68
85 years = (2) 10:32 747 [ ] ind. su. 9 = 10'68

KY. 4685 = (3) 28:12 762 [13]
13th sol. Vaiśākha = (3) 10:17 363

(5) 8:29 125 13
.71 14th March
13

9:00 40th March = 9th April 1584, A. D.

Add for longitude of Oudh 1 gh. 4 p.

Therefore the ninth tithi expired at 1 ghatikā 4 palas after sunrise at Oudh, on Thursday, April 9th, 1584 A. D.

Accordingly, if the date is correct, Tul'śi Dās, in dating the Sat'sa used the current, not the expired, Sambat year. Paṇḍit Sudhākara Drīvādi points out that this is against the custom of the poet, and throws the greatest suspicion on the genuineness of the verse in which it occurs. It may be added that, if we take the Saka era, the date comes out correctly, as Thursday May 5, 1720 A. D. It is unnecessary to give the calculations.

(c) Date of composition of the Pārbati Māṅgal.

Authority, Pār. I., 5.

Jaya Sambat Phālguna sudi pañchāī Guru-dīnu
Asunī birachauṁ mangala suni subha abhinu abhinu

"I compose this (Pārbati) Māṅgal, the hearing of which gives pleasure at every moment, in Jaya Sambat, Phālguna sudi 5, Thursday, in Asunī." 

Jaya Sambat is one of the years of the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter, and as Tul’śi Dās died in Sambat 1680, we must search for the Jaya which fell about the middle of the 17th Sambat century.

A reference to Prof. Jacobi's tables will show that Jaya Sambat was current on the first day of Sauvar 1643 (K. Y. 4687). A reference to Table VIII. will at once show that Phālguna Sudi 5, Sambat 1643 must have fallen after the expiry of Jaya, or in the year Manmatha. Therefore the Phālguna Sudi 5 of Jaya must have fallen in Sam. 1642. But in Sambat 1642, Phālguna Sudi 5 fell on Sunday, not Thursday. It is not necessary to give the calculations.

6 The reading of the printed Editions is birachauṁ, but Paṇḍit Sudhākara Drīvādi informs me that the best MSS. have birachauṁ.

7 (K. Y. 4600 = 88'82 (Table VI.)
87 = 88'079 (Table VII.)
4687 = 1'6879
Under these circumstances I appealed to Benaras, and have to thank Pandit Sudhākar Drīvēḍ for solving the doubt. He says that the year referred to is Sambat 1643, not 1642, Sambat 1643 = KY. 4687, and the calculation (according to Jacobib's tables)\(^3\) is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
4600 \text{ KY.} & 0 & 17:60 \quad 15 \quad [12] \quad \text{Ind.} \bullet = 10:28 \\
87 \text{ years.} & 4 & 2:12 \quad 240 \quad [1] \quad \text{Ind. su.} 5 = 15:28 \\
4687 \text{ KY.} & 4 & 19:72 \quad 255 \quad [13] \\
8th Phal. (solar) & 2 & 14:27 \quad 250 \\
6 & 4:09 & 505 \quad 13 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[c's \text{ an} 505 \text{ eq.} \]

10 Jan.

7

13 Jan.

5:10

33 Jan. = 2 Feb.

Accordingly, at the beginning of Friday, 8th Solar Phalguna, the 6th titki was running, and the 5th titki ended on the preceding day; or Thursday, the 2nd February, 1586 A. D.

We are enabled to check this date by the fact that Tulṣī Dās mentions that he commenced his work in the Nakshatra Āvini.

Pandit Sudhākar Drīvēḍ writes that in Tulṣī Dās's time, the Makaranda, a practical astronomy founded on the current Sūrya Siddhānta, was popular in Benares. Calculating the Ahargana and the true longitudes and the true motions of the sun and moon respectively, we find that the 5th titki ended at about 52 ghaṭiṅda and 37 viṅgaṭiṅda, and Rēvati Nakshatra ended (and Āvini began) at about 20 ghaṭiṅda and 10 viṅgaṭiṅda after true sunrise at Benares. The same result follows from the §37 of Jacobib's tables. Tulṣī Dās's Nakshatra was Viṣādha, and his Rātā or Zodiacal sign was Tulṣī (the Scales). Hence, according to astrology, Rēvati was not a propitious nakshatra for him. Accordingly, the date given by the poet means that he began to write the Pārhati Maṅgai after Rēvati had ended, and after Āvini had begun, i.e., after 20 ghaṭiṅda 10 viṅgaṭiṅda after true sunrise at Benares, on Thursday, February 2nd 1586, A. D. I may add that on 5 Phalguna Sudi Sam. 1642, the moon was in Āvini at the beginning of the day. This is a further reason for assuming that by Jaya Sambat Tulṣī Dās meant Sam. 1643. For if it had been 1642, there would have been no reason for his mentioning the nakshatra then running: whereas, if it was in 1643, there was every reason for his doing so, part of the day being in Rēvati and unlucky, and part being in Āvini and lucky. The poet evidently wished to point out that he commenced the work at an hour of the day which was propitious.

One other fact follows. Phalguna Sudi 5 Sam. 1643, did not fall in Jaya Sambat. But the first day of Sambat 1643 did fall in Jaya. Therefore Tulṣī Dās gave the name of the Jupiter sixty-year-cycle year to the V. Sambat year, which commenced within it. In other words, according to the accepted system of chronology, the V. Sambat took its name from the Jovian year which expired in it, as the civil day took its name from the titki which expired in it.

(c) Date of composition of the Rāmāgya.

Chhakan Lal says\(^4\) that in 1827 A. D., he made a copy of this work, from the original

---

\(^3\) The Pandit calculated the year both according to the Indian system, and according to Jacobib. I gave the latter calculation, as being more intelligible to my readers.

\(^4\) Chhakan Lal's language may be noted, 'Sri sannvit 1655 Jīth Sudi 10 Rabhibhē kī ikkāt punesā Śri Gośārī Śī kā līlā-karmā kī, Pṛthvī gōśā Śrī Kālī jī mēk vahi. Us punak par āśī Sri pandit Rāmāvānī Śī kī sattāyē Chhakān Lal Kāryāt Rāmāgya Mirdupur-bhāl kī apuṇ kithē sī sannvit 1655 mek ikkāt tē. It will be observed that it is distinctly claimed that the MS. was written by Tulṣī Dāś's own hand, and that certainly was written twenty-five years before his death. It may be presumed that it was the poet's original copy. It will subsequently appear that if the poem was composed in Sam. 1655, the Dehātī could not, as current tradition says it was, have been composed at Tūṣar Māli's request. On this point, Pandit Sudhākar Drīvēḍ informs me that the MS. which Chhakan Lal copied was in possession of a pandit named Rāmākrishnā. On one occasion Rāmākrishnā took it
copy in the handwriting of the poet, which was dated by the poet himself, Sambat 1655
Jyaistha Sudi, 10, Sunday. It is unnecessary to give the calculation. Taking the Chaitraddi
expired year, it is equivalent to Sunday, June 4th, 1698 A.D.

(c) Date of the composition of the Kabitta Ramayan. This depends on an interpretation
of K. R. clxxi. 1. The passage is as follows:—

Ekha var kargal kali-kala sitala mila tā meṅ i
Koṅha meṅ ki khôju e kaniṅarh hai mīna ki i

"In the first place, the Kali Yuga, the root of woe, is terrible. And further, in it, like the
itch appearing in leprosy, Saturn has appeared in the sign of the Fish."

Here again I have to thank Paḍḍit Sudhâkara Drivēḍi for calculating the date and for the
following information:—The periodical time of Saturn is about thirty years. He entered Pisces
(a token of great calamity) in Tal'Ā Dā's time, on or about the 6th of Chaitra Sudi Sambat 1640,
and remained in that sign till Jyaistha of 1642. He again entered it on about the 2nd of
Chaitra Sudi Sambat 1669, and remained in it till Jyaistha of 1671. These results are those
given by the Māhārāmda based on the Sūrya-siddhānta.

The sixty year cycle of Jupiter is divided into three periods of twenty years each, of which
the first belongs to Brahmana, the second to Vishnua, and the third and last to Mahādeva or Rudra.
In Tal'Ā Dā's time, the Rudra-bhū, or twenty years belonging to Rudra commenced in Sambat
165", and from about that time the Musalmāns began more especially to profane Benares. The
poet frequently refers to this fact, and no doubt does so in the Kabitta above quoted. Accordingly
it was to the second occasion on which Saturn was in Pisces, i.e., between Chaitra Sudi
Sambat 1669 and Jyaistha Sambat 1671, i.e., between 1612 and 1614 A.D., that the Kabittance
above quoted was written.

(f) The deed of arbitration.

This has been published in the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān. The following
is the translation of the portion which immediately concerns us:—

"Whereas Anand Rām, son of Ṭōdar, son of Dēo Rāy, and Kanhaiyā, son of Rām Bhadra,
son of Ṭōdar aforesaid appeared before me, &c., &c." "In the Sambat year 1669, on the 13th
of the bright half of Kuṅvar, on the auspicious (subha) day of the week, was this deed written
by Anand Rām and Kanhaiyā. . . . . The division of the share of Ṭōdar Mall, which has been
made . . . ."

Then follow a list of certain villages, which formed Ṭōdar Mall's property, viz., Bhadaini,
Laharpūr, Nāipūr, Chhidāpur, Sivpur, and Nadēsar.

On this I remarked as follows:—In connexion with the above, it is interesting to speculate
who this Ṭōdar Mall, the father of Anand Rām, and grandfather of Kanhaiyā was. Can he have
been Akbar's great Finance Minister? He died in 1589, and his son might well be alive in 1612.
He was born at Laharpūr in Oudh, and one of the villages mentioned above, Lahar'tārā, has a
somewhat similar name. In India, contiguous villages have often very similar names.

out it in his bundle, to recite it somewhere, and, as ill luck would have it, it was, bundle and all, stolen from him
in the railway train. It may be mentioned that in Rāmākrishnā's house there is a jealously guarded portrait of
Ṭul'sī Dās, said to have been painted for the Emperor Akbar. It is shown to the public once a year on the 7th
of the bright half of Śrīśaṅga, the anniversary of the poet's death. Paḍḍit Sudhākara Drivēḍi maintains that the
date 1635 refers to the year in which the copy was made, and not to that of the composition of the original poem.
Whenever Ṭul'sī Dās wished to show the date of his work, he wrote in the commencement, as he did in the
Bhāndagaṇa and in the Prākāṭ Mangeśa. If Chhakkan Lāl is to be believed, at any rate the copy was in the
poet's handwriting.

10 E.g., Dohābal 240, K. R., Ut., 170 and ff.
11 But not necessarily the whole work, vice poet. The commentator Bāi'numāth fixes the period as between
sambat 1635 and 1637, but he has no authority on such a point, and no calculation will make im right.
First as to dates. That of the deed of arbitration (taking the Chaitrādi expired year) is equivalent to Sunday, September 27, 1612 A. D.

There is no doubt about the identity of the Četar Mall referred to. The arbitration deed is now in possession of the Maharaja of Benares. Inquiry from him, and from the present possessor of the shrine originally owned by Tulsī Dās, shows that it was Pratipāl Singh, the eleventh in descent from Akbar's great minister, who gave it to the then Maharaja.

(ii) Date of Tulsī Dās's death according to an old rhyme,—

Sambata svaraha sa' asi
Āśi Ganga kī śiva 1
Śārana suhala saptamī
Tulast tejau sarīra 11

"On the 7th of the light half of Sāvatī, Sambat 1680, Tulsī left his body, at Āśī, on the bank of the Ganges."

Here we are given no week-day by which to control our calculations, but, assuming that the Chaitrādi expired year is meant, it is equivalent to Thursday, July 24th, 1623 A. D.

To sum up. The following are the dates at which we have arrived:

(a) Date of commencement of composition of the Rāma-charit-śūnas. Tuesday, March 30, 1574 A. D.

(b) Date of composition of the Bām Sa'ī sat. Thursday, April 9th, 1584 A. D. This is very doubtful.

(c) Date of composition of the Pārbatai Mangal. Thursday, 2nd February, 1586 A. D.

(d) Date of composition (or ? copying) of the Bānḍūya. Sunday, June 4th, 1598 A. D.

(e) Date of composition of the Kabīta Bānḍūya between the years 1612 and 1614 A. D.

(f) Date of the deed of arbitration. Sunday, September 27, 1612 A. D.

(g) Date of Tulsī Dās's death. Thursday, July 24th, 1623 A. D.

Of these (a) depends on the supposition that the poet dated from the running and not from the expired Chaitrādi. All the dates depend upon expired Chaitrādi Sambat years, except (b) which depends on a current Chaitrādi Sambat year, a most improbable assumption.

In concluding this portion of my notes on Tulsī Dās I must again acknowledge my obligations to the brilliant mathematician whose name has so often occurred in them, Mahāmahapadhyāya Paṇḍit Suddhākara Drīvēdi. The fortunate circumstance of his profound knowledge, at the same time of Hindu astronomy and of old Hindi poetry, has greatly facilitated my researches, and the ungrudging way in which he has placed his time at my disposal puts me in his debt to an amount which I can scarcely repay.

(To be continued.)

FOLKTALES OF ARAKAN.

BY BERNARD HOUGHTON, C.S.

No. 1.—The Snake Prince.

A certain fairy called Sakkaru, having lived a thousand lives in the Tāwatinse fairy-land, it became his turn to be born again in the world of men. Accordingly King Sakrā, who by
virtue of his power perceived that Sakkaru, not being free from the evil effects of previous sin would have to remain for three months as a hamadryad in a wild fig tree on the banks of the Jamnâ in Bârânsi, employed a fairy, Vaskran, to accomplish this. The latter took Sakkaru to a wild fig tree, on the banks of the Jamnâ, where he was born as a hamadryad, and having told him all the commands of King Sakrâ, returned to Tawatinsa. As for Sakkaru, he remained as a hamadryad in the fig tree.

In that country there lived a washerman and his wife, who had two maiden daughters, called Shvê Kyên and Dwê Pyû. It happened one day that the washerwoman and her two daughters tied up some cloths and went to wash them at the landing place by the wild fig tree. After washing them the woman, desiring some of the figs, looked up into the tree, and besides the figs saw there the hamadryad. The washerwoman then, telling her daughters that she would jest with the snake, said to him, "My lord hamadryad, if you want my daughter Dwê Pyû I will give her,—only throw me down 4 or 5 figs." Thereupon the hamadryad shook its tail and knocked down 40 or 50 of the fruit. The washerwoman said to her daughters, "Indeed, the snake seems to understand. I only asked for 4 or 5 figs, and because he loves Miss Dwê he threw down 40 or 50. The sun is going down, let us pick up the figs and take the clothes home." They tied up the clothes, but as they were going to start the washerwoman, saying she would jest again with the snake, told him mockingly, "Mr. Snake, if you want Dwê Pyû follow us home." On the way back they came to a tree-stump at a place where two paths met and here Dwê Pyû said to her mother, "It will be terrible if the hamadryad does come after us." Her mother, also being anxious, told the stump:—"If a big hamadryad comes here and asks if we have gone this way, say that you have not seen us. Take this fig as a month-stopper." They went on, and, on coming to another cross-path, the washerwoman instructed an ant-hill there as she had the stump, and giving it also a fig, passed on. After they had gone home the Snake Prince, being in love with Dwê Pyû, followed after them. On reaching the stump, not being certain as to which way they had gone, he asked it, "Did you see which way Dwê Pyû and her mother and sister went?" The stump replied, "I stay here according to my nature. I neither know nor saw." But the hamadryad, perceiving the fig by the stump, became very angry and said, "Do you dare to disseminate whilst the fig I gave is staring you in the face as a witness? I will this instant strike you with my teeth, so that you split into four." Whereupon the stump, being greatly frightened, pointed out the way that the washerwoman and her daughter had gone.

From the stump the hamadryad fared on to the cross-path by the ant-hill and, on questioning it, at first it disseminated as the stump had done; but when the snake threatened, it pointed out truly the way. The latter reached at last the washerman's house, and it being night, he entered the pot where cleaned rice was kept, and curled himself up inside.

The next day at dawn the washerwoman said to herself, "Although my daughters are grown up and my work should be less, yet owing to one and another holding off, nothing is done, and we shall be long in getting our food. So I will go and cook it myself." Accordingly she took the saîd measure and went to get some rice from the pot; but when she thrust her arm in the hamadryad enfolded it several times with his tail. At first the washerman, not knowing what snake it was that had caught her, called out lustily, but the hamadryad did not for that loosen his grip. Afterwards she recovered her senses, and on consideration it struck her that this must be the big hamadryad to whom she had promised Dwê Pyû: so she said, "If his Highness the Snake Prince desires Dwê Pyû I will give her. Won't you unloosen a fold or two?" The hamadryad thereupon did as she asked, so she knew certainly who it was, and said, "I will give you Dwê Pyû; please let go." Thereupon he released her altogether. The washerwoman then said pitifully to her daughter Dwê Pyû, "Please live with this big snake. If you do not, he will bite and kill the whole household. It is frightful!" Dwê Pyû wept and refused repeatedly, saying, "I don't want to live with a brute beast;" but her mother,
who was in fear of her life, coaxed her over, so that at length, unable to resist her mother's command, she had to live with the hamadryad.

It happened one night that King Sakrá, having need of the fairies in council, desired the presence of Sakkaru. The latter could not resist, and, leaving behind his snake's skin went off secretly to the fairies' council in Tiwatiuss. When it dawned he could not return, as the council was not ended. At that time Mi Dwé Pyú, who was ignorant of his absence, as she did not as usual hear any sound from him, looked at his sleeping place and perceived him to be seemingly motionless. On handling him she perceived that there was no flesh but only the skin left, and she called out in tears to her mother and sister, "Come, come, my husband is dead." Her mother, however, said, "Don't cry, if people hear it will be a pretty disgrace, keep quiet;" whilst her sister added that there were plenty of hamadryads like this one in the forest, and that she would go and get one. Dwé Pyú replied, "He was my husband, and I am greatly grieved;" but her mother talked her over saying that if there was a regular funeral and guests received with betel-nut and tea, so that everybody knew, there would be a scandal, and that it would be better to perform the funeral quietly by burning. Dwé Pyú agreed, and accordingly they burnt the skin, so that it was completely consumed. Thereupon the Snake Prince Sakkaru, being heated more than he could bear, appeared in person by the fire-place. Miss Dwé Pyú did not know him, and asked who he was. He repeated to them how he had suffered intense heat, whereupon Dwé Pyú and her parents knew who he was, and rejoiced greatly. But Shwé Kyén became jealous and said, "I have not got him because of Dwé Pyú. If it were not for her I should get him."

When it became dark they all went to bed. At midnight the fairy Samá-déva, who had been sent by King Sakrá, came and said to Sakkaru:—"Here is a magic wand which our royal grandfather, King Sakrá, has granted to you, and the virtue of it is that if you strike with it and wish for anything your desire will be accomplished. Your title also is to be Sakkaru-Kumma. From the time your child is born let not a drop of snake's blood touch you; if it does you will become a snake as before. If you avoid this danger you will become in time a mighty king. However, on receiving this wand you can only come back here after wandering in other countries." After speaking these words Samá-déva vanished. At dawn, when Dwé Pyú awoke, Sakkaru repeated to her what the latter had said. Although she repeatedly tried to restrain him, he said, "It is King Sakrá's order. I cannot disobey," and going down to the sea he struck it with the magic wand. Thereupon a ship, fully rigged and manned, rose into sight, and he went on board and left Dwé Pyú, who remained behind with child.

After his departure Shwé Kyén said to herself, "If Dwé Pyú dies, I will get her husband; so she coaxed Dwé Pyú, who could not withstand her, down to the river bank. There Shwé Kyén said, "When you die, I will get your husband, so I am going to push you into the river." Dwé Pyú cried and besought her, saying, "There are two lives in me. Do not kill me. When my husband returns do you live with him. I will have you married all right. But Shwé Kyén replied, As long as you are alive I shall never get your husband, but only on your death," and throwing her into the river, she returned home.

As Dwé Pyú floated down the river a big eagle, taking her for a fish, swooped down on her and carried her off to his nest in a silk-cotton tree. There he discovered her to be a woman, and when Dwé Pyú had told him all about herself, he kept her in his nest, where she was delivered of a son.

When the child cried she soothed it by repeating Sakkaru's name, but as the eagle became angry and talked of pecking it to death in consequence, she soothed it by talking of "Papa Eagle." The latter then said, "Ha, you are laughing at me." This squabbling was overheard by the Snake Prince, who was just returning in the ship, and who remarked that one voice was like Dwé Pyú's. The sailors replied, "How could Dwé Pyú get to such an extraordinary place? It cannot be her." On coming near to the silk-cotton tree, the Prince asked, "Is that Dwé
Pyū?" and, as she answered, "Yes," he caused the ship to come to land, and climbed up the tree. When he spoke of taking Dwē Pyū away, she said, "You should be grateful to the eagle. After making some return for his services, ask permission from him and take me away." The prince said, "The eagle and I are brothers. As I am very grateful to my elder brother, let him give me my wife and child, whom he has rescued. I will pile up for him a heap of fish, reaching from the roots of this tree to its highest branch." The eagle replied, "Very well, if the Prince can make a heap of fish, as he has said, he may take away his wife and child." The latter accordingly went to the sea, and striking it with his magic wand, said, "Let there be a heap of fish from the roots of the silk-cotton tree to its branches," and at once fish came and heaped themselves up as directed.

Then the Prince, with the permission of the eagle, having taken his wife and child and put them on board the ship, suggested that the fish which the eagle could not eat should be let back into the sea. The eagle agreed to this, so the Prince wished and struck again with his magic wand, and the fish went back into the sea.

After letting go the fishes the Prince and Dwē Pyū sailed to their own country, and on the way Dwē Pyū related all that Shwē Kyēn had done. On coming near the landing place the Prince said, "I will put her to shame. Do you and the child get into this box,"—to which Dwē Pyū agreed.

On hearing that the ship had arrived Shwē Kyēn adorned herself and came up with the intention of saying that she was Dwē Pyū, and so living with the Prince. The latter on seeing her said, "You are not like the Dwē Pyū of yore. You have indeed become thin." Shwē Kyēn replied, "I have yearned after you till I became so ill that there was a miscarriage." The Prince said, "Very well, take this box which contains rich and rare clothing, and we will go home together." Accordingly Shwē Kyēn, who was pretending to be Dwē Pyū, took up the box and followed him to the house, where he gave her the key and told her to open the box in order to get out and wear the clothing. Shwē Kyēn opened the box, but on seeing Dwē Pyū and her child she became terribly ashamed and ran away to the back of the house, whence she dared not show her face, nor would she even come when called. The Prince and Dwē Pyū, however, entered their room and lived there happily.

Afterwards Shwē Kyēn, prompted by the fact of her sister Dwē Pyū having lived happily with a snake, and being withal much ashamed, went to her father and said to him, "Father dear, Dwē Pyū has lived happily with a snake. Please catch one also to become my husband."

The washerman replied, "My daughter, the snake with which Dwē Pyū lived was a human snake, being the embryo of a man. Now if I catch a snake, it will be a wild one which will bite and kill you. Don't ask me to catch one." However Shwē Kyēn became very troublesome, and kept on saying repeatedly, "You must catch one for me." So her father remarked, "Be it as you will. We shall have peace when you are dead," and he went off into the jungle, where he caught a very long boa-constrictor, two spans in circumference. He brought this to Shwē Kyēn, who took it to bed and slept along with it. Before daylight in the morning the snake considered to itself that formerly when in the jungle it sought its food and ate till satisfied, but that now having been caught, it had had nothing to eat for a day and night, and was very hungry in consequence; moreover it could not go elsewhere to seek its food. Accordingly it resolved to make a meal off the person near it, by swallowing her up, beginning at her feet and ending with her head, and proceeded to make a commencement by swallowing her feet. Shwē Kyēn cried out, "Help, he has, apparently in sport, swallowed me up to my knees." Her father only said, "She wanted that snake so much. We shall have peace when she dies," whilst her mother remarked, "My son-in-law is having a game." Shwē Kyēn cried out very loudly however, so Dwē Pyū said to her husband the Snake Prince, "It is not right that my sister should die—go and help her." But her husband replied, "If only one drop of snake's blood touches me I shall become a snake again. Your father can settle such an affair as this. Are you tired of my companionship, that you ask me to do this thing?" His wife Dwē

8 Here again Buddhist ideas are introduced into the original story.
Pyú rejoined, “King Sakra’s order was from the time that the child was born. That is now
long past, and you cannot again become a snake. If your flesh and blood were indeed such as
you formerly possessed, you could not remain so long a man; you can avoid also being touched
by or smeared with a drop of snake’s blood.” She became much troubled, so not wishing to
hurt her feelings, and thinking also that it was wicked not to rescue the life of a human being,
the Snake Prince took up his double-edged sword, and smote the boa-constrictor, so that it was
divided in two and died. On cutting it, however, a drop of the boa-constrictor’s blood
touched the Prince, and he became a snake as before. A snake’s mind also came into
him, so that he no longer wished to stop in the house, but went off into the forest.

Dwé Pyú carrying their little son, followed him slowly weeping and saying, “Come back
home, I will get you food,” but it was in vain. Sometimes he would regain his intellect and speak
to his wife and child, and again a snake’s mind would come to him and he would try to bite them.
After doing thus he said to his wife Dwé Pyú, “I will have to live in the forest away from
human beings. If I live near them I shall bite and kill them when I have the snake mind in me.”

Dwé Pyú, however, left her child with her parents and followed the hamadryad into the
forest, but there again he struck at her unsuccessfully. Again recovering consciousness, he said
to her, “I am not as before, when there is a snake’s mind in me I do not recognise anybody, but
only strike at them. You should, therefore, return home, as the child must be wanting its milk.
Suckle it and take care of it, and live happily with it. I cannot remain with you,—I must go
into the darkest forests.” Dwé Pyú replied, “Only come back home. I will get your food
and take care of you. I cannot remain separated from you.” She followed him again, and
when they came near the ant-hill a snake’s mind came into the Prince, and he was about to bite
Dwé Pyú, but restrained himself in time. He decided in consequence that he would have to
enter the top of the ant-hill, as if he remained outside he would certainly bite her; so he went
inside the ant-hill. But Dwé Pyú remained outside weeping and calling sadly to her husband.

(To be continued.)

PARSI AND GUJARATI HINDU NUPTIAL SONGS.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

(Continued from Vol. XXI. page 116).

PART III.

TRANSLATION.

No. 8.

Song sung when the Bridegroom leaves his house to go to the Bride’s, where
the Wedding ceremony takes place.

Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sörábji, to mount your horse.¹
Your mother holds you by the hem of your garment.²
Let go, mother, let go your hold,
And I shall give you your due.

5 How can I forget the claims of her,
Who reared me, and loved me as her own life?
I have got a beautiful sāfī woven for my mother,
And a bodice of cloth of gold.

Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sörábji, to mount your horse.

10 Your aunt holds you by the hem of your garment.
Let go aunt, let go your hold:
Your claims shall have due recognition.
How can I forget what is due to her,
Who sang the lullaby at my cradle?

15 I have ordered a gold-embroidered sāfī for my aunt,
And a bodice of green silk.

¹ See note 17, Part I.
² By way of asserting her claims.
Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sôrabji, and mount your horse.
Your aunt (father's sister) holds you by the hem of your garment.
Let go, aunt, let go your hold.

20 And I shall give you your due.
How can I forget the claims of her who took me in her lap,
When my name was given me?

Let us send a hundî (on some firm) in Gujârat, and get a good patôr (for my aunt).
The bridegroom looks as bright as the Sun,
And as pure as the Moon.
The bridegroom stands under the festoons of flowers (that adorn the doorway)
smelling the flowers,
And looks as beautiful as the flowers themselves.
The bridegroom stands under the festoons of flowers (that adorn the doorway)
chewing pân,
And looks as delicate as a pân-leaf.

No. 9.

Song sung at the close of the Wedding Ceremony.

All hail this (blessed) day!
(On such a day) I would get my (other) sons married, if I had the means.
I would not make a moment's delay.

All hail this (blessed) day!
5 The Sun has risen auspiciously over my Mêhârwânji's head.
We have celebrated the marriage of our Sôrabji.
All hail this (blessed) day!
Brothers, have your little sons married,
(As) I have married my Sôrabji and brought (the couple) home.

10 All hail this (blessed) day!
My Mêhârwânji dotes on his son and daughter-in-law.
My Ratanbâj's daughter and son-in-law are her petted children.
All hail this (blessed) day!
We hail with delight the rising of the Sun and the Moon.

15 We rejoice that my Sôrabji's mother gave birth to a son like him.
All hail this (blessed) day!
I gave thee an order, goldsmith:
I told thee to make an armlet for my Sôrabji's arm,
And a nine-stringed necklace for my Sîrinbâj.

20 I gave thee an order, mercer:
I told thee to bring a plaid for my Sôrabji,
And a pair of patôrs for my Sîrinbâj.
I gave thee an order, jeweller:
I told thee to bring rings for my Sôrabji,

25 And a pair of bracelets for my Sîrinbâj.
Father-in-law, make your court-yard (gates) a little higher (?),
That my Sôrabji may enter on horse-back.
All hail this (blessed) day!

My procession of wedding guests is too large to be accommodated (in your yard).

30 All hail this (blessed) day!
My Sôrabji has won his bride in person.
And he has brought the Râqi Laksmanî for a wife.
All hail this (blessed) day!

It is the privilege of the father's sister to hold the bride in.
No. 10.

Song sung when the Bride is being sent to the house of her Parents-in-law after the Wedding.

The pipes (that are being played) are made of green bamboo.
Sisters, our Sirinbai is going to the house of her parents-in-law.
Sirinbai, the fortunate grand-child of her (maternal) grand-father, is married, and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.

5 How they will rejoice to see our Sirinbai! 
Sisters, our Sirinbai is married, and is going to the house of her parents-in-law. Her father has performed the meritorious act of giving his daughter in marriage, and has acquired the blessings of Heaven. It was fortunate that her father thought of this matter,

10 And gave Sirinbai to good parents-in-law. 
Her father has given her a chest full of treasure, 
With which Sirinbai sits in her room. 
Her father has given Sirinbai a milch cow, 
So that she may have plenty of milk and curds (to eat).

15 Mother-in-law, (pray) do not use the cane on Sirinbai, 
Or she will smart under it and will weep, 
And long for her paternal abode. 
Mother-in-law, (pray) treat our Sirinbai with kindness, 
And serve her with enough of food at her meals.

20 Sirinbai is the (pet) daughter of her father. 
Sirinbai is the eldest daughter-in-law in the family of her parents-in-law. 
Mother-in-law, (pray) treat our Sirinbai with magnanimity, 
And refrain from giving her stale food. 
Mother-in-law, you must not think that our Sirinbai is as advanced in years as she appears:

25 (It is only because) she has been brought up on curds and milk: 
(It is only because) we have brought her up on lumps of butter. 
Sirinbai, why have you forgotten to take with you your marriage portion? 
Fifteen strings of pearls comprise her marriage portion, 
With which my Sirinbai will adorn herself.

30 Fifteen strings of diamonds comprise her marriage portion, 
Which have been purchased for her by her good brother. 

35 Thy husband is come, Sirinbai the Thakrani. 

The husband has been attracted by the graceful carriage of Sirinbai. 
Her father has presented her with a valuable ḍāhā, 
(Dressed) in which she goes to the house of her parents-in-law. 
Sirinbai, the beloved daughter of her father, 
Is married and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.

40 Sirinbai, you wear a necklace round your neck, 
And the hearts of your father-in-law and your husband will rejoice.

* The names of many other relatives besides the maternal grandfather are used in succession.
* It may be assumed that the bride is a child.
* This throws a sidelight on the treatment young wives generally receive at the hands of their mothers-in-law.
* Qf is the word used in the text which means money settled upon a daughter by her father, or upon his wife by her husband, on the occasion of the marriage.
* 11 The father or brother may give any presents or settle any amount of money on the bride, but he is by no means bound to do so. It is the duty of the bride's parents, however, to give presents of wearing apparel to the bridegroom's relatives and rings and some other presents to the bridegroom, as tokens of their regard, whereas it is the duty of the bridegroom's father to settle a certain amount, generally in the shape of ornaments, on the bride and give her many suits of clothing besides, to which she has an exclusive right.
No. 11.

Song sung when the Bridegroom brings home his Bride.

Father, O father (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought (with me) a wife worth a lakh and a quarter. 12
Brother, O brother (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought a daughter from a magnificent house.

5 Kākā, 13 O Kākā (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought a wife from a noble family.
Māmā, O Māmā 14 (mine), I have come home married,
And have brought the daughter of a good father.
Māsā, O Māsā 15 (mine), I have come home married,

10 And have brought the sister of a powerful brother.
Phūvā, O Phūvā 16 (mine), I have come home married,
And have brought home a wife of noble birth.
Brother gate-keeper, open (wide) your gate;
For (Sūrābird) is waiting at the gate with his bride.

15 Sister Mēherbāī, decorate your house,
Because your son has come home with his bride,
Sister Sūnābāī, sprinkle the doorway with milk; 17
Your brother has come home with his bride.
Sister Mēherbāī, decorate the threshold with figures in pearls; 18

20 Your son has come home with his bride.
Sister Sūnābāī, fill your lamps with ghī; 19
Your brother has come home with his bride.
It is Mēherbāī's son who is married.
He is come home with a bride worth lakhs (of rupees).

गीत 10.

वर्णिती वेद्धार गायनां सिता.

पारे वे पर व्व्व चोरी चोरालि माई
माए वे पाल चारी राहाई,
मेटि उत्ति वे पाल प्रयाल वनार,
कर तमार भापाई।

5 जाने जीव बराबर चारी उठछ्याँ
तेना वे केन जुकाई?
मारी माराम सोंगत साफी कथारी
कबरी अब्बासी काँथाकी.

10 मारी वे पाल चारी राहाई.
मेटि मेले वे पाली पालव भारा
उप तमार गरनाई,
अने पालने पीवारी हल्लांव गायाने
तेना वे केन कुछाई?

15 मारी कालीने कसबी साफी मंगावाई

सीता वे पालवी काँचवाई.
पारे वे पर झ्व्व चोरी चोरालि माई
पूर्ण वे पालव चारी राहाई.
मेटि मेले वे पूर्ण पालव भारा

20 कर तमार भापाई.
अने सीता बेसादी वान पहारांव
tेना वे केन कुछाई?
ढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढिंढিং
This phrase is also unintelligible: lit. lit. means "in lumps."
MISCELLANEA.

MISCELLANEOUS DATES FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND MSS.

1. — Ante, Vol. XIX. p. 6, I have attempted to prove that the Laksmana-sena era commenced in A. D. 1119, that the years of the era were Karthika-dol years, and that, accordingly, to convert a Laksmana-sena year into the corresponding year of the Saka era, we must add 1041, when the date falls in one of the months from Karthika to Phalguna, and 1042, when the date falls in one of the months from Chaitra to Asvina. To the six dates of the era which were then known to me I have added another date, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 50; and I would now draw attention to one more Laksmana-sena date, which also works out correctly with my epoch.

According to the late Pandit Bhagrawal Indrajit, the Buddha-Gaya inscription of Asitika-valis, published by him in the Journal Bo. As. Soc., Vol. XVI. p. 358, is dated in line 11:—

Brimal-Laksmana-sena-navta-ratya-sas 51 Bhadra di 8 4 29.

Judging from the editor’s own translation—Sanvat 51 of the reign of the illustrious Laksmana-sena having elapsed, the 8th day of the dark half of Bhadrapada, the 29th solar day—it may be suspected that the original inscription has Bhadra-vadi instead of the Bhadra di of the printed text. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the inscription is dated the 8th of either of the lunar halves (probably, of the dark half) of the month Bhadrapada, being the 29th day of the solar month, of the Laksmana-sena year 51.

The date falling in the month Bhadrapada, the year of the date, supposing it to be the expired year 51, should correspond to Saka (51 + 1042 = ) 1093 expired; and the details of the date prove that such is actually the case. For in Saka 1093 the 8th of the dark half of the amanta Bhadrapada ended about 19 h. after mean sunrise of the 25th August, A. D. 1171, causing that day to be Bhadra-vadi 8; and the same 25th August also was the 29th day of the solar month Bhadrapada, the Sinh–sankranti having taken place, by the Shrya-siddanta, 10 h. 4 m., or, by the Arya-siddhanta, 9 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of the 25th July.

The fact that the above date, in addition to the lunar day, also gives us the day of the solar month, induces me to mention here that, similarly to what I have shown to be a common practice in Bengal MSS., inscriptions also from Eastern India are sometimes dated according to the solar calendar. A clear and instructive example of this is furnished by the Tipura copper-plate, published by Colebrooke in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX. p. 403. That inscription is dated in Saka 1141 expired, according to Colebrooke Shrya-gatyâ turalinda 26, in reality Shrya-gatyâ Phulguna-dinâ 26. The 26th day of the solar Phulguna of Saka 1141 expired corresponds to the 19th February, A. D. 1220, the Kumbha-sankranti having taken place 18 h. 3 m. after

mencement of the reign, (now) passed, of the illustrious Laksmana-sena. 2

2 Poetical for ब्रम्ल. The real meaning is—the year 51 since the (con-
Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sôrabji, and mount your horse.
Your aunt (father's sister) holds you by the hem of your garment.
Let go, aunt, let go your hold,
20 And I shall give you your due.
How can I forget the claims of her who took me in her lap,
- When my name was given me?
Let us send a hávâlî (on some firm) in Gujarât, and get a good patôrî (for my aunt).
The bridegroom looks as bright as the Sun,
25 And as pure as the Moon.
The bridegroom stands under the festoons of flowers (that adorn the doorway)
smelling the flowers,
And looks as beautiful as the flowers themselves.
The bridegroom stands under the festoons of flowers (that adorn the doorway)
chewing pâsê,
And looks as delicate as a pûn-leaf.

No. 9.

Song sung at the close of the Wedding Ceremony.
All hail this (blessed) day!
(On such a day) I would get my (other) sons married, if I had the means.
I would not make a moment's delay.
All hail this (blessed) day!
5 The Sun has risen auspiciously over my Mêhêrwânjî's head.
We have celebrated the marriage of our Sôrabji.
All hail this (blessed) day!
Brothers, have your little sons married,
(Aś) I have married my Sôrabji and brought (the couple) home.
10 All hail this (blessed) day!
My Mêhêrwânjî dotes on his son and daughter-in-law.
My Ratanbâl's daughter and son-in-law are her petted children.
All hail this (blessed) day!
We hail with delight the rising of the Sun and the Moon.
15 We rejoice that my Sôrabji's mother gave birth to a son like him.
All hail this (blessed) day!
I gave thee an order, goldsmith:
I told thee to make an armlet for my Sôrabji's arm,
And a nine-stringed necklace for my Sîrînbât.
20 I gave thee an order, mercer:
I told thee to bring a plaid for my Sôrabji,
And a pair of patôrîs for my Sîrînbât.
I gave thee an order, jeweller:
I told thee to bring rings for my Sôrabji,
25 And a pair of bracelets for my Sîrînbât.
Father-in-law, make your court-yard (gates) a little higher (?),
That my Sôrabji may enter on horse-back.
All hail this (blessed) day!
My procession of wedding guests is too large to be accommodated (in your yard).
30 All hail this (blessed) day!
My Sôrabji has won his bride in person.
And he has brought the Râni Laksmaṇî for a wife.
All hail this (blessed) day!

*It is the privilege of the father's sister to hold the baby in her arms, while the astrologer finds out a name for it.
See note 16, Part 1. 6 The bridegroom's mother is supposed to repeat these lines. 6 An allegory.
Song sung when the Bride is being sent to the house of her Parents-in-law after the Wedding.

The pipes (that are being played) are made of green bamboo.
Sisters, our Sirinbai is going to the house of her parents-in-law.
Sirinbai, the fortunate grand-child of her (maternal) grand-father, is married, and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.

How they will rejoice to see our Sirinbai!
Sisters, our Sirinbai is married, and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.
Her father has performed the meritorious act of giving his daughter in marriage, and has acquired the blessings of Heaven.
It was fortunate that her father thought of this matter, and gave Sirinbai to good parents-in-law.
Her father has given her a chest full of treasure, with which Sirinbai sits in her room.
Her father has given Sirinbai a milch cow, so that she may have plenty of milk and curds (to eat).

Mother-in-law, (pray) do not use the cane on Sirinbai, or she will smart under it and will weep, and long for her paternal abode.
Mother-in-law, (pray) treat our Sirinbai with kindness, and serve her with enough of food at her meals.
Sirinbai is the (pet) daughter of her father.
Sirinbai is the eldest daughter-in-law in the family of her parents-in-law.
Mother-in-law, (pray) treat our Sirinbai with magnanimity, and refrain from giving her stale food.
Mother-in-law, you must not think that our Sirinbai is as advanced in years as she appears:

(It is only because) she has been brought up on curds and milk:
(Fifteen strings of pearls comprise her marriage portion, with which my Sirinbai will adorn herself.)

Fifteen strings of diamonds comprise her marriage portion, which have been purchased for her by her good brother.

Thy husband is come, Sirinbai the Thakrānl.

The husband has been attracted by the graceful carriage of Sirinbai.
Her father has presented her with a valuable lāhā, (Dressed in which she goes to the house of her parents-in-law.)
Sirinbai, the beloved daughter of her father, is married and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.

Sirinbai, you wear a necklace round your neck, and the hearts of your father-in-law and your husband will rejoice.

1 The names of many other relatives besides the maternal grandfather are used in succession.
2 It may be assumed that the bride is a child.
3 This throws a sidelight on the treatment young wives generally receive at the hands of their mothers-in-law.
4 ॐ is the word used in the text which means money settled upon a daughter by her father, or upon his wife by her husband, on the occasion of the marriage.
5 The father or brother may give any presents or settle any amount of money on the bride, but he is by no means bound to do so. It is the duty of the bride's parents, however, to give presents of wearing apparel to the bridegroom's relatives and rings and some other presents to the bridegroom, as tokens of their regard, whereas it is the duty of the bridegroom's father to settle a certain amount, generally in the shape of ornaments, on the bride, and give her many suits of clothing besides, to which she has an exclusive right.
No. 11.

Song sung when the Bridegroom brings home his Bride.

Father, O father (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought (with me) a wife worth a lakh and a quarter.\(^\text{12}\)
Brother, O brother (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought a daughter from a magnificent house.

Kākā,\(^\text{13}\) O Kākā (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought a wife from a noble family.
Māmā, O Māmā\(^\text{14}\) (mine), I have come home married,
And have brought the daughter of a good father.

And have brought the sister of a powerful brother.

Phūvā, O Phūvā\(^\text{15}\) (mine), I have come home married,
And have brought home a wife of noble birth.

And have brought the sister of a powerful brother.

Brother gate-keeper, open (wide) your gate;
For (Sūrālī) is waiting at the gate with his bride.

Sister Mēhrbāl, decorate your house,
Because your son has come home with his bride.
Sister Sūnābāl, sprinkle the doorway with milk;\(^\text{17}\)
Your brother has come home with his bride.

Sister Mēhrbāl, decorate the threshold with figures in pearls;\(^\text{18}\)

Your son has come home with his bride.
Sister Sūnābāl, fill your lamps with ghee;\(^\text{19}\)
Your brother has come home with his bride.
It is Mēhrbāl's son who is married.

He is come home with a bride worth lakh (of rupees).

\(^{12}\) A figurative expression of the bride's value.
\(^{13}\) The father's brother.
\(^{14}\) The husband of the mother's sister.
\(^{15}\) As a mark of rejoicing.
\(^{16}\) Also as a mark of rejoicing. It is the custom however, to light at least one lamp fed by ghee in the daytime, when the bride is being dressed in the suits of clothing, jewellery, etc., sent her by her parents-in-law on the occasion of the betrothal, and on all subsequent occasions when presents are given to her.
\(^{17}\) This is somewhat unintelligible.
\(^{21}\) Properly this should be तीरण हेतु उन्मा.
This phrase is unintelligible, lit. क्र न means a wife's; पट्टा copper bowls and पत्ता a little cup in which a paste of "कुंकू" is made with rosewater.

== This phrase is also unintelligible: रचना lit. means "in lumps."
MISCELLANEA.

MISCELLANEOUS DATES FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND MSS.

1.—Ante, Vol. XIX. p. 6, I have attempted to prove that the Lakshmanasena era commenced in A. D. 1119, that the years of the era were Kārttikādi years, and that, accordingly, to convert a Lakshmanasena year into the corresponding year of the Saka era, we must add 1041, when the date falls in one of the months from Karttika to Phalguna, and 1042, when the date falls in one of the months from Chaitra to Āśvina. To the six dates of the era which were then known to me I have added another date, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 50; and I would now draw attention to one more Lakshmanasena date, which also works out correctly with my epoch.

According to the late Paṇḍit Bhagvanlāl Indrai, the Buddhist-Gayā inscription of Asākavalla, published by him in the Journal Bo. As. Soc., Vol. XVI. p. 383, is dated in line 11—

Srimal-Lakshmanasenasāty-Aṭita-rājyē sam 51 Bhāḍāra dir 8 ra 29.

Judging from the editor’s own translation—Samvat 51 of the reign of the illustrious Lakshmanasena having elapsed,2 the 8th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada, the 29th solar day—"it may be suspected that the original inscription has Bhāḍāra-vadi instead of the Bhāḍāra di of the printed text. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the inscription is dated the 8th of either of the lunar halves (probably, of the dark half) of the month Bhādrapada, being the 29th day of the solar month, of the Lakshmanasena year 51.

The date falling in the month Bhādrapada, the year of the date, supposing it to be the expired year 51, should correspond to Saka (51 + 1042 = ) 1093 expired; and the details of the date prove such is actually the case. For in Saka 1093 expired the 8th tithi of the dark half of the amanta Bhādrapada ended about 19 h. after mean sunrise of the 23th August, A. D. 1171, causing that day to be Bhāḍāra-vadi 8; and the same 25th August also was the 29th of the solar month Bhādrapada, the Simha-samākranti having taken place, by the Śrīya-siddhānta, 19 h. 4 m., or, by the Ārya-siddhānta, 8 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of the 25th July.

The fact that the above date, in addition to the lunar day, also gives us the day of the solar month, induces me to mention here that, similarly to what I have shown to be a common practice in Bengali MSS., inscriptions also from Eastern India are sometimes dated according to the solar calendar. A clear and instructive example of this is furnished by the Tipura copper-plate, published by Colebrooke in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX. p. 409. That inscription is dated in Saka 1141 expired, according to Colebrooke śrīrya-gatyā laid in Phālguna-dīnā 26. The 26th day of the solar: Phālguna of Saka 1141 expired corresponds to the 19th February, A. D. 1220, the Kumbha-samākranti having taken place 13 h. 3 m. after

mencement of the reign, (soon) passed, of the illustrious Lakshmanasena.'

2 See ante, Vol. XXI. p. 49.
mean sunrise of the 21st January. Now on the
19th February, A. D. 1220, the day of the date,
the full-moon śītikī commenced about one hour
after mean sunrise, and there can hardly be a
doubt that the donation recorded in the copper-
plate was made on account of the full-moon.
But although thus there was apparently every
reason to follow the lunar writer, the author of
the date evidently was induced by the practice
of every-day life to give the date in the way in
which he has done it.

And this date again leads me to draw attention
to the date of the Āṃgāchhī copper-plate of
Vigrāhasūlapāda-va. (ante, Vol. XXI. pp. 97-101). The grant
recorded in that inscription was made on the
occasion of a lunar eclipse, i.e., on the full-moon
śītikī; and the inscription is dated in the 12th or
13th year of Vigrāhasūlapāda’s reign, Chattra-
dinī 9. We know that the inscription is later than A. D. 1036,1
and, taking the expression Chattra-dinī 9 to refer to solar time, and
comparing the date of the Tipura grant, I would suggest
Monday, the 2nd March, A. D. 1036, as an
equivalent of the date which, perhaps might be
c onsidered to satisfy the requirements of the case.
Monday, the 2nd March A. D. 1036, was the 9th
day of the solar Chaitra; on that day the full-
moon śītikī commenced about 5 h. after mean
sunrise, and there was a lunar eclipse on that
particular full-moon. The eclipse was not visible
in India; but we now have several other dates
that record invisible eclipses. Should this sugges-
tion be approved of, Vigrāhasūlapāda III. must
be taken to have begun to reign about A.D.
1074.

Similar to the date of the Āṃgāchhī copper-plate is the
date of the Balasore copper-plate grant of
Purushottama-vāda, the king of Orissa,
published ante, Vol. I. p. 855. According to
Mr. Beam, Purushottama-vāda ascended the
throne in A. D. 1473, and his grant is dated in the
fifth year of his reign, on Monday, the 10th
day of the month of Māsha, i.e. Vāisākha, at the
time of an eclipse. If the year of the accession
of the king is correctly given, the date of the
grant can only be Monday, the 7th April A. D.
1483, when there was an invisible eclipse of the
sun; but by my calculations that day was the
11th (not the 10th) day of the solar Vāisākha, the
Māsakranitī having taken place 17 h. 49 m.
sunrise of the 27th March, A. D.

1 43 Apr. A. D. 1466, was the 10th of
According to the List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres. p. 312 (and Arch. Journ. Survey of West. India, No. 2, p. 33), a short inscription at Girnār is dated—

Sain 53 varhā Chaitra-vadi 2 Soma.

Excepting, of course, dates of the Saptarshī era, I have not hitherto met with a single date from which the figures for the centuries of the year of the date have been purposely omitted; and therefore it does not seem to me at all improbable that the year 83 of this date may have to be referred to the Sinhā era. Now assuming the date to be a Sinhā date, the only possible equivalent of it would be Monday, the 13th March A.D. 1172, which was almost completely filled by the second titki of the dark half of the Avattā Chaitra. Monday, the 13th March A.D. 1172, however, belongs to the month Chaitra of either the Asadhādī or the Kārttikādī (but not the Chaitra) Vikrama year ([58 + 1170 = ]1228 expired; and, since we already have seen that the Sinhā year was not a Kārttikādī year, it would, with necessity, follow from this date that the Sinhā year commenced with the month Ashādha, (and was perhaps the original Asadhādī year).

4.—Of the Chālukya Vikrama Varsha era of the Western Chālukya king, Vikramadītṣa VI., Dr. Fleet has treated ante, Vol. VIII. pp. 187-193. My examination of a large number of dates of this era has yielded the results that, whatever may have been the day of the coronation of Vikramadītṣa VI., the years of the dates and the Jovian years quoted with them coincide with the lunar Saka years, beginning with Chaitra-ēndi 1 and ending with Phālguna-vadi 15; and that a Chālukya Vikrama year may be converted into the corresponding expired Saka year by the simple addition of 987. This may be seen from the following regular dates:

(1). The Yēvār tablet (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 20) is dated: . . . Chālukya-Vikrama-varshadā 2neya Piṅgala-sanvatsahāra Śrāvaṇa-paurṇa-māsi Āditya-vāra sōmagrahaṇa-mahāparrva-nimittadīn. The corresponding date, for Saka (2+987) = 999 expired, which by the southern lunsolar system was the year Piṅgala, is Sunday, the 6th August A.D. 1077, when there was a lunar eclipse 21 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

(2). A stone-tablet at Kurttakūdī (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 190, No. 9) is dated: . . . Chā-Varsha[da*] 2neya Dundubhi-sanvatsahāra Pusya-śūdra-tādige Ādityavāram-uttāraṇa-ṇa-saṃkrānti-ṛṣita-pādad-anu. In Saka (7+997 = ) 1004 expired, the year Dundubhi, the 3rd titki of the bright half of Pausha ended.
the sun on Sunday, the day of the new-moon of (the month) Phālguna of the Srīmukha saṅkranti which was the 18th of the years of the glorious Chālukya Vikrama. The corresponding date, for the amarta Phālguna of Saka (18+997=) 1015 expired, is Sunday, the 19th March A.D. 1094, when there was a solar eclipse, which was visible in India, at 5 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. The fact that this day belonged to the Jovian year Srīmukha shows that that year did not commence (or end) on the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna; for, had such been the case, the year Srīmukha would have ended already on the 22nd February A.D. 1094, and the Jovian year of the date would have been Bhāva.

The following are some of the dates which do not work out satisfactorily:

(8) An inscribed pillar at Arajāśvar (ante, Vol. VIII, p. 190, No. 4) is dated: . . . Chā. Vi.-kālada luga. Nāla-saṅvatsarasā Vaṭā-bahula - pancharham - Mārga-lavaka - Maheśa- saṅkranti-vyapti-ātinda. The year of the date should be Saka (1+997=) 998 expired, but the date does not work out properly either for that year or for the immediately preceding and following years. The 5th titki of the dark half of the amarta Chaitra of Saka 998 expired on Monday, the 28th March A.D. 1076, and the nearest Maheśa-saṅkranti took place on Wednesday, the 23rd March A.D. 1076. For Saka 997 the corresponding dates are Wednesday, the 8th April, and Tuesday, the 24th March, A.D. 1075; and for Saka 999 expired, Friday, the 17th March, and Thursday, the 23rd March, A.D. 1077.

(9) A stone-tablet at Wadāgāri (ś. No. 5) is dated (on the anniversary of Vikramādiśya’s coronation): . . . Chā. Vi.-varaha-pratihama-Nāla-saṅvatsarasā Phālguna-suddha-paṃchamiti-Di- (bri)haspati-vārād-ātinda. The year of the date should again be Saka (1+997=) 998 expired; but the equivalents of the date both for that year and for the immediately preceding and following years are Tuesday, the 31st January A.D. 1077; Friday, the 12th February A.D. 1076; and Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1078.

(10) The Tījgundī copper-plate grant of Vikramādiśya VI. (ante, Vol. I. p. 81) is dated: śrī-Vikrama-kāla-saṅvatsarasā haṇaḥ aśṭāśūnta saṃtanā Duhubhī-saṅvatsarā pravartamānā̄śa tasya Kārttikeya-sr̥ṣṭa-pratipada-Ādīvārā. Here the year of the date should be Saka (7+997)= 1064 expired, as in the date No. 2, above; but the equivalents of the date both for that year and for the immediately preceding and following years are Tuesday, the 25th October A.D. 1062.
Wednesday, the 6th October A. D. 1081; and Saturday, the 14th October A. D. 1083.

(11). A stone-tablet at Saundatti (Jour. Bo. As. Soc., Vol. X. p. 202,) is dated in the 21st year, the Dhātu samvatsara, on Sunday, the 18th of the dark half of Paushya, and the moment when the sun was commencing his progress to the north. Here the year of the date should be Saka (21+97=) 1018, expired, as in the date No. 6, above; but in Saka 1018 expired the 13th titki of the dark half of the amānta Pausha ended on Wednesday, the 14th January A. D. 1097, and the Uttarāyana-sankrānti took place on Wednesday, the 24th December A. D. 1086.

The Chālikya Vikrama era offers a comparatively far greater number of irregular dates than any other Hindu era. Here I will give only one more date which is of special interest on account of the doubtful meaning of the word employed to denote the week-day.

(12). According to Dr. Fleet (Jour. Bo. As. Soc., Vol. X. p. 397) a stone-tablet at Kopār is dated 'in the 12th year of the era of the prosperous Chālikya Vikrama, being the Prabhava saṅkraṭaṇa, at the moment of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north, on Vaḍḍāvāra, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Pausha.' The year of this date is Saka (12+97=) 1009 expired, which was the year Prabhava; and in that year the 14th titki of the dark half of the amānta Pausha commenced 5 h. 6 m. before and ended 18 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 26th December A. D. 1087, and the Uttarāyana-sankrānti took place 1 h. 47 m. before mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th December A. D. 1087.

Now, that this is the Uttarāyana-sankrānti spoken of in the date, there can be no doubt; but according to ordinary rules the titki that should have been joined with the Sankrānti is the 13th, during which the Sankrānti itself took place and which occupied about nineteen hours of Saturday, the 25th December, not the 14th which is actually put down in the date. There is the further difficulty that we do not know what day of the week is meant by the word Vaḍḍāvāra of the date. Judging from the remarks of Mr. L. Rice on the word Vaḍḍāvāra, ante, Vol. VIII. p. 90, one would feel inclined to regard that word as a synonym of svāhaya or dāti, and to take Vaḍḍāvāra as a name of Sunday. And in favour of this it might be urged, not only, that in the date under discussion the 14th titki put down in the date did end on a Sunday, but also, that the date of the Anānapāṭha inscription of Rudra-āra (ante, Vol. XI. p. 12)—Saka-varshamulu 1018 vumēnti Chitrabhānu-sāṃvatsara Māgha śa Vaḍḍāvāramuṇāṅkhara'—undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 29th January, A. D. 1168.

On the other hand, it might very properly be suggested that in the date under discussion the 14th titki had been wrongly quoted instead of the 13th,—a suggestion which would render it necessary to assign to Vaḍḍāvāra the meaning of Saturday; and in support of this interpretation, again, one might adduce the date of the Torasālam inscription; published ante, Vol. XII. p. 97,—Saka-varšhini 1110 mēya Pālavanga-sāṃvatsara Pāveya(bhya) bhumā 10 Vaḍḍāvāravuttarāyaṇa-sāṅkrānana-vyatiptātadale—, the proper equivalent of which without any doubt is Saturday, the 26th December, A. D. 1187. That Vaḍḍāvāra must be either Saturday or Sunday (not, as was suggested by the late Dr. Bhān Dāji) Wednesday or Thursday is certain, and in my opinion the chances are in favour of Sunday; but the dates known to me are not sufficient to settle the question definitely.

5.—Ante, Vol. XIX. p. 24, I have shown that the word saka is occasionally employed in dates of the Vikrama era in the general sense of ‘year.’ A clear instance of this usage occurs in the following verse which is found in a M.S. of Gana-ghāra Saravāti’s Śāradīyastādīkā:

Yasya-abhābhi-manana-sakkē Vṛtta-shākhya-varshaṇa, Māgha-sita-Vākpati-yuktā-sablaphitam
Ganagha-dhāraṇa-yatinā Sivanayā patadībhā Jhaktya-d[ ]piṭā sastīn-anau satbīn eva bhāya

The year of this date is the Vikrama year (not, as has been assumed, the Śaka year) 1748 expired, of Māgha. Here the corresponding dates would be, for Ś. 1066 current = Rudhirāḍgara, Friday, the 4th February, A. D. 1144; and for Ś. 1066 expired, Tuesday, the 23rd January, A. D. 1145.

No. 222, of the time of the Yādava Rāmaḥandra. — The twelfth year of his reign, the Svabhānu sanvatsara (Saka 1025); “Vaḍḍāvāra,” the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Phāluṇa.’ Here the corresponding date, for Ś. 1265 expired = Subbhānu, would be Wednesday the 23rd February, A. D. 1254; but for Ś. 1266 expired = Tānaṇa, Sunday, the 11th February, A. D. 1255.
MUSSELWOMAN.

It may be assumed that most writers on Oriental subjects know that the termination man in such words as “Englishman,” “Frenchman,” etc. Indeed, no English writer would make such a mistake, in even purely English words, as to connect Germain and German, or Burnwoman and Burnan, out of German and Burnan. But a writer has at last been found, who can, in a publication professedly intended for Oriental readers, perpetrate, by what the late Sir Henry Yule has styled “the process of Hobson-Jobson,” the astounding error of Musselwoman. Here is the passage. The Overland Mail of Feb. 10, 1893, p. 47; “It is now reported that the lady has resolved to be ‘converted’ and become a Musselwoman and dame of the harem, which will secure the presumptive heirship to the throne for her son.” This passage occurs in the course of an ill-contrived bit of gossip about the “Khedive’s” Abbâsa Pâshâ.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK NOTICE.

Dr. Weber’s preface gives an account of its growth, and renders due acknowledgment to the Government of Bombay, for allowing Dr. Bühler to send to Berlin at intervals a nearly complete series of the texts of Siddhârtha Siddhânta, together with many other important Jaina works. It was this collection which formed the basis of the author’s essays on the sacred literature of that community, a translation of which has been lately appearing in this Journal. The Library is also indebted to Prof. Garbe, who during his brief stay in India of a year and a half, sent home nearly three hundred MSS. on various subjects.

The work is printed with the care and accuracy, which has distinguished the preceding sections of this volume, and Dr. Weber warmly acknowledges the assistance rendered to him by Drs. Leumann and Klatz in reading the proofs. This accuracy has not been attained without cost, and all scholars will sincerely regret that, as the author remarks, a good portion of his eye-sight lies buried in the pages before us.

The preface contains an interesting note on the peculiariities of Jaina MSS., too long to quote here, but which is well worth the perusal of any person commencing the study of this class of work. They are specially distinguished by the neatness and accuracy with which they are written, equalled only, in Brâhmanical works, by MSS. of Vedâ literature. The collection, as the professor points out, is rich in narrative-literature, affording a plenteous and almost unexplored mine of Indian folktales, and containing not infrequent references to things which connect India with the western world.

Again congratulating Dr. Weber on the completion of this striking monument of erudition combined with patient labour, I bring this note to a close.

G. A. G.
HIUEN TSIAU'S CAPITAL OF MAHARASHTRA.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., Ph.D., C.I.E.

In his account of the country of Maharashtra, as the kingdom of the Western Chalukya king Pulikotin II., Hiuen Tsang tells us, according to Mr. Beal's translation of the Si-ku-kí (Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. pp. 255, 257), that the capital "borders on the west on a great river . . . . . . Within and without the capital are five "stúpas to mark the spots where the four past Buddhas walked and sat. They were built by "Asokaraja. There are, besides these, other stúpas made of brick or stone, so many that it "would be difficult to name them all. Not far to the south of the city is a saṅgháráma in "which is a stone image of Kwan-tsz-'tsai Bódhisattva."

The name of this capital is not mentioned. And, though two indications, which ought to locate it and determine its name, are given,— viz. that it was situated about 1,000 li or 167 miles to the east of Broach,¹ and between 2,400 and 2,500 li or roughly about 410 miles to the north-west of the capital of a country which is called in Chinese Kong-kin-na-pu-fo, and is supposed to be in Sanskrit Kāhkaśāpura,² they have failed to do so; partly because the capital of Kong-kin-na-pu-fo has never yet been satisfactorily determined; and partly because there is no place due east of Broach or nearly so, at or anywhere near the required distance, which answers to the description that is given. The result has been a variety of surmises as to the name of this capital. And the question has never yet been disposed of.

Now, the real capital of the Western Chalukya dynasty was Bādāmi, the chief town of the tālukā of the same name in the Bijāpur District. But its surroundings do not answer to the description given by Hiuen Tsang. There is, it is true, a river, within four miles of the town,— the Malaprabha; but it is only a tributary of the Krishna, and it cannot be called one of the great rivers of India. And about three miles to the south by east of the town, there is a temple of Banasamkarā,— with a variety of shrines, a large enclosure, and a tank that has a cloister round three sides of it,— which presents the appearance of a certain amount of antiquity; but there are no indications of Buddhism about it, and nothing to justify the supposition that it is a Brahmanical adaptation of an ancient Buddhist saṅgháráma. Further, the cave-temples at Bādāmi are Jain and Brahmanical,— not Buddhist. Again, neither in the town, nor in its neighbourhood, can any traces be found of any stúpas. And, finally, though the direction of Bādāmi from Broach, south-south-east, may be taken as answering to the statement that Broach was to the west or north-west of the capital of Maharashtra, still its distance, 435 miles, is altogether incommensurate with the given distance, and is quite sufficient, in itself, to exclude the possibility of such an identification. Bādāmi, therefore, is undoubtedly inadmissible for the town referred to by Hiuen Tsang.

Mr. Beal has stated, in a footnote, the other suggestions that have been made, and some of the objections to them. Thus, M. V. de St. Martin proposed Daulatabad in the Nizâm's Dominions. But, though the distance and direction from Broach,— 188 miles to the south-east,— are admissible, there is no river here; nor are there any Buddhist remains. Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham has been in favour of Kalyāpi, in the Nizâm's Dominions, which has on the west a large stream named Kailāsa. But here, again, there is nothing that can be called "a great river;" there are no Buddhist remains; the distance from Broach, about 372 miles towards the south-east, is far too much; and there is absolutely nothing to justify the supposition that Kalyāpi was a place of any importance at all, until it became the Western Chalukya capital, after the restoration of the dynasty by Tails II. in A. D. 973. And Mr. Ferguson named "Tokha, Phuthamba, or Paitan." But, as regards these, though Paitan, on the Gōdāvari, in the Nizâm's Dominions, is well admissible on account of its ancient importance, and might be fairly so because it is only about 220 miles to the south-east from

¹ On the question of the real bearings, however, see farther on.
² See page 118 below, note 7.
Broach, no Buddhist remains have ever been discovered there. Tōka or Tōkēh, on the Gōdāvarī, in the Newasa Tālukā of the Ahmednagar District, about 195 miles to the south-east of Broach, is nothing but an ordinary village, of not the slightest importance, except that it has a post-office and a few purely modern temples which are supposed to be invested with sanctity, — for which reasons alone it is mentioned in Gazetteers. And Phulthamba, properly Puṭāmē, on the same river, and in the Kōparao Tālukā of the same district, about 28 miles towards the north-west of Tōka, is nothing but a market-village with a railway station, and, in the same way, with a few entirely modern temples, and is mentioned in Gazetteers simply because it is such. Mr. Beal himself, locating the capital of Kong-hin-na-pu-lo near Golkonda in the Nisām’s Dominions, arrived at the conclusion that Huen Tsang’s capital of Mahārāṣṭra, must be found near the Tāptī river, or perhaps near the Girā, which flows through Nāsik and Khāndēsh and joins the Tāptī about fifteen miles to the north of Eranōḍī. But he did not suggest any particular town. And, as I have already intimated, there is no place on either river, at or near the required distance from Broach, answering to the description given by Huen Tsang.

My own attention was attracted specially to the point quite recently, in consequence of a visit to the cave-temples at Ajāntā (properly Ajīṭhā). They are described by Huen Tsang, in his account of Mahārāṣṭra, and are located by him in a great mountain on the eastern frontier of the country. And they are, in fact, in the Chāndōr or Sātāmāḷ range,— just about the point where the range, which finally merges itself in the highlands that form the southern frontier of Berār, turns towards the south. To the west of Ajāntā, the range runs through Nānḍgaon and Chāndōr (properly Chāndwāḍ), and merges in the Sāhyyāḍi chain in the north-west part of the Nāsik District. And what first forcibly struck my attention, when, after crossing the range from the direction of Bīḷūrā, or rather after descending from the plateau which there runs along the southern crest of it, I was travelling along the north of it, is the conspicuous “wall-like boundary” that it makes, from near Nānḍgaon to at least as far as Ajāntā, between Khāndēsh and the country to the south. In the neighbourhood of Nānḍgaon and Mānmaḍ, where the range is much broken and the level of the country itself rises a good deal, this peculiar feature is not so well marked. But it develops itself again to the west of Mānmaḍ. And, taking the range as a whole, there can be no doubt that, in direct continuation of the eastern frontier, on which Huen Tsang placed the Ajāntā caves, it formed the natural northern frontier of the country which he was describing.

Now, the distance from Broach as given by the Chinese pilgrim, viz. 167 miles, must be accepted more or less closely. But, as regards the bearings, while the text of the Si-yu-lī says that Broach was to the west of the unnamed capital of Mahārāṣṭra (loc. cit. p. 259), still, however freely we may interpret the narrative, any easterly direction from Broach, even with a southerly bearing not sufficiently marked to require it to be called plainly south-easterly, carries us decidedly to the north of the Sātāmāḷ range, and so keeps us outside the northern frontier of the country. On the other hand, however, Hwui-li, who wrote the Life of Huen Tsang, says (Beal’s Life of Huen Tsang, p. 147) that the direction of Broach from the unnamed capital was north-west; and any approximately south-east bearing from Broach takes us, at the distance of 110 to 167 miles, well to the south of the Sātāmāḷa. And I think, therefore, that the bearings given by Hwui-li must of necessity be more correct than those in the narrative from which extracts have been given above.

And there is still one other point to be mentioned. Mr. Beal’s expression “the capital border on the west on a great river” is,— possibly owing to want of punctuation,— not very explicit, to say the least. And I think that we must prefer the far plainer words made use of by M. Staniolas Julien (Vie de Hiouen-Thsang, p. 415),— “du côté de l’ouest, la capitale.

* See the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XII., Khādēsh, p. 5; also see Vol. XVI., Nāsik, p. 5.
est voisine d’un grand pleuve,” which apparently mean that the capital lay towards the west of the kingdom and was on or near a great river. And I thus take it that we must locate the required place as far to the west as possible, consistently with maintaining, approximately, the given distance and direction from Broach.

Since, then, the given distance from Broach keeps us far away to the north of the real capital, Bāḍāmi, we have to look for some subordinate but important town, somewhere along or near the northern frontier and towards the western end of it, which was mistakenly spoken of as the capital by Hiuen Tsiang,—probably because it was the basis of the military operations against Harshavardhana of Kanauj, which also are alluded to in his account, and because, in connection with those operations, Pulikēśin II. happened to be there at the time. And I feel no hesitation in deciding that the place, which must of necessity lie somewhere towards the west or north-west of the Nāsik District, is Nāsik itself. This town is about 128 miles to the south-south-east of Broach: the distance corresponds sufficiently well: and, accepting the statement of Hwui-li, so does the bearing; for Broach, lying actually to the north-north-west of Nāsik, may very fairly, in the rough manner followed by the Chinese pilgrims, be described as lying towards the north-west. And the surroundings of the town, which has been a place of importance from considerable antiquity, answer in detail to the description given by Hiuen Tsiang. It is on the Gōdvārī, which, anywhere along its course, is always counted as one of the great rivers of India. Within a distance of six miles on the south-west, there is the Pāṇḍu-lēga group of Buddhist caves, in which we may locate the svayambhūrāma mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. And finally, as regards the stūpas spoken of by him, one, at any rate, still exists,—near a small water-fall on the Gōdvārī, about six miles west of the town.6

In conclusion, I would remark that, in my opinion, the country which Hiuen Tsiang has described might have been called more properly Kuntala (in Mahārāṣṭra),—rather than Mahārāṣṭra itself. To allow for the number of ninety-nine thousand villages, whether actual or traditional, which the Aihole inscription allot to the three divisions of it, each called Mahārāṣṭra, the Mahārāṣṭra country proper must, I think, have extended on the north up to the Narmadā, and on the east and north-east far beyond Ajanta. What Hiuen Tsiang was describing is really the kingdom of Pulikēśin II., or part of it. Now, the later Western Chalukyas of Kalīṇī were specially known as “the lords of Kuntala.” The dominions of their predecessors of Bāḍāmi appear to have coincided very much with their own dominions. And the existence of the Kuntala country may certainly be taken back to at least the time of Hiuen Tsiang; for it is mentioned, as a well-established and principal territorial division, in an inscription at Ajanta,6 which, though possibly not quite so early as the period of Hiuen Tsiang, is at any rate not very much later in date. It is, moreover, mentioned there under circumstances which suggest the inference that the Ajanta caves were themselves in Kuntala.

It may be added that the given distance of about 410 miles to the south-east from Nāsik takes us to a very likely place indeed, Karnāṭu, as the capital of the country of Kong-kima-napu-lo. The actual distance here is, as near as possible, 408 miles, to the south-east. And, on the assumption, which appears to be correct, that the distances given by Hiuen Tsiang are always the distances from capital to capital, the distance and direction to Karnāṭu from

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4 The same meaning may, I think, be given to Mr. Beal’s translation, by inserting a comma after “west.” And very possibly he intended such a comma to be understood. But, as it stands, his sentence is decidedly enigmatical.

5 Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVI., Nāsik, p. 539. It is there called a “burial mound;” but the details of the description show it to be an undeniable stūpa.—To obviate unnecessary questioning, it may be stated that, in spite of its being a Buddhist site, and one, too, on the line of his route, Nāšik is nowhere mentioned by name by Hiuen Tsiang. So there is no objection of that kind,—viz. that he refers to it in any other connection,—against the identification for which I decide.—The matter seems to me so obvious, that it appears curious that no one has already hit on the true solution. But it probably required what I have been able to give it,—personal consideration on the spot.

6 Archæol. Survey, Vol. I, pp. 131, 137.—In an earlier time still, the name of Kuntala occurs in Varāhamihira’s Brihat-Samhita, xvi. 11.
Conjeveram, v.s. about 232 miles to the north-west-by-north, seem to answer sufficiently well to the statement made by the Chinese writers, that the capital of Kong-kin-na-pu-lo was about 3,000 li, or approximately 383 miles, to the north-west from Kāśchī, i.e. Conjeveram.2

**DANISH COINS FROM TRANQUEBAR.**

**BY E. HULTZHEI, PH.D., BANGALORE.**

The seaport of Tranquebar is situated in the Māyavaram talukā of the Tanjore district, 18 miles north of Negapatam. The only ancient Hindā building in it is a Salva temple, which is partially washed away by the sea. This temple contains three Tamil inscriptions:

No. I.—An inscription which is dated in the 37th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Kāṛittigai, (alias) Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkhara-rāya. According to the Tanjore Manual, pp. 750 ff., Achyutappa was the name of the second of the four Nāyaka rulers of Taṇīkāvur. If he is meant, the date of the inscription would correspond to A. D. 1627.

No. II.—An inscription which is dated in the 20th day of the month of Kārtika of the cyclic year Prabhava, and which records a gift by a certain Iṛāmāiyar Ayyappa, who was the agent of “the glorious Achebudappa-Nāyakkār Āḷajar.” The modern Tanjore designation of Tranquebar is Tarangampādī (i. e. “the village of the waves”), is evidently a corruption, produced through a popular etymology, of the form which occurs in Kulaśēkhara’s inscription, Saḍaṅgānaṭpādī.3 The intermediate form Taḍaṅgānaṭpādī appears to be scabbled between lines 4 and 5 of the inscription No. II.

A large number of deserted buildings in the European style, the fort of “Dansborg,” and the tombstones with Danish epitaphs in the cemetery remind the visitor of this Indian Pompeii that it used to be the seat of the Government of a Danish colony. The Danes established an East India Company during the reign of Christian IV. in A. D. 1616.4 Their first ship, the “Oeresund,” which left Denmark in August 1618, in charge of Roelant Crape, a Dutchman,

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1 Beal, loc. cit. p. 283 and note 99. The shi-pu-li says “north-wards,” and Hwui-li, “north-west.”—Someone or other has, doubtless, already commented on the curious appearance, which the word Koṅkānapura presents, as the name of a country. The Chinese transliteration Kong-kin-na-pu-lo might also represent the Sanskrit koṅkāna, ’a bracelet,’ or the Kanarese koṅkāna, ’red eye,’ which occurs in koṅkānaśatki, ’the black Indian cuckoo, having red eyes.’ But the country lies so much in the direction of the province which in later records is called, with reference to the actual or traditional number of its villages, the Gaṅgāvikī Ninety-six-thousand, and which may very well have included Karṇāṭa, that I cannot help thinking that, in the Chinese Kong-kin-na-pu-lo, we may find the word Gaṅga or Koṅgā. With Gaṅga for Kong-kin, it is not easy to say what na-pu-lo can represent; unless it may be the Sanskrit naḍaṇa, ’an ankle,’ or naḍeṇa (also written naḍil), ’abounding with reeds, a reed-bed.’ With Koṅgā for Kong-kin-na, we might, if Koṅgā can be shown to be the ancient name of any river, take the whole word to be either Koṅgāṇipāṇa, ’(the country of) the floods of the Koṅga,’ or Koṅgāpiṇḍa, ’(the country of) the forts of the Koṅga.’—There was also a country named Koṅga, which is suggested to be the modern Koṅgū or Coorg (Myore Inscriptions, p. xii.).

2 The complete date of the inscription is:—“On the auspicious day, on which the Uttarāśadhāṁakaśatra fall on Friday, the 30th day of the month of Āṣā, of the 372nd year, which was current after the Šālvāthana-Śaka year 1772 (read 1705) and the Kaiyupa year 4834.”

3 Koṅkānapāṭha appears to be used in the sense of adhat-āni-vid, ’one who knows the six Adhas (of the Vedas).’ With Koṅkānapāṭha compare the term chaṭṭuṇdā-maṅgalon, which is frequently employed in Tamil inscriptions as the designation of an agnathra.

by birth, was attacked by the Portuguese off the Coromandel coast and lost. The commander escaped with thirteen men to the court of Tanjore. Five other ships had left home in November 1618, in command of Ove Gedde, a Danish nobleman. Through the united efforts of Crape and Gedde, a treaty between Denmark and Aohyutappa, the Nāyaka of Tanjāvūr, was concluded in November 1620. By this treaty, the Nāyaka ceded Tranquebar with fifteen neighbouring villages, — a strip of land of 1½ hours breadth and 2 hours length, — against an annual tribute of about Rs. 4,000. Having laid the foundation of the fort of Dansborg, Gedde returned to Denmark, while Crape remained in charge of the new settlement. With one interruption (A. D. 1808 to 1814) the Danes continued to hold Tranquebar for more than two centuries until 1845, when it was purchased by the British. Since then, Tranquebar has lost its commercial importance to Negapatam, a former Dutch port, which enjoys the advantage of being connected with the main-line of the South Indian Railway by a branch from Tanjore.

As appears from Mr. Neumann's great work on Copper Coins and Mr. Weyl's Catalogue of the Fonrobert Collection, the Danes issued a large number of types of colonial coins, most of which, however, are now rare or not procurable at all. A few years ago, Messrs. T. M. Ranga Chari and T. Desika Chari published the contents of their collection. Through the kind offices of the Rev. T. Kreusler, who continued for some time to purchase on my account all coins which could be obtained at and near Tranquebar, I have since acquired a fairly representative collection, which is the subject of this paper. The abbreviations N, W, and R refer to the above-mentioned treatises of Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weyl, and Messrs. Ranga Chari and Desika Chari, respectively. For the preparation of the plaster casts, from which the accompanying Plate was copied, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. B. Santappah, Curator of the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

I.—CHRISTIAN THE FOURTH.

(A. D. 1688 to 1648.)

No. 1. Lead. Weight, 64½ grains. (N. 20646; W. 2802.)

Obv. C with 4 enclosed (the monogram of the king), surmounted by a crown.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Rev. } \\
\text{CAS} \\
1645
\end{array}
\]

This specimen is valuable on account of its complete date; on the copy noticed by Neumann, the last figure is missing, and the reverse of Weyl's copy is illegible. The letters I. B. on the reverse are supposed to stand for T. B., an abbreviation of the mint-town, Tranquebar; see Neumann's remark on his No. 20672. Cas, and Kas on later Danish coins, represents,— like the Anglo-Indian "cash,"— the Tamil word ḍēu, 'a coin.'

II.—FREDERICK THE THIRD.

(A. D. 1648 to 1670.)

No. 2. Copper. Average weight, 12½ grains. (N. 20648; R. 1.)

Obv. F 3, crowned.

Rev. The Norwegian lion.

Neumann refers to a similar coin (N. 20647) with the date ANNO 1667 on the obverse.

\[^{6}\text{See Dr. Gormann's Johann Philipp Fabricius, Erlangen 1865, p. 87.}\]

\[^{4}\text{On the Dutch copper coins of Negapatam (Nāg-patāpam) and Pulicat (Pulavēkāju) see Mr. Neumann's Copper Coins, Vol. III. p. 60 f., and Plate cxxvii.}\]

\[^{7}\text{Beschreibung der bekannten Kupfermünzen, Vol. III. Prag 1868, pp. 73 s.}\]

\[^{*}\text{Vierteilung von Münzen und Denkmälern der Jules Fonrobert'schen Sammlung, Berlin 1875, pp. 193 s.}\]

\[^{+}\text{Indo-Danish Coins; Madras Journal of Literature and Science or the Session 1888-89.}\]
III.—CHRISTIAN THE FIFTH.

(A. D. 1670 to 1699.)

No. 3. Lead. Weight, 35\frac{1}{2}, 36\frac{3}{4}, 76\frac{1}{4} grains.
(N. 20668; W. 2803-4).
Obv. C 5, linked and crowned.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned.

The letters D O C are the initials of "Dansk Ostindisk Compagni" (Danish East-Indian Company). According to Neumann, a lead coin of different type (N. 20661) bears the date 1687 on the obverse.

No. 4. Copper. Weight, 11\frac{1}{2} grains.
(N. 20668; R. 4.)
Obv. Same as No. 3.
Rev. Blank.

No. 5. Copper. Average weight, 13\frac{1}{2} grains.
(N 20662-4; R. 2.)
Obv. Double C 5, linked and crowned; 8 on the left, and 9 on the right. Other specimens have 9 on the left, and 0 or 1 on the right.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned; W on the left, H on the right, and VK below.

The figures 89, 90 and 91 on the obverse are abbreviations of the dates 1689, 1690 and 1691. According to Neumann, the letters W. H. V. K. on the reverse are the initials of the Danish officer who issued the coin.

No. 6. Copper. Average weight, 12\frac{1}{2} grains.
(N 20664-7; W. 2809-10; R. 3.)
Obv. Double C 5, linked and crowned.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned; 1 on the left, 6 on the right, and 94 below. Other specimens have 92 or 97 below.

The figures on the reverse represent the dates 1692, 1694 and 1697. Neumann and Weyl also note the date 1698, R. the date 1699.

IV.—FREDERICK THE FOURTH.

(A. D. 1699 to 1730.)

No. 7. Copper; one cash. Weight, 13, 17\frac{1}{2} grains.
Obv. Double F 4, linked and crowned.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned.

No. 8. Copper; two cash. Weight, 28 grains.
(N 20671.)
Obv. Same as No. 7.
Rev. D O C, linked; 2 Kas below.

Neumann describes a four-cash piece, and both Neumann and Weyl a ten-cash piece of similar type.

No. 9. Copper. Average weight, 12\frac{1}{2} grains.
(W. 2812; R. 5.)
Obv. A monogram, consisting of F and 4, crowned.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned.

No. 10. Copper. Average weight, 13\frac{1}{2} grains.
(N. 20673-4; R. 6.)
Obv. F 4, linked and crowned.
Rev. Same as No. 9.
V.—CHRISTIAN THE SIXTH.

(A. D. 1730 to 1746.)

No. 11. Copper. Weight, 17½, 19 grains.
(N. 20678; W. 2821.)

Obv. C with 6 enclosed, crowned; 17 on the left, worn on the right.
Rev. The Norwegian lion.

The figure 17 on the obverse is the first half of the date. Neumann notes the date 1730, and Weyl the date 1732.

No. 12. Copper; one cash. Average weight, 12½ grains.
(N. 20679; W. 2817.)

Obv. C with 6 enclosed, crowned.
Rev. D A C, linked and crowned.

The letters D A C, which from the time of Christian VI. take the place of D O C, are the initials of “Dansk Asiatisk Compani” (Danish Asiatic Company).

No. 13. Copper; one cash. Weight, 10, 19½ grains.
(N. 20680.)

Obv. Same as No. 12, but not crowned.
Rev. Same as No. 12, but not crowned.

No. 14. Copper; two cash. Weight, 23½, 30 grains.
(N. 20677.)

Obv. Same as No. 12.
Rev. Same as No. 11, with the addition of the figure 2 below.

No. 15. Copper; four cash. Average weight, 40½ grains.
(N. 20675-6; W. 2316; R. 3.)

Obv. Same as No. 12.
Rev. Same as No. 12, but 4 below.

No. 16. Copper; four cash. Weight, 31 grains.

Same type as No. 15; but the letters C 6 on the obverse are reversed through a mistake of the engraver of the die.

VI.—FREDERICK THE FIFTH.

(A. D. 1746 to 1766.)

No. 17. Copper; four cash. Average weight, 36½ grains.
(N. 20333; W. 2834; R. 9.)

Obv. F 5, linked and crowned.
Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; 17 on the left, 63 on the right, 4 below.

Neumann’s No. 20682 and Weyl’s No. 2332 have the different date 1761.

VII.—CHRISTIAN THE SEVENTH.

(A. D. 1766 to 1808.)

No. 18. Silver; one royaolin. Weight, 20, 20½ grains.
(W. 2842 ff.; R. 16.)

Obv. C with 7 enclosed, crowned.
Rev. The Danish coat-of-arms; 17 on the left, 73 on the right, I · ROYALIN above.

According to Weyl, the latest date is 1792.
No. 19. Silver; two royalins. Weight, 40 grains.
(W. 2839 ff.; R. 15.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. The Danish coat-of-arms; [17] on the left, 74 on the right, :: 2 :: ROYALINER above.

According to Weyl, the earliest date is 1768, and the latest 1807.

No. 20. Copper; one cash. Weight, 9 grains.
(N. 20707-8.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; [1]7 on the left, 6 * on the right, I (i.e. I Kas) below.

The fourth figure of the date is lost. Neumann notes the later dates 1777 and 1780.

No. 21. Copper; two cash. Weight, 17½ grains.
(N. 20706; W. 2851.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; [17] on the left, 67 on the right, 4 below. Neumann notes the later dates 1770 and 1780.

No. 22. Copper; four cash, earlier type. Average weight, 36¾ grains.
(N. 20693-7; W. 2839a. ff.; R. 12.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; 17 on the left, 77 on the right, 4 below. Other specimens have 67, 68 and 70 on the right.

No. 23. Copper; ten cash, earlier type. Weight, 89½, 98½ grains,
(N. 20685-8; W. 2840; R. 11.)

Obv. Double C 7, linked and crowned.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; below it, X. KAS (for KAS) [Ao] (i.e. Anno) 1777, Another specimen has the date 1768. Neumann notes the intermediate dates 1770 and 1772.

No. 24. Copper; four cash, later type. Average weight, 36½ grains.
(N. 20698-705; W. 2859 ff.; R. 14.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. {IV.
KAS
1788

On this and other dies, the A of KAS looks like a V upside down. The earliest date is 1782, the latest 1807.

No. 25. Copper; four cash. Weight, 32 grains.
(N. 20701.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. {IV
KAS
1788
R

The initial is perhaps the initial of the Danish officers who issued the coin; compare No. 5.
No. 26. Copper; *four cash*. Weight, 39 grains.

(W. 2855.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. Same as No. 24, but VI instead of IV through a mistake of the engraver of the die. On the three specimens which have passed through my hands, the date is cut away; Weyl's specimen has 1782.

No. 27. Copper; *ten cash*, later type. Weight, 98½ grains.

(N. 20589-92; W. 2854 and 57; R. 13.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. KAS

1782

The latest date is 1790.

VIII.—FREDERICK THE SIXTH.

(A. D. 1808 to 1839.)

No. 28. Copper; *one cash*. Weight, 9½ grains.

(N. 20730.)

Obv. F R (i.e. Friderieus Rex), linked and crowned; VI below.

Rev. KAS

181[9]

No. 29. Copper; *four cash*. Average weight, 38 grains.

(N. 20714-29; W. 2871 ft.; R. 18.)

Obv. Same as No. 28.

Rev. KAS

1815

On some of the coins of the year 1817, the S of KAS is reversed through a mistake of the engraver of the die. The latest date is 1839. As remarked by Messrs. Ranga Chari and Desika Chari, p. 9, Frederick VI. did not strike any coins at Tranquebar during the earlier portion of his reign between the years 1808 and 1814, as the Indian colonies of Denmark were then in the temporary possession of the English.

No. 30. Copper; *ten cash*. Average weight, 94½ grains.

(N. 20709-13; W. 2863 and 82; R. 17.)

Obv. Same as No. 28.

Rev. KAS

1816

The latest date is 1839.

IX.—CHRISTIAN THE EIGHTH.

(A. D. 1839 to 1848.)

No. 31. Copper; *four cash*. Average weight, 39½ grains.

(N. 20732-37; W. 2884-39; R. 20.)

Obv. C R (i.e. Christianus Rex), linked and crowned; VIII below.

Rev. KAS

184[1]
The earliest date is 1840, and the latest 1845. Neumann (20731) and R. (19) note a ten-cash piece of 1842.

Postscript.

After I had passed the accompanying Plate for printing, I received from Mr. T. M. Ranga Chari, District Munsif of Trichinopoly, a specimen of the following coin of Christian VI.:—

No. 32. Copper. Weight, 17 grains.
(N. 20681; W. 2818.)
Obv. Same as No. 13.
Rev. A monogram consisting of [T] and B.

The letters T B are an abbreviation of "Tranquebar;" see the remarks on No. 1. The monogram on the obverse of Neumann’s and Weyl’s specimens is surmounted by a crown, as on the obverse of No. 12.

NOTES ON TUL’SI DÁS.
BY G. A. GRIERSON, C. I. S.
(Continued from p. 98).

(2) On the writings of Tul’si Dás.

In my Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustán, I have given the following list of the poet’s works which I had seen or heard of:—

1. Rám-charit-mánas (the well-known Ráma).  
2. Gita-bali.  
4. Dáh-dáli.  
5. Chhappai Ráma.  
6. Rám Sáš-sá.  
7. Yudhí Mangal.  
8. Párbati Mangal.  
12. Rámágya (Rámájy) or Rám Sagunábhat.  
15. Hanumán Bákn.  
16. Rám Saláká.  
17. Kuñjálíjá Rámáyan.  
20. Jhál’nd Rámáyan.  

Some of the above are certainly apocryphal, and the following information since acquired may be useful.

Bandan Páthak, in the commencement of his commentary on Rám Lald Nakhchá, says,—

Auro barfé khaṭa grantha kó
Túd raśhè sujána 1
Alpa grantha khaṭa alpa-mati
Birachata Bandana-yána 11
'Other learned men composed commentaries on the six other greater works, and now Bandan, small-minded one that he is, composes, according to his knowledge, commentaries on the six smaller ones.'

Mahâdâv Prâsâd has written a gloss on this commentary, and he illustrates Bandan Pathâk's statement by remarks, of which the following is an abstract.

'That is to say, Tulâ's Dâs wrote twelve works, six greater and six lesser, as is proved by the verse of the well-known Pañcit Râm Gulâm Drîvâdî.

'The voice of The Holy Master Tulâ's, blissful to the pious, acceptable to the Almighty, delightful to the universe, composed the Râm Lâl Naâchâh (1), Birûgasundarî (2) and Barôô (3) pleasing of the heart of Lord. It sang the sweet mangalas of Pârvati (4) and Jânâkt (5), and composed the Râmâyân (6) charming like the Cow of Plenty. After uniting Dôhâs (dôhâ-baândh) (7), Kabîtts (8) and Ñîtas (9), it told the tale of Krishna (10), and fixed all subjects, (i.e. omne scibile) in the Râmâyân (11) and the Bînay (12).'

'Bandan Pathâk, in his Mânâs Sankâvali, says that he was a pupil of Chôp (or Chôpâl) Dâs, who was a pupil of Râm Gulâm, and, in another Kabîtta, he says that Tulâ's Dâs taught the Mânâs Râmâyân (i.e., Râm-charî-mânâs) to Râm Dâs, who taught it to Râm Dîn Jôyâkhî, who taught it to Dâmân Râm, who taught it to Mân Dâs, who taught it to Râm Gulâm. Râm Gulâm's authority is therefore of considerable weight.\(^1\)

'On the other hand, Pañcit Sâsh Datt Sârmâ (alias Phandâs Datt), who (according to the Mânâs Mayanâka was also a pupil-descendant of Tulâ's Dâs, and whose authority is of equal weight), not only recognizes the work called the Sat'âsêt, which is not mentioned in Râm Gulâm's list, as authentic, but has also written a commentary on it.'

There are, in my opinion, only two arguments in favour of the authenticity of the Sat'âsêt. The first is that mentioned above, that it was commented upon by Sâsh Datt. The second is that it is possible, though improbable, that by 'Dôhâ-baândh,' Râm Gulâm Drîvâdî meant the Sat'âsêt, which is written throughout in the Dôhâ metre, and not the Dôhâbaîl. There can be no doubt that the collection of verses commonly known as the Dôhâbaîl, is not a poem consisting of one connected whole. It is a patchwork largely composed of dôhâs extracted from other works of the poet. To show this, I have drawn up the following table, showing where each verse in the Dôhâbaîl, so far as identified, originally came from. It has been done with the help of native friends, especially Babû Râm Dîn Singh already mentioned. It is as complete as we could make it in default of full indexes of all the works of the poet.

\(^1\) Bandan Pathâk has great authority. It must, however, be noted that Pañcit Sudhâkar Drîvâdî altogether denies this Guru-succession, and that the second Kabîtta referred to above, is by him. He says that Tulâ's Dâs had no disciples. If he had, they would have called themselves Tulâ'sîthâs, just as we have Kabîtthâs, Dariyâsthâs and the like.

Râm Gulâm Drîvâdî belonged to Mirâjpur, and was born of a poor and ignorant family. He took service (pûrâñâk) under a cotton merchant and used to delight in studying the writings of Tulâ's Dâs. At length his ingenious explanations of the Râmâyân so charmed the bânjîd who listened to him; that they subscribed together and appointed a place, where he would recite the poem to their heart's content. Finally, by hook or crook, they obtained for him old MSS. of the poet's works, from which he compiled a very correct text. He was a great Pañcit, and wrote a Kabîtthâl and other works. His principal pupils were a blind metal worker (kânîr'dî), who was the Chôpâl Dâs above mentioned, and Lâkâ Châkhkân Lîlî, whose name is frequently mentioned in this paper. According to other accounts, Chôpâl Dâs was a Sâmâgât (Gîrî). Râm Gulâm died in Sambat 1938 (1551 A.D.).

\(^2\) In connexion with this, the following Kabîtta by Kûdh Râm, a pupil of Jânâkt Sârmâ, the son of Sâsh Dât, may be noted.

\begin{itemize}
  \item Mânâsa (1), ñtôbâl (2), kabîtthâl (3) bândhî, kîlîhnâparsî-ñbâtî (4) ñlî saññat (5) nirâmâdî hai î
  \item Parsehâl-mangalâ (6) kahi, mangalâ kahi Jânâkt kî (7), Râmîñâ (8), naâchâh (9) anûtta-ñkâta. ñlî hai î
  \item Bûñwû (10), bîrûgasundâpî (11) bândhî, bînî-pattirkôt (12) bândî sî meh prîmî prâî ehtî hai î
  \item Nuâñ-kôi-kôi-môi Tulûsî kîna ñtô kûsya añâd nahînh kahi meh bû kabi kî kêt bûnî bândî hai î
\end{itemize}

In this list the Sat'âsêt is substituted for the Dôhâbaîl.
Explanation of Abbreviations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of verse in Dohabali</th>
<th>Where found elsewhere</th>
<th>No. of verse in Dohabali</th>
<th>Where found elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Ag. III., 7*</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Rām. Bā. 22.</td>
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<td>Rām. Bā. 25.</td>
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<td>Sat. I., 62.</td>
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<td>Sat. I., 41.</td>
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<td>Sat. I., 109.</td>
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<td>96</td>
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* For convenience, all references are to Chhakkan Lāl's one volume edition of the 12 works. The numbers vary slightly in different editions. When the variation is considerable I give also the numbering of the Khabg Bilās Press edition of Rām.; thus, Kh. B., 64.
† The edition of the Sat'sat referred to is that with Baij'īnath's commentary. There are often slight variations in the readings between the Sat'sat and the Dohābali.
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May, 1893.]

Notes on Tulsi Das. 127

It will thus appear that the Dohâbâl is in great measure a collection of verses selected from other works of the poet, and that hence it can hardly be an original work by him. It is quite possibly an anthology selected by some later admirer. Its contents, too, justify this theory: for the separate dôhâs (there are 572) have little connexion with each other, and the work in no way forms one connected whole.

It must however, be admitted that there is one very serious difficulty already alluded to, in the way of assuming that the work in dôhâ metre referred to by Râm Gûlam Dûivâl, is the Satsât. That is the date given in I, 21. It is most improbable that Tulî's Dâs should have used as a date the Current Sambat year, a thing which was not the custom in the North-West in his time, and which he does nowhere else, and it is also most improbable that he should have made a mistake in such a matter. This leads to the conclusion that, if the Satsât is genuine, at least that verse is an interpolation by a later writer, whose power of imitating his master's style was greater than his knowledge of astronomy.

Pâñjît Sudhâkâr Dûivâl points out to me that the style also of the Satsât differs considerably from that of undoubted works of Tulî's Dâs. The dôhâs in it which also occur in the Dohâbâl (some 127 in number) are in his style, but the rest present many points of difference. The first dôhâ, or invocation, is in a form never used by the poet, and words occurring in the poem, such as, khasama,8 (i, 65), pakhârâ (i, 81), khatâ (ii, 9), niramôkhâ (ii, 18), jagâra (ii, 40), agata (in some copies), giruá (ii, 46), bastî (ii, 55), pukumî (ii, 58), apecâta kîhâ (ii, 80), yûnâna (ii, 81), âkâtâ (ii, 82), yûnâ (iv, 92), mânîlî (vii, 110), kâmûnî (vii, 111), are never found in these forms in his acknowledged works. So also, the whole of the well-known third sarga with its enigmatical verses is self-condemnatory. Tulî's Dâs, according to tradition, strongly condemned kîta verses like these, and blamed Sîr Dâs for writing such. The subject matter is no doubt Tulî's Dâs's. The teaching and philosophy are his, but the whole language betrays the hand of an imitator.

For these reasons, the best Banaras pandits of modern times deny the authenticity of the Satsât. As regards Sîk Dât, they say, he wrote before its genuineness was questioned, and hence the fact that he wrote a commentary to it has small force as an argument. The best authorities of the present day consider that it is the work of some other Tulî's Dâs, probably a Klyâsth of that name, who, some say, lived in Gáhâpur. The main difference between his teaching and that of the older poet of the same name is, that he inculcates more than the latter the worship of Sîhâ, and hence commenced his work on the festival of her birth. This is explained by the supposition that he was originally a Sîkta before becoming a Vâishnava and that his new belief is coloured by his former predilections. He borrowed numerous verses

8 But khasama also occurs in K. Râm., Ut., 24, 4.
of the older poet in his composition. Pandit Sudhâkar Dvivâdi informs me that his own
father was a pupil, in the Râmâyâna, of the Chhakkan Lal already mentioned, and that he
himself had learned many things from him. Chhakkan Lal told him many times that his
preceptor's, Râm Gûlam Dvivâdi's, opinion was that the Sat'sat was certainly not composed
by the great Tul'sâi Dâs.

My own opinion is that the authenticity of the Sat'sat is at least doubtful. There is
much to be said on both sides. The date, if the verse in which it occurs is genuine, is certainly
against the authenticity, so is the style, and so is the opinion of many native scholars. A fact,
which also lends strength to this side, is that if we take the date as a Sâka and not as a Vikrama
year, the week-day comes right, but the year A.D. 4 will be a century later than the time
of Tul'sâi Dâs. On the other hand, the authenticity of the Sat'sat was not impugned till the time
of Râm Gûlam Dvivâdi, who died in 1831 A.D. The fact of the large number of dôhâs which
are common both to the Dôhbâl and the Sat'sat must be considered. The author of one must
have borrowed from the other, and the question is which did so. If the author of the Sat'sat
borrowed dôhâs from the older Tul'sâi Dâs to suit his purpose, why did he borrow only from the
Dôhbâl, and, with one or two exceptions, only those verses in the Dôhbâl which are not found
elsewhere in the poet's works. We should have expected the author of the Sat'sat to have
borrowed freely from the thousands of other dôhâs written by Tul'sâi Dâs, and yet he does not
borrow one except from the Dôhbâl. On the other hand, the Dôhbâl admittedly borrows
freely from every work of Tul'sâi Dâs in which dôhâs occur, from the Râmâyâna, the Bûrgi
Sandîpinâ, and the Râm-charit-mânas, besides containing 197 verses occurring in the Sat'sat. A
priori, therefore, it would appear more probable that the author of the Dôhbâl borrowed from
the Sat'sat, rather than that the author of the Sat'sat borrowed from the Dôhbâl. I cannot
get over the violent improbability that the author of the Sat'sat, if a plagiarist, should have
committed plagiarism only on the Dôhbâl, and not on the other greater works of the poet, and
that, in committing this plagiarism, he should have carefully selected only those verses in the
Dôhbâl which are not themselves borrowed from elsewhere.

The Dôhbâl not only bears on its face proof of its being a cento of verses taken from other
poems of the master, but is stated to be so by tradition. It is said to have been compiled by
Tul'sâi Dâs himself, at the request of the great Tûdar Mall. It was composed, partly of new
dôhâs, and partly of verses selected from his earlier works, as a sort of short religious manual.
It was therefore compiled after June 4th, 1598 A.D., the alleged date of the composition of
the Râmâyâna, 5 the latest of the works from which he quotes, and before 1623, the year of his
death. As Tûdar Mall died in 1589 A.D., the tradition that the work was composed at his
suggestion may not be true.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe that at least a portion of the Sat'sat was written
by our Tul'sâi Dâs, that from the poem, as he wrote it, he selected dôhâs, which he inserted in
the Dôhbâl, and that the Sat'sat is not entirely a modern work, consisting partly of verses
stolen from the latter. Possibly, or rather certainly, it has undergone great changes at the
hands of a later author, perhaps also named Tul'sâi Dâs. This later author may have even given
it the name of the Sat'sat, jealous that his master should not have the credit of having written
a Sat'sat, as his great rival Sûr Dâs had done. Possibly the whole of the third Sargâ is an
interpolation. Although Râm Gûlam Dvivâdi denied its authenticity he was certainly an
admirer of the poem, for there is a copy of it in his handwriting in the library of the
Maharajah of Bankras. 6

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4 The corresponding date is Thursday May 5th, 1720.
5 See, however, note to pp. 96, 97 ante. As Pandit Sudhâkar Dvivâdi maintains that this is the date of the
copying of the MS., and not that of the composition of the poem, the above statement is possibly incorrect.
6 Since the above was written I have seen a very old MS. of the Dôhbâl, which does not contain any verses
quoted from the Râmâyâna. These verses are hence a subsequent addition. This fact modifies the statements made above.
7 Not a single dôhâ in the third Sargâ is found in the Dôhbâl.
8 So I am informed by Pandit Sudhâkar Dvivâdi.
The authorised list of the canonical works of Tulsi Dás may therefore be taken as follows:—

A. The six lesser works—

1. Râma Lalâ Naschhût.
2. Bairâgya Sandîpini.
4. Pârbaâ Mangal.
5. Jânaki Mangal.
6. Râmâjâna.

B. The six greater works—

1. Dâhâbali (or Sat’sal.)
2. Kabitta Râmâyân also called Kabittâbali.
3. Git Râmâyân also called Gitâbali.
4. Krishnâvali also called Krishnagittâbali.
5. Binây Pattrikâ.
6. Râma Charita Mânasa, now called Râmâyân.

The above is the order in which they are given by Râma Gulâm Dvîvédî, and in which they are printed in the convenient corpus of the collected works of Tulsi Dás, published from Râma Gulâm's manuscripts by Lâlâ Chhakkan Lâl Râmâyân. This edition, however, gives the Dâhâbali, and not the Sat’sal.

(To be continued.)

THE KUDOS OF KATHA AND THEIR VOCABULARY.

BY BERNARD HOUGHTON, C.S.

Appended is a short list of the more common words in the language of the Kudös of Kathâ (Kâbâ), which has been kindly furnished to me by Mr. J. Dobson, District Superintendent of Police at Kathâ. The words selected are those used in the well-known vocabularies of Mr. Brian Hodgson, though a few of the postpositions and adverbs, which experience shows to vary excessively in the Tibeto-Burman dialects, have been designately omitted. Mr. Dobson took the precaution to record the word-sounds both in English and Burmese characters, so that no difficulty has been experienced in reproducing his spelling of the Kudös words by the usual system of transliteration. The possibility, moreover, of clerical errors has been reduced to a minimum.

The Kudös tongue is not one of those included in the list of frontier languages, for which prizes are given on examination, and but little seems to be known about those who speak it, and who live principally in the Wunthô (Wunbô) sub-division of the Kathâ District. It is clear, however, that they were there before the Shâns appeared in those parts, and that some of them have become absorbed into the Shân race. In fact, many of the latter living in Wunthô and its vicinity are called Shân-Kudös in token of their mixed origin, but of this title they are somewhat ashamed, and generally try to make themselves out to be full-blooded Shâns.

It is possible that the Census Report, when it is examined, may give us some information as to the numbers, &c., of the Kudös, though, owing to the late rebellion in Wunthô, it would seem to be doubtful whether any accurate statistics will be forthcoming. In the meantime the list of words now given throws some light on the ethnic relations of the Kudös, and, to bring out these relations the more clearly, I have appended to each word those more closely related to it in the cognate languages. The general result is to show that the Kudös belong to the Kachin-Nâga branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, and that they are therefore comparatively recent.

* For those who wish to study the text alone, this edition will be found the most accurate, and the most convenient. It is published at the Saraswati Press, Banaras, by Bieiser Prasad.
immigrants into Burma. The evidence at present available points to the conclusion that this section of the race only arrived in Burma after the Burmese central authority had become somewhat established, and that these wild tribesmen, though superior in fighting qualities to the Burman, have been checked, if not forced back, by the superior power which comes from a centralised authority, even when imperfectly organised. The Kudös would seem to have been an advance guard of the Kachin race, and, what between the Shán and the Burmans, to have been rapidly deprived of the autonomy which they originally possessed. They have in fact been chiefly subjugated by the former of these two races, which, unable owing to the Burmese power to get an outlet to the South-west, forced one to the North-west, — a movement culminating in the irruption of the Ahoms into Assam.

A glance at the list of the words given will show that at the time the Kudös left their Tibetan home they were in a very low state of civilisation, and could not in fact count up to more than 6, or at most 8. The numerals above 6, and probably also that number, have been obviously borrowed from one of the Shán family of languages. This is in curious contrast to the Chin-Lushais, who have their own numerals up to 100. The words for 'buffalo' and 'goat' have also been adopted by the Kudös after their arrival in Burma, but it is evident that previously they had pigs, fowls, and dogs, and that they knew of horses.

Apart from the above-noted general relationship of the Kudös, my examination of the words given has led to the very interesting discovery that the Saks, a small tribe living in the Valley of the Kuldaing in Arakan, are, of all known tribes, the most closely related to the Kudös, and that, in fact, it can scarcely be much more than 100 years since they formed one people. The list of Saks words given in Hodgson's Vocabulary is unfortunately incomplete, but the resemblances to the Kudös words now given are so striking, — in several cases the Saks furnish the only parallel to the Kudös word, — as to show that they must have at one time formed one people, and that the period of separation cannot have been very long ago. This is the more remarkable as the Saks live now far away from the Kudös, and are in fact surrounded by tribes of the Chin-Lushai race, from whom they probably received a rough handling before they reached their present habitat. The most probable explanation is that a portion of the Kudös, driven forth by some vis major, endeavoured to cross the hills to Naga-land; but were unable to get through, or else lost their way, and, striking the head waters of the Kuldaing, followed that river down to where they now live. They now form on the West of these hills, as the Kudös do on the East, the most Southern extension of the Kachin-Naga race. The result of this discovery is that the Saks must be withdrawn from the Chin-Lushai branch and affiliated to Kachin-Naga branch, (sub-section Kudös), of the Tibeto-Burman race.

As to the original habitat of the Kudös, together with that of the Kachin-Naga sub-family generally, it is probable on the evidence before us that they came from North-Eastern Tibet, their route lying through the passes North of Bhamo. Their congener in those regions would appear to be Gyarungs, Gyaams, Sokpas and Thochus, of which races but little is as yet known.

The first of these peoples is, it may be remarked, somewhat closely allied to the Karens, whose passage into Burma, though by the same route as the Kachin-Naga immigration, was probably much anterior to it. The language of the Karens is very much corrupted, and primitively does not seem to be specially related to those of the Kachin-Nagas. All, however, show a tendency towards the Chinese section of the family. I use this last expression advisedly.

1 A proof of this can be seen in the word for 'moon,' which in almost all dialects of this sub-family is 39 (with variations), instead of 1a, &c. Now in the Tibetan language, which was reduced to writing about 633 A.D., it is 39-39, which must be taken as representing the usual pronunciation of that time, and it is only since that the sound has become corrupted into 36-39.

2 This is the Saks' immigration.
being convinced that Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and the various cognate languages and dialects are all members of one great family, which, originating in Tibet or to the Northward, has spread itself East and South-East. Of all these languages the Chinese has become most corrupted in pronunciation, thus causing it for so long to be grouped apart from the others; but from the pronunciation of some of its better preserved dialects and from the restoration by modern scientists of its old sounds, it is easily shown that its most important roots are identical with the ordinary forms still existing in the Tibeto-Burman family proper. Justice, however, can hardly be done to the subject here, and I shall content myself now with a mere statement of this thesis, promising to return to the subject on a future occasion.

Air.—Hlawun. (Cf. Tib. lung, Serpas, Bhút. lâng, Ahom, Khantí, Laos, Siamese, lôm, Garra la-mâr. Ha might stand for either ka or kâ, the former being the ordinary Tibeto-Burman prefix, the latter being a wide-spread root meaning ‘sky;’ but seeing that the words for ‘hair’ and ‘head’ have also the particle ha, it seems probable that in this case also it is merely the ka prefix).

Ant.—Pun-sâh. (Cf. Sâk p'tôm-si-gyâl.)

Arrow.—Tâld. (Has both the ta prefix and affix. Cf. Sâk töl in toôl-ma-lâ, Karen pâl, and possibly Ahom lam, Khantí lim, Laos lempûn. Perhaps allied with the Burmese lâ ‘a bow’ and its cognate words. Compare Bodo ba-lâ.)

Bird.—Ul-tâ-sâ. (U is evidently the root, the remainder apparently being added to distinguish birds in general from fowls, q. v. Cf. Tengsa-Nâga wû, Sâk, wâ-si, Singpho wôn, Angami-Nâga te-ô, Mikir, Namsang-Nâga vo, Mithan-Nâga, ô. Allied to the Tibeto-Burman root, wâ = a fowl; cf. also Southern Chin wû-mun ô, ‘a pigeon,’ &c.)

Blood.—‘Sî. (Cf. Singpho siai, Thochu sôi, Manyak slow, Gyami syê, Horpa syê, Gyarung ta-sâm, Sunwar a-si, Burmese, wed, Karen broî, Sâk tê, Bodo tê-i.)

Boat.—‘Wâ-tê. (ô and ‘wâ are possibly synonymous roots. The former is found in the forms or, with or without the ordinary prefixes or affixes, in most of the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. As to ‘wê, cf. Sâk hau, Khantí hû.)

Bone.—Môk-lâ. (Cf. Murmî uôlê, Newar kuê, Gyâmi kâ-thó, Manyak rô-kê, Chinese coll. kôl, Kami a-hû. Possibly the kô or jô, in Tibetan coll. râ-kô ‘a bone,’ is not a servile but a form of this root in conjunction with the commoner rô).

Buffalo.—Kyê. (Cf. Ahom h’rai, Burmese kyôw, Khantí, Ahom and Siamese k’wai, Sâk krô.)

Cat.—Han-sê. (Cf. Sâk hatung).

Cow.—Môk. (Cf. Sâk t’ô-mâk, Deoria-Chutia m’ô-sô).

Crow.—U-hû. (Cf. Mithan-Nâga okô, Sâk wokô, Singpho kokô, Ahom, Khantí, Laos, Siamese kô. Kô appears in several of the Himalayan words for ‘crow.’ As to sô, cf. under ‘egg.’)

Day.—Ya-dî. (Cf. Sâk yat-ta, Bur. coll. yet. Possibly connected with yd in wan-yd ‘to be light,’ q. v. It is noteworthy that this word has no connection with that for ‘sun.’)

Dog.—Kyê. (This root runs through most of the cognate languages varying in form from the Chinese kîm, and Burmese k’wô to the Southern Chin hû).

Ear.—Ka-ô. (Kû is the prefix. The root âd is found throughout the Tibeto-Burman family).


Egg.—U-dî. (Cf. Singpho û-dî, Mithan-Nâga ôtî, Sâk wô-tî, Kiranti u-ding, Karen dî, Limbu t’îa, old Chinese ten, Mikir, Lepcha ati, Taungthu dî, Shandu, a tê, Karen, Lushai &ûi.)

3 The Burmese MS. shows the existence in Kûô of at least the heavy tone.
4 Vowel sound as in air...
5 ky is apparently pronounced as ch, Cf. the usage in Burmese, S. China, &c.
Dhimal töi, Southern Chin, a toî. The prefixed u in Kudô, &c., doubtless stands for ㅇ, a fowl. The root ㅇ or ㅇ, &c., Mr. Hodgson would identify with the similar one for 'water' found in many of the Tibeto-Burman languages).

**ELEPHANT.—** Akhi. (Cf. Singpho macwà, Sâk ulla).

**EYE.**—Mê-tu. (Mê is the root which is found in different forms in all Tibeto-Burman languages. The nearest to Kudô is the Mikir mêk).**

**FATHER.**—Awu. (Cf. Singpho wà, Namsang-Nâga wa. These two languages and Kudô are alone in possessing this word instead of the universal pa, po, &c. It is probably a softening of the latter. If a comparison with the Dravidian languages be allowed, (I have already elsewhere shown a connection between these and the Tibeto-Burman family,?) the example of Yerukala dûs throws light on the matter).

**FIRE.**—Wan. (Cf. Singpho wan, Namsang and Mithan Nâga wan, Garo waî, Bodo waî, Sâk bâ-in. This is again a notable variation from the usual root mî or më. It is probably connected with Southern Chin awâ, 'light,' Tib. collw. 'âw 'light,' Chepang wâ-gâ 'dawn.' See 'light' infra.)

**FOWL.**—Ut. See 'bird,' suprâ.

**FISH.**—Lông-nâga. (Lông perhaps refers to some particular kind of fish. The root nga in its various forms is found in most of the cognate languages).


**FOOT.**—Ta-paul. (Ta is perhaps the prefix. Cf., perhaps, Bodo yâ-p'â. (See 'hand').

**GOAT.**—Gepe. (Taling k'apa, Sâk bîti, Shan pâ. The Palaing word for 'goat' is not known, but if, as is possible, it is the same as the Talaing, the inference would be that the Kudôs had borrowed the word from them).

**HAIR.**—Halông-hâ. (As to halông see 'head.' Cf. Mithan-Nâga k'o, Newgong-Nâga ko, Tengra-Nâga bu, Khari-Nâga k'wûî, (perhaps) Singpho kard, Tib., Murmi, Takpa krad).

**HAND.**—Tapauog. (Ta is perhaps the prefix. This is an example of the curious manner in which, as was first pointed out by Hodgson, the words for 'hand' and 'foot' run into each other in these languages. It is not easy to find any etymological relationships to this root, though it may possibly be connected with the following words for 'arm':—Southern Chin bawn, Lushai bân, Manip. pândôm, Shandu bôpi, Angami-Nâga, bâ.)

**HEAD.**—Ha-lang. (Ha is the prefix. Probably a shortened form of halông in halông-hâ=hair, (Cf. Chepang tolong, Magar tôdù, Shandu, Kami, Lushai lî, Southern Chin alâ.)

**HOG.**—Wû. (This root is found in almost all Tibeto-Burman languages).

**HORN.**—Yôngâ. (Cf. Namsang and Mithan Nâga rông, Garo korong, Singpho rung, Sâk arông. This root with the meaning 'bone' is very common in the Tibeto-Burman family).

**HORSE.**—Sabu. (Cf. Sâk sapâ, Newar sâla, Tib., sî, Southern Chin sô or sô).

**HOUSE.**—Kûm. (Cf. Sâk kûm, Tib., Bhut., Chepang k'ûm, Mikir hûm, Karen hî, Limbu hî, Burmese hîm, Manip. yam, Lushai, Southern Chin hî. It is also found in many other cognate languages including, probably, Chinese hî).

**IRON.**—Sím. (Cf. Sâk bain, Deoria-Chutia sung, Bodo churr),

**LEAF.**—P'un-tap. (Cf. Sâk pûn-tâk.)

* Compare Sâk aba, ba-in with Kudô awâ, wan.


* An alternative derivation would make to the root as in Sâk atas, pakh and pangu being added to distinguish 'hand' from 'foot.'
LIGHT.—Wan-yā-ma. (From the examples of verbs given below, ma or mat would seem to be the termination of the aorist or present tense in Kudò, and wān-yā-ma therefore = it is light. See ‘day’ and ‘fire’, supra.)

MARR.—Ta-ma-tat. (Mat is of course the well-known root meaning ‘man,’ ta being the prefix Sat is an affix peculiar to Kudò and probably has some meaning?).


MOON.—Sadd. (Cf. Sāk vattā, Singpho sīdā, Manip. ā, Namsang-Nāgā ādā, Tib. coll. ā-dā-vā corrupted from r-lā-vā, Bhut. dān. Sa is perhaps an affix only, (cf. Sokpā sārā), but see under ‘sun’).

MOTHER.—Amē. (This is a root found in all cognate languages, except Southern Chin and a few others, which have varieties of the root nu).

MOUNTAIN.—Kāyā.

MOSQUITO.—Pa’ātī. (Cf. Sāk pīchī).

NAME.—Nāmē (This is merely a corruption of the Burmese coll. nā-me, which in turn is derived from the Pāli).

NIGHT.—Nat-kuet. (Cf. Sāk hānāhē; and as to nat, Mithan-Nāgā rāng-nak, Tablung-Nāgā vang-nāk, Lepcha sanap).

OIL.—Salu. (Cf. Kami sarau, Lushai sa’sē, Sāk slākā, Southern Chin a’ūt, &c.).

PLANTAIN.—Sālā-shī. (Shī=fruit. Cf., perhaps, Limbu lā).

RIVER.—Myīt. (Burmese colloquial. There is doubtless an indigenous word for ‘stream.’)

ROAD.—Lamn. (A very common root in the Tibeto-Burman family).

SALT.—Sūm. (Cf. Namsang-Nāgā sūm, Deoria-Chūtīa sūm, Sāk sūm, Singpho jum, Nowgong-Nāgā ma’sē. Probably ultimately related to the cha or che root found in most cognate languages).

SKIN.—Salā. (Cf. Burmese bārā Dhimal dālā; (perhaps) Sokpā sārā).

SKY.—Hamēt. (Ha is perhaps a prefix, but see under ‘air.’ Cf. Southern Chin amē-hau, Thochu mahē, Manyak ma, Burmese mō, Murmi mū, Gyarung mūn, Nāgā ke-mu, a cloud).

SKULL.—Ka-pūt. (Ka is the prefix. Cf. Sāk kapū, Mithan, Tablung, and Namsang Nāgā pū, Horpa pū, Garo dā-pū, Sunwar bā-sē, Bhut., Lepcha bō, Magar bū, Tib. brūl, Lushai rūl, Manyak bū, Thochu bū, Southern Chin p’ār).

STAR.—U-mē-shī. (Perhaps, Gyarung tsi-nū).

STONE.—Lōn-gā-shī. (Lōn is the root, which is widely diffused in the Tibeto-Burman family).

SUN.—Samēt. (Cf. Sāk sa-mēt. As to mēt see under ‘sky.’ Sa in this case would appear to be the root for ‘sun’ found in Bodo shan, Garo sau, Dhimal sa-na, Lepcha sāchak, but in Kudò it is found also prefixed to the word for ‘moon’).


Indian for apparently be Miri k'ong Chinese Sunwar in Chin maung, Chinese coll. ma, Gyami, Horpa nî, Manyak nô, Angami-Nâga no. The root is found in many languages and dialects).

He, She, It.—K'ut. Bin-nâ-nû. (Cf. Bodo bu, Miri bu).

We.—Ali-suda. (This is a very anomalous form, and is evidently from a different root to the singular.)

Ye.—Hani. (Cf. Limbu k'tî, Kiranti k'angsvn.) Also Murmi aînî, Sokpa ch'înt, Horpa nî-nî. Looking to these analogies I would derive this word from ha = thou, (Lepcha hau connected with Tib. coll. kîd, Tib. k'yd, &c.) and ni = thou (cf. nank above), the word thus being a reduplicated 2nd person (though from two roots) — a sufficiently common method of forming the plural.

They.—Andau. (This differs again completely from the singular form.)

Mine.—Ali-suda. (Probably a mistake for nga.)

Thine.—Hani. (For nank?)

His.—Amî-shî-da.

Ours.—Ali-suda.

Yours.—Hani.

Theirs.—Andauk.

One.—Tanat. (Nat is apparently a numeral auxiliary. As to ta, (cf. Burmese coll. ta, Mithan-Naga dîta, Manyak tâhî, Takpa tî, Gyarnag tâ, Limbu tî, Burmese taah.)

Two.—Krîm-tet. (Tet, as will be seen below, is a numeral co-efficient. Cf. Singpho k'ong, and perhaps Karen k't.)

Three.—Sum-tet. (This root for three is very wide-spread, and needs no illustration.)

Four.—Pî-tet. (The servile has absorbed the initial letter of the root. Cf. Newar pî, Gyarnag pî, Murmi bî, Garo, bî, Sak pî, Lushai, Lepcha pôlî, Mikir p'îlî, &c., &c. The root ît is almost as common as sum.)

Five.—Ngô-tet. (Ngô or ngô for five is found in most Tibeto-Burman languages. In Southern Chinese it has the clipped form ng.)

Six.—Kôk-tet. (Probably from the Shan hók. The real Tibeto-Burman root for this numeral appears to be ruk, so that if this is an indigenous word, the servile has displaced the initial letter of the root. The latter is very widely diffused.)

Seven.—Set-tet. (Of. Chinese sî, Kamti set, Kami sê-ri, Southern Chin 'sî, Gyami chî, Ahom chî, Singpho si-nil, Garo si-nîng.)

Eight.—Pê-tet. (Cf. Ahom, Kamti, Laos pêt, Siamese pêt, Chinese coll. pák for pêt. Possibly connected with Murmi, Garunag pê, which root (if p is a servile), appears in a good many of the Tibeto-Burman languages.)

Nine.—Kau-tet. (Of. Ahom, Kamti, Siamese kau. This root in slightly modified forms appears in most languages of the family and in Chinese).

Ten.—Shim-nû. (Shim is evidently the real root; nû = Kamti, Laos, Siamese nîung = one. Cf. Ahom, &c., sip, Chinese coll. sîk, Singpho, Gyarnag sî, Sunwar sa-sêk, Takpa chî, Murmi chî-wat.)

Twenty.—Son-nû. (Of. Laos son-nâng, Ahom, Kamti son.)


Forty.—Shî-shîp. (Of. Ahom, &c., si-sîp, (Chinese coll. ssu-shîp.)


One hundred.—Pauk-nû. (Of. Chinese coll. pôk for pok; Ahom, Kamti pôk.)

Etc.—Yîk-mat. (May or ma is probably the termination of the aorist.)
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DrINK.—U-waUN-MAT. (Cf. Sakpa w3-d, Karen aw.)
SLEEP.—Eh-Ma. (Cf. Barmese col. šk, Barmese ip, Limbu ip-se, Vayu im, Mikir, Kami.
Southern Chin ʃ.)
WAKE.—Mi-li-Ma.
Laugh.—Ni-yok-Ma. (Cf. Chepang 'ni, Angami-Naga nā, Bodo, Garo mi-ni, Singpho ma-nāi,
Lushai, Kami, Southern Chin noi, Newar nyu, Taungthu nyd, Manipuri nāk, Murmi nyet,
Gurung nyed, Mikir ɨmpnē.)
WEEP.—Hapna. (Cf. Limbu hā-b, Garo hāp, Bodo, Kiranti (one dialect), Manipuri kāp,
Southern Chin lāk, Singpho brāp-u, Lushai tap, Newar b'wō, Nāga kra, Dhimal hār, Kami kād.)
Be silent.—Ya-p'yt-shā. Nin. (Nin is apparently the termination of the 2nd person singular
of the Imperative; cf. Burman coll. nin, Burmese 'nang, Southern Chin 'naung.)
Speak.—Ta-ta b'wāh. (Of. as to ā, Namsang-Nāga tā, Burman tā'ē, 'to reply.' As to b'wāk,
Sunwar pāk and perhaps Ahom pāk, Siamese p'wā.)
Come.—Li. (Cf. Dhimal, Gymai īl, Barmese lā, Manipuri lāk, Kami lau, Southern Chin, Lushai,
Taungthu lā, Magar rā.)
Go.—Nang. (Cf. Lepcha nān, Barmese 'nang, 'to cause to go, to drive'.)
Stand up.—Sap-nin. (Cf. Singpho tsap-u, Nowgong-Nāga, Garo chap, Tengsa-Nāga sep-tah.
Sit down.—Tān-nin. (Cf. Burmese t'āng.)
Move, walk.—Tāvak nang, lam ta-yang. (Nang = to go; lam = a path.)
Run.—Ko-mat. (Cf. Bodo kā't, Singpho gāsāv, Karen gādā. Perhaps allied to the Burmese
ka = to dance.)
Give { to me.—Nga-yān ī. (An is evidently the dative affix.)
{ to any.—Hi-yān t-yān. The second yān in the second phrase is probably a mistake for
yang, which is either the future particle or an alternative one for the aorist (see infra). Ī is
the root to give, the only analogy to it being the same word in Telugu. Hi is probable
the Singpho lēt( = ī) a root found in several of the Tibeto-Burman languages.)
Take { from me.—Nga-het lān. (Het is a postposition. As to lā, of. Tib. īn, Tib. coll.,
Bhut. lān, Mikir lōng 'to obtain,' Manipuri īn, Southern Chin īlā, Kami, Shandu, Singpho
Lushai īlā, Chepang ī, Magar ī-o, Garo, Limbu īlā, Angami-Nāga īlā 'to accept, take.')
Strike.—Tan-nga. (Cf. Old Chinese tāng, Dhimal dānghai, Karen tan-dā, Tib. dān, Tib. coll.,
Serpa, Bhut., Magar āng, Lushai, Southern Chin dāng.)
Kill.—Wan-št-yān. (Wan appears to be the root, and is perhaps allied to Bodo wat.)
Bring.—Lāi. (Probably a shortening of lā for lāng = to take and ī = to give.)
Take away.—La-nang. (La for lāng = to take, and nang = to go.)
Lift up, raise, bear, carry.—Nga-en.
Hear.—Tōt-pu-ma. (Cf. Namsang-Nāga, tōt-o, Mithan-Nāga a-ta, Gurung t'ēd.
Understand.—Nga-mi-in-iha-ma.
Tell, relate.—Hi-yang. (Cf. Southern Chin han, Kami hā, Lushai āna 'to abuse,' Burmese
han 'to preach,' Chinese coll. kūsi Vayu hā, Old Chinese gwāi.)
Red.—Hama. (Perhaps Karen gaw.)
Green.—Sin-py-py-nga-ma. (It is not clear whether the root is 'sin' or pyi. If the former
it is allied with the Barmese chin, Singpho ke-tōng, &c., &c.)
Long.—Sūal-ma. (Cf. Southern Chin sāluk, Mithan-Nāga chō-ek, Manyak sāl, Angami-Nāga hāc,
Shandu sāl, Lushai, Barmese coll. sāl, Manipuri sang, Kami shang, Burmese 'rāk, Tib. rīng.)
SHORT.—

Tun-na. (Cf. Singpho kh-tün, Tib. t' günd, Bhut. tun, Murmi tšüm, Magar tám, Kiranti döng, Takpa, Gyami tōng, Burmese tö.)

TALL MAN. — matamia naat-na. (It will be noticed that ma is prefixed to the word for man.)

SHORT MAN. — matamia tun-na.

SMALL.—Asina. (Cf. Singpho katri, Burmese si, Karen 'š, Agami-Nāga ka-ché, Nowar chht-ga, Chinese coll. siao.)

GREAT.—Tom t-na. (Cf. Karen dö, Namsang-Nāga a-döng, Takpa t'éng, Lushai, Southern, Chin t'zu 'to be fat'.)

ROUND.—Wung-waing nga-ma. (From the Burmese. Probably an adverbial form, —see 'green'.)

SQUARE.—Lēn-bunting. (Burmese.)

FLAT.—Palai-š'ara. (Perhaps, Serpa li-lōö, Bhut. lo-blep, Gurung p'lä-bö, Lepcha lép-bo.)

LEVEL.—Nyil-muna. (Burmese. Both the words, 'šat' and 'level' are apparently adverbs.)

FAT.—Tom-ma. See above, 'great'.

THIN.—Asina. See above, 'small'.

WEARY (BE).—Naung-ma. (Cf. Burmese ūaung.)

THIRSTY (BE).—We ū nga-ta-mat. (We = water. Ngata is probably the Burmese ngat.)

HUNGRY (BE).—Yōk-b'we-na.

MISCELLANEA.

DATES FROM SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

Ante, Vol. XXI. p. 49, I have treated of some dates which, instead of quoting a lunar month, give us the sign of the zodiac in which the sun happened to be on the day intended by the date. I now find that this is a common practice in Southern India; and to show this, I propose here to treat briefly of the dates of the inscriptions, edited by Dr. Hultzsch in South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I.

1. On p. 111, an inscription on the east wall of the Somanathēvara temple at Pudavēdu is dated:—On the day of (the nakṣatra) Uschirādam (i.e., Uttarāśadhaḥ), which corresponds to the yōga Āyushmat and to Saturday, the thirteenth lunar day of the former half of the month of Siṣhha of the Siṅku year, which was current after the Saṅku year 1271 (had passed).'

By the southern luni-solar system the year Sukan (or Shaka) is Śaka 1483, which was current after the Saṅku year 1271 (had passed).

2. On p. 70, an inscription on a stone at Arappakkan is dated:—On Wednesday, the twelfth lunar day of the latter half of the month of Kumbha of the Akṣaya-nahyavara, which was current after the Śaka year 1488 (had passed).

By the southern luni-solar system the year Akṣaya (or Kshaya) is Śaka 1483, which was current after the Saṅku year 1271 (had passed).
place, and the solar month Vaisākha began, 19 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th March A.D. 1549. And the European equivalent of the date is Thursday, the 4th April A. D. 1549, when the 7th tithi of the bright half ended 14 h. 44 m. and when the nakshatra was Punarvasu for about 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this was the 7th of the bright half of Vāisākha, and the day thus belonged to both the solar and the lunar Vaisākha.

4.—On p. 78, an inscription on the north wall of the Perumāl temple at Gātāgānī near Vēḻur is dated:— On the day of (the nakshatra) Rōhiti, which corresponds to Monday, the first lunar day of the former half of the month of Rishabhā of the Prāmāṭhīn year, (which was) the 17th year of (the reign of) Śakalākōchākravartin.

According to Dr. Hultsch, the year Prāmāṭhīn must here be Śaka 1261 expired. In that year the Vṛshabha-samkrānti took place, and the solar month Jyaistha began, 9 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th April A. D. 1339. And the European equivalent of the date is Monday, the 10th May A. D. 1339, when the first tithi of the bright half ended 11 h. 38 m., and when the nakshatra was Rōhiti for 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar the day was the first of the bright half of Jyaistha, and it therefore belonged to both the solar and the lunar Jyaistha.

5.—On p. 104, an inscription on the south wall of a Maṇḍapa at the base of the Tirumalai rock is dated:— On the day of (the nakshatra) Uttīraṭṭāḍā (i.e., Uttarabhadrapādā), which corresponds to Monday, the eighth lunar day of the former half of the month of Dhanus of the Ananda year, which was current after the Śaka year 1296 (had passed).

By the southern luni-solar system the year Ananda is Śaka 1296 expired, as stated in the date. In that year the Dhanuḥ-samkrānti took place, and the solar month Pauṣa began, 20 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th November A. D. 1374. And the European equivalent of the date is Monday, the 11th December A. D. 1374, when the 8th tithi of the bright half commenced 3 h. 41 m., and when the moon entered the nakshatra Uttarabhadrapādā 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this day fell in the bright half of Pauṣa, and it therefore belonged to both the solar and the lunar Pauṣa.

The four following dates (Nos. 6—9) do not work out properly.

6.—On p. 74, an inscription on a stone at Saṭṭu-vaḷchōḍri near Vēḻur is dated:— ‘On Wednesday, the thirteenth lunar day of the dark half of the month of Makara of the Yusu-sahasarasara, which was current after the Śaka year 1427 (had passed).’

By the southern luni-solar system the year Yusu is Śaka 1497 expired, as stated in the date. And in that year the sun was in the sign Makara, or, in other words, the solar month Māgha lasted, from 4 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of the 29th December A. D. 1575 to 15 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th January A. D. 1576. During this time there was only one 13th tithi of the dark half, and this tithi lasted from shortly after sunrise of Thursday, the 29th December, to about the end of the same day, and it cannot in any way be joined with a Wednesday.—In my opinion, the word Makara of the date is probably an error for Dhanuḥ; for the Dhanuḥ-samkrānti of the same year took place 30 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 39th November A. D. 1575, and a 13th tithi of the dark half ended on the following day, Wednesday, the 50th November, 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise. This day would belong to the solar Pauṣa, and by the lunar calendar to the anadita Mārgaśīrṣa.

7.—On p. 80, an inscription on the base of the Īḻvaṇa temple at Tellūr near Vēḻur is dated:— ‘On the day of (the nakshatra) Tiruvōṭam (i.e., Brāvaṇa), which corresponds to Monday, the fifth lunar day of the former half of the month of Karkata of the Sādharanā year (and) the Śaka year 1333.’

By the southern luni-solar system the year Sādharanā is Śaka 1332 expired (or 1333 current). And in that year the sun was in the sign Karkata, or, in other words, the solar month Śrāvaṇa lasted, from 23 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th June to 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th July A. D. 1430. During this time there was only one 5th tithi of the bright half, and this ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 28th July, when the moon was in Hasta (13), not in Śrāvaṇa (22), and which therefore clearly is not the day of the date.—In Śaka 1332 expired, the year of this date, the only fifth of the bright half on which the moon was in Brāvaṇa was Monday, the 20th November A. D. 1430, which by the northern calendar was Mārgaśīrṣa 5, and which also was the 22nd day of the solar Mārgaśīrṣa. Now, as the solar Mārgaśīrṣa of the north would in the south be called the month of Karttīgai, I am inclined to think that Monday, the 20th November A. D. 1430, is really the day of the date, and that in the date the word Karkata has been erroneously put for Karttīgai.

8.—On p. 108, an inscription at the Ammaiappēṉava temple at Paḻavēdu is dated:— ‘To-day.
which is (the day of the nakshatra) Rêvâti and Monday, the seventh lunar day of the former half of the month of Karkatâka, which was current after the Saka year one thousand one hundred and eighty (had passed).'

In Saka 1180 expired the sun was in the sign Karkatâ, or, in other words, the solar Śrāvaṇa lasted, from 11 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June to 22 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th July A. D. 1298. During this time there was one 7th tithi of the bright half, which commenced 3 h. 68 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 8th July, and ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 9th July. Here we might feel inclined to assume that the tithi had been joined with the day on which it commenced; but on Monday, the 8th July, the moon was in Hasta (13) and Chitraw (14), not in Rêvâti (27).—Under any circumstances the date appears to contain an error, but what the exact error may be I am unable to decide. If the word Karkatâka of the date were a mistake for Kârttigâ, the 7th tithi of the bright half would end on a Monday,—the 4th November A. D. 1298, which, by the northern calendar, was Mârghi-udi 7 and also the 7th day of the solar Mârgâstraha; but on that Monday the nakshatra was Sravâni (28), not Rêvâti (27). Again, if in Saka 1180 expired we were to search for a Monday on which the moon was in Rêvâti and on which also a 7th tithi ended, we should find this to have been the case on Monday, the 24th June A. D. 1295; but that Monday was the 7th of the dark half, and on it the sun was in the sign Mithuna.

9.—On p. 135, an inscription on a pillar in the Mârâṣa, in front of the Bâjasañhavarmâvâra shrine at Kâlîchâpuram is dated:—'On the day of (the nakshatra) Têr (i.e., Rôhinti), which corresponds to Tuesday, the seventh lunar day of the latter half of the month of Makara of the Kilaka year, which was current (during the reign) of Kamaçâna-uj âyâr.'

According to Dr. Hultzsch, the Kilaka year must here be Saka 1291 (current, or 1290 expired). In that year the sun was in Makara, or, in other words, the solar Mâgha lasted, from 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th December A. D. 1388 to 2 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 25th January A. D. 1389. And during this time the 7th tithi of the dark half ended 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 1st January A. D. 1389, when the moon was in Chitraw (14), not in Bôhinti (4), and which clearly is not the day of the date.—I am unable to suggest any correction of this date, and can only say that during the solar Mâgha of Saka 1290 expired the moon was in Rôhinti at sunrise of Thursday, the 18th January A. D. 1369, which was the 10th of the bright half of the lunar Mâgha; and that the whole year Saka 1290 expired contains no Tuesday, either in the bright or in the dark half of a lunar month, on which the moon was in Rôhinti.

10.—Differing from the above, a date on p. 84, from an inscription inside the front Gôparsa of the Virîchâpuram temple, gives us the solar month, and both the day of that solar month and the lunar day, without stating, however, whether the lunar day belonged to the bright or to the dark half. Dr. Hultzsch translates the date thus:—'On the day of (the nakshatra) Anuśam (i.e., Anurâdhâ), which corresponds to Wednesday, the sixth lunar day, the 3rd (solar day), of the month of Pângûli (i.e., Phâlguna) of the Vîñvâvasu year, which was current after the Saka year 1347 (had passed).'

By the southern luni-solar system the year Vîñvâvasu is Saka 1347 expired, as stated in the date. The month of Pângûli is the solar Chaitra of the northern calendar; and the nakshatra Anurâdhâ, joined, in or near Phâlguna, with the sixth lunar day, shows that this sixth lunar day belonged to the dark half of the lunar month. In Saka 1347 expired the Mina-samâkrânti took place, and the solar Chaitra began, 15 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th February A. D. 1426; and the European equivalent of the date is Wednesday, the 27th February A. D. 1426, when the 6th tithi of the dark half (of the amânta Phâlguna) ended 20 h. 30 m., and when the moon was in Anurâdhâ for about 23 h. after mean sunrise.

Another date in Dr. Hultzsch's volume (p. 60, verse 21), which also, like the dates 1—9, quotes a sign of the zodiac, may be omitted here, because it has been already treated by Dr. Flock, ante, Vol. XIX. p. 425. But I would take this opportunity to say a few words about the date of the copperplate in the possession of the Syrian Christians at Koṭṭayam which was first given in this Journal (Vol. I. p. 229) by the late Dr. Burnell, and which has again been drawn attention to by Dr. Hultzsch, ante, Vol. XX. pp. 287 and 288.

According to Dr. Hultzsch's translation the date is this:—'On the day of (the nakshatra) Rôhinti, Saturday, the twenty-first of the month of Mina (of the year in which) Jupiter (was) in Makara (within the time) during which the sacred rule of the illustrious Vira-Râghava-chakravartin . . . was current.'

Dr. Burnell, when writing about this date,

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Footnote: The name of the Jovian year has evidently been omitted from this date through an oversight.
BOOK NOTICE. 189

KALHANA'S BAIJATAKAMANGI, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, edited by M. A. Szmy, Ph.D., Principal, Oriental College, Lahore, Vol. I. Sanskrit text with critical notes.

The two great Asiatic nations, with a very ancient but isolated civilization, afford a striking contrast in their treatment of history. The Chinese possess not only authentic chronicles, going back year by year to the eighth century B.C., but also historical accounts of their royal dynasties, beginning from a period considerably earlier than 2000 B.C. India, on the other hand, did not produce any work of even a quasi-historical character till more than a thousand years after the commencement of our era. That a people so intellectually gifted as the Indians, who reached an advanced stage in philosophical speculation, and showed great accuracy of observation in linguistic investigations several centuries before Christ, should have entirely lacked the historical sense, is certainly a remarkable phenomenon. The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that when the Aryan conquerors had overthrown the plains of Hindustan, the Indian mind, influenced by the climate, turned more and more away from the realities of active life towards speculation, arriving as early as the sixth century B.C. at the conclusion that action is a positive evil. Hence it is not till the twelfth century of our era that the first Indian work was written which at all deserves the name of a history, viz., Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. Yet even in that author, as Prof. Weber says, the poet predominates over the historian.

The BAIJATARAUNGI first became known through Horace Hayman Wilson's essay on the Hindu entered Rohita about 3 h. after mean sunrise, and on the same day Jupiter was in the sign Makara, which it had entered on the 28th November A. D. 679.

Again, in Kaliyuga 3875 expired the Minasamkranti took place, and the solar Chaitra began, 4 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of the 19th February A. D. 775, and, accordingly, the 21st day of the month of Mina (or Chaitra) was Saturday, the 11th March A. D. 775. On that day the moon was in Rohita for about 17 h. after mean sunrise, and Jupiter was in the sign Makara which it had entered on the 17th October A. D. 774.

Perhaps there may be other days also which would suit the date. But even if this should not be the case, I know too little of the history of Southern India to be able to say, which of the two possible equivalents of the date, given above, would be preferable.

Göttingen.

F. KELLMANN.

History of Kashmir, published in 1825. Ten years later the editio princeps appeared under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This edition is based mainly on a Dvāranāgarī transcript from a Strāda MS., which has now been proved to be the original of all known MSS. of the BAIJATARAUNGI. Its value is not great, owing to the numerous mistakes made in the course of the transcription, and to liberties taken with the text through ignorance of the toponography of Kashmir on the part of the Faqṣīts who undertook to edit the work.

Troyer's edition, published at Paris in 1840, and comprising only the first six cantos, was based on the same materials. Though an improvement on its predecessor, it is still very defective, and proved of but little use to General Cunningham in his chronological researches.

No further progress in our knowledge of the BAIJATARAUNGI was made till 1875, when Prof. Bühler undertook his tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. in Kashmir. This scholar, whose researches have thrown more light on the ancient history of India than those of perhaps any other living Sanskritist, then discovered the codex arzchtopus of all existing copies of the BAIJATARAUNGI. It was fortunate that Dr. Stein, a pupil of Prof. Bühler, was enabled to visit the Valley of Kashmir in 1888 and the following years, one of his objects being to obtain possession of this valuable MS. with a view to editing it. Though he found it to be still more difficult of access than it had been during the lifetime of its former owner, on whose death it had to be divided among the heirs, Dr. Stein's persevering efforts were at last crowned with success in 1889.

BOOK NOTICE.

MAY, 1893.]
The \textit{Rudjataragvita} consists of eight cantos or \textit{tarangas}, comprising altogether nearly 8,000 verses, and is composed in the ordinary \textit{St\'oka} metre. The codex archetypus, when obtained by Dr. Stein, proved to contain the whole of the work, with the exception of one leaf in the middle and one at the end, these having probably been lost when the partition took place. The name of the copyist, Ratnak\'antha, is given in the colophons to some of the \textit{tarangas}, but the date is nowhere stated. However, as the dates of various other works copied or composed by the same writer range from 1648 to 1861 A. D., the MS. in question may safely be assigned to the latter half of the seventeenth century. Though written in a difficult hand, as may be seen from the two facsimile specimen pages reproduced in Dr. Stein's edition, the MS. is remarkably free from corruptions and mistakes. The faithfulness of the transcription is proved by the fact that the \textit{lacunae}, which vary in length from one syllable to several verses, being indicated by dots and empty spaces, are left even where it would have been easy to supply the missing letters.

Dr. Stein conjectures that the original of Ratnak\'antha's MS. must have been a very old one, because in one particular passage the copyist is in doubt whether to read नेपी or नेपी, a confusion which could only be due to a peculiarity of the S\'r\'adra character, not to be found in S\'r\'adra inscriptions later than the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. The syllables ने and दे are in this older form of the S\'r\'adra character almost identical in form, as न is always written with a vertical stroke before the consonant (मः दः). It must, however, be borne in mind that the characters used in MS. may very well have differed from those employed in coins and inscriptions. This peculiar method of writing न is also to be found for instance in a D\'v\'a\'n\'a\'g\'a\'rti MS. of Sh\'adguru-sisnya, dating from the end of the fourteenth century.

It being evident from what has been said that Dr. Stein's edition is practically based on a single MS., the question as to whether the codex archetypus contains any old glosses becomes one of primary importance. It is a satisfaction to be informed that there are actually many valuable marginal notes on details of the topography of Ka\'smir, besides various readings and corrections, supplied by four different hands. The annotations of two of these, designated as \(A^2\) and \(A^3\), are old and of considerable critical value. \(A^2\), probably a contemporary of Ratnak\'antha, appears to have rejoiced from the same original what the copyist had written, and to have added the notes and various readings which the copyist had omitted. The additions of \(A^3\) are of especial value, insasmuch as he fills up the \textit{lacunae}, in cantos i to vii not from conjecture, but, as the evidence adduced by Dr. Stein shows, from a MS. independent of the original copied by Ratnak\'antha. As there seem, however, to be no traces of its use in later copies of the \textit{Rudjataragvita}, this MS. has in all probability been irretrievably lost. Unfortunately the text of Ratnak\'antha contains numerous corrupt passages in the last third of the seventh and the whole of the eighth canto, while the \textit{lacunae} are here rarely filled up by \(A^3\). Considering that this part of the MS. comprises rather more than one-half of the whole work, these omissions are much to be deplored, particularly as the increased trustworthiness of the narrative, as it approaches the times of the author, is counter-balanced by obscurity due to corruptions.

Dr. Stein's critical notes show that he has proceeded with great caution in dealing with a task beset with serious difficulties, and the parallel passages which he brings to bear on obscurities in the text are evidence of the extreme care with which he has executed his work. That there is still scope for emendation in the eighth canto, Dr. Stein is himself the first to acknowledge; but it will be clear to all Sanskritists, who examine his edition, that he has accomplished his task with all the thoroughness possible in the circumstances. Dr. Stein is to be congratulated on having been able, not only to produce the first trustworthy edition of so important a work as the \textit{Rudjataragvita}, but to study on the spot in the course of the last four years the topography of Ka\'smir, on a knowledge of which the full comprehension of that work so largely depends. It is also fortunate for the subject that this combined task has fallen into the hands of so persevering, energetic, and enterprising a man. Sanskrit scholars will look forward with much interest to the appearance of the second volume, which, besides an introduction and exegetical notes on the text is to contain a commentary on all matters of historical, archaeological, and topographical interest occurring in Kalha\'na's narrative. On the completion of the second volume, Dr. Stein will have accomplished a work complete in itself, which will add much to our knowledge of the history and archaeology of mediaeval India. It seems a pity that the book should have been published in the very unwieldy form of atlas folio. But as it has been brought out under the patronage of the Ka\'smir State Council, this practical drawback was perhaps unavoidable. We have here another recent instance of the enlightened support extended by Indian Princes to the promotion of research, and to the preservation of the ancient literature of their country.

\textit{Oxford.}

Arthur A. MacDonnell
SIX years ago, during one of my official tours, I halted at Tanjore, and visited the Sarasvatî-Mahal, or the “Palace of the Goddess of Wisdom” in that town. This building forms a part of the residence of the late Râjas of Tanjore, and is so called because it contains a vast library of miscellaneous works composed in Sanskrit, Marâthi, Tamil, and English, printed and in manuscript, collected by successive Râjas. The volumes I found neatly arranged and labelled, and catalogues of the books available for the visitor, whose curiosity might tempt him to see what treasures of the ancient lore of the country lie buried there. I did not examine the catalogues of Sanskrit books, because I knew that Dr. Burnell, who was employed as a Judge for several years at Tanjore, had examined the whole library, and had described everything of that kind that was valuable. But I carefully went through the lists of Tamil works, and found two manuscripts, bearing respectively the titles Vikrama-Cholânap-Ulâ and Kulottûnga-Cholânap-Ulâ, which seemed to be of some historical value. They were written on palmleaf leaves, about a foot long and one and a half inch broad. The leaves were written on both sides and in clear characters; but they were fast decaying, the edges breaking under the slightest touch,—tiny insects, more diligent than the antiquarian, having already gone through every leaf of the manuscript and “read, marked and digested” a great portion of it. A Tamil Paññit, who accompanied me, and who was an ardent admirer of the ancient masters of Tamil poetry, was in raptures over the two poems, especially their latter parts, in which the author describes in very lascivious strains the amorous demeanour of the women of the palace at the sight of the king; but to me the introductory portions, wherein the ancestry of the Châla princes is given, was of absorbing interest. It struck me at the time that the poems would furnish a clue to the tangled genealogy of the Châlas, at which present cannot be unravelled with the side of information afforded by inscriptions alone. I had them copied at once. Some months afterwards, the late Tyâgarâja Cheṣṭiyâr, Tamil Paññit of the Government College, Kumbhakônam, who had copies of these poems with him, having kindly lent me his manuscripts for my use, I compared them with the copies taken at the Sarasvatî-Mahal, and found little or no difference, except a few blunders made by copyists.

I give below the text and translation of the first 182 lines of the Vikrama-Cholânap-Ulâ. The rest of the poem is of no value to the student of history, and is besides of too licentious a character to be rendered into English. As denoted by the title, the work belongs to the class of metrical compositions known in Tamil as “ulâ.” This name is derived from the root ulâ, which means ‘to stroll’ or ‘to go in state.’ Poems of this class usually begin with an account of the ancestors of the hero, then depict his personal appearance when he sets out from his mansion, followed by his vassals and servants, and conclude with a very elaborate description of the enamoured behaviour of the women of his court, young and old, the eagerness with which they await his appearance, their joy and confusion when his eyes meet their gaze, their sorrow and sadness when he passes out of their sight. The poem is one of the best of its kind in the Tamil language. For elegance of expression and richness of imagery it may be compared to Moore’s Lalla Rookh. It is composed in the Nârikat-kât-vespâ metre. The name of the author is not known.

The poem begins with the genealogy of the Châlas, which is traced through Brahmâ, the Sun, and other mythological personages to the king, who is said to have built high banks on both sides of the bed of the river Kâviri. The name of this king is mentioned in the Kalûngattu-Parasî as Karikâla-Châla. His successors are described as follows:

I. The king, who sat at liberty the Châra prince, on hearing the poem Kâlavaṭi sung by the poet Poygai. This is Sûngat-Châla; see my translation of the Kâlavaṭi, ante, Vol. XVIII. p. 258.
II. The victor of many a battlefield, who bore on his person no less than 96 scars gained in battle.

III. He who constructed a roof of gold to the sacred hall in the temple at Chidambaram, from the Leyden grant it appears that this king was Parantaka-Chola. He also bore the title of Vira-Nārāyaṇa-Chola.

IV. He who conquered the Malainadu, i.e., most probably the Koṅgu and Chēra countries, and killed 18 princes in retaliation for the insult offered to his envoy.

V. He whose armies seized the countries bordering on the Gaṅga and Kaḍāram.

VI. He who defeated the king of Vaṅga, and thrice attacked Kālyāna, the capital of the Western Chālukyas.

VII. He who won the battle of Koppa (or Koppal). The inscriptions of this king, commencing with the words Tirumagafr maruvina śaṅgē vēndaṇa, are found in many parts of the Tamil country, and it appears from them that he was known by the title of Uḍaiyār Śrī-Rājendra-deva, alias Kō-Parakāśarivarman, whose inscriptions begin with the words Tirumagafr pōla paramalachelvīyan.5

VIII. He who made a sarpa-sayana, i.e., a couch or bed in the shape of a coiled serpent, for the image of Vishnu at Srirangam.

IX. The victor of Kūḍal-saṅgama.6

X. His successor, of whom no particulars are given.

XI. He who chased the Paṇḍyas, defeated the Chēra, twice quelled the rebellion at Śārai, annexed Kōnkanam and Kaṇṇadham, caused the death of the proud king of the Mārāṭṭas, and abolished all tols throughout his kingdom. This is Uḍaiyār Śrī-Rājarājadēva, alias Kō-Rājākāśarivarman, whose inscriptions begin with the words Tirumagafr pēlu and are found in several of the large temples in the Tamil districts. He bore the title Uḍaiyār Śrī-Rājendra-Chōladēva, alias Kō-Parakāśarivarman.8

Then the poem describes the king's bed-room, his morning-bath, prayers and dress, of which his jewels form the most conspicuous part. The usual complimentary phrases describing the reigning king as the consort of the goddess of the Earth and of the goddesses of Wealth and Victory occur here. This helps us to understand the allusion in almost every inscription of this period to Bhuvanam-muḷudum-udaïyal or Ulagam-muḷudum-udaïyal, i.e., the goddess of the Earth, as the mistress of the king. After a tedious and overdrawn account of the royal elephant, the poem proceeds to give a vivid sketch of the pompous pageant which the procession of an oriental king always presents. The king is seated on an elephant under the shade of a magnificent parasol, while his attendants fan him with chaurs. Hugo sea-shells and pipes are blown; the big drums thunder; the royal bodyguard, with drawn swords, appear behind

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3 [This appears to be the great Rājarāja, whose inscriptions refer to the conquest of Malainadu; see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. pp. 2 and 296.—S. H.]
4 [This must be Rājarāja's son Śrī-Rājendra-Chōla, who boasts in his inscriptions to have conquered the Gaṅga and Kaḍāram; bid. p. 106.—S. H.]
5 [The corresponding verse (vili. 26) of the Kaliśatlina-Paṇḍha suggests that No. VI. is Kō-Rājākāśarivarman, alias Rājjhikhirājadēva, who, according to his unpublished inscriptions, "caused to be burnt the palace of the Chalikya (king) in the city of Kāmpūli."—S. H.]
6 [The same battle is mentioned in unpublished inscriptions of Kō-Rājākāśarivarman, alias Vira-Rājendra-deva.—S. H.]
7 [I cannot follow Mr. Kanakasabhaiah here, but believe that the king referred to is Kūḷottuṅga I. (A. D. 1068 to 1115).—S. H.]
8 [In my opinion, the hero of the poem is not Rājendra-Chōla, but Vikrama-Chōla, who ruled from A. D. 1112 to 1127; see note, Vol. XX. p. 398.—S. H.]
him; the tiger banner flutters in the breeze; and before and on both sides of him come, mounted on horses, his vassal kings and nobles, an interesting and detailed list of whom is given:

1. Foremost in the brilliant assemblage of princes is the Tondaiman. This is evidently the Pallava king, who was at this time a feudatory of the Chola. He is said to have defeated the Cheras, the Pandya, and the kings of Malwa, Sindhas, and Konkanas.

2. Munusayar-kona, or the king of Munai, a place now known as Tirumurasippadi. The word Murasippadi signifies a war-camp, and the place appears to have been so named because it marked the boundary between the Chola and Pallava kingdoms, before the latter had merged into the Chola dominions.

3. Chola-kona, or the viceroy of the Chola kingdom proper.

4. The Brahman Kannan. This name is a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Kshna. He is said to have been a native of the town of Kaftjam, which is I believe now called Kaftjamur and is in the Tanjore district. He was a minister in charge of the palace and the treasury.

5. Vana, or the Bana king.

6. Kalinagar-kona, or the king of Kaliga. His capital was Kalinganagara, the modern Kalingapatam in the Vizagapatam district.

7. Kaftvan, the king of the hill-fort of Senji. As Kaftvan, 'the forester,' is a Tamil synonym of the Sanskrit Pallava, he appears to have belonged to the Pallava royal family. His fortress Senji, which is spelled Gingee in English, belongs to the modern South Arcot district.

8. The king of Venadu. This is the ancient name of the southern part of the Travancore territory.

9. Anantapalai, who is said to have been famous for his charities.

10. Vattavan. This seems to be a Tamil form of the Sanskrit name Vatsa. He stormed the three-walled town of Manesai, which was defended by Aryas. In the inscriptions of Rajendra-Chola, this town is referred to as conquered by the king, and the name is coupled with Kaftakam, indicating most probably that Maisai and Kaftakam were identical or adjacent to each other. Kaftakam is the modern Cuttack in the province of Orissa.

11. The king of Chedinadu. This may be Chedi or Bundelkhand, but is more probably another Chedi, a petty principality in the Tamil country, the capital of which was Tirukkovalur in the South Arcot district.

12. The chief of Apanikkaval, i.e., Tiruvapakkaval in the Trichinopoly district.

13. Adigan. This is the title of the chiefs of Dharmapuri in the Salem district, the ancient Tagadur or Tafta.

14. Vattabha, the Nulamban, i.e., the king of Nulambavadi, a division of the Mysore territory.

15. Tirigatna [i.e., the king of Trigarta].

This description of the king's appearance in public agrees so well with what Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, saw about two centuries later when he visited Southern India, that I am tempted to quote his words. "It is a fact," says he, "that the king goes as bare as the rest, only round his loins he has a piece of fine cloth, and round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and the like, in so much that his collar is of great value . . . . . . . . . . The king aforesaid also wears on his arms three golden bracelets thickly set with pearls of great value, and anklets also of like kind he wears on his legs, and rings on his toes likewise. So let me tell you, what this king wears between gold and gems and pearls, is worth more than a city's ransom. And there are about the king a number of Barons.

An inscription of an Adigan, appears at page 106 of Dr. Hultzsch's South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I.
in attendance upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near him, and have great authority in the kingdom, they are called the king's trusty lieges."\textsuperscript{10}

\textbf{TEXT.}

\begin{quote}
Ati mukattuttsamagai nittaniñai chittamē.
Tavalattamarai tātār kōvil
Avalaippōṟutum aruñntami kurittē
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Chhr tanta tāmaraiyēl kēḷvaṇ tīruvutarak
Kār tanta vunīk kamalettē — pāntanta
Āṭikkadavuddichai mukagumānkavaṇṭa
Kāṭākula maintaṇ pōchippaṇum — mēttaka
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{10} Marco Polo's Travels, by Col. Yule, Vol. II. Bk. III. Chap. XVII.
Lādaravappāyalamaittōṇum — Kūdalār
Chaṅkamattu koḷḷuṁ taṅipparaṅkikiṅkeppiṁsiṁta
Tunkamate yēgai tuśittōṇum — aṅkavaṇṇpīṅ
45. Kāvai purintavāṇi kāṭtavaṇum eṅṉivarkai
Pāvalayam muṟṟum purantatē pīṅ — mēvalartam
Chēlaisturantu chilaiyattadintirukār
Chaṅalaiṅkal āṟutta taṇḍiṅgai — mēlaṅkai
Kadal koḍdu Koṅkaṇamāṁ Kaṇḍadaṁuṅkaṅkiṅkoṅ
50. Dādāl koḍdu Mārāḍḍarachai — yudalai
Yiṟakkī vada varaiyē yellaṅiyṭṭottalai
Maṟaṅkaiyūḷuṅbuṅkaṁnum māṟṟi — yarattikirī
Vāṇittikirī valamāka vantaiṅkku
Māṟṟiṅpolī tōl Āpayaṅkup-ṟṟivilaiṅkaṅ
55. Tōṅṟiya koṅ Vikkiramachōḷaṅ vēṭḍaiṭṭumbai
Māṟṟu murauchi mukil muṉaiṅka — nōṟṟalaiṅa
Mummaippuvaṅgam purakka muṅkaiṅavitūṁ
Chemmaittaiṅkīṅkōṅ tīchauyaiḷappā — vemmai
Vidavuḍpadutṭa vījukkaṅvīkai eddu
60. KaṅavaṅkaḷiṅṆuṅ kalippa — chudarchēr
Iṅsaṅtār makudam iṅkkī archar
Tuṅaṅtaiṅ apṭhaṅkaṅhūṅdi — pāṅmīṭṭēṟa
Nīṟḷaiyēḻum nilavāyjejuntan
PōrāḷaiyōṅṆiṅ potu ůkki — chṝṟumaṅ
65. Mēya tiṅkiri viri mēkaṅalaiyaiṅkūr
Rōṅā pila maṅdantai tōḷkalaiṅum — chāḷaiṅ
Nōṟṟumulakeṅkaṅē jūntaiṅtadaiṅya
Kōṭiṅ kula maṅkai koṅkaiyaiṅum — pōṭīṅ
Nīṟaiṅkirī chelvi neḏuṅkaiṅkalaiṅum
70. Uṟaiṅkirī nāḷiḷ oru nāl — aṟaiṅkaḷaṅkāl
Teṅṅaṅ tīṟai ajenta muttiṅchilaiṅpuṅdūṅ
Teṅṅaṅ malai arachchēṟaiṅzintu — teṅṅaṅ
Vaṅṟiṅvedda teṅṟal adi varuda vāḍkaṅ
Poraiṅvedda pēṟaiṅam pēṟa — iraiṅdaṅ
75. Nittilappanṭatḵiṅ nīṟilappaiṅliṅ
Rottalai malai tuṅaṅtaiṅtōḷum — maittaṅdaṅ
Kaṅṟum mulaiṅnum periya kaḷiṅyaṅṭam
Eṅṟumulakeṅkaṅē jūndaiṅya — peṉḍanaṅku
Pēṟta malai ŏṭi peṅ chakkiravarttiyudan
80. Eṭṭiaṅ paḷli iṅṭeįntu — poyyātā
Poṅgittaiṅpaṅ māṅgaṅaiṅtaiṅ pl<stdioṅrakaiṅ
Kaṅṭṭiṅtalaiṅrāṅkuṅ kaṅpaṅiṅtu — muṅṅai
Maṟaṅkoḷuntai velḷi maḷaiṅkoḷuntai mavoḷip
Piṅaiṅκkoḷuntai vañaṭi piṅṟaṅai — kaṟaiṅkaḷuṭṭuṅ.
85. Chekkarpaiṅ viṅṭhumpai teyṭṭatapioṅchudaiṅ
Mukkai kaṉiyaiṅ muḍaiṅvaṅaiṅkiṅ — nikkayrtiṅ
Tāṉṭaiṅṭil mudittum chāṭṭum takaiṅaiṅ
Māṉakkaṅkaiṅ varavaruḷi — tēnuotum
Chāḷumaiṅ mukktai chōmpaiṅmaṅkaḷiṅdaiṅpoṅ.
90. Tāḷumakkaṅkaiṅ tāẏaṅka — vāḷuṅ
Tada mulaippaiṅ maṅdantai taṅṅudaiṅ poḷiṅ
Chudar mašikkēvrafi chūļantu — padarun
taippilappennukktit tāiyaludanē
Mašikkadakkaikaiyil vayaśkap — paśippaṇa.

95. Muyaiṅkuntiruvudanē muṇgi kōddatā
Vayaṅku maśi māṛpiṇimalka — vayaṅkā
Varuṅkoṛsa māṭikumanaṅkīpudanē
Maruṅkīpiṅrivedāvīl vāyppat — tāṛuntiya
Vañṇappadimattaru pēṛaniyaṇiṁtu

100. Vaiṅattajaven vēṇappamaniṇtk — kaṇḍantalar
Kāmāṇ chīlai vāṣakka vāṅkya kaddājakait
Tāma mūdivaṇkkam tantaṇaiya — kāmarupuṇā
Kōḷaṭṭodu peyaṛitu koṭīrpuṇaniṛṛu
Kāḷaṭṭirūn kāḍākkaliṅ — nālattu

105. Tāṅē muḷaṇ kuvataṇṭiṇṭakketiri
Vāṅ cuḷaḍkīṁuṃ vāṅpadai — vāṅk
Kaṇiyuṁraśṣuṇnasakṣiṇmai
Taśiyum yamarāchataṇḍamā — tāṣiyāṛ
Parīya pūrūkodi kaṇṭattu paṇaṅka

110. Aṛiya oru tāṅeyāki — kariya
Maḷaiṅkōḍداد maḍiṭitīγyak kuttum
Kolaṅkōḍḍu veṅkāla kōḍdham — malaṭṭoda
Vēṛu matam taṇṭeyāka vulaṅkattu
Vēṛu matam peṇā vēṅkattā — kuṭonāṭē

115. Tāṅkippoṛaiyāṛṭattattam pidar niṟṟu
Vāṅkippoṛaiyai mōṃṃuḷutu — mōṅkya
Koṛippuṃmarāṇḍaṅkōḷaṅ Akṣalakkaṇ
Mūṛpparintataṛpiṅ muŋ pāṭam — muṛṛa
Varuṭṭatamu karaṇtu māṭiṛattu vēḷam

120. Patta kāḍāntiḷiṭṭuṇḍyap — puruṛkat
Tuvaṭṭam mūṭurachuṭaṇu mūṭiṭṭōṭi
Yaṇaṅṇaraṭṭaṇḍapāḍaṇi — yīvaṇṭai
Yaḷiṭṭaṇvaṇ eukaṅmāṭaṅṭalāṅγiṛṛu
Kalīṭṭaṇaṃeṛuvaṅkuṅkalāṅγi — neḷiṭṭiļiṇa

125. Vēṛuppuḷattai vēṭiṭṭukkoṭiṭṭamaru
Lēṛuṇuppaṇaraṇḍiṇ)iṅriyaiṅ — kōṛṛuk
Karṇibbubāṭṛaṇaṭiṇiṇiṛṛiṇaṇai
Yiruṭṭipadi padiṭṭyēṛiṭ — tiruṭṭakka
Koṛuṅkavikai niḷaṇṛakkulirntriṇḍak

130. Koḷaṅkavariyaṅkākāḷaṭhippa — voṛṛai
Vaḷampuriyāṭa vaḷaiṅkkuṅaṅkṣaḷṛppaṇc
Chiḷambumurachuṭhchalamba — pulampayil
Vāḍpaddai tōṛa maṛa maṇṇavar neṛuṇkak
Kōḍpuṅkkoṛṛak kōdiyōṅkac — chōḍpuṅṭṭuṭ

135. Toṭṭaru Maḷuvaruṅ Oṭṭuṅkāḷarū Koṅkantaṇ
Maṇṇugantaṅktu Maḷaiṅnadār — µuṛṛaṅ
Kuḷaiyappūrtoṅkāṅkkoṛṛaṇar paṇari
Maṇṇatavat Toṇḍaimuṇ — palarmuṃṁi
Lāṛkkuṅkāḷaṅkā Akṣulakṣatavaiyil

140. Pēṛkkumatiṃṭraṇṭapalakari — pēṛkkut
Toḍukkappuṇaṭṭuṃbi thāḍiṅgadaṅkōḍkā
Kodukkappuñai Mupaiyar kópun — Udukkaraiyum
Kankaraiyu Máraddaraiyuñ Kaliukaraiyuñ
Koqkaraiyuméñañ Kudakaraiyum — tañkog

145. Múñiyum poñru muri puruvattódu
Kupiyiññhiñiñitcho Chójakópun — chañapañitññ
Tolúkalachamunçhúramunçkóptappó
Válpumpulysatiñaichchóch — nálymáy
Mañcikakikjittu vajárum perum punúchaik

150. Kañchattirumañaiyón Káñnañgum — veñchamattup
Pulātā mañär puládompu pëyyánda
Volláriaikkérpañüyir vánkap — pullárvan
Táukumadámtar tattáñkúlaj vándā
Vándām vari chilaikkái Váñapum — Véñkañiyún

155. Kódár Vilíaññtiñ Kolattuñ Kóukáitum
Módálu Iraddatum Oddatum — mádá
Ladiyedutu vevärayachiliya vírak
Kodiyedutu Kálikkar kópun — kadiyaráñach
Chemporpataniñcheñiyiñchí Chenohiyarkóñ

160. Kambakkiyápañí Kádaváñum — vembik
Kalakkiyánñññhakkàiñjáññeppáiril
Vilakkuya Vénándar vénítum — találtárrumam
Várik Kumáirí mutal Mántákkíiyiyum
Párrtávñg Anantápalágum — Áriyariñ

165. Muddipporutár Vada-Maññàí yummatáñum
- Maddittá mályáñai Vattáñum — maddáiyéjáñ
Káttítriñ nánduk kaddaráñt kaddajáitá
Chótítriñ nándar chélláñ — pútaláñtu
Muddíyá tervar chádai kádda moíkárjáñl

170. Kaddíya kár Aññakkátaváñum — Oddiyá
Máñnavarakchariñiy Vada-Kálikkát
Táññí triñntta Atikáñum — Máñvästáñ
Kóddáruñ Kollamnçkóñ dódai Núlamáñ
Váddáí matáyáñai Válláñum — kóddórañk

175. Kóókaikkulattik Kudakaikkuvadíttá
Cheñkáikkáññit Tiriñkatáñum — añkávaññ
Válláñum Kócháñu Mákáñu Mályáñum
Vílláñum Káráñu Máñvañum — Paláñum
Eññum perumpñeñkáññli páññlíñkar

180. Múñum inu maraññkumottánad — paññáñchóñ
Chóití vayíramdakkuñchudarttodiyáñ
Vítí kuyúkatálum —

TRANSLATION.

My soul! Pray thou daily to the excellent (Gañapatí) that has the face of an elephant!

Let us praise her (Sarasvatí) whose shrine is the white water-lily, full of pollen, so that she may inspire us with elegant Tamil!

The first of gods, creator of the earth (Brahmá), who rose with faces four out of the water-lily, that grew from the dark navol of the sacred person of (Vishnú) the spouse of that goddess whose seat is on the lovely lotus flower. Then his beloved son Kátyápa. Then great Marñchi, a faultless seer. Then he whose car rolls on a single flaming wheel. Then that
stern sire who drove his chariot over his son to soothe a cow in dire distress. Then the mighty monarch who made the timid fawn and the fierce tiger drink together in the same cool springs. Then the king who rode an aerial car and (mounting to the skies) saved Bhogapuri. Then the Sumbiya (i.e., the Chōla) who by a solemn sacrifice created a wondrous man and won his cause, satisfying the ruthless god of death. Then the sovereign who shared the grey beard of elders and drove Yama out of his sight. Then the Chōla who stormed the castles of his foes which hung in the air. Then he who let into the Eastern bay the swelling waters of the Western sea. Then the prince who bravely went down a cavern, and by his radiant beauty won the hand of the noble daughter of the Naga race. Then that generous man who is known to all the world as having joyously entered the scales (to be weighed), to save a little dove. Then he who brought the river Pooṇi (Kāviri) whose rushing current cuts its way through the rocky ridges of high Kudagū. Then the king who set his tiger (banner) on the mountain whose summit gleams with crystal waterfalls, and formed high banks to control the floods of the Pooṇi. Then the sovereign who heard the lofty lay of Poygai and graciously struck the fetters off the feet of the Villavan (i.e., the Chēra king). Then that conqueror whose person was covered with scars (gained in battle), twice three and ninety in number. Then that guardian (of the world) who, with pious love, covered with sheets of gold the roof of the hall where Śiva (literally, pure honey) dances. Then he who, to avenge his envoy, obtained of old, in a day, the heads of two nine princes and conquered Malaināḍu. Then he who sat on his throne while his armies seized the Gaṅgā and Kadāram. Then that matchless soldier who broke the power (of the king of) Vaṅga and thrice attacked Kalyāṇa. Then he who, riding on a single tusker, killed his enemies in a fierce fight at Koppa and took a thousand elephants. Then he who, with gems of many kinds, made a conch in the shape of a hooded serpent for the god (Vishu) of the Southern Raṅgam (Srīraṅgam) where ancient (Vēdio) hymns are sung. Then he who cut down countless majestic rutting elephants, and won a great victory at Kudal-saṅgama. Then he who after the above watched and protected the earth. After all these kings had ruled the whole compass of this earth, came the Abhaya whose shoulders were adorned with garlands of ār; who, with his army which had chased the śāl (a fish, the flag of the Pāṇḍya) and broken the bow (the flag of the Chēra) and twice cut the rebels at Salai, annexed Konkanapam and Kaṇgaḍam (and all the land) up to the shores of the Western sea; caused the death of the proud king of the Maṭras; rid the country of all evils and toils; and ruled with mercy the whole of this sea-girt earth up to the bounds of the Northern mountain. His illustrious son Vikrama-Chōla assumed the diadem amid the thundering of the three drums, and governed the three worlds, extending his righteous dominion in all directions, the cool shade of his umbrella removing all evil (or unhappiness) and gladdening (the hearts of) the eight celestial elephants (which guard the eight points). Kings took off their glittering crowns, which were wound with wreaths of flowers, and bowed their heads at his pair of feet. He brought under his own martial sway the seven swelling seas and the seven continents. While thus he reclined on the shoulders of the goddess of the Earth, like the broad and bright girdle on whose hips are the chains of mountains, and on the bosom of the beauteous and chaste virgin (the goddess of Victory) who is the sole mistress of the seven worlds, and in the presence (literally, long eyes) of the goddess of Wealth who dwells in the (lotus) flower,—one morning, he rose brightly from his bed which was all white as the moonlight, under a canopy of pearls, and to which he had retired overnight, wearing the choicest pearls paid as tribute by the Southern (Pāṇḍya) princes; his person perfumed with the pest of the sandal of their (the Pāṇḍyas') mountain; his feet wooed by the southern breezes at their bidding; accompanied by the empress "Mistress of the seven worlds," who, with bright large eyes and swelling bosom, her tresses twined with fresh blossoms, and her shoulders wound with strings of fragrant flowers, was graceful as a goddess and gay as the playful swan, and served by a group of women whose glances wound like sharp swords. (Having risen) he bathed in the river Pooṇi whose current never dries up, and put on his wrist a bracelet made of the tender shoots of the arugu grass, handed to him by his priests, and offered his prayers to him (Śiva) who is the light of the ancient
V̐das, the flame on the silver mountain (Kailáśa), who wears the young crescent on his head, whose throat is dark, and whose ethereal body is of a ruddy hue, who is the supreme luminary amongst gods, who has three eyes, and who is full of mercy. (Then) he distributed large sums of money (to the Bráhmaṇa) and was pleased to send for the (royal) jewels whose magnificence passeth description. On his face, which was the seat of the goddess of Eloquence, and which bloomed like a full-blown flower beset by bees, sparkled fish shaped ear-rings. On his shoulders which bore the broad-bosomed goddess of the Earth, he set epaulets, which blazed with brilliant gems. On his wrists, where the restless goddess of Fame sat, shone bracelets set with precious stones. On his chest, which was the abode of the goddess of Wealth, beamed the priceless jewel which the ocean gave up when churned (by the gods) with the great snake (Vśuki/or a rope). At his waist, he placed gracefully his sacred sabre on which lay the great goddess of Victory. Having put on rich and rare ornaments of exquisite beauty and arrayed himself gorgeously, he issued out of the palace, appearing so enchantingly handsome, that it seemed as if Śiva had bestowed on him, while he bowed his wreathed crown to the god, all the heavenly charms of which he had deprived Káma (Cupid) when the latter had once bent his bow on the god. There stood before him the huge and fierce royal elephant which would not brook to hear the roar of other elephants, and if it heard the thunder of the clouds, would sweep (with its trunk) even the sky, and finding no trunk or tasks opposing it, would be appeased; which would alone bear the heavy war-banner, and with its death-dealing tasks batter and break down even hard rocks; which, being unaccustomed to the smell of other rutting-juice but its own, — when Akalátka (i.e. the Spotless) had, with his swelling victorious shoulders, removed from the neck of the elephants which guard the eight points, the burden (of this earth), which they had borne with silent anguish, and made them forget the aching pain of their forelegs and discharge rut in floods,— scenting their rut, followed up the current of the floods, and pacified by the sounds of the celestial elephants, rejoiced that they were gladdened by the favour of its royal master; which would trample under foot and lay waste the enemies’ lands and furiously devote to death the dear lives of the princes who face it on the field of battle. On such an Airávata (or white elephant) he mounted step by step, and sat under the shade of a superb umbrella. A pair of thick chawris fanned cool and gentle puffs of wind; the deep sound of the great sea-shell swelled; bands of pipes made shrill music; the klabu and the big drums thundered; the well-drilled bodyguard of swordsmen appeared; high above all waved the banner of the conquering tiger; and there crowded warrior kings, such as: — the Tondaimāṉ, who in a single campaign scattered the armies of Mālarinādu and defeated the Tenār (Pándyaś), Mālavar, Śiṅgālar, Kothūkar, and other kings of distant lands; and of the ministers of Anagha, whose sounding anklets rest on many a crowned head, the Muṇaiyar-kōṉ, who with his headgear winds the wreath of victory in besmirching enemies’ strongholds; and the Chōla-kōṉ who, whenever his sovereignty is dispelled with the Uḍūkkar, Kaṅgar (Gaṅgas), Māraṭṭar, Kalinagar, Konght and other Western nations, bends his bow on them with a frown; and the Bráhmaṇ land Kānnāṉ of the town of Kaṇjam, the high walls of which pierce the clouds, who daily superintends the royal guard, treasury, palace, sword (or armoury), tiger (standard) and council; and the Vānap, armed with the bow bound with leather, who offers the lives of rival kings to death, their stinking carcasses to demons, and compels their fond mistresses (who have become widows) to remove their ear-rings (and other ornaments); and the Kāṅṅa king, who with his victorious banner has put to flight many a prince in Vēnai, Vilīṭam, Kollam, Kongam, Inṭṭam and Oḏjam; and the Kaṇḍavaṉ, who rides the gay elephant, king of the hill-fort of Sēnjē, which, crowded with battlements, resembles the unassailable red mountain (Mēṟu); and the king of Vēnai who drove the rogue elephant, which caused people to tremble by its great fury; and Anantapalāṉ, who performed deeds of great charity and spread his fame from Kuṇari to the Mandakini; and the Vattavan, whose huge elephant broke down the three walls of Northern Māṇmai, where the Āryas had fought hard for their town; and the prince of the sacred Chēdinādu, who levelled to the ground the strong fortifications of Kādi; and the chief of Panippāḷa, who, when he tiet the sounding anklet on his leg, never fails to compel the foes whom he encounters, to tie up the hair
on their head in tangled knots; and the Adigai, who cut down the armies of Northern Kalinga and routed the king of Oddiyam; and Vallavan, the munificent Nalamban, who, riding a rutting elephant, conquered Kottagu belonging to the Muvavar (Pandjyas), and Kollam; and Tirigattan of the red-trunked elephant, who overthrew Kongo which is defended by mountains, and knocked down the crags of Kudagu; and after him came the Vallavan, Kosalan, Magadan, Maluvan, Villavan, Karajan, Muvavan and Pallavan. Surrounded in this manner in front and on both sides by great kings and chiefs without number, he approached the street where live the fair women whose polished bracelets sparkle with many gems and brilliant diamonds.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACHETTI
1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

(Continued from page 89.)

Obverse face of the First Stone.

Namo tassa bhagavatā arahatā sammāsambuddhassa.

Siddhā bhavantu Ḫyacakkavārihāvādhiyō siddhaṃ Buddhassānam.

Rāmānādāspatibhū-Ṛṣmādhipatimā katā

Jinasāsasasuddhā tam pavattī kathyātī.

Rāmānādāspatibhū-Ṛṣmādhipatīrāja-kūḷi Jinasāsanassuddhā.

Sakyanunno Sammāsambuddhassa parinibbānatā divinnaṃ vassassati namo aṭṭhārassāmā vassē vīti vītā Dhammāśokarāja abhibhāṣaṃ pūpuṇi. Tato cattuttah vassē Nīgrodhasaṃpāramā paṭiṣa Buddhaśasanā sañjitā "tīviya pasādūna bhikkhuṇīnā lābhassak-kārō vēppallam agamāsi; tītthiyānam parihiyāi.


Tuā paṭiṣa rājā Dhammāsokā sāsano uppanna-mahā-laṃkāva-cūnāpahāranānaṃ sāsanānaṃ sodhakamāno Moggalputtassamahābhāranaṃ paṭuṇāsaya katuṇā, Viḥbajavādī Śūmāsambuddho sāsattādīvādīna tītthiyātip akāsantī samayān uggahetvā, sabbe bhikkhū samnippatīpotvā samanāladdhikā ekāto vassaṭṭhā, tuā ūkā na sañjāvī; kīhimāl Śūmāsambuddhā tī yuttī Viḥbajaṭṭhī Śūmāsambuddhā tī vaddantā sāsanikabhikkhū sāsaninukhamahānaṃ anumāṇaṃ; Sāsattādīvādī Śūmāsambuddho ti vaddantā pana tītthiyabhūtī pāpabhikkhū nāṭṭhasahassā sañjāvī. Ātha rājā tō sabbā pī sāṭṭhasahassā pāpabhikkhū uppaṭṭahijīvī, "parivudhā dāti pariṣa, kārō sañjāgī upasathamkhumānaṃ tī" vevāv nāgarānaṃ pāvissi.


1 Throughout this text ć represents by c; ṭ by ch; the discritical sign A represents a long vowel.
thérādayo thērō pēsēi. Tēsu Mahāmahindathērānaṃ Tambahagāpiṣāṃ sāsanāṃ patīṭhā-pētum pēsēi; Sōnathērānaṃ pana Uttarathērāna ca suvaṇṇhabhuṁiraṭṭha-sahkhāta-Bāmaṇadhāsām sāsanāṃ patīṭhā-pētum pēsēi.


Sūryakūṭārī ti pana paṭiiḍhahakunāraṇāmaṃsa Māṇoharāṇadīrī raijakaṭaraṇakālē acceṭu dubbalaṃ jātaṃ. Tadhā Summuṇaṃsabhaṃ ṭhāpitiṇāṭo ṭhāsastākhavassassahassāṃ hōtīṭi dāṭhabbaṃ.

Ek 'uttarachasṭāṭhikavassassahassē pana kālē ruddhā-ṛupa-bōdasakkarējā Arimad- danapur 'issaroṃ Anuruddhradhēvēṇa rāna saṣṭhakaṭṭayaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ āṇētvā Pugāmāsaḥkāṭe Arimadananupur sāsanām paṭiṭhipētāḥ.

Tattō satt 'uttaratasavassakāle rasa-yama-pāṭa-saṭkārējā Lānkādīpīṃṣīṃ Sirisā- ghabōdhi-Parakkambhūρūrā sāsanām visōḍheīsi.

Uttarājivamahāthēro Kusimanagaram paṭava, sambahūlāhi bhikkhūhi paripuṇṇapatisattvānena ca sāmaṇḍerena saddhiḥ nāvam abhirūhi. Kā paṇḍa sāmaṇḍer? Kasmā nāh Chapājaśāma

Uttarājivamahāthēro pi nāvam abhirūhitvā, Laṅkādiṣam gati. Tatā Laṅkādiṇapāsīni mahābuddhē tēna saddhiḥ dhamaṇīyā kathāya sahasaaditvā samanuḥhitvā saṃpiyāyamānā:
“mayaṃ Laṅkādiṇī sāmanapatiṭṭhāpakaṃ Mahāmahādēthaṃ pāvijīhitvā; tumā paṇā suvaṇṇapahūmīnaṃ sāmanapatiṭṭhāpakaṃ Sūp ‘Uttarābhiddhānānaṃ dvīnavā mahābhērānaṃ pāvijīhitvā. Tasmā sabbā mayam ēkaṭā saṅghakammānaṃ karissāmāti” vatvā, paripuṇṇapatisat-

vassāna Chapaṭasamāṃpamāram upasampādēti.

Tatā paraṁ Uttarājivamahāthēro Laṅkādiṇe yaṁ kīcchā cātāya-vandaṇādi-kīcchā niṣṭhāpē-

tabbaṃ, tāna sabbā niṣṭhāpētvā, Puḍgāmanagaram paccāgantum ārabhā.

Athā Chapājaśāmikkussa ’etād aḥāti: “saḥaḥaḥi pi Uttarājivamahāthērāna saddhiḥ pacoṇgāmāsāmī, tatāh satipālābhānaṃ yathāpāhuṣam uddēsasaparipuṇcāhaṃ kātuṃ na sakkhiṣāmi. Apīva nāmaḥaḥ mahābhērāna apalōktvā, idhi’ya Laṅkādiṇī vastvā, uddēsa-

paripuṇcāhāvāsanā sāṭṭhakathānā piṭṭakatayaṃ uggahētvā va, pacoṇgāmāyyan ti.” Tatā sā Uttarājivamahāthēram apalōktvā, Laṅkādiṇeye āvṛṇhīlyā.

Uttarājivamahāthēro pi sambahūlāhi bhikkhūhi saddhiḥ nāvam abhirūhyha, Kuṣima-

nagaram paṭava, yēva Puḍgāmanagaram na tāv evasayatvā, tasmāt paṭiṣati.

Chapaṭaḥbhikkhu ca uddēsasaparipuṇcāpasatūtā sāṭṭhakathāna piṭṭakatayaṃ uggahētvā, ācārasāni ṣtuva, thērasammutiḥaḥ lehhiyā, Puḍgāmanagaram paccāgantakāmō, cintētī: “saḥaḥaḥ ēkaṭō va pacoṇgāmīśhāmi, tatāḥ Uttarājivamahāthērēḥ bābhaṇvā, Puḍgāmāvaśhī bhikkhūhi saddhiḥ ēkaṭō yadi saṅghakammānaṃ kattuṃ na i乔chēmi. Tādā pacoṇvaggaṇaṇābhāvāna kathānaṃ vissā saṅghakammānaṃ kattuṃ lacaḥāmi? Yaṃ na nāmaḥ aṃśehi Tiṭṭhabhērāna caṣṭhihi saddhiṃ pacoṇgāmēyaṇaṃ ti.” Ēvaḥ ca paṇaḥ sā cintētvā Tāmālīṭṭhīvīśapuṭṭhā Sivarīṣṭhēraṇa, Kaṃbōjaṭājaṃṭhēna Taṃmālindathēraṇa, Kīcchāpurasātanayēn Āṇandathēraṇa, Laṅkā-

dīpaṃkāṭājaṃṭhēna Rāhulathēroṇa ca saddhiḥ saṃvīdāḥya nāvam abhirūhitvā pacoṇgacchi Tē paṇcā paṇcā mahābhērā Tiṭṭhabhērā ca ṭhā paṭiṣhitam. Tāna Rāhulathēra śūttathurān ca ṭhā paṭipālaḥ.


Uttarājivamahāthēro tu kātipayadīvasasampattē Chapājaṭamahāthēro kālaṃ akālē.

Chapaṭaṭeho ca Puḍgāmanagaram paṭava, niṭṭhāriyaṭṭhā Uttarājivamahāthēraṇa kālaṅka-

thaṭhānaṃ aṭṭhāvi, tass’ lājanam ganta, vandana-khaṃpāna-kammāna kattvā, caṣṭhīhi thoṛhihi saddhiṃ eva saṃmantavo: “aṃhākām ēyaṃmantō niṣṭhāyaḥ Uttarājivamahāthērēna saddhiṃ ēkaṭō Laṅkādiṇapāsīni mahābhērā saṃghakammānaṃ karīnti yōva; mayaṃ pi dāni Sūp ‘Uttarābhiddhānaṃ uddēsaṃvāṭhīthi Puḍgāmāvaśhī bhikkhuhi saddhiṃ ēkaṭō saṅghakammānaṃ kattuṃ yaṭtarē bhavissēma. Athāpi pūcaḥ aṃhākām niṣṭhāyaḥ Ramaṇṇavasīko Uttarāj-

vamahāthēro yōv’ issāri; idāni tu Mārammadesiṭṭhāna bhikkhuhi yōv’ issaratā. Tēnē saddhiṃ ēkaṭō saṅghakammānaṃ kattuṃ na i乔chēmita.” Tatā Chapājaṭamahāthēro mānavacchā Puḍgāmāvaśhī bhikkhuhi saddhiṃ ēkaṭō saṅghakammānaṃ aṭṭhāvi vissūm yēva, saṅghakammānaṃ akālē.
Évañh Rāmaññādeśe Sudhammanagaratē sāsanassa gantvē, Marammadēse Pugāmanagarē patiṭṭhānato caturvīśadhiśīvakassassatē vitattē yēva sikhī-bēda-pāha-sakkarañē Laṅkādīpatē sāsanam agantuḥ Pugāmanagarē patiṭṭhātīti daññabhānaḥ.

Tādā Pugāmanagarē Nārapatiṭjāyasūrō nāma rājā rajānāṃ karēti. Sō paścama mahā-thērēsu ativīya pasannō, Erūvaṭiyā mahānādiyā nāvāsāghātānaṃ kārāpētītā, bahūpapamadhā-pahke paśča mahātheśa upasamadāpēti. Tūn'ōte mahātheśa anukkāmena vaḍḍhitvā bahuṣaṇa jātā.


Api ca aparēna samayēna ca ṣatūṃ pī thērēsu Chaṭṭapaṭmahātheśo kālam akāsi. Śivalimahātheśo ca, Tāmalindaṃ mahātheśo ca, Ānandamahātheśo cāti, tāyō mahātheśa Pugāmanagarē sāsanam ujjīyātisū.


विदानसासनिर्णयम् इकास साधगकांकारा यत्तरुपान ति। ततो पभुति ति
प्रे दहात्वरासु नसुण साधगकांकम्य आकृसः।

तदि पगुमानगरो सुधामआनगरो आगसासनांदापविभूतो भिक्षुसागहो
सुविलामहांसणसांसांसविभूतो भिक्षुसागहो ति, "तामालिन्दमांसणसांसविभूतो
भिक्षुसागहो ति, आनांमांसणसांसविभूतो भिक्षुसागहो दकः अत्तर्तो भिक्षु-
सागहो विसुण भिन्नतासु, विसुण निक्यतु जिताः। तस्यु तान सुधामआनगरो आगसासनां
सविभूतो भिक्षुसागहो ति, पुरिमकालिका ततो \"पुरिमाबिकुसागहो\" ति
पगुमावसिनो मार्ममानुसस वोहराति। ततो तान भिक्षुसागहो सिहालाइपातो
आगसासनांदापविभूतत् \"सिहालभिक्षुसागहो ति, पाचिमकालिका ततो \"पाची-
माबिकुसागहो ति वोहराति।

ततो परान्त तीसु पि तीसु माहांशेषु सिलामाहांशेषो ति, त्रू माहांशेषे यायत्व्यसु नसानां जोहत्व्य, यायत्कम्यमण गदाः। आनांसावहो पता पृत्पृतयासिनी पगुमानगरो ससानां जोहत्व्य, मून्न-सुण्ड-रासा-साक्कराजो सब्बपत्ते यथाकम्यमण गदो।

Reverse Face of the First Stone.

Dibbatu Janacakkam!
Muttimanagarē pana Kambōjasāghapakkho; Sivalmahāthirupsuṇībhūtō Sihaḷasāghapakkho; Tāmalindamahāthirupavasūṇībhūtō Sihaḷasāghapakkho; Anandamahāthirupavasūṇībhūtō Sihaḷasāghapakkho ca; Muttimanagarē yēva dūvī 'cariyabhūtassa Sihaḷalipataṃ gantvā upasampadaṃ gahetvā punā' āgantvā, visuṃ saṅghakammatā gavtva upasampadām gahetvā punā' āgantvā, visuṃ saṅghakammatā karōntassā Buddhaḥavasmahāthirassā pavavasūṇībhūtō Sihaḷasāghapakkho; Sihaḷalipataṃ gantvā gahetūpasaṃpadassā Muttimanagarē paccagantuva, visuṃ saṅghakammatā karōntassā Mahāsāṇghikābhūtassā Mahāsāṃsūṇībhūtō Sihaḷasāghapakkho oṭṭi: chadhā bhinnā saṅghapakkhā ākatō saṅghakammassakatattā nāṇasamvihakā nāṇanikāyā jāti.

Tāsu pī sabbāsu chasā nīkāyāsu simāsamsuttikāṃmoṣapasaṃpadakammadīsāṅgha-kammakarapekākā, bāhuṇahā tipikakadharānāna bahusūtānaṃ bhājīlānaṃ ekaccaṃ sannipatītā udandasindvā yuttāyuttaviṣarajānanaṃ abhāvēna, tasmāh tasmāhā yēva nīkāyē mahā-thūrū: "māyān āva bhājīlā tī" maññāmānaṃ sakasakānānaṃ maññāyē yēva saṅghakammatā akaviśā nu.

Api ca kōci thērā yasmiṁ gāmakhitē tattāko padēṣo simaṁ bandhitum ichchanti; tattakassa samantā nimittaṃ ṣaṭṭhēva, nimittānānaṃ bāhī tasmā hītīnānaṃ bhākhkhaṃ hatthasāṃnayacandhāharaṃ-bāhi-ṇāhara-svāsena saṭṭhanān akatva, antīcinnittātātā yēva bhikkhū ṣathṭhapāsaṅgatē kavī simaṁ bandhanti. Tassē ca simyām upasampadakammaraṃ karōnte.

Kōēi pana thērā: "yasmiṁ gāmakhitē simaṁ bandhitum ichchanti; tasmāh gāmakhítē samantā antīcinnittātātānaṃ ca bhāhinimittātātānaṃ ca hatthasāṃnayacandhāharaṃ-svāsena saṭṭhanānaṃ kavīva simiṁ bandhītābā tī" vaddantī. Tathāpi simābandhanākāli ājīvē yēva gāmasimā sūdhītim dūkkhā tī maññāmānaṃ, visuṅgāmahalakkaṃsaṃ saṭṭhātā anuṣpaddhātītva, yattakāhā yattakāṃ padēsenā pariṣcchintītva, rāja kassesī dēti; tattākāhā tattakāko padēṣo visuṅgāmā yēva sūdhanāṃ kārīpi ṣathṭhapāsaṅgatē kavī simaṁ bandhanti. Tassē ca simyām upasampadakammaraṃ karōnte.


Aṇēthī pana thērā Pāḷiyaṭṭhakathāsūna vuttamā nibalakkaṣānaṃ vā jātassaralakkhaṇānaṃ vā sabbākāyānukkuṇḍanupadāḥrāvēva 'avuṣṭojhānasansuṇandhānaṃ anupaṭṭhānan tī' sāhākathāyāṃ vuttapadānaṃ atthānaṃ sammānupadāḥrāvēva, atīvāṭṭhīkā pi Rāmaṇāṇasē nibalakkaṣajātassaralakkhaṇapavatīṭsu vā nibāṭjātassaraṃ saṣijitāyām udakaḥkhiṃsimyām upasampadānamma karōnte.

Ekkooc pana thērā yasmiṁ gāmakhitē simaṁ bandhitum ichchanti; tasseś aṇēthī gāmakhitēti rukkhasākhādiṃ-sambandhānaṃ avacchindītva, tasmāh gāmakhitē antīcinnittātātā ca bhāhinimittātātā ca hatthasāṃnayacandhāharaṃ-svāsena saṭṭhanānaṃ kavīva simaṁ bandhanti. Tassē ca simyām upasampadakammakarapekākā pana taseś ca gāmasimāṃ rukkhasākhādiṃ-sambandhāvāvācchādōna akatvā vaddaṃ apāyijevēvā apāyijevēvā upasampadakaṃ karōnte.

Sāṃsāṃbuddhapārīṇābhaṃsto pana dvākikēsō dvīvu vassasāhaseṣo viṭṭhavattītva, nabha-yama-nāga-sakkārīva tipākā-buddhagamatāka-bbhākārequentbā-chandhāākāra-jēti-vajjā-ganīku-saṭṭhā-saṭṭhāmānaṃ sūtuṇaṃ svāsena bhāhastē, ājīvaḥkavābādi-ravajjābādi-sāṅgatāvāciṣṭaṃ bhāhastē nibhālāsāhaṅkaṅkaṭapariṣayāyā, sāddāhāya sākkāya-gaṇa-saṃvaṭṭatē, kumudā-kundā-

\[Nota: The text is in Pali, and it contains the details of the inscriptions found at various places mentioned in the text. The text is a record of the various inscriptions and their significance in the context of Buddhism.\]
nampadaleni janatayo rakkhavaranaguttini katva Hathsavatiham dharmena samena rajasth karosi.

Tata so rajha Satthusaasane susthutaran pasannattay' evam ointesi: "pabbejjadhihaka kho upasampadda upasampaddhaka ca saasanah: upasampada pana sima-parisa-vuthu-sutta thyasaavane-sampattisakkahehi paicahi sampattihi yuttah vaktrpa thanarahah hoti. Thai parinuddhasa' upasampaddapakkhassa vathanassa byajjanapirupurih kata veosothu samatthanam, sacciyana ca labhhanamattina vaththenayanusavane-sampattiyoda samvijjamanaraha bhavey-yuth; simaparisa-sampattinam pana vijjamanabhavan katham janitim labbhyah ti?" 

Tato rajha: Vinayapaliicca, Vinayaajhtakaha ca, Sratthadipani nam Vinayatika ca; Vimaatininodani nam Vinayatika ca; Vujiradhitihpura katah Vinayatika ca; Kakhvutanatini nama Matak' asthatakaha ca taTijka ca; Vinayavinochayaparakapa ca taTijka ca; Vinayasaaghiparakapa ca; Simalakaraiparakapa ca; Simalakaraasagaha ca — byajjanotato ca atthatho ca samannahcrita tad anusutra Pijjho ca'thatakaha, aTthatakaha, fahara ca fika, pakaraqama ca pakaraqama, pubbena caphara samanditva, samanyitya, kiddeo nu kho Bhagavato ajhhasayayonupr' aTthatakaha-jiikaka-pakaraiparakaraiparakaracyanulomato simadhihkare Vinayavinochaya ti samadam eva punnapparam upaparikkahtata punappunam anuvnoinati. Tase' evaha punnapparam upaparikkhatatassa punnappanah vicinantaes' evaprTo Vinayavinochayo paTthbati:


Samapattivinodanam pasampanna simadhihkare Vinayavinochaya ti samadambhikah sammahaditva bhavasi. Indiabho.

Api ca vassanassa catuusn maseu ajejhamase ajejhamase sammadhahapacchovedavaena ekavara-vassanaa vah, pancahe pancbdhe sammadhahapacchovedavaena ekavara-vassanaa samavatisilakaipamatun.

Panchothu unci caturahhe, caturahhe va, thhe thihe va, dvihue dvihue va, dinu dinu va, vassanaa, panatvutthilakaipamatun.

Samavutthiko ca kile yassan naDiyahun vassanass cakesu maseu yathukhatthaci tithi va atithi va uttaranitvya bhikkhuniyta antaravaseko ekadvaiglamattinapi tomiyata; ahyah nadisalakaip gaghotai. Ajejhamase ajhamase hi ekavara-vassanalakkahehana samavutthikhe kila yassan naDiyahun vassanass cakesu maseu yathukhatthaci uttaranitvya bhikkhuniyta antaravaseko tomiyata; ahyah mahiinadasalakkaip gaghotai. Kile dhashe ekavara-vassanalakkahehana samavutthiko kile yassan naDiyahun vassanass cakesu maseu yathukhatthaci uttaranitvya bhikkhuniyta antaravaseko tomiyata; ahyah mahiinadasalakkaip gaghotai. PaNchothu pecchhe ekavara-vassanalakkahehana samavutthikhe kile yassan naDiyahun vassanass cakesu maseu yathukhatthaci uttaranitvya bhikkhuniyta antaravaseko tomiyata; ahyah mahiinadasalakkaip gaghotai.

THE INDIAN ANTIQITY.

JUNE, 1893.


Samavuṭṭhikā ca kāḷī yassaṁ nadiyaṁ vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu yathakaththacī uttarantiyā bhikkhuṇīyā antaravāsakā tēmiyati; dubbuṭṭhikā kāḷī tu na tēmiyati; sā naṃsākkhaṁ na gacchattī na vattabbā; dubbuṭṭhīyā apamāṣṭattā. Samavuṭṭhikā pana kāḷī vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu yathakaththacī uttarantiyā bhikkhuṇīyā antaravāsakā tēmiyati; atiṭuṭṭhikā pana kāḷī vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu yathakaththacī uttarantiyā bhikkhuṇīyā antaravāsakā tēmiyati; sā tu naṃsākkhaṁ gacchattī na vattabbā; atiṭuṭṭhīyā pī apamāṣṭattā.

Jātassāro pana sayam ēva jātā. Na yēna kēnacī khaṭo; samsamātā āgātēna udakēna pariṇūtīti. Tādīsi ca yassaṁ jātassāro samavuṭṭhikā kāḷī vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu pivitrī vā hatthappādē dhōvitrī vā udakaṁ hōti; ayām jātassāro ti saṅkhaṁ gacchati. Yassām samavuṭṭhikā kāḷī paṇhāpakajātassāre dubbuṭṭhikālē vā hēmantaṁgīhēsu vā piṭām vā hatthappādē dhōvitrī vā udakaṁ hōti; ayām jātassāro ti saṅkhaṁ na gacchettī na vattabbā. Samavuṭṭhikā pana kāḷī yassām jātassāro vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu pivitrī vā hatthappādē dhōvitrī vā udakaṁ hōti; atiṭuṭṭhikā tu udakaṁ hōti; ayām jātassāro ti saṅkhaṁ na gacchati.

Ayaṁ ca Rāmaṇādēsē sabbaṭṭhikā bhiddhakā "fāyattī?
Yasmiṁ hi vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu ti Primā vassaṁasassu catuṁmāsikattām atthakathāyaṁ vuttam. Imasmiṁ pana Rāmaṇādēsē vassaṁkāḷī chāmaṁkī hōti. Paṇbīhē paṇbīhē ekāvārāvassaṁm samavuṭṭhikākkhaṇan ti ca vuttattā; caṭṭarāhē caṭṭarāhē vā, tīhē tīhē vā, dvīhē dvīhē vā, dīnī dīnī vā, vassaṁat atiṭuṭṭhikākkhaṇan ti mānayaṁ.

Imasmiṁ pana Rāmaṇādēsē kāḷī caturāhē, kāḷī tīhē, kāḷī dīnī, dīnī kāḷī caṭṭahāmattāṁ vā, dāsahāmattāṁ vā, sūriyappabhāyaṁ pī okasam adāvatvā, ākulaṁ api ghanan andhatuḵīrūkāṁ viya katvā, samāmahārācālūḍūḍanēṁ dvē vassati. Tasmā Rāmaṇādēsēssatātiṭuṭṭhikattāṁ viṁūhīyati.

Tasmā imasmiṁ Rāmaṇādēsē yādīsāyaṁ nadiyaṁ samavuṭṭhikā kāḷī yathāvuttēna vassaṁapakārūna dōvē vassaṁti pī vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu yathakaththacī uttarantiyā bhikkhuṇīyā antaravāsakatī mānasasmāti vassanappakārūna dōvē vassaṁti pī vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu pivitrī vā hatthappādē dhōvitrī vā udakaṁ hōti, pana samavuṭṭhikā kāḷī yathāvuttēna vassaṁapakārūna dōvē vassaṁti pī vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu pivitrī vā hatthappādē dhōvitrī vā udakaṁ hōti, tādīsi yassūtassē samavuṭṭhikā katam upasampadakammam akūppaṁ ṭhānāraṁ bhavēyya. Yādīsi pana jātassāro samavuṭṭhikā kāḷī yathāvuttēna vassaṁapakārūna dōvē vassaṁti pī vassaṁasassa caṭṭusu māsēsu pivitrī vā hatthappādē dhōvitrī vā udakaṁ hōti; tādīsi mahājātassāre udakukkhēpaṁ katvā, kattam upasampadakammam akūppaṁ ṭhānāraṁ hōtīti.

Tassē ēvam pāṭhpāyaṁsāsimāvimiṇcchayassā Rāmaṇāhipatīṇo pana ēvam cātasa parivittakko udapāidi: "Yē ki kāḷī thērā yassām gāmakēti sīmaṁ bandhītum iochantī; tasmin gāmakēti ṭhītānāṁ sabbēsam ēva bhikkhūṁnaṁ hattahpāsāyaṁvāsaṁ sōdhānam akatvā antūnimitṭāgato yēva hattahpāsagato katvā sīmaṁ sammannanti. Tassē simāsammatikammaṁ parisiṣṭipatto yēva kuppāṁ hōti.


Yē vā pana thēra gāmakētiyaṁ yēna kāḷī yathārucītakaṁ ṭhānam rājādīhi pariṇaṁvidtē, visūṅgāmekkētaṁ hōti saṅghāya vē, tasmin gāmakētiyaṁ ṭhānam yēva ṭhīti bhikkhū hattahpāsagato katvā, sīmaṁ sammannanti; na sabbaṁni pakatīgāmekkēti. Tassā pī taṁ simāsammatikammaṁ parisiṣṭipatto kuppāṁ hōti. Tassām tassāṁ pī simāyaṁ katam upasampadikammaṁ simāviṣṭipatto kuppāti.
Yē cáparē thōrē yasiṃhī gāmakkhūṭē sīmaṁ samamniṇṇam ihecchati; tassa gāmakkhūṭassā
aṇākhī gāmakkhūṭēhi rukkasākhādīsambandhāvavacchādām akatvā, tasmiṁ yuva gāmakkhūṭē,
ṭhitāṇān bhikkhunānāhatthapāsāṇyanādaṇivāsena sōhanānaḥ katvā sīmaṁ samamniṇṇam. Tēsam
pi sīmāsasamuttiṃkamānaḥ parisavipattitō kuppam hōti; yasiḥ hi:

**OBVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.**

Yathā dvināmauddhāsaṃnānaḥ rukkasākhādī-sambandhānunā, aṇākamāṇḍānaḥ sākaraḥbhūvī
hōti; tathā buddhaṁ-gāmakkhūṭē sīmaṁ samamniṇṇam pi ṣvā, dvināmauddhāsaṃnānaḥ pi ṣvā, rukkasākhādī-
sambandhānaḥ saṅkaraḥbhūvī hōti yevāti. Tassa ca simāyaḥ katam upasampadādiṃkamānaḥ pi
simāvivippattitō kuppam hōti.

Yē pan‘aṇā thōrē ativuttaḥkaṃśhī Rāmaṇādāseśaṇīdakkhājāturāverāhi,
tēsam pi nadījātassārē sajjiyāyam udakukkhopassināyam upasampadādiṃkamānaḥ karūṇī.
Tēsam upasampadādiṃkamānaḥ pi sīmāvivippattītō kuppam. Ativuttaḥkaṃśhī hi Rāmaṇādāseśa
yādīsāyaḥ nadīyān samavuttaḥkaṃśhī kalī yathāuttōttenā vassanappakāritoṇā dūvē vassantu,
vassanāsa catūsā māsēcatuḥ saṅkukkathettēcē uttarantīyā bhikkhunīya antaravāsakatamānaṃ na sambhavīyā.
Ativuttaḥkaṃśhī paṇ‘īmassa padossē antaravāsakatomānaṃ attthān galūtēva, nadīsaṅkhuḥ gacchati ti
vattuḥ kathān yuvīyā? Yādīsī pana jātassārē samavuttaḥkaṃśhī yathāuttōttenā vassanappakarēna
dūvē vassantu, vassanāsa catūsā māsēcatuḥ pīvituḥ vā hatthādē ḍhōvītāh vā udakas na
bhavīyā. Ativuttaḥkaṃśhī paṇ‘īmassa padossē vassanāsa catūsā māsēcatuḥ pīvituḥ vā
hatthādē ḍhōvītāh vā udakas bhavīyā. Yādīsī pī jātassārō samavuttaḥkaṃśhī yathavuttam
pivam-hathā-pāda-ḥūvāna-pāhuṇak udakassā vijjamānaṃ atthān galūtēva, jātassārē ti
saṅkham gacchati ti vattuḥ kathān yuvīyā ti?

Appē kaco ca paṇa thōrē yasiṃhī gāmakkhūṭē simā tam bandhitum ihecchanti; taśa aṇākhī
gāmakkhūṭēhi rukkasākhādī-sambandham avacchindītā, tasmiṁ gāmakkhūṭē antunīmittigātē-
tēna ca balinīmittigatāṇā ca sabbōsānaḥ pi bhikkhūnaḥ hatthapāsāṇyanādaṇīnaḥ katvā simā-
bandhitantē. Tassam simīyam upasampadādiṃkamānaḥ pāpakakṣēla pi sīmaṁ gāmakamāya ruk-
kasākhādī-sambandham aviyōjītā upasampadādiṃkamānaḥ karūṇī. Tēsam upasampadā-
dikamānaḥ parisavipattītō kuppam. Tassāuddhāsaṃnāya ca gāmakamāya o‘ aṇīmaṇaṇe
saṅkaraḥbhāvapattitō. Tē sam pan‘ētē thōrē pariuddhāyauddhāsaṃnāya, vā gāmakkaśa-
sahītē pakatugāmakkhūṭē vē, visumgāmakkhūṭē vē, nadīlakkhaṇāπatīṭyā mahānīdiyā vē,
jātassārālakkhaṇapattē jātassārē va, samuddalakkhaṇapattē samuddō vē, upasampadādiṃkamāna
karūṇī. Tē pana tasmī samapadādiṃkamānaṃ gaṇē hōntī. Tō vuttanayāṇa parisavipassaya
vā, gāmakkaṇapattiḥ visumgāmakkhūṭē vē, nadīlakkhaṇāπatīṭyā khuddakaniyā vē,
jātassārālakkhaṇapattē khuddakajātassārē vē, upasampannah bhikkhūḥ yeva hōntīti. Tēsam
upasampadādiṃkamānaḥ parisavipattītō kuppam hōti.”

**ATHA KHO RĀMAṆĀDIPATĪRJA RĀMAṆĀDISEŚO UPASAMPADĀDIKAMASSA SIMĀVINIPATTI-PARISavi-
PATTINĀṆA VIJjamānaḥhāvanaḥ āṣṭvā: “Mayham pi iminā vuttapakkhikānaḥ upasampadādiṃkamāna
simāvinippattiparasavipattiḥ khāyantī. Rāmaṇādāseśo ca Hanussavatthagūri bahū tūpiyāka byattā
patibalī. Tēsam pi upasampadādiṃkamānaḥ simāvinippattiparasavipattiḥ khāyantīnu na vē,
vē. Appēvā nāmānānā tē pi sabbō s’āṭṭhakathā-ṭīkanā Vinayapāluḥ byātijānātē ca atthātē opa-
paparikkhāṣṭvā, Pāḷīyā c’āṭṭhakathā, antikāthā cīkanā cīkam, būbhūs cáparēn naṃ sāsankaṭētī,
samānayāpītēva, simādikēcē Vinayavinicchayānaḥ kāvīryāyāni” oṁtētēvā, tō sabbō pi tiṇīka-
dharē bhikkhu simādikēcē Vinayavinicchayānaḥ kāvīryāni.”

**TATĪ RĀMAṆĀDIPATĪRJONĀ** ajjhētā sabbō pi tiṇīkaḥdharē bhikkhu s’āṭṭhakathā-ṭīkanā
Vinayapāluḥ byātijānātē o’ atthātē o’ upaparikkhētīvā, panappunāḥ naṃ sāsankaṭēvā,
samānayātīvā, simāvinippatti-parisavipattiṃkamānaḥ vijjamānaḥhāvannā dvītī, yathādiṭṭhānā
rāṅgō Vinayavinicchayānaḥ uccēsūmēn.

**TATĪ RĀMAṆĀDIPATĪRJONĀ** rājā: “ahā vata! Buddhassanānaḥ pañcavassasassambāsininānaḥ kālaḥ thāṇattī, țāțhakathākārīyāsabbhāvi vuttānā; idānī pana‘ Buddhassa Sabbōdhipattē saṃsacchālādēcēkamā ṣvāvassasamattēmā evēti; idānī ca kho dāṇī yēva sūsamānaṃ sāmalāṃ sakaṭatākamā s’abbudāhī

* Caturāṭṭhikāhān in MS. B.


Tatō Abhayagirivihārapatiṭhānoṇa paṇa sattapāṇānassādāhīkūsā tiṣu vassassatērī vitvattve, Mahāsathē nāma rējī Lankādi ṛipasāṭvāsāvā naṃ rājajañ kārēsi, Tamūhi kāla so rējī Jētavana-vihāravēsikā kukvā, Dakkhiṇavihāravēssā jīmhitanto raṃsaasātāsā jīpamāntassā Tisattērēsaṃ pasītīvā adāi. Tatō paṭhīyā Jētavananvīhāravēsikō bhikkhu Mahāvihāravēsikō bhikkhiḥ Abhayagirivihāravēsikō bhikkhiḥ ca bhānītvā, Jētavananvīhāravēsikō nāmākū kēcō nikāyō yātō.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN BURMA.

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

No. 3.—The Three-eyed King.¹

Sulañbawā was succeeded in 442 B. C. by Duttabaung, the son of Mahāśāna-bāwa by Bödayi.² The advent of this king, who had three eyes, the third being between the other two, was prophesied by Gantana Baddhā himself according to the following tradition.³

¹ There is a similar tradition among the Talupes, from whom the Burmases appear to have adapted their own version after the conquest of the maritime provinces by Alompā in 1727 A. D. The Taluing name for the king is Mut-piṛjō and not Duttabaung. The following is extracted from Haswell’s Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Poyan Language, p. xv.: "The Poyan name of Maulmain is Mōt-mūca-lām (Mut-mw-vō-lam) or Onyo-croory-dROYC. The legend is, that an ancient king had three eyes, two in the normal places, and one in the centre of the forehead. With this third eye he could see what was going on in the surrounding kingdoms. The King of Siam was at war with him, and, finding his plans continually thwarted, suspected there were traitors in his camp, and called a council to find out who gave information concerning his plans to the enemy. His officers told him that there was no traitor, but that the King of Maulmain was able with his third eye to see all that was going on in the Siamcse Camp. It was suggested that the King of Siam should give his daughter to the King of Maulmain, so that when she had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the king, she might manage to put out his third eye. This counsel was followed and proved successful, and the third eye was destroyed. Hence the name of the city. It is often called Mōt-lām-lām (Mut-lu-m-λm), or Eye-destroyed-destroyed." These traditions about Duttabaung and Mut-piṛjō are, I believe, traceable to the worship of Śiva, which prevailed in Burma in ancient times.

² See note, Vol. XIX. pp. 408, 409. [Observe the line of royal descent. Father, then elder-son, then younger-son (childless), then elder-son’s son. Compare note, Vol. XXXI. p. 2822.—En.]

³ This tradition, with slight variations, is gravely recorded in the Mahāvīra-sūtra (= Mahārājavamsa) or Chronicle of the Burmese Kings.
Gautama Buddha, in the fifth year of his Buddhahood, was presented by the two brothers Mahâpunnâ and Châlîpunnâ with a sandal-wood monastery situated at Vañjijâgâma, otherwise called Lâgaing, in Sunâparanta. The sage accepted the gift and occupied the monastery for seven days. On his return he walked along the Yëma range fringing the right bank of the Irrawaddy, and from the top of the Pëôûdaung hills to the north of Prome, he saw a piece of cow-dung floating in the sea, which stretched to the range of hills on the east. At the same time a male mole came and paid him homage by offering him some burrowings. On seeing these two omens the Master smiled, and being asked by Ananda the cause of his doing so, he replied: "My beloved Ananda, after I have attained Parinirvâna, and after the religion has flourished for 101 years, yonder sea will dry up and the kingdom of Sârekâtta will be founded. The mole before us will be incarnated as Duttabauh, the founder of that kingdom, from whose reign will date the establishment of my religion in the country of the Mrrâmâs."

The mole had been asked by his wife to wake her up when Gautama approached their home, so that she might participate in the merit that would accrue to them both by making some suitable offering. As it was rather early in the morning when Buddha arrived, the husband thought that he would not disturb the slumber of his wife. But when she got up and found out that the sage had come and gone, and that her husband had made an offering of his burrowings, she became irate at his remissness of duty, and lost no time in following Gautama and crying out to him, at the top of her voice, to stop and receive her offering. In compliance with her entreaty, he stopped at a hill, called, in after times, the Dângyidaung, and duly received her proffered burrowings. This done, the female mole thought that she would have revenge on her husband for his extreme recklessness for her spiritual welfare, and took an oath thus:

"By the efficacy of the merit I have just acquired, may I, in my next birth, be a person capable of wreaking a singular vengeance on my husband in his next birth!"

The male mole was duly incarnated in the womb of Bêdayî, the Queen of Mahâkânbâwâ, while his wife became Princess Pëôûna in the country of Pëndwâ. The princess was beautiful, accomplished, and clever, and many were the princes that sought her hand. Her father determined that high birth, if not uninterrupted descent from the race of Sakya kings of Northern India, should be the sine qua non of his future son-in-law, and he accordingly wedded his daughter to Duttabaung, king of Sârekâtta.

Duttabauh was a puissant prince, who wielded the sceptre of an extensive empire. His dominions included the whole of Jambûdîpa and his influence was felt even in the land of...
the Nagas and Asuras. His might and power was such that even Indra, the Lord of the thirty-three gods of Tāvasthīna, had to lend his celestial aid to the consummation of his wishes. When Bārēkāṭṭādār was built both Sakra and the Nagas rendered valuable assistance, and on its completion Duttabaung was inducted to his throne by Sakra, who conferred on him celestial weapons. One of these was a wonderful spear, which carried royal messages to the king’s tributaries. Sakra also presented Duttabaung with a wonderful drum, which, when beaten, could be heard on the utmost confines of the empire, thereby indicating that the time for paying tribute had come.

Duttabaung ruled with justice tempered by mercy, and great was the amount of tribute received by him. He was loved by his subjects and feared by his tributary chiefs, and was, in short, blessed in all respects except one. That was, although he was extremely fond of his wife Pēkṣanā, he was treated by her with coldness, haughty disdain, and inveterate hatred, dissimulated under the cloak of feigned obedience and respect. Her one object in life appeared to be to foil his designs wherever possible, to effect the reduction of his power and influence, and to bring ignominy and shame upon him in all that he undertook. But so long as the king observed the precepts inculcated by Gautama Buddha, supported the monks, and looked after the interests of the religion, the designs of this malicious queen were frustrated by the occult power of the nātā (spirits).

One day, however, in an evil hour, the king, without due investigation directed the confiscation of a piece of rice-land measuring 5 pēs (a pē is a measure of land which may be taken for the purposes of the story at an acre), which a widowed sweet-meat seller had presented to her preceptor. Henceforth, owing to this sinful deed committed against the religion, the king’s power declined. His satraps and governors grew refractory and eventually threw off their allegiance: tribute was withheld: the wonderful spear would no longer go on its wonted rounds: and the drum would sound no more. To add to this long series of misfortunes Queen Pēkṣanā hit upon a plan, which was doomed to be successful in fulfilling her evil desire. She had an old skirt of hers washed clean, and obtained some rags from a cemetery, and then had a towel woven with these materials for the use of the king. Duttabaung placed too much confidence in the love and fidelity of his wife, and not suspecting anything wiped his face with it when lo! on account of the extreme uncleanness of the towel, his third or middle eye became blind! Simultaneously with his blindness his celestial spear and drum disappeared! Not convinced that his power had diminished, the foolish king in his dotage set out on a progress through his dominions with the object of re-establishing his government on its former basis. He was cruising near Capo Negrois, when by spitting into the sea he excited the wrath of the Nagas, who carried him and his brazen boat to their country under the earth.

Thus perished the three-eyed king, Duttabaung, and the oath of his wife Pēkṣanā, in her previous birth, was fulfilled.

13 Sakra, the Recording Angel of Buddhism, is known to the Burmans as Nagyā-min. Min is pure Burmese, signifying an important personage; for Nagyā (i.e. Sakra), see ante, Vol. XX. p. 428.
14 Burmese have a saying that, when a king is powerful, even rulers of nātā (spirits) have to render him assistance.
15 Native historians are mostly the work of Buddhist monks, or of monks who have turned laymen; and every opportunity is seized upon to improve their position, and to impress on the secular rulers the unwise interference with the Buddhist religion, as inculcated by the monkish brotherhood. The Mahāyāsaśāmin was put into the present shape by a body of learned monks and ex-monks after the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824 A. D.).
16 Skirts of women and clothes from a cemetery are regarded by the Burmans to be specially unclean for men. [In the uncleanness of the former we have a most interesting survival of a custom of tabu.—ED.]
17 The Burmese name for Negrois is Nabýat = Nabýa-coiling. [The symbols for yā may, however, be yā, yē or vē according to the phonetics adopted. The usual Pāli form of the word is Nāgāśēl.—ED.]
SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

A REPLY.

I shall proceed to deal with Mr. Houghton's criticisms seriatim. 1

Mr. Houghton disagrees with me in thinking that any of the words given in my list relate to social life or are in common use. In refutation of his statement I may say that the following Sanskrit derivatives are in very common use among the Burmese:—(7) chakradrum in the sense of walking about for exercise; (8) drop as a synonym for ṣūkha (Pāli gwsa), meaning primarily to be possessed of a certain status in society, and secondarily to be proud; (10) kambikā, a world in a cycle of existence; (12) paríśada, an assembly or audience, a congregation of people meeting together for purposes of religious devotion or festivity; (14) prakatā, in statu quo, or in a state of nature; (15) prasadā, a turret, or a building with a number of roofs overtopping one another. 2

Adhvay.—Mr. Houghton says: “The word is, however, an extremely rare one, and its meaning would probably not be understood by nine educated Burmans out of ten.” With all due deference, I must say again that this word is in very common use. When a Burman wishes to express the incalculable duration of his repeated existences before he can enter Nirvāṇa, he would always employ this word in connexion with samājītra. Again, in Burmese histories, as well as in conversation, the word is commonly employed to signify the long succession of kings subsequent to the reigning ruler.

Amrita.—The Sanskrit derivative is pronounced amraik or amraik, as pointed out by Mr. Houghton. The substitution of t for k, in my former article (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 94) is, as admitted by the Editor, a misprint. The truth of Mr. Houghton's remark that, “the application of the epithet amraik (amrita) to the Buddhist Nirvāṇa is obviously modern and needs no discussion here,” can, I must confess, be hardly admitted by any scholar who knows anything of Pāli and Buddhism. There can be no doubt that North Indian influence is responsible for the transformation of the word, the various stages of which appear to be as follows: amrita=amrita=amrita=amrita=amrita, which, according to the Burmese system of phonetics, would be pronounced amraik.

Abhishekā.—No doubt in the “corrected spelling” issued under the authority of the Text-book Committee of Burma, of which I was a member, the Sanskrit derivative bhiresik was changed to bhiresik on the advice of the native sayṣa or paṅgita, who were in the majority, and whose evident desire was to dissociate any relationship of Burmese with Sanskrit, and, in spite of ancient usage, to try and derive all Sanskrit derivatives from Pāli, the sacred language of the Southern School of Buddhism. I do not at all see how “the fact of the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form being i and not ṭ is a proof of its late introduction.” In the first place this statement is inconsistent with the assertion made in Mr. Houghton's first paragraph that “from very ancient times, indeed, the kings of Burma kept Brahmaniāsa astrologers at their courts for the purpose of making forecasts, fixing dates, and what not” (I suppose the vague “what not” would include the duty of performing the coronation ceremony of Burmese kings). In the second place, in dealing with Indo-Chinese languages, which have borrowed their alphabet from India, it is hardly safe to base one's conclusion on the mere morphology of words. The genius of such languages is so different from either Sanskrit or Pāli that it would be much safer to take also into consideration the phonetic forms of such words. Although the derivative from Sanskrit, which we are now discussing, is written bhiresik or bhiresik, the combination ṭk is always pronounced ṭk, thus establishing its affinity to the vowel ṭ in abhishekā.

Chakra.—I must again point out the very common use of the derivative from this Sanskrit word. The Pāli expression dharmachakrā is always rendered into Burmese as dhammačakrā, thus showing the partiality of the Burmese language for derivatives from Sanskrit and rebutting Mr. Houghton's contention:—“the former, or Pāli, word (chakrā) was that originally used, and that the Sanskrit word has been introduced subsequently by some courtly scholar.” One of the titles of the Burmese king was “the Lord of the chakrā weapon (or disc);” and in common conversation the notion of a supernatural element is always conveyed by the word chakrā in such expressions as yatū ti chakrā, supernatural or flying chariots; ni ti chakrā, supernatural faculty of hearing.

Chakravāla.—The cosmogony of the Burmese is not derived “from thq Brahmaiāsa astrologers at the Court,” but was introduced with Buddhism. 3

Chakravartin.—I cannot as at all agree with Mr. Houghton's statement as to the manner of

1 See ante, p. 94 ff.
2 The numbers refer to the words in my former list, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 94.
3 The numbers refer to the words in my former list, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 94.
the introduction of the derivative from this word. No Burmese king has ever arrogated to himself such a title, and the condemnation of the Burmese courtiers is hardly justifiable. Nor can I subscribe to his expression the "old speakers of Pāli."

Chaṅkrama.—Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary (page 99), identifies the Pāli word caṅkama, meaning "a covered walk, arcade, portico, cloister," with the Sanskrit चाँकम + अ. The word चाँकम as meaning "walk (abstract and concrete)" is given at page 165 of Capper's Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Dravya.—The exceedingly common use of the word drop, which is derived from dravya, has already been pointed out above.

Kalpa.—Mr. Houghton contends that, where a Pāli and a Sanskrit derivative have the same signification exist in Burmese, greater antiquity should be attached to the former. With all due deference to his scholarship I would leave to differ from this view. I would select only a few instances to show that this contention is not warranted by facts. The Pāli words dhanausakha and śārīyutta always assume in Burmese partially Sanskritic forms as dhanausakha and śārīyuttā. Again, in a Burmese inscription, dated 1108 A.D., which was found at Pagan, the word Nirvāṇa occurs, which has closer affinity to the Sanskrit Nirvāṇa than to the Pāli Nibbāna; and the Pāli Viśakāmaka is always rendered in Burmese as Viśakām (Sanskrit Viśakākam). How would Mr. Houghton explain this remarkable phenomenon? Could he explain it in any way other than by saying that the Sanskrit derivatives in the Burmese language are of more ancient date than the corresponding Pāli derivatives?

As regards the pronunciation of the conjunct consonant lām samvad in such words as |ālādya and sālādya, it is hardly justifiable to adopt the standard obtaining in Arakan, though it is undoubtedly not nowaday a centre of native learning. Since the fall of Arakan in 1786 A.D. the capitals of Burma have been the seats of learning and the centres of literary activity for the whole of the Burmese Empire.

Mrigasiras and Pushya.—The point to which I would desire to draw attention in connexion with these words is that in Burmese works, such as the translations of Jetakas, preference is always shown to the employment of Sanskrit derivatives. If the Pāli derivatives were already in existence, and were therefore, better and more widely understood, how could we account for such preference? Surely terms, which had attained some popular fixity, would have been employed in translating astrological works, which, according to Mr. Houghton, were a later importation.

Parissada.—In the Revised Vocabulary of Burmese Spelling issued by the Text-book Committee, this word is, no doubt, as pointed by Mr. Houghton, spelt parisat. At the sitting of the Committee, when the spelling of this word was discussed, the reason given by one of the sayas for the adoption of the form as it now stands was, that it was derived from parissati, which is but another form of parisad + i. This was no doubt an attempt made with a vengeance to disclaim all connexion with Sanskrit. The word used to be spelt until a few years ago parissad, but the modern school of Burmese writers, who know nothing about the obligations of Burmese to Sanskrit, desire to eliminate all Sanskritic elements, which they do not understand and cannot appreciate. द्रष्टिगत in Sanskrit means "sitting around, besetting; assembly, congregation." The corresponding Pāli form pariṣad is primarily employed in the Buddhistic sense of the various classes of Buddha's disciples as monks, nuns, lay disciples, female devotees, &c., &c. (See Childers' Pāli Dictionary, page 346). Mr. Houghton's 'violent assumption' that the original Sanskrit word means rather a council, as in a court, or an assembly of ministers,' and that 'it was so first used by the Brāhmans in the king's court, the use of the word becoming afterwards more generally extended,' is scarcely warranted by the circumstances of the case. The supposition that the word was first introduced in a political, and not a religious, sense, and that it then perverted to the masses is not reasonably justifiable by the absence of means for the dissemination of ideas from a centre of political activity among the masses of the people, by the difficulty of communication and intercourse, and by the attitude of indifference generally assumed by native rulers towards their subjects. There can be no doubt that the word pariṣad was introduced into Burma with the Buddhist Religion.

Prakṛti.—My acknowledgments are due to Mr. Houghton for rectifying this error. The Sanskrit derivative is now being superseded by the Pāli derivative, for the reasons explained above.

Prāśāda. Burmese architecture is, at present, almost a terra incognita; and it is hard to refute arguments in the shape of vague surmises.

Prāta.—See my remarks on abhiśāka above. The derivative prītī is in very common use among the Burmese. That the Buddhistic sense of the
word is at one with the Sanskrit sense is clearly
shewn at page 378 of Childers’ Pali Dictionary.

Rishi.—The derivative from this word is not
now used as a title of respect when addressing
Buddhist monks, the word now in use being rāhast
(Pāli, araham). The modern signification at-
tached in Burmese to rāsē is an anchorite, who
is beyond the pale of the Order of Buddhist
Monks. The imputation of pride and conceit to
Burmese monks, as implied by Mr. Houghton’s
remarks, is, I think, uncalled for and unjustifiable.
In spite of the high authority of Dr. Judson, who
is, by the way, not an authority on Pāli or San-
skrit, the Pāli form rishi of the word rishi is never
found in Burmese as a naturalized word. In
translating rishi its equivalent rāsē is invariably
used. In this connexion it may be interesting to
note that Sanskrit and Pāli derivatives are
by the Burmese sometimes coupled together,
as if the object is to explain one by the other:

kah kramma = kama Pāli + karmān
(Sanskrit)
kap kambhā = kappa (Pāli) + kalpa (San-
skrit)
Rāsē Rahani = Rishi (Sanskrit) + Arahān
(Pāli)
Amā pucochā prassānā = Amā (Burmese) +
pucoch (Pāli) + prāna (Sanskrit)

The above combinations are frequently met
with in Burmese prose.

Samudra.—In Burmese books, so far as I have
read them, the word samuddard is always used, in a
literal and not a metaphorical sense, in preference
to the vernacular word pisā. In Burmese poetry
the two words are sometimes found joined
together. I should be glad to know the grounds
of Mr. Houghton’s statement:—“It was there-
fore probably introduced at a late period by
some philosophical writer.”

Sāriputra.—The form Sāriputtarād as well as that
of sāraik (Sanskrit aṃrita, Pāli amata) are found,
in the Pāramyogha, the “Paradise Lost” of the
Burmese. This work was compiled by Sīlāvamsa,
a learned monk of Taungdwingyi in the Magów
District of Upper Burma, in the latter half of the
16th Century A. D.

Sattva.—Here, again, Mr. Houghton has been
misled by Dr. Judson, who says that satthā
means “a rational being” in Burmese, which is
not a complete definition. The sense in which
this word is used in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Burmese
is nearly identical. In Burmese we speak of kā
sattvā, mankind, kā sattva, animals of the
land, gā sattva, fishes of the sea. Mr. Houghton’s
explanation about the possible confusion of the
two Pāli words sattā, a “being, or creature, animal,
sentient being, man,” and sattta, seven, is highly
ingenious, but cannot bear any criticism, because
surely when a Burman with some knowledge of
Pāli reads a book in that language, he would have
common sense enough to construe according to
the context, and not take the meaning of each
detached word without any reference to the other
words in the same sentence. Mr. Houghton says:—“It seems probable that the Sanskrit
form of this word (which is mainly used in philo-
sophical works) was adopted in Burmese . . . .”
This Sanskrit derivative occurs as satta, in an
ancient inscription of Pagan, dated 585 B. E.
(1228 A. D.).

Here, again, we have an instance where the word
is derived from the Sanskrit sattva, and not
from the Pāli satta.

Sakra.—Mr. Houghton accuses me of allowing
my religious zeal to overstep my discretion in
giving “this personage” the title of the “Re-
cording Angel of Buddhism”: “A very little
enquiry would have shown him” that Childers
makes use of this very title in his Dictionary (page
419), and that the Burmese notions regarding
this god are more in conformity with Buddhist
than with Hindu ideas.

The point at issue, therefore, between Mr.
Houghton and myself is, whether Sanskrit or
Pāli derivatives were first introduced into the
Burmese language. His remarks appear to show
that he is in favour of the theory which accords
priority to the latter class of
derivatives. I venture to hold the opposite
view and to base my conclusion on the
following statements of fact:—

In the Buddhist literature of the Burmese we
meet with the remarkable phenomenon of trans-
lating Pāli words by means of Sanskrit deriva-
tives; e. g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pāli word</th>
<th>Sanskrit derivative</th>
<th>Original form of the derivative in Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amata</td>
<td>Amrāk</td>
<td>Aṃrita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhammachakka</td>
<td>Dhammachakra</td>
<td>Dharmachakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamma</td>
<td>Krammā</td>
<td>Karmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakka</td>
<td>Sakrā</td>
<td>Sakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samudda</td>
<td>Samuddarā</td>
<td>Samudra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangaha</td>
<td>Sangrahā</td>
<td>Sanghraha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāriputta</td>
<td>Sāriputtarā</td>
<td>Sāriputra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satta</td>
<td>Sattvā</td>
<td>Sattvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visakamma</td>
<td>Visakrūm</td>
<td>Viśvakarman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Spelt phonetically.
Again, in the ancient inscriptions of Pagan dating from the 11th and 12th centuries we meet with the Sanskrit form of invocation Sëri Nama Buddhaëya instead of the customary Pali form Nama Therë Bhagavatë Arhatë Sammësambuddhaë. Also in some inscriptions, as the Point daug Inscription (see ante, p. 2) traces of the influence of the Mahayana, or Northern School of Buddhism, still exist in the expression of the wish of the donor to attain Buddhahood, and not Arahathship (see Hibbert Lectures, 1881, pp. 254-5). Lastly, that Sanskrit studies were much cultivated among the Burmese in ancient times is clearly proved by the Tet-hnwégyung Inscription at Pagan, dated 804 B. E. or 1442 A.D., which records a list not only of works belonging to the Buddhist Canon, but also of medical, astrological, grammatical, and poetical works translated from the Sanskrit language.

These facts appear to indicate:

(i) That the form of Buddhism first introduced into Burma Proper was that of the Mahayana or Northern School;

(ii) that the Buddhist scriptures when first introduced were written in Sanskrit, which is the language of the Northern School;

(iii) that the Southern School or Hinayana, the language of whose scriptures is Pali, subsequently absorbed and assimilated, by its stronger vitality, the Northern School, which, through the cessation of intercourse with Northern India, had fallen into corruption and decay.

These inferences are further supported by the evolution of the Burmese pagoda, in which are combined the stupa type of Northern India and the chaitya type of Ceylon, as pointed out by the Editor of this Journal in his lecture on the subject before the Anthropological Institute in October 1892.

I am glad that my short note on the existence of Sanskrit derivatives in the Burmese language has been criticised by Mr. Houghton. The controversy will, I hope, excite some interest in the subject. At present there is a lamentable dearth of scholars in Burma, and Burmese history, Burmese literature, and Burmese antiquities are fields in which the labourers are exceedingly few, though the harvest should be plentiful and rich.

Taw Sein-Ko.

Christ's College, Cambridge, March 5th, 1893.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

WISHING STONES IN BURMA.

On the platform of the Shwedagon Pagoda at Rangoon there are two Wishing Stones. There is also one on Mandalay Hill, and one in the Kyaung Cave in the Amherst District. There are probably others scattered about the country.

The custom is to formulate a wish in the mind and then try and lift the stone, e.g., “I want so and so; may the stone be heavy (or light, as the case may be) if my prayer is heard!” The stone is then lifted and if it proves heavy or light, according as wished, the prayer is heard.

The Burmese are very fond of testing things twice, but not oftener. Accordingly the wish is usually repeated twice, reversing the desired weight of the stone: i.e., it is wished to be light and then heavy, or vice versa. If the prayer is answered to the same effect twice well and good, but if the prayer is unanswered differently at the two trials it is neither granted nor denied. The first trial in such a case is considered the better of the two.

At Rangoon the stones are chiefly used by old women and maidens. The old women to ascertain the health of relatives, and the girls with regard to their love affairs.

R. C. Temple.

BAO, INDO-EUROPEAN FOR MONASTERY.

Sangermano in his Description of the Burmese Empire, written 1780-1808 A.D., uses throughout the book the word bao to mean a Buddhist monastery. At p. 90, (reprint 1885) he says, “there is not any village, however small, which has not one or more large wooden houses, which are a species of convent, by the Portuguese in India called Bao.” He means clearly what is called a kyawng by the Burmese and a vihara in the classics.

Again in the Life of Monsignor Percoto by Quirini on page 135 occurs:—

“egli sombra dissi, che i Talapoini non siano che un’ avanzo, e rampollo di cotali filosofi Indiani, menando una vita a quelli somigliante in certi loro Monisterj, con vocabolo Egizio, e nell’ Egitto usato, Bao chiamaì.”

Lastly in Haswell’s Pagan Language, e.s., there occurs Bha, a monastery. This seems to settle the derivation of this word, which puzzled Yale; see Hobson-Jobson, e.s., Kyung, in Supplement.

R. C. Temple.
BOOK NOTICE.


I cannot do better than commence by quoting the first words of the preface of this excellent book: "The aim of the present work is to satisfy, within the compass of a comparatively handy volume, all the practical wants not only of learners of Sanskrit, but also of scholars for purposes of ordinary reading." It will appear from what follows that this modest aim has been completely arrived at.

Dr. Macdonell has followed the newer school of Sanskritists, of whom Professor Whitney is the most prominent leader, in abandoning native authorities, and confining himself to words, which can be quoted from actual literature. There is much to be said for this standpoint, and no doubt it supplies a convenient hard and fast principle for the selection of words,—a principle, too, which, in a work like the present, means more for Sanskrit students than for comparative philologists, stands the test of practical usefulness. At the same time, with every respect for the learned scholars who have adopted it, I feel bound to protest against it, as being based on a false assumption. Even assuming that the principle is a sound one, it is impossible to carry it out thoroughly at the present day. For until every Sanskrit work in existence has been made accessible to scholars, and has been indexed, it is impossible to say whether any word suggested for insertion in a dictionary, or any form suggested for insertion in a grammar is quotable or not. But putting that point to one side,—it is a fallacy to assume that the portion of Sanskrit literature of which we have existing remains contains the omne scibile of the language. I believe that the greatest European Sanskrit scholar will be the first to confess that in many particulars his knowledge of Sanskrit is very small beside that of scholars like Hemachandra or the authors of the Dhātupātha. The latter may, no doubt, be sometimes mistaken, but I should not dream of doubting the existence of a word mentioned by them, merely because it did not occur in known literature, unless some cogent argument were advanced for showing that they were wrong. Besides, only a small portion of the whole of Sanskrit literature has survived, and what right have we to assume that the part which has not survived contains no words which do not occur in the part which has? For this reason, though I fully admit its practical convenience in a work like the present, I feel compelled to utter a protest against a fashion, if I may so term it, which is coming to the front, of treating with too much distrust the works of the oldest Indian Lexicographers and Grammarians. I maintain that a complete Sanskrit dictionary should contain all words given in native dictionaries, whether found in literature or not, for one never knows when a certain word will not be required by the student. Moreover, many of these quotable words may be found most useful to the comparative philologist, whether he compare Sanskrit with other Aryan languages, or with modern Indian languages, and even when he endeavours to study the life history of Sanskrit itself. To take an example from the field of comparative philology with which I am most familiar. There is a Hindi word agdr̥t̥, meaning "sugar-cane sprouts," the derivation of which would be a mystery to the student, who had only a lexicon based on the theory of the new school to guide him. The preservation of the g shows that the word must have come through a Prākrit form containing either a double gṛ or a g protected by a nasal. 1 This would refer us to a Sanskrit form aggdr̥k̥, but no such word is to be found in Dr. Macdonell's dictionary, as it is not quotable from literature. A reference, however, to the older dictionaries, shows that the Indian lexicographers did give a word avggdr̥k̥, meaning "sugar-cane sprouts." Here we have a direct proof that the old lexicographers were right, and that the writer of a complete Sanskrit dictionary would not err in including it. But this word is not only a help to the student of modern Indian languages, it is a help to the student of Sanskrit itself. It is one of the many instances of false etymologies which occur in that language, and is a valuable example of the way in which the founders of Sanskrit (as distinct from the Vedic language) helped out the puerility of a traditional priests' language of the schools, and made it available for the use of the forum, by borrowing words from the vernacular current at the time of the birth of profane Sanskrit learning. They took these Prākrit (I use the word for want of a better term) words and worked back from them to what they considered must have been the original word as matter of letters, a possible corruption of aggdr̥k̥, but is certainly not derived from that word.

1 For reasons which it is unnecessary to quote here, there is no doubt that the Prākrit word was agggdr̥k̥ (i. e., agṛṛṛ̥, with phonetic aṛ and ṛṛ). This is, as a
used in Vedic times, and adopted the word thus formed as Sanskrit. Sometimes, as in the case of विद्यार्थी, their etymology, was at fault, but this does not prevent the word being Sanskrit.

It is therefore well to recognize at once the limits of Dr. Macdonell's work. For the purpose of the student of Sanskrit literature it is admirable and complete, but it does not supply the wants of the comparative philologist nor does it pretend to do so.

Having said so much about what the dictionary does not contain, it is time to say what it does. Briefly speaking, it is mainly a dictionary of Classical (or as some call it, "Profane") Sanskrit and only contains such Vedic words as occur in those portions of Vedic literature which are readily accessible in good selections. Out-of-the-way technical terms are, as a rule, excluded, but a special feature of the work is the large number of grammatical and rhetorical terms so necessary for the adequate comprehension of native glosses, and which have hitherto not been found in any dictionary. Chancing to have had a good deal to do with rhetorical terms lately, I have been able to test this feature of the work pretty thoroughly, and have found that Dr. Macdonell's claims to usefulness in this respect are amply borne out. Even when the meaning of a rhetorical term is clear, it is not always easy to hit readily upon the exact English accepted equivalent. The translation of the सिद्धित्य दर्शन has hitherto been the only guide to the student, but it is inconvenient to use, and only deals with the main stems of the many-branching tree of Hindu rhetoric. For the purpose of a future edition I may refer Dr. Macdonell to a useful little Hindi book,-Bilingual-Tulista-Bhashaya-Bhasha, by Pandit Sailâr Lilat Chandra, which gives an alphabetical list of some hundred and fifty rhetorical terms, each of which is fully explained, together with examples from Hindi literature.5

Dr. Macdonell, in his preface, gives a list of the books to which the dictionary specially refers. It contains some forty names, principally of the high classical period of Sanskrit literature. It includes such difficult works as the कदमबरी, the किवृदिजुजय, and the सिद्धिज्ञानीक. Curiously enough the सिद्धिज्ञानीक is not mentioned, though it is not many words in that not very extensive epic will be found duly explained.

The only work which I should have been glad to see represented, and which has been left out, is the नालदेवी. This difficult poem has to be read at some time or other by every serious student of Sanskrit, and it has the advantage of having been excellently edited many years ago by Yates. There are many words in it with meanings which I have not seen in any dictionary.6 Such are (to quote a couple of instances from the first few verses) राज, to be happy (I. 5), श्रीरी = राज-नम श्रीरी (I. 7).

None of the युनास are included in the list, nor are any of the तन्त्रस. The omission of the first is immaterial, for the language of these works is usually of the most simple description. There are, however, a few words occurring in महाभाष्य and तन्त्रस which the reader will miss. Such are श्रीदेवीती (though श्रीदेवीती is given), and बैज, in the sense of "mystic-formula," a word of frequent occurrence in the तन्त्रस. Each mystic formula has a name such as मद्य-बैज, and so forth, and they can all be found, as well as I remember, in a work called the तन्त्रस-वर्ग, which has been printed in Calcutta.

The arrangement of the dictionary is as compact as is compatible with clearness. Compounds are arranged in convenient groups under a leading word. Before consulting the dictionary, the reader must be warned to master thoroughly the system of punctuation, on which the whole system of each group of articles depends. For instance, दूसु-हार्गिक, occurs under the group headed by दूसु-हुल-सका, and unless the meaning of the preceding semi-colon is understood, a learner may be tempted to read the "-हार्गिक," as दूसु-हुल-हार्गिक. The system is, however, simplicity itself, and, what is wanted in a dictionary, aids compactness, without sacrificing in any way the readiness with which a word can be found. On one point I must congratulate Dr. Macdonell on having the courage to revert to Benfey's system of giving verbal prepositions in alphabetical order after the last form of the simple verb with which they are used.

Although references are not given, all that is really necessary to the ordinary student is to be found, six the literary period to which each word or meaning belongs, and the frequency or rarity of its occurrence. Another point of importance

5 Printed at the Kharg Bihār Prasād, Bānglapur. The book deals adequately with Hindī rhetoric, but it is equally useful for Sanskrit students, the technical terms being all borrowed from Sanskrit. I may mention that the study of rhetoric has been carried to astonishing lengths by Hindī writers, commencing with किलाविद्या, who flourished in the middle of the 17th century. After the death of Tulāndīhī (1628 A.D.), poetry disappeared from India, and during the latter

half of the 17th Century and the whole of the 18th nearly the only celebrated authors (always excepting the incomparable Bihārī Lilā) were men who taught people how to write poetry, but who could not write it themselves.

6 I omit from consideration the larger Petersburg Dictionary which I am not just now able to consult.

5 Given in the smaller Petersburg Dictionary.

6 Not in the smaller Petersburg Dictionary.
is that wherever the accent is known from Vedic texts it has been indicated in the transliteration.

The etymological portion of the dictionary is, so far as it goes, complete. As already mentioned, it does not aim at comparative philology, outside the bounds of the Sanskrit language. All words,—except the small number which defy analysis, have been broken up into their component parts in the transliteration. When these means failed, the derivation is concisely added in brackets. I only regret that Dr. Macdonell did not take advantage of the opportunity to point out how much Sanskrit, and especially Classical Sanskrit, is indebted to words borrowed from vernaculars in a state of much greater phonetic decay than that at which the main portion of the language had been arrested. This is a wide field, hardly touched upon as yet, save by Prof. Zacharias; and is one which promises with little labour to yield a bounteous fruit. Words like anđara already mentioned, the possible connection between verbal bases such as ichchha,9 and sēpa, (both Vedic) parallel forms such as kapatā and kandṛa, khurikā and chhurikā, gīha and grigha (both Vedic), pottra and patta, and hundreds of others, point to one of two things, either the existence of dialects at the time the Vedic hymns were composed (if not when they were compiled), or else to the borrowing, by a language already stereotyped, of words from vernaculars in a later stage of phonetic growth. Both of these facts fall well within the province of the etymological lexicographer; and a correct appreciation of both is absolutely necessary to comprehend the relationship between Profane and Vedic Sanskrit, and between the former and the Vernaculars of India from the time of Aśoka to the present day.

One word I miss from Dr. Macdonell's dictionary, which well illustrates what I mean,—ābupya. The word is not quotable, and hence it is quite rightly omitted, but still I should have been glad to know what a skilled etymologist such as he is, would have said about it. The word has two meanings 'not (a) base metal (kupya),' and 'base metal.' Other dictionaries explain the second meaning by declaring the a to be expletive, that is to say ignotum per ignotum. Paññita give the a its negative force, and say the word means 'that metal with reference to which all other metals are not base,' i.e., 'metal which is very base.'7 I believe that a reference to the despised vernaculars and Prākṛta will clear up the difficulty. In the former this a prefix is by no means uncommon,8 and can always be referred through Prākṛt either to a Sanskrit d, or to a Sanskrit ati (a-li, d, a). Hence I believe that this second meaning of ābupya is to be referred to a Prākṛt form of ābupya or atībupya.

In order to test the vocabulary of this dictionary, I have gone through the first sixty pages of the Kādambārī, and compared it with the dictionary hitherto available to English scholars, that of Sir Monier Williams. In these sixty pages there are about eighteen words which I have failed to find in the older work, all of which, with a few unimportant exceptions, are duly registered in that under consideration. The exceptions are of no moment, and cause no trouble to the reader. Those I have noticed in my edition of the Kādambārī, are abhikṣitaț (ābilakṣita is given), dāhajhin (dāhādha, a pālindra-staff, is given), Ṛuddha (ūruddha is given), rudita (ṛuṣita is given) rāpa (ṛāpā nyātāt svabhāvasvastāt bhāsa, comm.), ṛukumu-jūna (𠨉حركات, jūna-jūna, is given). This will show the thoroughness with which the work has been done, and of how far it surpasses previous similar books. Of the above omitted words, only one (ūruddha) is found in the smaller St. Petersburg Dictionary.

I have already drawn attention to the compact and convenient arrangement of the articles. A word of praise must also be given to the beautifully clear type, and to the freedom from misprints,—an accuracy which makes an Anglo-Indian condemned to hard labour at the hands of Calcutta compositors sigh with envy.

In conclusion, I must congratulate Prof. Macdonell on being the first to produce a scientifically arranged Sanskrit dictionary, of convenient size and moderate cost. Measured by its aim it is a complete and brilliant success, and if here and there I have appeared to be a chidhrāwādha, I have referred not to the execution of what has been done, but have only expressed my regrets that his aim has not been a higher one. But then, if it had been as I wish it, and if Dr. Macdonell had given us still more gifts from the storehouse of his learning, the size of his book would not have been convenient, nor would its cost have been moderate. Things are better as they are, and we may hope for, at some future time, a lexicon embracing the whole Sanskrit language, and dealing with it in all its aspects from his competent pen.

G. A. GRITBERG.

1 I am, of course, aware of the one theory regarding these words as bases. But whether ichchha is an original Sanskrit base, or not, the fact that the Prākṛti form of ich, to wish to obtain, to desire, is also ichchha, cannot be overlooked by the student of Sanskrit etymology.

2 So also they talk of a word a-nimw (not a-nīma), 'very excellent': 'that with reference to which all other things are not excellent.'

3 E.g. Hindī chalpāla = chapala.
THE TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE BRIHAT-SAMHITA.

BY J. P. FLEET, L.C.S., Ph.D., C.I.E.

The topographical information contained in the Brihat-Samhita of Varahamihira is to be found chiefly in chapter xiv., entitled karma-vibhaga or "The Division of the Globe;" the special object of which, in conformity with the astrological nature of the whole work, is to provide an arrangement from which it may be determined what countries and peoples suffer calamity when particular nakshatras or lunar mansions are vexed by the planets. For this purpose, the twenty-seven nakshatras, commencing with Krittikâ (the Pleiades), are divided into nine groups, of three each; and the globe, into a corresponding numbers of nine divisions, starting with the Madhyadśa or middle country, as the central part of Bharatavarsha or the inhabitable world, and then running round the compass from east to north-east. And an application of the distribution,—though not a very careful one, unless it can be improved or corrected by any emendation of the present text,—is given in verses 32, 33, of the same chapter; where we learn that, as the groups of nakshatras are vexed, commencing with that of which the first nakshatra is Ágniya or Krittikâ, so, in due order, destruction and death come upon the kings of the Páñchalás (middle-country), of Magadha (eastern division), of Káliya (south-east division), of Avanti (southern division), of Ánarta (south-west division), of the Sindhu-Sanvsiras (again the south-west division), of the Harahaaras or Harahaaras (not mentioned elsewhere), of the Madras (north-west division), and of the Kaṇṇindas (north-east division).

The first part of my catalogue, the divisional list, gives all the names thus mentioned in chapter xiv., as it runs in Dr. Kern's edition, arranged alphabetically under the divisions of the country adopted by Varahamihira. As has been indicated, the primary division is the Madhyadśa or middle country. I do not find any definition of this term in the Brihat-Samhita. And there seem to be differences in respect of its limits. Thus, Prof. H. H. Wilson¹ has spoken of it as being "the country along the Narmadâ;" and Albérini,² from the information given to him, has explained it as being "the country all around Kanauj, which is also called Áryávarta." Sir Monier Monier-Williams, however, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives it a considerably more ample extent; defining it as "the country lying between the Himalayas on the north, the Vindhyas mountains on the south, Vínásana on the west," i.e. apparently the place where the river Sarasvatâ was supposed to lose itself in the sand, "Prayâga on the east, and comprising the modern provinces of Allahâbâd, Ágrâ, Dâhli, Ouda, &c." And this seems to be more in consonance with Varahamihira's view: since we find him including in it, on the east, Siékotâ (Ouda),³ and on the west, the Mâra country (Mârvâd), and the Sâravasatas or people living on the banks of the Sarasvatâ which rises in Mount Ábud, and, running almost due south, flows into the Râjâ of Cutch; while, on the other hand, the Yâmanas or people living on the banks of the Jâmâ, which rises in the Himalayas, are placed by him partly in the middle country and partly in the northern division, and the Vindhyas mountains, which run across the peninsula and constitute the northern boundary of the valley of the Narmadâ, are excluded by him from the middle country altogether, though, in connecting them only with the south-east division, he fails to represent fully their extent.

In presenting this divisional list, I do not mean to suggest that it furnishes materials for preparing an accurate map of ancient India; or that the cities, rivers, mountains, tribes, &c., and especially the tribes,—belong actually and only to the divisions to which they are allotted by Varahamihira. Mistakus in his details can easily be shewn: for instance, though he places Kașchîhâ and Girîmagara both in the southern division, he locates Raivatake in the southwest; whereas this mountain is quite close to Girîmagara (Jumâgañdh) and the Girnâr mountain,

2 Albérini's India, Translation, Vol. I. p. 173; also see p. 198.
3 So also the Mârâya-Purâṇâ places Ayodâh (Ouda) in the Madhyadśa; see Vîshnu-Purâṇâ, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 183, note 11.
and is considerably to the south of Cutch. My object is to make a start, in order that, when the lists of other books have been treated in the same way and all have been compared, we may then be in a position to put all the materials together, and arrive at some consolidated and satisfactory results.

In addition to the divisional list of chapter xiv., the astrological statements that run through the whole book, and in particular verses 1 to 39 of chapter xvi., which define "the countries, peoples, and things belonging to the domain of each planet," add a variety of other names which are not mentioned at all in chapter xiv. All these names I have included, with those taken from chapter xiv., in the general alphabetical list. And here I have inserted notes on some of the names, chiefly in the direction of quoting the earliest epigraphic references to them; but without attempting to give all that might be said about them, or about the others that I have passed over without comment. Little, if anything, in a topographical direction, is to be learnt from these astrological references; which simply tell us, for instance, that (chap. xviii. verse 6) "should the Moon leave Saturn at her right, then sovereigns keeping the town will "triumph, and the Sakas, Bahlkhas, (the people of) Sindhu, Pahlavas and Yavanas, be joyful."

They are of value only as tending to indicate the comparative importance or notability of the different tribes and places, as judged by the number of different allusions to each of them. To apply them in any other way, e. g. to assume that the names mentioned in one and the same passage are to be referred to much about one and the same locality, would only be conducive to error. Thus, such a rule might be applied in respect of the verse just mentioned, without going far wrong. But chapter iv. verse 25, and chapter xvi. verse 22, give clear instances to the contrary. The former couples the Arjunyanas and the Yaudhāyas, who belong to the northern division, and the Kauravas, who, as the people of Kurau-land, may perhaps be referred to the northern division, with the Pragūtas or kings of the eastern country. And the latter couples the Arjunyanas, Yaudhāyas, Truigartas, Paaravas, and Vāṣādhanas, of the northern division, with the Ambaśīthas of the east or south-west, the Pārataes of the west, and the Śravasatas and Matyas of the middle country. But little, therefore, if anything at all, could be gained, in this or any similar list, by noting the way in which different names are connected with each other in the astrological passages.

DIVISIONAL LIST.

The Madhyadēśa or middle country includes (xiv. 2, 3, 4) Gaḷapura (see under Gaḷā-

havaya), Kālakot, Kapilahalā, [Mathurā], and Sākṣē;—

the Maru and [Udumbara] countries;—

the Dhanmūrya forest;—

[the rivers Sarasvatī and Yamunā]—

and the following tribes or peoples; the Arinādas, Aśvāthas, Audumbaras, Bhadras,

Gaurigrivas, Gaṅgas, Gudjas, Kāñkas, Kukuras, Kurus, Madhyamikas, Māṇḍayas, Māthu-

rakas, Matyas, Nīpas, Pāḍhālas, Pāṇḍas, Sālavas or Śālavas, Sākṣhāvatas, Śravasatas,

Sāравasatas, Uddēhikas, Ujjīhānas, Upajyotihāsas, Vatsas, and Yāmunas.

The eastern division includes (xiv. 5, 6, 7) Chandra-prāpur, Kāsī, Mēkala, the milky sea

(lakṣmīdā), the (eastern) ocean (samudra),

[Tāmalipti], and Vardhamāna;—

the [Kāsala], Magadha, Mithila, [Praudhara],

Samatās, and Udra countries;—

the mountains Aṣāṇa, Mālīvata, Pāmā,

Sibira, Udayagiri, and Vṛṣabhasadhva;—

the river Lauhitiya;—

and the following tribes or peoples; the Ambaśīthas, Bhadras, Chāṇḍrapuras, Damas-

as, Dravidas, Nāyikas, and Sūtras.

4 As far as the end of chapter lxxxv., of course I have utilised Dr. Korn's translation. It is to be found in the Jour. R. As. Soc., N. S., Vol. IV. pp. 490-479 (chap. I. to vii.); Vol. V. pp. 48-90 (chap. viii. to xv.), and pp. 291-338 (chap. xvi. to xlviii.); Vol. VI. pp. 3-81 (chap. xlvii. to li.), and pp. 479-388 (chap. liii. to lxiv. ; chap. liti. on boils and their consequences, is left untranslated, as being of no interest whatever); and Vol. VII. pp. 81-134 (chap. lxxv. to cxxxi.). I have glanced through the remaining nineteen chapters, without actually reading them; here, the Dēvāṅgari characters, with their absence of capitals, may possibly have caused me to pass over a point or two which otherwise I might have noted; but I think that I have not omitted anything of importance.

5 Names in square brackets are supplied from the tribal appellations; thus, in the present instance, Mathurā, from the mention of the Māthurakas.
The south-east division includes (xv. 8, 9, 10) Hāmaṅkūṭya, the islands of bark, of bulls, and of cocoanuts, Kāṇṭakasthala, Kishkindha, and Tripuri;—
the Andhra, Aūga, [Chāloti], Kaliugā, Kāsala, Upervaipa, Vaiṅga, and Vidarbha countries;—
the Vindūhya mountains;—
and the following tribes or peoples; the Chālotikas, Dūṣīrā, Jāṭhuras, Mālikas (or Sālikas), Nishādhas, Pārvikas, Sahāras (specified as the leaf-clad Sahāras and the naked Sahāras), Sālikas (or Mālikas), Śmaṇaṅtharas, and Vatas; also the great-naked people (mahāgrīva), the high-throated people (nītiḥkāyika), and the snako-naked people (nītyāṅgrovā).

The southern division includes (xv. 11-10) Ākara, Atri’s hermitage, [Avaniti], Badalēvapāṭṭama, the beryl-mines (vaśīlārya), Bhairakachchha, Chitnākūṭa, (the places for obtaining) conch-shells (śāndaka), Dānapuru, Dharmaṇapāṭṭama, the elephants’ glen (kūṭijāḷān̄ti), Gaṅgārya, Girināgura, the hermitages (tāmōdhrama), the islands (dōpta), Kāṭheji, [Kārunākūṭa], Kollagiri, Kraunghadvipa, Lālīkā, Maruṅchättama, Nāsikya, the southern ocean (yānāyāṅkuśa), (the places for obtaining) pearls (minstera), Sībhāla, Tamāka, Vaiśvālī, and Velluva;—
the [Chōna], Chōna, Kuchēthīla, Karpēṭa, [Kērala], Koṅkaṇa, and Taṅkaṇa countries;—
the Dāṇḍakāvya and Tumbavānas [forests], and the great forest (mahādīpa);—
the mountains Darbura, Kuṇmna, Mahenḍra, Malayu, Māliniyā, Rīṣhīmyāka, and Sūrpa;—
the rivers Kāvēri, Kṛishṇa, Tāmraparīṇī, and Vaiṣṭa;—
and the following tribes or peoples; the Ābhīras, Aṃgika, Aṃnati, Badrīras, Chāleya, Gūmrdas, Kuṛāthas, Kālijanas, Kaṅkāṭas, Kārmāṇīyakūṭas, Kṛṣṇas, Phaniṅkāryas, Pīlicos, Rīṣhībhamas, Rīṣhīkūṭas, Sauris, and Sīlikas; also, the marineasts (viśīchān), the people with thick matted hair (jalāṅkūṭa), and the eaters of whales (tīśivāliśana).

The south-west division includes (xvi. 17, 18, 19) the great ocean (mahārala), and Vājāṃkūṭa;—
the Ānarta, Dravīḍa, [Kāmbāja], Pāraśava, and Sūrāśtra countries;—
the mountains Hāmāṅgiri, Pṛṇagiri, and [Rāvanta];—
the river (or country) Sindhu;—
and the following tribes or peoples; the Ābhīras, Ambasāṭhas, Āravas, Bādaras, Barabara, Chāṅgūṭas, Kālakas, Kāpiṇas, Karpapravēyas, Khaṇḍas, Kīrātas, Mākaras, Pahāvas, Raivaṅkātas, Sindhu-Savīras, Śūdras, and Yavanas; also the eaters of (raw) flesh (kṛṇvāṇī), and the people with the faces of women (nārīmukha).

The western division includes (xvi. 20, 21) the region of gold (hānaka), and Tāmakaḥiti;—
the Pāfchenanda and Rāmāja countries;—
the collection of forests (vāmaṇa);—
the mountains Asātagiri, Kāṭurāpaka, Maṅgamat, Māglavat, and Prākata;—
and the following tribes or peoples; the Aṃprāṅkatas, Hānjayas, Jīṅgas, Mēchokhas, Pārṇatas, Sakas, Sāṅtikas, Vaiyās, and Vokkānas.

The north-west division includes (xvi. 22, 23) the kingdom of the amasnas (strīnāya);—
the Aṃnaka, Kūṭīna, and Lāhaṭa or Lōdha countries;—
the forest of the man-lions (nāmīvīhavāna);—
the rivers Gāruḍa or Gārūḍa, Phalgulakā, and Vṛṣṇamati;—
and the following tribes or peoples; the Charmanāgas, Hālas or Lāhas, Madras, Māŋgāvayas, Māruṅkhausas, Śīlikas (or Maṅkikas), Tāhās, and Tukhāras; also the dwellers in the sky (khaṇḍha), the one-eyed people (śvaṅkālīchāna), the long-faced people (dīrghāṅkāna), the long-haired people (dīrghabakha), and the people with long-necks (dīrghāṅgrovā).

The northern division includes (xvi. 24-28) Bhūgopavastha, the city of spirits (bhūkapura), [Pus郊区lāvatī], [Takshaśilā], Vasiṭi, and Yaśovati;—
the Ādarsa, Antarāvīṇī, Gāndhāra, [Mālavat], Trigunta, and [Uttara-Karṇa] countries;—
ALPHABETICAL LIST.

Abhira, or Abhira, the name of a people placed in the southern division, xiv. 13; and in the south-west division, xiv. 18; miscellaneous astrological references, v. 35, 42; ix. 19; xvi. 31. One of the Nāsik inscriptions mentions an Abhira king (Archool. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 104). And the Abhiras are named among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Abhisāra, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., xxxii. 19. The Abhisāra country is supposed to be the modern Hasāra, in the Paśīth (McC-crindle's Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 69, note 3).

Ādārśa, a country in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Agnīdhra, or Āgnīdhra, a people in the northern division, xiv. 25. In his text, Kern reads Bhogaprasth-Aṛjusdyan-Āgnidhrā; and in his various readings he notes that one MS. gives Agrivād, but all the others, except the one from which the word in his text is taken, Āgnityād. In his translation he gives "Āgnīdhra (or Āgnītyās)." Alberthi has given the Brihat-Sanhita divisional list (India, Translation, Vol. I. pp. 300-303); and here he gives "Āgnitya."

Āraka, a place in the southern division, xiv. 12. Kern, who translates the word by "the

The north-east division includes (xiv. 29, 30, 31) Brahmapura, the kingdom of the dead (nāṣṭharājya), the gold-region (swarmabhā), and the marshes or swamps (palāśa);—

the [Kāshmir] and Kurū countries;— the forest of Vās or spirits (vaswana), the forest-kingdom (vanarājya), and the forest-territory (vanarāṭhā);—

the mountains Mārula and Muṇja;—

and the following tribes or peoples; the Agnīdhras or Āgnītyas, Ambaras, Āṛjunāyanas, Dānḍapāṇgalakas, Dāsamāyīas, Dāṣṭakas, Gavvas, Hāmāṭalas, Hūṇas, Kachchhāras, Kailāvatas, Kāśchādhanas, Kāholas, Kāhantyras (under the name of rājasya), Kāhantyāṭras, Kāhūndraminas, Mādrakas, Māḷavas, Māṇḍavas, Māṇḍavāyas, Panavas, Pushkālāvatas, Sārāthanas, Sītakas (or Sātakas), Sāīmikas, Takṣahṣilas, Uddeya, Utta-Varus, VaiḍĪthanas, Yāmanas, and Yauḍhyās; also the flat-nosed people (chīpītanādiha) the thick-haired people (bokśadharā), the roarmers in the sky (khachāra), the dog-faced people (śvandas), and the horse-faced people (turagdāna).

**THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.** [JULY, 1893.]
See also ‘Aparantya.’ Mention is made of the Aparanta people or country in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archsool. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109), and in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 292). And one of the Asoka edicts classes the Yavanas, Kambogjas, and Ganghāras as aparanta (id. Vol. XX. pp. 240, 241). Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrājī has said that there are reasons for thinking that Tāpārē, in the Thāpa District (see under ‘Saurpāraka’), was the chief place in the Aparanta country Jour. Bo. Br. & As. Soc. Vol. XV. p. 274, and note 3).

Aparantyā, a people, evidently identical with Aparantaka, g. v.; misc. ref., v. 40, ix. 15.

Arāva, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Arbuda (the modern Mount Abū), misc. ref., v. 68; xvi. 31; xxxii. 19.

Arimēda, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Ārjunāyana, a people in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., iv. 23; xi. 59; xvi. 22; xvii. 19. The Ārjunāyanas are named among the tribes subdued by Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14). An early coin of the Ārjunāyanas is figured in Princeps’ Essays, Vol. II. p. 223, Plate xiv. No. 22.

Ārya, a people; misc. ref., v. 40, where Kern takes the word as meaning “the inhabitants of Āryavarta,” g. v.

Āryaka, a people in the southern division, xiv. 15.

Āryavārta, the inhabitants of Āryavārta (the text uses the nom. plur.), which is a customary name for Northern India; misc. ref., v. 67. See also ‘uttarapatha.’ The word Āryavārta means ‘the abode of the Āryas, or excellent or noble people.’ It is used to denote Northern India in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 13). In the Mānasavadāna (Burnell’s Translation, p. 12) Āryavārta is defined as the land between the Himalaya and Vindhyā mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western seas. But a more precise division between Northern and Southern India is given by the poet Rājāśēkhara, who, in the Bālarāmāyana, Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte’s Rājalīkhàra: his Life and Writings, p. 21), speaks of the river

ref., xi. 19; xvi. 22. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks that the Ambashthās of the eastern division are the Ambāṣṭes of Ptolemy, vii. 1, 66 seq.; and that they are not to be confounded with their namesakes in the south-west.

Ānarta, a country in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., v. 80; xiv. 33; xvi. 31. This country is mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. pp. 282, 283).

Andhra, or Āndhra, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; misc. ref., xvi. 11; xvi. 25; — the lord of Andhra, or of the Andhras (Āndhra-pati), misc. ref., xi. 59. The Andhras are carried back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Asoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247, 248). Other early epigraphic references are to be found in Gupta Inscriptions, p. 280, and Archsool. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 127.

Āṅga, a country in the south-east division, xiv. 8; misc. ref., v. 72; ix. 10; x. 14; xi. 56; xxxii. 15. See under ‘Jāthara.’

Āṇjana, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Antardvīpa, or Antarādvīpa, a region in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Antargiri, a mountain region; misc. ref., v. 42. In a note to his translation Kern remarks—“I am not able to say which part of the Himalayan hill country was called Antar-giri; it may be Kumaon, or a still more eastern district. Cf. ch. xvi. 2, and Mahābhārata, II. ch. xxvii. 3.” In xvi. 3, the original has bandir-anulah-suila-jāh, “the people beyond and within the mountains;” note, “i. e. a part of the Himalaya.”

Antarvedī, a region; misc. ref., v. 65. Kern translates by “the Doab.” The name may apply to any Doab: but it usually denotes the country lying between the Gange and the Yamunā, which is mentioned as Ānugṛdha-Yamunā-antaradrī, in lxix. 26; misc. ref.; and it is used in that sense in the Indār grant of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 69).

Ānuvāsya, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Aparantaka (v. 1. Aparantaikas), “the people of the western marchew,” a people in the western division, xiv. 20; misc. ref., v. 70.
Narmadā (the 'Neruddha'), which rises in, and runs along close to the south of, the Vindhyā range, as "the dividing line of the Áryavartā and the daksināpatha."

Asika, a people; misc. ref., xi. 65. Mention is made of the Asika people or country in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109).

Aśmaka, a country, and the people of it, in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., v. 39, 73, 74; ix. 18, 27; xvi. 11; xxxii. 15—the lord of Aśmaka (Aśmaka-pa, -ndaka, -nāruḍa) misc. ref., xi. 54, 55; xvii. 15. Below his translation of xiv. 22, Kern adds the note— "the Assakani of the Greeks." Mention is made of the Aśmaka people or country in one of the Ajaṅgā inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. IV. p. 181).

Astagiri, 'the mountain behind which the sun sets,' in the western division, xiv. 20.

Āśvattha, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Aśvamukha, 'horse-faced people;' misc. ref., xvi. 35. See also 'āśvavadanā' and 'turagd-nāna.'

Aśvavadanā, 'horse-faced people,' in the eastern division, xiv. 6; identified by Kern with the Hippoprosopoi of the Periplus Maris Erythraei. See also 'āśvavadanā' and 'turagd-nāna.'

Atri (the hermitage of), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Auda or Odra, a country (the modern Orissa), and the people of it; misc. ref., v. 74. See also 'Udra.'

Audumbara, the people of the Udumbara country, in the middle country, xiv. 4. See also 'Udumbara.'

Aujjanayika, the people of Ujjayant, g. v.; misc. ref., xi. 56.

Aunara, 'a king of the Uṣṇarasa,' g. v.; misc. ref., xi. 55.

Avagāṇa, or Ávagāṇa a people or country; misc. ref., xi. 61; xvi. 38. Kern translates the word by 'Afghana,' in both places. In xii. 61, among various other readings there are Chōl-Ábhadra, Chōl-Ávamukhaya, and Chōl-Vamukha-Kauśikama; and in xvi. 38, Chōl-Ávagāṇa, and Chōl-Ábhakāṇa.

Avanta, a king or other inhabitant of Avanti or Avantī, g. v.; misc. ref., xiv. 33. See also 'Ávantaka' and 'Ávantika.'

Ávanta, the inhabitants of Avanti or Avantī, g. v., a people in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., v. 73. See also 'Ávanta' and 'Ávantika.'

Avanti, a city (better known as Ujjain, g. v., or Ujjayini), misc. ref., v. 40; ix. 17; also an inhabitant of the same, misc. ref., ix. 18, 21. See also 'Avantī, Ávanta, Ávantaka, and Ávantika.' The name Avanti occurs in inscriptions at Nāsik and Ajaṅgā (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 109, 127), and in the Junāgālī inscription of Radradāman, Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262; the text has Ákṣar-Ávanti (Avanti).

Ávanti, a city, the same as Avanti, g. v.; misc. ref., xi. 35.

Ávantika, 'a king or other inhabitant of Avanti or Avantī,' g. v., misc. ref., v. 64; lxxxvi. 2. See also 'Ávanta' and 'Ávantaka.'

Ayodhyaka, the inhabitants of Ayodhyā, which is the modern Ayodhyā, Audh, Awadh, or 'Oudé'; misc. ref., iv. 24. See also 'Sākṣīta.'

The name Ayodhyā occurs in the spurious grant of Samudragupta ( Gupta Inscriptions, p. 257).

Bādara, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 19.

Bāhlika, a country, and the inhabitants of it; misc. ref., v. 37; xviii. 6. See also 'Bāhlika, Vāhlika, and Vāhlika.'

Bāhlika, the same as Bahlika, g. v.; misc. ref., x. 7; xvi. 1; xvii. 13, 25; xxii. 15. In xvi. 1, Kern translates by 'Balkh.'

Balugiri, rendered by Kern by "hill-districts," but perhaps the name of some particular mountainous country; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Baladēvasaṭāna, a city in the southern division; xiv. 16. Below his translation Kern gives the note— "the Balaiapatana of Ptolemy, so that the reading Palaipatana, preferred by Lassen, is proved to be a false form."

Barbara, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18; misc. ref., v. 49.

Bark, the island of (charmadoṣa), in the south-east division, xiv. 9;— wearers of bark (citra-mugasana), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Beryl-mines (vaṭrāvia), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Bhadrā, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the eastern division, xiv. 7; and in
the southern division, xiv. 16. In a note to his translation of xiv. 7, Kern explains the name by “the Blessed,” and suggests that the Bhadrās are probably the same with the Bhadrāśvas, q. v.

Bhadrāśva, a people, to be placed in the middle country if identified with the Bhadrās; the king of the Bhadrāśvas (Bhadrāśva-nṛgā), misc. ref., ix. 11. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks—“The Bhadrāśvas are a mythical people, fabled to live in the remote East, or, according to the phrase of the astronomical Siddhāntas, at 90° E. from Lati, in the region where Yavakōṭi, “Java Point,” is situated. (The reading Yamakōṭi is erroneous; for Yama’s kingdom is in the South, not in the East; and, besides, the compound Yamakōṭi is devoid of sense.) The origin of the Bhadrāśvas living near the Udayagiri may be traced, I think, to Rigveda, i. 115, 2, s. q.”

Bhillhā, (v. l. Bhilla), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Bhimavartaha, a people; misc. ref. xvi. 21.

Bhāntavartaha, xiv. 1. The word occurs in other works as Bhāntavartaha. In the latter form, it means ‘the country of Bharata;’ and in the other, ‘the country of the Bhāntas or descendants of Bharata.’ And it is a name for the whole of India, the first king of which is held to have been Bharata, son of Dushyanta.

Bhārakhelchha, the modern Bharuch or Bhar-ōche, v. c. ‘Brahui,’ a city in the southern division, xiv. 11; misc. ref., xvi. 6; xix. 11; — the rulers of Bharakhelchha (Bhārakhelchha-pādhy), v. 40. The name Bharakhelchha occurs in inscriptions at Junamar and Nāsik (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 96, 100); and perhaps in the Junāgāḍha inscription of Bhradulaṇa (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262, where, however, “Maru and Kaolehua” is preferred by the editors). Sometimes the Sanskrit or Samskṛtaised form Bhrigukhelchha is met with (v. g., Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 189; Vol. XIX. p. 175). By the Greeks it was called Barynya.

Bhāsāpura (?), a town (?); misc. ref., xvi. 11. The published text has Bhāsāpura, with the various readings of Bhāsāpura, Bhāsāvara, Bhāsāvarṇa, and Dīnapura. In his translation, however, Kern gives “the Bhāsāpuras” with the note “or Bhāsāpura or Bhāsāvarṇa.

“May be, Bhāsāpura (= Bhāsāvarṇa) means "those who live on this side of Mount Bhāsa.” Utpala gives no explanation.

Bhimarathā, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9. The published text has Bhimarathāyādi, which Kern rendered by “(the inhabitants of the western half of the district) of the Bhimarathā.” A various reading is Bhimarathāyādi, which gives the name of Bhimarathāyādi. A grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Vīshnuvardhana I gives the name as Bhimarathā (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. pp. 304, 310). The river is undoubtedly the modern Bhima, which rises in the Sahyadri range, and flows into the Kṛṣṇa near Raichur.

Bṛāgī (?) a people (?); misc. ref., iv. 22.

There are the various readings of Bṛāgī, Jṛāgī, and Vṝṣa; and in his translation Kern stamps the word as “very doubtful.”

Bhogapraṣtha, a (?) people, in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Bhogavardhana, a (?) city or country; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12.

bhāsapura, ‘the city of spirits,’ in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Brahmapura, a city, in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

bulls, the island of (vṝṣadhvīpā), in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

cannibals (puruṣahāda, puruṣahāda), in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., iv. 22.

In a note to the translation, Kern remarks — “the cannibals, being always placed in the far East, must denote either the inhabitants of the Andamans and Nicobars, or the cannibal tribes of the Indian Archipelago, or both.” See also ‘brāvyākāśa.’

castes. The work does not mention the Brāhmans with any topographical reference: but it locates the Kaśīvāyas (mentioned by the term rījāvya) in the northern division, xiv. 28; the Vaiśyas in the western division, xiv. 21; and the Sūdras in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Chāḍāya, the people of Chāḍā, q. v.; misc. ref., xi. 59. See also ‘Chāḍhika.’

Champa, a (?) town or country; misc. ref., xvi. 3.

Chāṇḍālā (v. l. Champālā), a people in the south-west division, xiv. 13.
Chandrabhâga river, supposed to be the Chenab, one of the five rivers of the Pañjâb; misc. ref., xvi. 27.

Chândrapuras, the inhabitants of the city of Chandrapura, in the eastern division, xiv. 5. A town named Chandrâpura is mentioned in the Indôr grant of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 71).

carmadapa, the island of bark, in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

Charmaraâga, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

Chârdâvâ, a (?) town or country, misc. ref., ix. 18; the word occurs in the plural, as if denoting the inhabitants.

Chêdi, a country, misc. ref., xvi. 3; xxxii. 22; — the ruler of Chêdi (Chêdâ-pa), xiii. 8. See also 'Chaudya and Chêdâki.' The Kala-churas of Central India were kings of Chêdi.

Chêdâki (v. l. Chaiûki), the people of Chêdi, g. v., in the south-east division, xiv. 8. See also 'Chaudya.'

Chêrya, a people, evidently of the Chêra country, in the southern division, xiv. 15.

China, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30; misc. ref., v. 77, 78, 80; x. 7, 11; xi. 61; xvi. 1, 33. Kern translates the word by "Chinese"; e. g. v. 77, 78, 60.

chipiandaika, 'flat-nosed people,' in the northern division, xiv. 26.

chitravîsana, 'wearers of bark,' a people in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Chitrakûta, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., xvi. 17. It is the modern Chitrâkût or Chatarkût hill or district, near Kampta in Bundelkhand. The name occurs in the Sûrû inscription of A. D. 886 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 218).

Chôla, a country, and the people of it, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., v. 40; xi. 61; xvi. 10, 38. In southern inscriptions, the name appears in the forms of Chôla, Chôla, and Chôdâ; and it is taken back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Asoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 249).

cocoa-nuts, the island of (nâhîkara-dêpa), in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

conch-shells, the places for obtaining, are placed in the southern division, xiv. 14.

dakshinâpatha, 'the region of the south,' i. e. Southern India, below the Narmadâ, misc. ref., ix. 40; xlvii. 8. See under 'Äryâvarita.' The term dakshinâpatha occurs in the Junâqâq inscription of Rudradâmâ (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 262); in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 13); and apparently in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 110).

Dâmara (v. 1. Dâmara), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Dañdaka, a country or people, misc. ref., xvi. 11;—the king of Dañdaka (Dañdak-adhipati), misc. ref., xi. 56.

Dañdakâvana, in the southern division, xiv. 16. This is, I suppose, another form of the name of the Dañdakârânya, or Dañdaka forest, which lay between the rivers Narmadâ and Gôdâvârî.

Dañjapingalaka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Danturaka, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 6. Albérûnî says "Dantura, i. e. people with long teeth."

Darada, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 39; misc. ref., v. 42, 79, xiii. 9. Albérûnî omits them; or, rather, he gives Abhisâraka, instead of Abhisâra and Darada.

Darâda, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 11.

Darâva, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Disamâya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Dañsapura, a city in the southern division, xiv. 12. It is the modern Mandasör, or more properly Daosr, in Mâlu. It is mentioned in inscriptions at Nâsik (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 100, 114), and in inscriptions at Mandasôr itself (Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 79, note 2, and 84, 86).

Dañsâra, a variant of Dañsâra, g. v.; misc. ref., v. 40; x. 15; xxxii. 11. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks that the Dañsâras are the Doreano or Doronoes of the Periplus Maris Erythraei.

Dañsâra, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 10; misc. ref., xvi. 26. See also 'Dañsâra.'

Dañsâraka, a variant of Dañsâraka, g. v.; misc. ref., v. 67.
Dasraka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26. See also 'Dasraka.'

dead, the kingdom of the (nashta-raya), in the north-east, xiv. 29. See under 'Méruka.'
demons with elf-locks (jat-desura), in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Dékika, a river; misc. ref., xi. 35.

Dhanushma, a mountain, in the northern division, xiv. 24. The text distinctly stamps Dhanushmat as a mountain. But Albérndn says "Dhanushman (!), i. e. the people with cows."

Dharmapatana, a city in the southern division, xiv. 14. Kern translates the name by "Yama's city."

Dharmaranya, a forest region, in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Diamonds are found in the Himavat mountains, in Kaliyuga, Káśala, Mataías (?), Pañcára, and Sarasvátra, at Surápara (see under 'Aparánta' and 'Saarrápara'), and on the banks of the Vaná, lxxx. 6, 7.

dīgakarana, 'people with long necks,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

dīgakhakā, 'long-haired people,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

dīgalas, 'long-faced people,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

dīvijāka, "the inhabitants of heaven," dwellers in the sky, a people, in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

dog-faced people (sva-mukha), in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Domba, the Gipsies; misc. ref., lxxxvii. 33. Also, in lili. 84 the text has nakpachāliya, 'those who cook (and eat) dogs, and others like them,' and the commentary says nakpāchā Dombās, 'the cookers of dogs are the Dombās.' The name is doubtless identical with the Dommas that occurs elsewhere; c. g. in the Anunkaopy inscription of Rudradēva (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 17). And the Dommas or Doms were the Gipsies (ibid. Vol. XV. p. 15).

Dravida, a country, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; misc. ref., ix. 15, 19; xvi. 11; xxxii. 15; — the rulers of Dravida, or of the Dravidas (Dravida-dhākapā), misc. ref., iv. 23; — the eastern half of the Dravid страны (Dravida-dhānaptraila), misc. ref., xvi. 2. In his translation of xvi. 11 and xxxii. 15, Kern gives "Dravidas (or

Dramidas)." In xiv. 19, Albérndn gives "Dramida." See also 'Drávida.'

Drávida, 'of or belonging to Drávida,' g. v.; misc. ref., lvii. 4, where Kern renders Dravidadam by "(a measure) for Dravida (barbarians)."

ears; people with ears like a winnowing fan (tarp-karna), in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

elephants, the glen of (kuśāra-dart), in the southern division, xiv. 16.

kācharana, 'one-footed people,' in the north-east division, xiv. 31. See also 'kāpyada.'

kāpyada, 'one-footed people, in the eastern division, xiv. 7. See also 'kācharana.'

kāvilāchana, 'one-eyed people,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

elephants; the elephant's cave, or the glen of elephants (kuśāra-dart), in the southern division, xiv. 16.

eyes; one-eyed people (kāvilāchana) in the north-west division, xiv. 23; — three-eyed people (tri-nātra), in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

faces; 'dog-faced people' (sva-mukha), in the northern division, xiv. 25; — 'horse-faced people' (sva-vadana) in the eastern division, xiv. 6, and (turag-anana) in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref. (sva-mukha), xvi. 35; — 'long-faced people' (dīgha-dāya), in the north-west division, xiv. 23; — 'tiger-faced people' (vyagbra-mukha), in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

feet; 'one-footed people' (kāpyada), in the eastern division, xiv. 7; and (kācharana), in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

flesh, eaters of raw' (kravy-dōhin), in the south-west division, xiv. 18. See also 'cannibals.' The word is, however, rather doubtful; the readings are krautydhābhāra, and krauyujhābhāra, for which Dr Kern adopted, by conjecture, kraudy-bhabha.

forests; the Dharmananya, in the middle country, xiv. 3; — the great forest (maladāvā), in the southern division, xiv. 13; — the Dañjalakavana, in the southern division, xiv. 16; — the collection of forests (vanuyga; v. l. van-ukha, 'the inhabitants of forests'), in the western division, xiv. 20; — the forest of the man-lions (nirinitha-avana), in the north-west division, xiv.
22;— the forest-territory (vana-rattra), in the north-east division, xiv. 29;— the forest-kingdom (vana-rája), in the north-east division, xiv. 30;— the forest of Vassu or spirits (vasu-vana), in the north-east division, xiv. 31. The "kings of all the forest countries (asa-adhika-rája)" were compelled by Samudragupta to do service to him (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 13). The same record mentions also a kingdom named Mahâkántâra, which seems to be a great forest kingdom (ibid.). And the hereditary territory of the Mahaâraja Sañkshobha included "the eighteen forest kingdoms" (asa-adhika-adhika-rája; id. p. 116).

Gajâvaya, apparently '(the city) that has the appellation of the elephant,' i.e. Gajapura or Hastinapura, the modern Dehli, in the middle country, xiv. 4.

Gambhirkâ, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 16.

Gagadara, a kingdom in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Gandhara, a country (the modern Kandahâr), and the people of it, in the northern division, xiv. 28; misc. ref., iv. 23; v. 77, 78; ix. 21; x. 7; xvi. 26; xvi. 18; lxix. 26. The name is carried back to the third century B.C. by one of the edicts of Asoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247).

Gandharva, a class of supernaturals beings, in the north-east division, xiv. 31; misc. ref., xiii. 8; lxxxvii. 83.

Gaâga, the river Ganges, described as constituting, with the Jamna, the necklace of the earth, xliii. 32;— reference to the region between the Gaâga and the Yamuna, lxix. 26;— misc. ref., xvi. 16.

Garuhâ, see Garuhâ.

Gargâkâ, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 7. This is the reading in the text; but in his translation Kern gives "Gauras," and adds the note—"i.e. 'the Whites,' supposed to live in Brôvadâvâ, which, according to Kathasaritasagara, 54, 18, 199, lies near the Cocoas-island." (see 'islands'). Albérâuf gives "Gaurakas."

Gaurâgriva, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Gauśa, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28. Ghôshâ, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the north-east division, xiv. 30. In xiv. 2, Kern translates "Ghôshâ;" and in xiv. 30, "Ghôshas (stations of herdsmen)."

Girinagara, a city in the southern division, xiv. 11. The name has now passed over to the mountain Girnar, in Kâthiâwâd; and the ancient city is now represented by Junagâdh, at the foot of it. The original name of the Girnar mountain was Urjayat (Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 64, 65).

Girivraja, the inhabitants of the district of Girivraja, as rendered by Kern,—in accordance with the commentary, I presume; misc. ref., x. 14. H. H. Wilson (Fishu-Purâña, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 15, note 3), said that Girivraja is "in the mountainous part of Magadha;" and further on (id. p. 180, note 1) he identified it with Râja-griga in Bihâr.

Gâdavâri, the river of that name in Southern India; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

Golângâla, a (?) mountain; misc. ref., xvi. 3.

Gumti, the name of the (kamaâka), in the western division, xiv. 21, and (swaraka-hâ) in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Gombanta, a mountain; misc. ref., v. 68, xvi. 17.

Gomati, a river; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12. It seems to be the modern Gântâ or Gumti, which rises in the Shâh-jaâhânpur District and flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghâstpur; at any rate, it is somewhere in that neighbourhood that we have to locate the place Gomati-kotâka, which is mentioned in the Dô-Baranârâ inscription of Jivitagupta II. (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 217). But there is also a river Gomati in the Kângra District in the Paâjîb.

Gonarda, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., i. 18; iii. 22.

Guna, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Albérâuf says "Gùna Tândbâlar."
Haihaya, a people in the western division, xiv.

Ilubava, a (? people; misc. ref., v. 75; ix.

Hara, a people in the north-west division, xiv.

Hemakunda, a mountain in the south-west division, xiv.

Hemakundya, a place in the south-east division, xiv.

Himavat, the Himalaya Mountains, in the northern division, xiv.

Ho-maga, a people in the northern division, xiv.

Ho-maga, a mountain in the north-west division, xiv.

Huna, a people in the northern division, xiv.

Huna, a mountain in the north-west division, xiv.

HUNAS are mentioned in the Bhartari inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 56), in the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman (id. p. 148), in the Apsasad inscription of Adityasena (id. p. 206), and in many later records; but I do not know of any epigraphic passage which specifies "the White Hunas."

Ishavati, a river; misc. ref., xiii.

Ishavati, a (?) people; misc. ref., v. 75; ix.

Ishavati, a mountain in the south-west division, xiv.

Ishavati, a mountain in the south-west division, xiv.

Jatgar-Aangi, a people in the eastern division, xiv.

Jatgar-Aangi, a people in the southern division, xiv.

Jatgar-Aangi, a people in the northern division, xiv.

Jatgar-Aangi, a people in the northern division, xiv.

Jatgar-Aangi, a people in the northern division, xiv.

Jatgar-Aangi, a people in the northern division, xiv.
Kailasa, a mountain in the northern division, xiv, 24. It is peculiarly sacred as being the paradise of the god Siva. It belongs to the Himalayan range, and constitutes the watershed from which the Indus, Satlej, and Brahmaputra take their rise; but it appears to be really in Tibet (Hunter's Indian Empire, pp. 43, 45). It is mentioned in the Gaṅghādrā inscription of Viśvarāman and the Mandāśūr inscription of Bandhuvarman (Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 75, 86, 86); and in the last passage it is called one of the breasts of the earth,—the other being Smārū.

Kālīvata, a people in the northern division, xiv, 26.

Kaira, a people of Kēru, q.v., in the southern division, xiv, 18. The text gives the reading K伊拉, but this is a mistake for Kaira, or still more correctly Kairaka, which occurs in the Allahabād inscription of Samudrāgupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 7, line 19).

Kālājina (v. i. Kālājana), a people or place in the southern division, xiv, 11. Can it be really intended for 'Kālājana,'—a city of the Kālacurīs of Central India, now represented by the Kālājāvar hill fort,—the name of which is sometimes wrongly given in inscriptions as 'Kālājana'?

Kāla, a people in the south-west division, xiv, 19.

Kālakotī, a fortress or city in the middle country, xiv, 4.

Kālīgā, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv, 8;—diamonds are found there, lxxx. 7;—other misc. ref., v. 35, 75, 79; ix. 10, 26; x. 16; xvi. 1, 3; xvii. 12, 22; xxxii. 15;—the king of the Kālīgā country (Kaṅgā-āśā-nirāpan), misc. ref., v. 69;—the lord of Kālīgā (Kālīg-āśa), misc. ref., xi. 54. See also 'Kālīgā.'

The name of the Kālīgā country is carried back to the third century B.C. by one of the edicts of Aśoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. p. 247).

Kālīgā, a king or other inhabitant of the Kālīgā country, q. v.; misc. ref. xiv. 32.

Kālakāra, a people; misc. ref., v. 69.

Kāmbōja, a country, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv, 17; misc. ref., v. 35, 78, 80; xi. 57; viii. 9; xvi. 1, 16. With the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, who are mentioned in the same verse, the Kāmbōjas must be located far more to the north than is done by Varāhamihira. The name is carried back to the third century B.C. by one of the edicts of Aśoka. And Senart allots the tribe to the tract of the river Kābal (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247).

Kanka, the region of gold, in the western division, xiv, 21. The text is Jriṅga-Vaiśya-kanka-Sakā; which Kern translates by "the Jriṅgas, Vaiśyas, (and) Gold-Scythians." But he adds the note that the commentary explains differently; viz. "the region of gold, and the Sakas." Albērūfi also separates the words, and gives "Vaiśya, Kanka, Saka." See also 'gold.'

Kāñchī, a city, in the southern division, xiv, 15. It is the modern Conjoureram. Vaiṣṇa-gopa of Kāñchī is named among the kings whom Samudrāgupta is said to have captured (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 13).—Burnell held that the Sanskrit 'Kāñchī' is a mis-translation of the Dravidian 'Kaṇji' (South-Indian Palaeography, p. x., note 2).

Kāśka, a people in the middle country, xiv, 4.

Kāśka, a people in the southern division, xiv, 12.

Kapākasthala, a locality in the south-west division, xiv, 10.

Kapāthā, a people in the northern division, xiv, 26.

Kānti, a city; misc. ref., xvi. 11.

Kapila, a people in the south-west division, xiv, 17.

Kāpiadhāna, a people in the middle country, xiv, 4.

Kāpiadhāna, a people or locality in the middle country, xiv, 4. Monier-Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, compares the Kambitatholoi of the Greeks.

Kārmanjaya, a people in the southern division, xiv, 16. The place whence the name is derived, is mentioned in inscriptions as Kārmanjaya, Kamanjaya, and Kumānajaya; and it is the modern Kamrūj in the Baroda territory (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII. pp. 184 and note 5, and 199).

Karpaprāvāsa, a people in the south-west division, xiv, 18. There are the various readings of Karpaprāvāsa and Karpapravāsa. The latter form, Karpapravaṇa, which would equally well suit the metre here, occurs in the Rāmdyaṇa, Kauṭilīyāda-kāṇḍa, xi. 26 (Viṣṇu-Iṣṭāvāya, Translation, Vol. II. p. 161, note 11). Below this trans-
Karnāṭa, the Kannarese country, in the southern division, xiv. 13. In the Sāmānḍa grant of Dantidurga, the Western Chalukya forces are called "the boundless army of the Karnāṭaka" (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 114).

Karvāṇa, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 5; misc. ref., xvi. 13.

Kāśi, a city in the eastern division, better known as Benares, xiv. 7; misc. ref., v. 72; x. 4, 13; xxxii. 17.—the lord or king of Kāśi (Kāśi-śīcaro, Kāśi-pa, Kāśi-rāja), misc. ref., ix. 19; xi. 59; lxviii. 1.—the country of Kāśi (Kāśi-dāna), misc. ref., xvi. 25. In the plural (Kāśi-prāya), the word is used to denote the people of Kāśi; misc. ref., v. 69. The city of Kāśi is mentioned in the Śāṃkhī inscription of Prakāśhítākiya (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 280).

Kāśmirā, a people, in the north-east division (the inhabitants of the Kāśmir country), xiv. 29; misc. ref., v. 77, 78; ix. 18; x. 12. Also see 'Kāśmirakara.'

Kāśmiraka, the people of Kāśmir; misc. ref., v. 70; xi. 57. See also 'Kāśmirira.'

Kaukṣaṇa, the people of the Kaukṣaṇa, g. v.; misc. ref., xvi. 11.

Kaulinca, a people; misc. ref., iv. 24. There is the various reading Kauinca. See also 'Kauinca.'

Kaulika, the people of Kūṭāta, g. v.; misc. ref., x. 11.

Kaujinda (or, Kaujinda), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30;—'a king of the Kaujindas or Kaujindas' (Kaujindas), misc. ref., xiv. 33. There are the various readings, Kaujinda (xiv. 30, 33), and Kaujindas (xiv. 30). See also 'Kaujinda.'

Kaurava, a people, probably the inhabitants of Kuru-land (see 'Kuru'); misc. ref., iv. 25; ix. 30;—the lord of the Kauravas (Kaurava-ādikārti), iv. 24.

Kauśala, the people of Kauśala, g. v.; misc. ref., x. 14. See also 'Kauśala.'

Kauśalaka, the people of Kauśala, g. v., in the eastern division, xiv. 7 [the text gives here the reading Kāśalaka; but this must be a mistake for Kauśalaka]; misc. ref., v. 70; x. 9. See also 'Kauśala.' The correct spelling (see also under 'Kāśa') appears to be 'Kauśalaka,' which occurs in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 7, line 19).

Kauśāmbi, the modern Kōsam on the Ganges; misc. ref., xvi. 8. The name occurs in one of the Śāṅkā edicts (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 309).

Kauśikī, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 16.

Kāvṛt, the river that still bears this name, in the southern division, xiv. 13 (where the name is given in the plural, Kāvṛtya); misc. ref., v. 64.

Kērala, a country; misc. ref., xvi. 11. See also 'Kēralaka.' Manḍaraja of Kērala is named among the kings of Southern India, whom Samudragupta is said to have captured (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 13).

Kōhaddhara, 'long-haired or thick-haired people,' in the northern division, xiv. 26.

Khaḍhara, 'the inhabitants of the sky, or rovers in the sky,' a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Khaḍja, 'dwarfs (?),' a people in the southwestern division, xiv. 18.

Khaṣa, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., x. 13; ix. 26.

Khaśa, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Khaśṭha, 'dwellers in the sky,' a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22.

Kīra, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., iv. 23; xxi. 19. In the Chambā grant, the Kīras are mentioned as being conquered by Sāhīla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII. p. 8).

Kīrāṇa, a people in the southwestern division, xiv. 18, and in the north-east division, xiv. 30; misc. ref., v. 35, 30; ix. 35; xi. 60; xvi. 2; xxi. 19, 22;—the prince of the Kīrāṇas (Kīrāṇa-bhārtya, -parthiva), misc. ref., ix. 17; xi. 96.

Kīrṣṇa, a people in the southern division, xiv. 11.

Kīshkindha, a mountain, in the south-east division, xiv. 10. Monier-Williams defines it as "in Ōḍa, containing a cave, the residence of the monkey-prince Bālim."
Albérant says, "Kiakkindha, the country of the monkeys."

Kôšala, (v. l. Kôšala), a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Kollagiri, in the southern division, xiv. 18. It is, in all probability, the modern Kôlhapur (properly Kôlapur), the chief town of the Native State in the Southern Marathâ Country, which is mentioned as Kollagira in an inscription at Târdéli (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 23).

Kûkâsa, (v. l. Kûkâsa), a country (usually known as the Seven Kûkâsas) in the southern division, xiv. 12. See also 'Kaukasa.' Albérant says "Kûkaša near the sea."

Kôšala, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; — diamonds are found there, lxxx. 6; — other misc. ref., v. 69; ix. 26; x. 4, 13; xvi. 6; xvii. 22. See also 'Kaukalaka.' The correct spelling (see also under 'Kausála') appears to be 'Kôsa,' which occurs in one of the Ajanâta inscriptions (Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 127), and in the Râjim grant of Tiva-râdra (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 296). Mahândra of Kôsa is named among the kings whom Samudrâ Gupta is said to have captured (id. p. 13).

Kâtivâra, apparently a country; the king of Kâtivâra (Kâtiwâra-apâra), misc. ref., ix. 11.

Krauśâ, a mountain in the northern division, xiv. 24. See also under 'Krâushadvâra.'

Kraushadvâra, a country, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., x. 18. Monier-Williams gives the word as equivalent to 'Krauschwâra,' which, he says, is the name of a mountain, part of the Himalayan range, situated in the eastern part of the chain, on the north of Assam, and is also the name of one of the dvípas or principal divisions of the world, surrounded by the sea of curds.

Kravyâsîn, 'eaters of raw flesh,' in the south-west division, xiv. 18. See also 'cannibals,' and under 'flesh.'

Krîshna, a river (the 'Kistnas') in the southern division, xiv. 14. Kern took this word, with the one that follows it in the text, to give the name of a place — Krîshnavâla. But Varhamihira has undoubtedly mentioned the river Krîshna and the town of Vâkîra (g. v.).

Kesâtrîyas, under the term râjâsya, placed in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Kâhêmâdhûrta, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Kahundramas, a people in the northern division, xiv. 24.

Kimbhâapa, a mountain in the western division; xiv. 20.

Kochikâ, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Kakura, a people in the middle country, xiv. 4; misc. ref., v. 71; xxxii. 22. Mention is made of the Kakura people or country in one of the Nâsiîk inscriptions (Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109), and in the Junagâdh inscription of Rudradâman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 282).

Kûlîta, a country in the north-west division, xiv. 22, and in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., x. 12; xvii. 18. See also 'Kû RATAKA.' Kûlîta is mentioned in the Chambâ grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII. p. 8).

Kûlîta, the people of Kûlîta, g. v.; misc. ref., iv. 22.

Kusâna, (v. l. Kusâna, Kusâla, and Kusâpa), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30. 'Kusârapâli,' the elephant's cave, or the grove of elephants, in the southern division, xiv. 16.

Kuntala, a country; misc. ref., xvi. 11. It is mentioned in one of the Ajanâta inscriptions, under circumstances which imply, I think, that Ajanâta itself was in Kuntala (Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 126, 127); and it is, I consider, the country of which Nâsiîk was the capital (see page 115 above). It is also mentioned in numerous later records. And the Western Châlukyas of Kalyânî are constantly described emphatically as "the lords of Kuntala."

Kuntâbâjó, a people; misc. ref., x. 15.

Kura, a people. The Kurus consisted of two branches, the northern and the southern; and the land of the northern Kurus is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern part of the Himalayan range, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness. Varhamihira mentions (1) the Kurus, without any qualification, as a people in the middle country, xiv. 4; and (2) the
northern Kurus (śīlāvarāḥ Kuravah) as a people in the northern division (xiv. 24; here Kern translates by "the Hyperbo-
reans"). It is doubtless in connection with (1) only, that we have to take Alberch's remark "Kura = Tāṁśhara," and Kern's note on his translation of xvi. 32, in which he specifies Kurukṣhetra as being "the country about Tāṁśara (Skṛ. Śīlāvartārā.)" There are the following miscellaneous references; the Kurus, v. 383; xxxii. 11; — the people of Kuru-land (Kurukṣhe-
traka), v. 78; (Kurubhāmija) xvi. 32; — the lord of Kuru-land (Kurukṣheṭrā-ādhipa), xi. 57; — the forest, or wild, or uninhabited, lands of Kuru (Kuru-jāhigata), ix. 22. See also 'Kaura.' The land of the northern Kurus is mentioned in the Udayagiri Jain inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 260).

Kusuma, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 14.

1. Laha, v.l. for Haha, q. v. Laha, a country in the north-west division, xiv. 22. There are the various readings of Lāhara, Lāhaka, and Kalaha. In his translation, Kern gives "Laha (or Lañjaha)." And he adds the note — "this seems to be Laha (or Laha)."

2. Madhyadēsa, the middle country; the tribes, &c., contained in it, xiv. 2, 3; 4; misc. ref., v. 78, 90 ; viii. 46 ; x. 5; xiv. 1; xvii. 19, 20, 22; xviii. 4; xlvii. 7. The country is per-
haps mentioned in the Sārnāth inscription of Prakṣa-ñādiya (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 266).

3. Madhyamika, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

4. Madraka, a people in the north-west division. xiv. 22; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 40 ; x. 4; xvii. 18; xxxii. 19; — the lord of the Madrakas (Madraka-pati), misc. ref., xiv. 38. See also 'Madraka.'

5. Mādaka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27; — the lord of the Mādakas (Mādra/ka-pati) misc. ref., xi. 59. See also 'Madara.' A tribe named Mādaka is men-
tioned as subdued by Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

6. Māgadhā, a country, and the people of it, in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., iv. 22, 26; v. 69, 79; x. 14; xvi. 1; xxxii. 11; — the lord of Māgadhā (Māgadhā-āḍa), misc. ref., x. 16; — the ruler of Māgadhā (Māgadhā-
dēhipa), misc. ref., xi. 55. See also 'Māgadhika.' In iv. 26, Kern translates Māgadhā (accus. plur.) by "Behar."

7. Māgadhika, the people of Māgadhā, g. v.; misc. ref., xiv. 32.

8. Mahānadi, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 10. It is men-
tioned in the Sāmāṅgaṭa grant of Danti-
Māla, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 11.

Malla, a people, unless the word simply denotes 'wrestlers or boxers'; misc. ref., v. 38, 41. To his translation of v. 38, where he gives "Mallas" as a people, Kern adds the note — "the Scholiast takes malla here as an apppellative noun, bāhuṃvīkha-yān, 'boxers.' In v. 41 he translates malla by 'boxers,' and adds the note — "or, 'the Mallass; may be the expression applies both to these and to boxers.'"

Mālāvata, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Māṇḍala, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Māṇḍakini, the river Ganges, or an arm of it, misc. ref., xvi. 10. The name occurs in the Alhā grant of Silāditya VII. (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 184).

Māṇḍavya, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the north-west division, xiv. 22; and in the north, xiv. 27.

Maṇimat, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Marinas (vṛi-ḥārṇa), a people in the southern division, xiv. 14. Below his translation Kern suggests that "these may be the Pirates of Greek sources."

Marhos or swamps ('palūla'), in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Mārttikāvata, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Maru, a region in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., v. 68; xvi. 39. It is the modern Mārwārd. The Junāgadh inscription of Radradāman seems to mention the desert of Maru (Maru-thawam; Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 200, line 8, and Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 189).

Marnchitpāñcana, a city in the southern division, xiv. 15. Below his translation Kern gives the note — "Marucht, or Murnch, Marucht, seems to be the Murtris (transposed from Murtris) of the Greeks."
Marakuchcha, or Marukuchcha, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23. There are the various readings of 'Marakuchcha, Marukuchcha, Murdika, Marathurakuchcha, Bharakuchcha, Naruka, Marakastha, Purukuta, Garukuta, and Paramukochha;' also (Parāśara) 'Marukuchcha,' which is the form used by Kern in his text. The possibility of Bharakuchcha is excluded, by this town being allotted in xiv. 11 to the southern division; nor can Maru and Kachcha be intended; since they are allotted respectively to the middle country, xiv. 2, and the southern division, xiv. 16. In iv. 22, misc. ref., where the various readings are Tarukuchcha, and Marwachcha, Kern gives Maru-Kachcha in the text; but in the translation he rectifies this, and adopts Marukuchcha; and he adds the note — "the Marukuchchas, or Marukuchchas, were a people in the modern Kafaristan, or thereabouts."

Mathura, a (? ) place where diamonds are found, lxxx. 7. Mathurā, a city; misc. ref., iv. 26; xvi. 17, 21. It is the so-called 'Muttra' in the North-West Provinces. See also 'Māthuraka.'

Mathuraka, the inhabitants of Mathurā, q. v., in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Matsya (?), a people (?); misc. ref., xvi. 11. In his text Kern gives the reading as sa-MANTRISHIKAH; and notes the various readings of sa-MANTRISHIKAH, -MATSYIKAH, -MĀDIKAH, -PĀTRUKAHA, and -MAHAKUKUKAHA. In his translation he gives 'Matsyika;' and adds the note — "perhaps an error of the copyists, or of the copies of some works consulted by the author, for sa-ĀTRAY RISHTIKAH, "with Atri's hermitage and the Rishikas;" ch. xix. 14 and 15." I think it very likely that the intended reading was sa-MĀDIKAHA, which would give another form of the name of the people of Mahisha, q. v.

Matsya, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., v. 37, 38; ix. 18; xvi. 22; xvii. 22; xxvii. 11 — the lord of the Matsyas (Matsyā-dīhākūta), iv. 2b.

Maulika, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 8; but perhaps the correct reading is Sāullika. See also 'Mālikā.'

Mālikā, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Mākala, a mountain, or a people, in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., v. 89, 78; xvi. 2.

Mēru, a mountain in the northern division, xiv. 24; misc. ref., xxvii. 7. In his Sānskrit Dictionary Monier-Williams describes it as a fabulous mountain, regarded as the Olympus of Hindū mythology; and says that, when not looked at from that point of view, it appears to mean the highland of Tartary, north of the Himalayas. It is mentioned in inscriptions as Mēru (Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 77, 163), and as Sumēra (ed. pp. 86, 147, 278); and in two of the latter passages it is spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth (the other being the mountain Kailāsa), and as the abode of the god Indra.

Mēruka, a people, country, or mountain, in the north-east division, xiv. 29. But there does not seem any other authority for the name. And the text, Mērukanakṣatradāya, suggests to me just the possibility of the original reading being Mēru-Kanishkārdāya.

Milkē, the (ākara), a place in the southern division, supposed by Kern to be the modern Khāndēsh, xiv. 12; see 'Ākara;' — mines of beryl-stone, (vaidūrya), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Mithila, a country in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., x. 14.

Mīśchōchha, a people, characterised as 'lawless,' or 'without moral customs' (nirmaryādā), in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., v. 79; ix. 13; xvi. 11, 35; xvii. 14, 16, 20; — the Yavanas spoken of as Mīśchōchhas (Mīśchōchhaḥ yā Yavandhaḥ), ii. 15. Kern translates Mīshchōchha in ii. 15, by "foreigners;" and in the other passages by "barbarians." In xiv. 21 the translation is "all the lawless hordes of barbarians living in the west" (nirmaryādā Mīśchōchhaḥ yā paśchima-dīk-shi-tās tē cha). Allērōn says, "Mīśchōchha, tē r. the Arabs." There is a passage in the Vishnu-Purāṇa (Book IV. chap. III.; Wilson's Translation, Vol. III. p. 244 f.), which seems worth quoting here; it tells us that Sagara "made the Yavanas shave their heads entirely; the Sakas he compelled to shave (the upper) half of their heads; the Pārdas wore their hair long; and the Pahlavas let their beards grow; in obedience
to his commands. Them, also, and other Kshattriya races, he deprived of the established usages of oblations to fire and the study of the Vedas; and, thus separated from religious rites, and abandoned by the Brāhmaṇas, these different tribes became Mādechhaṇas.’ The Mādechhaṇas are mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Skanda-gupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 82).

mountain of sunrise (udāya-giri), in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., xxviii. 3; — mountain of sunset (asta-giri), in the western division, xiv. 30.

Mālikā, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23; but perhaps the correct reading is Mālikā. See also ‘Mālikā.’

Maulinā (v. i. Puṇja), a mountain in the north-east division, xiv. 31. Albārūnī gives the name as ‘Puṇḍālī.’

Munukhobha, a people; see Munukhobha.

Naimishā, a people; the king of the Naimishās (Naimisha-nīpa), misc. ref., xi. 60.

nālakuraṭa, the island of cocoa-nuts, in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

nārūnakha, a people with the faces of women, in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Narmadā, the river ‘Nerbudda;’ misc. ref., v. 64; xvi. 1, 9. See also ‘Rūvā.’ The name Narmadā occurs in the Eroā inscription of Budhagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 90).

Nasikā, a town or country, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12. It is the modern Nasik. The form ‘Nasikā’ appears to be established by inscriptions at Bāda and at Nasik itself (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 89, 98).

nāskardhaya, the kingdom of the dead, in the north-east division, xiv. 29. But see under ‘Mērūka.’

necks; great-necked people (maḥā-grīva) in the south-east division, xiv. 9; snake-necked people (vyḍā-grīva) in the south-east division, xiv. 9; long-necked people (ārgha-grīva) in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

Also see ‘throats.’

Nēpāla, a country, and the people of it; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 65. It is the modern Nēpāl. The name occurs in the Allahābad inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Nīpa, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Nīravindhyā, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

Nishāda, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 10; misc. ref., v. 76. Kern translates, in xiv. 10, Nishāda-rākṣārājas, by ‘the territory of the Aborigines;’ and in v. 76, Nishāda-saṅghāḥ, by ‘the savage tribes.’ The Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman mentions the Nishāda people or country (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262).

nomads (paśu-pāla), in the north-east division, xiv. 29.

Nīshaka-vana, ‘the forest of the man-lions,’ in the north-west division, xiv. 22.

oceans; the ocean (samuḍra) in the eastern division, i.e. the Bay of Bengal, xiv. 6; — the ocean of milk (kaḥār-śāda) in the eastern division, xiv. 6; — the southern ocean (yāmūn-śāda) in the southern division, xiv. 15; — the great ocean (maḥā-śāda) in the south-west division, i.e. the Indian Ocean, xiv. 19; — the eastern ocean (pūrva-śāda), misc. ref., v. 65; — the ocean mentioned as the gone or givile of the earth, xliii. 32. For some other interesting references, see the index of Gupta Inscriptions.

Oḍra, or Audra, a country, the modern Orissa, and the people of it; misc. ref., v. 74. See also ‘Uṛa.’

Padma, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Pahlava, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., v. 38; xvi. 38; xviii. 6. See also under ‘Mādechhaṇa.’ The Pahlavas are mentioned in one of the Nāšik inscriptions (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 108). And a Pahlava minister of Rudradāman is mentioned in the Junagadh inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 263).

palōla, the marshes or swamps, in the north-east division, xiv. 30. Below his translation, Kern remarks that ‘palōla must be the vulgar pronunciation for the Skr. palōla, ‘swamp, marsh.’ The modern name is Terai, the eastern part of which, near Khol-Behrā, seems to be meant by palōla in our list.’

Pāthulā, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 35, 38, 41; ix. 29, 34; x. 13; xiv. 32.
Pañchanada, 'the country of the five rivers,' the Pañjāb, in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., x. 6. See also 'Pañchanada.'

Pañchanada, a king or other inhabitant of Pañchanada, q. v.; misc. ref., xi. 60.

Pāḍu, a people in the middle country, xiv. 8.

The Rājīm grant allots Indrabala, Namaddēra, and Tivamarija, to the Pāḍa-vānśa or lineage of Pāḍu (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 298).

Pāḍyā, a country, and the people of it; northern Pāḍyā (uttara-Pāḍyā), misc. ref., xvi. 10; — the Pāḍyā king (Pāḍyā-nārāvara, Pāḍyā-vālaha, Pāḍyā-ānya), misc. ref., iv. 10; vi. 8, xi. 56. The Pāḍyās are carried back to the third century B.C. by one of the edicts of Aśoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, pp. 233, 240, 249).

Pāḍyavānśa, a place or country whose pearls are found, lxxxi. 2, 6.

Pāṇi, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 10. It may perhaps be the same with the Pānād of one of the Nāsik inscriptions, which has been identified with the river Pār or Pānād in the Surat District (Archaeol. Surv. West. India Vol. IV, p. 100, and note 2).

Pārāloka, a place where pearls are found, lxxxi. 2, 4.

Pārāsava, a country, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 18; — pearls are found there, lxxxi. 2, 5; misc. ref., lxxii. 15. Alberdius says, "Pārāsava, i.e., the Persians."

Pārata, a people in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., x. 5, 7; xiii. 9; xvi. 4, 13, 22. The Pārata may possibly be identical with the Pārata; see under 'Mushaliha.'

Pārīyatāra, (q.v. Pārīpatra), a mountain in the middle country, xiv. 4; misc. ref., v. 68; vi. 10; lxxix. 11. The form 'Pārīpatra' is deduced from one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. India Vol. IV, p. 100). 'Pārīyatāra' occurs in one of the Māndūśa inscriptions (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 157). See also 'Pārīyatārikī.'

Pārīyatārikī, the people of the Pārīyatāra mountain, q. v.; misc. ref., x. 15.

Pārīvānḍa, a people; misc. ref., xvii. 16, 23; xviii. 2.

Pārīvā Clara, nomads, in the north-east division, xiv. 29.

Pārīvāra, the people of Pārīvāra, q. v., in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., v. 74, 90.

Pārīvāra, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27, and in the north-east, xiv. 81; misc. ref., xvi. 22; lxxix. 19.

Pāyāshī, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 10. In his translation, Kern notes that, "another reading, also in Kāsya, is Parāshī."

Pearls; the places where they are found are located in the southern division, xiv. 14; — in addition to being obtained from oysters, pearls are obtained from or found in mines (śīc), and in the Himalayan mountains, in the northern country (kauśāra), and in Pāyāvyata, Parāloka, Pārāsava, Siśhala, Surāśtra, and Tāmrapaṇḍa, lxxxi. 2.

Phalgaṇa, a river in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

Phāṭikāra, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12.

Phēnagiri (v. l. Phēnagiri) a mountain in the south-west division, xiv. 18. Monier-Williams says it is near the mouth of the Indus.


Prabha, a place of pilgrimage near Drāvak, misc. ref., xvi. 32. It is mentioned in inscriptions at Nāsik and Kārlē (Archaeol. Surv. West. India Vol. IV, pp. 100, 101).

Prācyādhīpaka, the kings of the eastern country; misc. ref., v. 69; — the lords of the eastern and other countries (Prācyādhdhi Prataya), misc. ref., lxxvi. 75. See also 'Prācyādhipa.'

Prāgāla, the kings of the eastern country; misc. ref., iv. 28. See also 'Prācyādhipa.'

Prāgyōtiṣha, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., xvi. 1.

Prājata, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Pratihāra, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Prayāge, probably the place of pilgrimage at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamnā; misc. ref., xi. 35. The name occurs in the Apsārd inscription of Adityaśāna (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 200).

Pulinda, a people; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 77, 78; ix. 17, 29, 40; xvi. 2, 23; — the Pulinda tribe (Pulinda-gāga), misc. ref., v. 39. The Pulindas are carried back to the third century A.D. by one of the edicts of Aśoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, pp. 239, 240, 247, 248).

Pulīra, a country, and the people of it;
diamonds are obtained there, lxxx. 7; —
other misc. ref., v. 70; ix. 15; x. 14; xvi.
3; — the leader of the Puvdras (Puvdr-
dhipati), misc. ref., xi. 58. See also
‘Puvdras.’

Pushkalanvata, a people in the northern division,
xiv. 10.

Pushkalanvata, a people in the southern division,
xiv. 10. (Pundran,)

Pushkalanvata, a people in the south-east division,
xiv. 10.

Pushkalanvata, a people, identical with
Pushkalanvata, q. v.; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Pushkara, probably the modern Pókhar in
Ajjmr, misc. ref., v. 68; xvi. 31; — the
forest of Pushkara (Pushkar-árya), misc.
ref., xi. 35. The Pushkaras (pókhárdini =
pushkarári) are mentioned in one of the
Násky inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.
Vol. IV. p. 100).

Raivatana, in the south-west division, xiv. 19;
misc. ref., xvi. 31. Raivatana is the hill at
Junágañ, opposite to the Girnar mountain.
It is mentioned in the Junágañ inscription of
Skandagupta, and in the Jaunpur inscription
of Ittávarvarman (Gupta Inscriptions,
p. 64, 230).

Rajania, ‘Kahstrianas,’ placed in the northern
division, xiv. 28.

Ramañña, a country and the people of it, in
the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref.,
xvi. 21. Albérđnj gives “Mañña.” See also
‘Ramañña.’

Ramañña, the people of Ramañña, q. v.; misc.
ref., x. 5.

Rathává, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 16. In his
translation, Kern notes that it is difficult to
deide upon the true form, as some of his
manuscripts had Ratharú, Rathás在过渡期, and
Rathayá or Rathayá. With Rathává,
we may compare Gájává.

Bévà, the river ‘Nerbudda;’ misc. ref., xii. 6.
See also ‘Narmáda.’ The name Bévà occurs
in one of the Mándasór Inscriptions (Gupta
Inscriptions, pp. 154, 157).

Rishibhá, a people in the southern division,
xiv. 15.

Rishika, a people in the southern division, xiv.
15. Can the name have any connection with
the ‘Rishika’ or ‘Rishíka’ of one of the
240, 247, 248).

Rishyasná, a mountain in the southern
division, xiv. 13.

Rómaka, a people or place; misc. ref., xvi. 6.
Korn translates by the Romans.” Albérđnj,
speaking of the determination of longitude
by the Hindus, from Laháki, says (Indús,
Translation, Vol. I. p. 303) — “Their
remarks on the rising and setting of the
heavenly bodies show that Yamakótí and
Róm are distant from each other by half a
circle. It seems that they assign the
countries of the West (i.e. North Africa) to
Róm or the Roman Empire, because the Róm
or Byzantine Greeks occupy the opposite
shores of the same sea (the Mediterranean);
for the Roman Empire has much northern
latitude, and penetrates high into the north.
No part of it stretches far southward, and,
of course, nowhere does it reach the equator,
as the Hindus say with regard to Rómaka.”
As regards Yamakótí mentioned here, see
‘under Bhardrásá.’

Sabara, a people; misc. ref., v. 38; ix. 15, 29;
x. 15, 18; xvi. 1, 33; xxii. 15; — naked
Sabaras (nágma-Sabaras), and leaf-old or
leaf-eating Sabaras (purpa-Sabaras), in
the south-east division, xiv. 10; — ‘the band of
the Sabaras, hunters, and thievos’ (Sabara-
vídáha-chaura-s ángha), misc. ref., lxxxvil.
10. In a note to his translation, Kern
remarks on the word purpa-Sabara, ‘i. e.
‘leaf-savages,’ meaning those that feed upon
leaves; they are manifestly the Phyllitès
of Ptolemy.” The grant of Pallavamalla-
Nandívarman mentions a Sabara king
named Udayana (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII.
p. 279).

Sahya, a mountain; misc. ref., lxxix. 30. It is
the Sahyádri range, in the Western Ghatts.
It is mentioned in one of the Násky inscriptions
(Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV.
p. 109). It is sometimes spoken of as one of
the breasts of the earth, — the other being the Vindhya range (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 184).

Saindhava, the people of the Sindh country; misc. ref. v. 71. See also 'Sindhu.'

Sairindha, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 22.

Saka, a people in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., v. 38, 75, 79; ix. 21; xiii. 9; xvi. 1; xvii. 26; xviii. 6. In each instance, Kern gives "Scythians" in his translation. See also under 'Kawaka' and 'Mlechchha.' The Saka, as a people, are mentioned in one of the Nasik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109); and individual Sakas, including Ushavadata, son-in-law of the Kshattrapa Nahapana, are mentioned in the same series of records (id. pp. 101, 104, 114). The Saka are also mentioned among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Sākā, the modern Audh, or 'Oudh' or 'Oudh,' in the middle country, xiv. 4. See also 'Ayōdhamk.'

Sāla, (v. l. Sālva and Sālva), a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., v. 76; xvi. 21; xvii. 13, 18.

Samaṭa, in the eastern division, xiv. 6. The name means 'the country of which the rivers have flat and lavel banks, of equal height on both sides,' and it denotes Lower Bengal. It occurs in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Sākhyāṭa, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Śāntika, a people in the western division, xiv. 20.

Saradhā, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26.

Śrāsvata, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., xvi. 22. They seem to be the people dwelling on the banks of the Sārvatī, g. e.

Śrāvati, a river; misc. ref. to the region where it disappears, xvi. 31. See also 'Śrāvastā.'

Śrāvati, a river; misc. ref., v. 65; xvi. 16.

Śrāsād, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 21.

Śrālikā, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 8; but perhaps the correct reading is Maulika. See also 'Śrālikā.'

Śaurāshṭra, a country, the modern Kāthiāwād, and the people of it; diamonds are obtained there, lxxx. 6, and pearls, lxxxi. 2, 4; misc. ref., v. 68; ix. 19; xvi. 17, 31. See also 'Saurāshṭra, and Saurāshṭra.'

Śaurāṅgā, the people of Śaurāṅga, g. v. misc. ref., xxxii. 11.

Sauri, a people in the southern division, xiv. 11. In a note to his translation, Kern suggests that the Sauri are the Sau of Ptolemy.

Śaurāṅgā, 'of or belonging to Surpārā,' where, it is said, black diamonds are found, lxxx. 6. Surpārā is the modern Sōpārā, in the Ṭhāpa District, Bombay Presidency. For a long note on its giving all the varieties of the name and epigraphical and literary references, see Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc. Vol. XV. p. 273. See also under 'Aparantaka.'

Śauvanka, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 21. See also 'Śauvanka, and Śindu-Śauvanka.' The Ḫunagad inscription of Rudradāman mentions the Śauvanka people or country (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262).

Śauvanka, a people; misc. ref. iv. 23. See also 'Śauvanka, and Śindu-Śauvanka.'

Śībī, a people; misc. ref., iv. 24; v. 67; x. 50; xvi. 26; xvii. 19. See also 'Śībika.'

Śībika, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12. See also 'Śībika.'

Śībra, (v. l. 'Savara), a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 6.

Śīnhalā, Ceylon, in the southern division, xiv. 15; — the ruler of Śīnhalā, g. e. Śīnhalā, misc. ref., xi. 60; — pearls are obtained there, lxxxi. 2, 4. See also 'Laṅka.' The Saṅhalajakas, or people of Śīnhalā, are mentioned in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Śīnhalapuraka, a people; misc. ref., v. 42.

Śindhu, either the river Indus, or the Sindh country, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; — the Sindh river (Śindhu-nāḍa), misc. ref., xvi. 16, 21; — the (river) Śindhu—misc. ref., xvi. 10; — the banks of the Sindh (Śindhu-taṭa), misc. ref., v. 66, 80; — the Sindh country (Śindhu-tīṣhṭaya), misc. ref., lxxxi. 11; — other misc. ref. to either the river, or the country, or the people of it, iv. 23; xviii. 6. The Sindh country is mentioned in the Ḫunagad inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262).
And the seven mouths of the river Sindhuv are mentioned in the Māhārāṣṭra inscription of the emperor Chandra (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 141). See also ‘Sandhava.’

Sindhuv-Sauvira, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., x. 6; xiv. 34; also Sindhuv-Sauvitra, misc. ref., ix. 19. Albērātu says, “Sauvira, i. e. Mūltan and Jāhāra.”

Sūpā, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9. sītu, a white people, misc. ref., xi. 61. See also ‘śēṭa,’ and under ‘Hāna.’

Sītaka (v. l. Sītaka), a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

skych, in the city of (bhūta-pura), the north-west division, xiv. 22; roammers in the sky (bhūchāra), in the northern division, xiv. 29; dwellers in the sky (dvīvāṭha), in the north-east division, xiv. 31. On xiv. 29, Albērātu says “Khaṭha, i. e. people who are born from the trees, hanging on them by the navel-strings.”

Smācudrāha, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

Sūpa, a river; misc. ref., v. 65; xvi. 1, 9.

spirit, the city of (bhūta-pura), in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Srīparvāta, a mountain; misc. ref., xvi. 3.

Srṣabha, a town or country, misc. ref., xvi. 21. Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham has identified it with the Śrī-विं-का of Hiuen Tsang, and the modern Sūgh near Thānēsār (Anc. Geogr. of India, p. 345).

sīrī-ṛṣiṣya, the king of women, i. e. the amazons, in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., xvi. 6. See under ‘amazons.’

Sūrās, placed in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Sūkha, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 5; misc. ref., v. 37; xvi. 1.

Sakti, a place or people; the Sakti lord (Śaktiy-adhīpā), misc. ref., iv. 24.

Śakrīka, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23; misc. ref., ix. 15, 21; x. 7; xvi. 35; but perhaps the correct reading is Mūlikā. In his text of ix. 15, Kern gives Sālikā, with the palatal aspirate; but in his translation he gives Sālikā, with the dental aspirate, and adds the note that “this seems to be the preferable spelling.” See also ‘Śakrīka.’

sunrise, the mountain of (udāyā-giri), in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

sunset, the mountain of (asta-giri), in the western division, xiv. 20.

supernatural people and places; the city of spirits (bhūta-pura), in the northern division, xiv. 27;— demons with matted hair (jaṭā-vāva), in the north-east division, xiv. 30;— the grove of spirits (vaṣu-vaṣu), in the north-east division, xiv. 31;— Gandharvas, or the heavenly choristers, in the north-east division, xiv. 31; misc. ref., xii. 8;— dwellers in the sky (Khaṭha), in the north-west division, xiv. 22;— dwellers in the sky (dvīvaṭha), in the north-east division, xiv. 31;— roamers in the sky (bhūchāra), in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Sūrāsānā (v. l. Sūrāsānā), a people in the middle country, xiv. 3; misc. ref., v. 85, 69; ix. 17; xvi. 13, 22; lxix. 28;— the lord of the Sūrāsānas (Sūrāsānā-pati), misc. ref., xi. 54. See also ‘Sūrāsānakā.’ An inscription of the Sūrāsānas has been published in Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 34; the name occurs as Sūrāsēna there, and also (as a proper name) in one of the Nāpa inscriptions (Gupta Inscriptions, Introd. p. 180).

Sūrāsānakā, a people; the king of the Sūrāsānakas (Sūrāsānāka-mūpya), misc. ref., ix. 11. See also ‘Sūrāsānā.’

Sūrāshṭrā, a country, the modern Kāthiāvād, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; pearls are obtained there, lxxixi. 2, 4; other misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 79; x. 8; lxix. 11. See also ‘Sūrāshṭrā.’ The base ‘Sūrāshṭrā’ occurs in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109); in the Šunapāṇī inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262); and in line 9 of the Šunapāṇī inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 59); but line 8 of the latter record shows that the customary expression was Sūrāshṭrā (nom. pl.), ‘the Sūrāshṭrā countries.’

Sūrpa, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 14.

śvarpa-bīḍ, the region of gold, in the north-east division, xiv. 31. Below his translation, Kern gives the name—“in all likelihood a mythical land; with Ptolemy it is called Chrysea (cf. Lassen, Altert. iii. 242), which is not to be confounded with the real
island and peninsula Chrysea. The latter is held to be Malakka; the Golden Island, however, the existence of which is denied by Lassen (Altert. iii. 247), but sufficiently attested not only by the Greeks, but also in the Kathā-sāra-tīṣṭhāga rā (x. 54, 99; 56, 62; 57, 72; xviii. 123, 110), cannot be but Sumatra, including, perhaps, Java. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, 40, 30 (ed. Bombay)."

Suvāstra, a place or country, misc. ref., xxxii.

19. Can it denote the Swāt territory? Suvra, a people; misc. ref., v. 79. See also 'Sāuvra, Sauvraka, and Sāndhu-Sauvraka.' Sū-va-mukha, a dog-faced people, in the northern division, xiv. 23.

Sūśta, a white people; misc. ref., xvi. 38. See also 'Sūta,' and under 'Hūpa.'

swamps or marshes (pālōtaka), in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Śyāmāka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Takṣaśilā, the inhabitants of Takṣaśilā, q. v., in the northern division, xiv. 26; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Takṣaśilā, a city; misc. ref., x. 8. See also 'Takṣaśilā.' The place is the well-known Taxila of the Greek writers. And it was one of the principal seats of Aśoka's power (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. p. 247). Albērūnī says "Takṣaśilā, c. Mārkkala." Mārkaka seems to be the same with Mārgalaka, in connection with which he speaks of "the country between Bardaṇ and Mārgalaka," and of "the country Nirahara, behind Mārgalaka" (Indo., Translation, Vol. II. p. 8).

Ṭīla, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22. Albērūnī gives "Ṭālāhala," — not "Ṭālas and Halas," as given by Kern, from the commentary. I suppose. There was an ancient town named Tāḷāpura or Tāḷāpura in the neighbourhood of Nirmaṇḍ in the Paḥjāb (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 290).

Ṭilikkāṭa (c. l. Tāṭikaṭa), in the southern division, xiv. 11. Tāṭikōt in the Bīʒpur District suggests itself; but it is hardly possible that the place can be so ancient.

Ṭamalīpīṭa, a city; misc. ref., x. 14. It seems to be the Tan-mo-liṭi of Hiuen Taïang, which has been identified with Tāmluk on the Solai, just above its junction with the Hooghly (Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 200, and note 36). See also 'Ṭamalīpīṭa.'

Tāmaliptika, (v. l. Tāmalipta and Tāmaliptaka), the inhabitants of Tāmalipti, q. v., in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

Ṭāmrarpāṇi, in the southern division, xiv. 16; pearls are obtained there, lxxxii. 2, 3. It is not clear whether the reference is to a river, said to be noted for its pearls, rising in Malaya, or to Ceylon, which was known as Tāmrarpāṇi (whence 'Taprobane') in the days of Aśoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 242).

Ṭāṅgāṇa (v. l. Tāṅkāṇa, q. v.), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., ix. 17; x. 12; xvi. 6; xxxii. 15.

Ṭāṅkāṇa, a country in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., xvi. 25. A country named Tāṅka is mentioned in the Dāvākāra cave inscription at Elleri (Case-Temple Inscriptions, p. 94, text line 10). See also 'Ṭāṅgāṇa.'

Ṭāṭḍā, the river Tāṭḍā; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12. The name occurs in one of the Nālik inscriptions (Archaol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 100). The v. l. for Tāṭikaṭa, q. v., would give a reference to the banks of the Tāṭḍā.

Ṭāṭakṣiṭti, a (?) country, in the western division, xiv. 21.

throat; high-throated people (brāhvarakaṣṭha) in the south-east division, xiv. 8. Also see 'necks.'

timiṇγilīdaṇa, 'a whale-eating people,' in the southern division, xiv. 18.

Ṭāṭigarta, the people of Trigarta, q. v.; misc. ref., x. 11; xvi. 22; xvii. 16. Also Trigartaka, misc. ref., iv. 24.

Trigarta, a country in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., ix. 19. See also 'Trigarta.' Trigarta is mentioned in the Charbhā grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII. p. 8).

śrīdṛṣṭrā, 'three-eyed people,' in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Ṭriṇḍra, a city; misc. ref., v. 39. See also 'Ṭripurā.'

Ṭrīpurā, a city in the south-east division, xiv. 9. See also 'Ṭripurā.' There can be little doubt, if any, that it is the Tripurā — the modern Tēwar near Jabalpur — of the Kalachuris of Central India.
Tukhâra, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., xvi. 6. In the latter passage, Kern translates the word by "Tocharians."

Tumbavana, a forest in the southern division, xiv. 15.

tuarâjâna, 'horse-faced people,' in the northern division, xiv. 25. See also 'âśava- mukha, and âśavasâdana.'

udayagiri, 'the mountain of sunrise,' in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

Uddêhika, (v. l. Andêhika and Andëhika), a people in the middle country, xiv. 3. Albërânl says, "Uddêhika, near Bazâna." Bazâna, which name is marked by the translator, in the index, with a query, is said by Albërânl (Indica, Translation, Vol. I. p. 202) to be twenty-eight farsakhë (one farsakh = four miles, âd. p. 200) in a south-westerly direction from Kanauj. He also says that Bazâna is the capital of Gujarât, and "is called Nârâyana by our people." And he places Aparâva sixty farsakhë to the south-west of Bazâna (âd. p. 205).

Uđchya, the people of the north; misc. ref., xvi. 21. Compare uddháphysa as a name of Northern India, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 312.

Udâra (v. l., perhaps, Ûdrâ or Ûdrâ), a country, the modern Orissa, and the people of it, in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., v. 35; xvi. 1; xvii. 26. Also see 'Aûdrâ, and Ûdrâ.'

Udumbara, a people; misc. ref., v. 40; xvi. 3. See also 'Audumbera.'

Ujjayâni, the modern Ûjiâjan; misc. ref., x. 15; xii. 14; ixiv. 30. See also 'Anjyâjanaka, and Avânti.' In the Prâkrit form of Ujjâni, the name appears in one of the Nâsil inscriptions (Archival Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 101), and is also carried back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Âśoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. pp. 88, 95).

Ujjîhâna, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Upsâyotisha, (v. l. Anpejyantisha), a people in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Upsavâga, a country in the south-east division, xiv. 8. Kern translates the name by "Vaûga minor."

araâkshapâta, 'high-throated people,' in the south-east division, xiv. 8.

Uûhâra, a people; misc. ref., iv. 22; xvi. 26. See also 'Anûhâra.'

Utkala, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

Utkala is always explained as denoting Orissa. uttarâpatha, a customary name for Northern India, misc. ref., ix. 41. See also 'Âryâvarta,' and contrast 'âkshêpâpatha.' Occasionally uttarâpatha occurs in place of the more customary and technical uttarâpatha. The Western Chalukya records speak of Harshâvardhana of Kanauj as "the lord of all the uttarâpatha or region of the north" (e. g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 87).

Vâjâvmukha, in the south-west division, xiv. 17. The name means 'the mare's mouth,' which is the entrance to the lower regions at the south pole, where the submarine fire is. Below his translation Kern remarks — "in the astronomical Siddhântas Vâjâvâmukha is the supposed abode of the dead at the South Pole."

Vâhlikâ, Vâhlikâ, a country, and an inhabitant of it; misc. ref., v. 80; ix. 10. See also 'Bâhlikâ, Bâhlikâ.' The name of Balkh seems to be derived from this word. But the statement, in the Mâhârujâ inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 141), that the emperor Chandra crossed the seven months of the Indus and then conquered the Vâhlikas, tends to locate the tribe, for that period, far to the south of Beloch.

Vaidarbha, the people of Vidarbha, q. v.; misc. ref., ix. 27.

Vaidêåa, the people of Vidèäa, q. v.; misc. ref., xxxii. 22.

Vaidâhaka, the people of Vidâåa, q. v.; misc. ref., ix. 18, 21; xvi. 16.

vaidurya, the place or places where beryll-stones are found, in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Vâjsyâs, placed in the southern division, xiv. 21.

Vanâvaäi, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., ix. 15; xvi. 6. It is the modern Banâwâsi in the North Kanara District, above the Ghautâ. Albërânl says "Vanâvaï on the coast." And Râshid-d Din (Elliot's History of India, Vol. I. p. 58) says "Banâwâsi on the shore of the sea." It seems to be some similar wrong information that led the Greek writers to speak of Busantion,—which appears to represent Vajisyanti, another ancient name of Banâwâsi,—as a sea-side mart.
sanauga, the collection of forests, in the western division, xiv. 20.

Vāga, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; misc. ref., v. 72, 73, 79; ix. 10; x. 14; xvi. 1; xvii. 18, 22; xxxii. 15. See also "Vāga, and Uparāga." The Vāga countries (Vāgēṣu; loc. plur.) are mentioned in the Māhārāṇi inscription of the emperor Chandra (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 141).

Vāṅga, a variant of Vāga, q. v.; misc. ref., xi. 60.

Vardhamāna, a city or country, in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., xvi. 8; xxxix. 21; xxiv. 2. It is the modern Bardwan in Bengal.

Vāsāti (or l. Vāsāti), in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., xvii. 19.

Vasauma, a mountain, in the northern division, xiv. 24.

easveena, 'the forest of Vasas or spirits,' in the north-east division; xiv. 31.

Vāṭadhāna, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26; misc. ref., xvi. 22. The text of xvi. 22 shows that the name is Vāṭadhāna. But on xiv. 26 Allârøid gives "Dāsāra; Kavāṭadhāna," instead of "Dāsāraka and Vāṭadhāna." Monier-Williams says that, in addition to being the name of a degraded tribe, the word means 'the descendant of an outcaste Brahman by a Brahman female.'

Vata, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the south-east division, xiv. 8; — misc. ref., x. 5; xvii. 18, 22.

Vēḍasurīt, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 32.

Vallūra, a town in the southern division, xiv. 14. It is, undoubtedly, the well-known Vēḷūrī, Yerrūla, Ėlūrū, or Ellurū, in the Nālūr's Dominions, where the cave-temples are. The place is also mentioned, as Vallūra (for Vēḷūrū), in the inscription at the Buddhist vihāra, known as the Gaṇapāthikāla cave, near Gulvāḍā in the neighbourhood of Ajanța (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 130, 140); and as Vallūraka (or probably more correctly Vallūraka) for Vallūraka, in three Buddhist inscriptions at Kārī (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 101, 109, 113): as regards the first of these records, I differ from the published translation, and take the record to mean that the village of Kārī was granted to some members of the community of ascetics "whose permanent abode was in the cave-temples at Vallūraka," and who had come to pass the rainy season at Kārī; the other two records, however, seem to mean that a branch of the sanauga from Vallūraka ultimately settled at Kārī, and gave its name to one or more of the caves there: there seems no foundation for the suggestion, ibid. p. 101, note 1, that Vallūraka was the ancient name of Kārī itself. Under the Sanskritised name of Elāpurā, the place is also mentioned in connection with the Mahārāṇa king Kṛishṇa 1, for whom the "Kāliṣa temple" was constructed there (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 282).

Vēṇā, a river in the southern division, xiv. 18; — diamonds are obtained there, lxxv. 6; misc. ref., iv. 26; xvi. 9.

Vēṇumati, a river in the north-west division, xiv. 23. Allârøid says, "Vēṇumati (?), i. e. Tirmidh."

Vēṭravati, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

Vidarbha, a country in the south-east division, xiv. 8. See also "Vaidarbha." Vidarbha is mentioned in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109).

Vidēha, a country, and the people of it; misc. ref., x. 41, 71; xvi. 11. See also "Vaidēha, and Vaidēhaka."

Vidēśa; misc. ref., xvi. 32. Monier-Williams gives the word as denoting (1) the capital of the district of Dāsārā, and (2) a river in Mālava.

Vidyādhara, a class of supernatural beings; misc. ref., ix. 27. Kern translates by "the inhabitants of Fairy-land;" and identifies them with the Teutonic elves.

Vindhya mountains; "the inhabitants of the recesses of the Vindhyas," or the people dwelling near the boundaries or at the end of the Vindhyas (Vindhik-danta-dāśināh), in the south-east division, xiv. 9; — the forests of the Vindhyas (Vindhik-dāvan), xvi. 8; — the range spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth, the other being the Himavat mountains, xliii. 35; — misc. ref., xi. 6; xvi. 10, 12 (perhaps an interpolation); lixiv. 50. The Vindhyas mountains are mentioned in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109). In other epigraphic passages, they are mentioned as one of
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the breasts of the earth, the other being the Sahyrange (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 184); as constituting both the breasts (id. p. 185); and as extending up to, and including, the Nāgarjun Hill in the Gaya District (id. pp. 227, 228).

Vīpāśa, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 21.

Vīraṭa, a country; misc. ref. (perhaps an interpolation), xvi. 12. Vīrājakote, ‘the fort of Vīrāta,’ was a name of Hāngal in the Dhārārā District.

Vītaka, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 2. In his translation Kern adds the note, which perhaps includes the Mākalas and the Kīrātas, — “These are the same tribes who by a synonymous term are called Lampākas and Utsavaśankātas; they are said to scorn the institution of matrimony, and to form only temporal engagements, lasting for the time of a festival.”

Vītās, the river Jhēlam; misc. ref., xvi. 27.

Vokkana, a people in the western division, xiv. 20; misc. ref., xvi. 35.

Vyāshadātvāja, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Vṛṣhadevīpa, ‘the island of bulls,’ in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

Vṛṣṇanukha, ‘a tiger-faced people,’ in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Vṛṣṭagriśva, ‘a people with serpents’ necks,’ in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

whales, eaters of (ānāgārā-dāna), in the southern division, xiv. 16.

white people (gauḍaka) in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref. to white people (kṛṣṇa) or to White Hūṇas (kṛṣṇa-Hūṇa), xvi. 38, — but see under ‘Hūṇa.’

women; the kingdom of women, i.e. the country of the amazons (śirṭ-rājya), in the north-west division, xiv. 22; — a people with the faces of women (nāṭr-mukha), in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Yamunā, the river Jamnā; misc. ref., v. 37; xvi. 2; — mentioned as the daughter of the sun (śaśūra-sutā), xlii. 32; — the region between the Gaṅga and the Yamunā (Gaṅga-Yamunā-āntarāla), misc. ref., lxix. 26. See also ‘Yāmuna.’

Yāmuna, the people living near the Yamunā, g.v. in the middle country, xiv. 2, and in

the northern division, xiv. 25. In xiv. 2, Kern translates “those who dwell along the banks of the Jamnā;” and in xiv. 23, “those who live near the sources of the Yamnā.” On xiv. 2, Albērōnī says “the valley of the Yamunā;” but on xiv. 25, “Yāmuna, i.e. a kind of Greeks,” — evidently confusing Yāmuna with Yavana.

Yāsuvātā, a city in the northern division, xiv. 28. Below his translation, Kern notes that it is “a mythical city of the Elves.”

Yandhēya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28; misc. ref., iv. 25; v. 40, 87, 75; xvi. 19. See also ‘Yandhēya.’ The Yandhēyas are mentioned in the Junāgaḷ inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 202), and in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragnāta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14); and there is a fragmentary inscription of some leader of the tribe at Bijayagaḷ (id. p. 251).

Yandhēyaka, another form of Yandhēya, g.v.; misc. ref., xi. 59; — the king of the Yandhēyaka (Yandhēyaka-rājya), misc. ref., xi. 11.

Yavana, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 78, 80; x. 21, 35; x. 6, 15, 18; xiii. 9; xvi. 1; xvii. 6; — the Yavanas spoken of as Mālochhas (Mālochhaḥ ki Yavanāḥ), ii. 15 (see also under ‘Mālochha’). In ii. 15 and xvi. 1, Kern translates the word Yavana by “the Greeks;” and the first of these two passages mentions the flourishing state of astronomy among the Yavanas. On xiv. 13, Albērōnī says “Yavana, i.e. the Greeks.” And McCrindle gives the following note (Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 122, note 1), to explain the derivation of the word: — “The name of Ion, the eponymous ancestor of the Ionians, had originally the digamma, and hence was written as Iovan. The Hebrew transcription of this digrammated form is Javan, the name by which Greece is designated in the Bible. The Sanskrit transcription is Yavana, the name applied in Indian works to Ionians or Greeks and foreigners generally.” The thirteenth rock edit of Aḥēka speaks of the Yonas, i.e. Yavanas (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247); and it describes Antiochus II. of Syria, as a Yona, i.e. Yavana, king (ibid. pp. 239, 240, 241, 242). The
Yavanas, as a tribe, are mentioned in one of the Nasik inscriptions (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109); and several individual Yavanas are mentioned in the same series of records (ibid. pp. 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 115). And the Junagrād inscription of Rudradāman speaks of a Yavana prince or king named Tushaṣṭha, apparently as a contemporary of Aśoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 266, text line 8; from an inspection of the

original stone, I take the reading to be Aśkaraṇya Mauṣyaṇaśaśa Yavana-rājēna Tushaṣṭhaṇa-dashāṭhvāya ṣa.) Like the Kambjas and the Pahlavas, the Yavanas are located by Varhamihira too much towards the south; unless the reference is simply to some large settlement of them in the neighbourhood of Nasik.

Yugasṇdhara, a people; misc. ref., xxxii. 19.

MISCELLANEA.

FOLK-ETYMOLOGY OF PLACE-NAMES IN THE SANDOWAY DISTRICT, BURMA.

Extract from a diary kept by the Mgyaṅaṅaṣ of Sandoway showing the popular etymology of place names in the Dādā Circle of the Sandoway townships. In all four cases it can be shown that the etymology is false:

In ancient times there lived near the source of the Dādā River a pūṣa,² who had a daughter. The girl was amusing herself by fishing in the stream, when she was suddenly swept down it by a torrent, such as commonly rushes down the hill sides in the rains. There was no one to help, and so she was drowned. Her last words were omē ṛa,³ and hence the streamlet is thereabouts named Mēva, whence also a neighbouring village took its name.

Lower down are two villages, Yēṭbā and Palaṅgāt. These took their names from the yēṭbā and palaṅgāt,⁴ with which the girl had been fishing, and which were found on the banks at these spots.

B. Houghton.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ORDEAL IN MODERN INDIAN LIFE.

Lately a pair of boots belonging to me disappeared in a suspicious manner. The servants had been quarrelling, and it was pretty evident that one of them had made away with the boots in order to spirit the man in charge. They decided to take oath among themselves to find out the culprit. The servants implicated were the coachman, the cook, the bhāṣṭa, the bhāṣṭamāṇa, the bearer, a khaḍmaṭgār, and a chupraṭā, all Musalāṁs; a chupraṭā, a saḷa, two paṅkhaḍudāla, all Hindus; and a mehtar.

I watched the proceedings. Firstly, real holy water (gaṅgāḍal) from Hardwar was produced in a medicine bottle (1) and uncorked. This the Hindus in turn solemnly held in both hands, while they repeated, each in his own fashion, an oath which ran somewhat thus:—¹ "May my eyes go blind, and my body break out, etc., if I stole those boots!" The bottle was then lifted above the head by both hands in the usual form of salutation. There was no doubt as to the holy water. It belonged to one of the paṅkhaḍudāla, who was

by caste a Thākur from Faisābād in Oudh, and had brought it himself in the medicine bottle from Hardwar.

The mehtar then essayed to take up the holy water, but was not permitted to touch the bottle; so he produced his three children,—a son, a daughter and a child in arms. He successively touched their heads and swore to the above effect.

All the Musalāṁs then swore on the Qurān that none of them were guilty.

In the end the bhāṣṭamāṇa came to me, and said they had all sworn to innocence. There was no gainsaying that, but one of them was, in their own opinion, guilty nevertheless, and so they had decided to divide the cost of the boots amongst themselves, as a general punishment for failing to detect the culprit between them! In this every one acquiesced, and that ended the matter to every one's satisfaction, except the master's, who lost a comfortable pair of boots.

Rangoon, March 1893.

¹ Township officer.
² Merchant, wealthy man.
³ "My mother!" common expression of astonishment and trouble.
⁴ A fishing instrument.
⁵ A basket.
BOOK NOTICE.

SANTAL FOLKTALES. Translated from the Santsili by
A. Campbell, Free Church of Scotland, Santal

Any fresh collection of Indian folktales is welcome, and in particular one made among primitive
isolated races like the Santals, who may be expected
to be in a great measure unaffected by Hindu
influence, and among whom we know that some
really original folklore undoubtedly exists. There
is, for instance, the remarkable legend of their
creation from a goose which is probably of a
totemistic character.

I must admit, however, that Dr. Campbell’s
collection is somewhat disappointing. Nor has
he, I venture to think, gone quite in the proper
way of collecting. Many of these tales display, as
may be easily shewn, undoubted traces of
foreign influence; and this being the case, before
we can satisfactorily classify them, it is absolutely
necessary to know by whom and under what
circumstances they were told and recorded. It
would then be, perhaps, possible to trace the
source by which much undoubtedly foreign folk-
lore has come to be included among them. But
on this point Dr. Campbell vouchsafes absolutely
no information whatever. It would again not
have been a difficult task to suggest some of the
analogies and parallels to other collections which
appear throughout this collection.

The first story, “The Magic Lamp,” is an un-
doubted variant of our old friend Aladdin of the
“Arabian Nights,” which is not part of the
original recension, and has probably reached India
in quite recent years from Western sources. In
the second tale, “Jhores and Jhore,” we have
several of the familiar drolls known in Northern
India as “The Wiles of Shékhh Chillit.” Many of
these, according to Mr. Jacobs, form the basis of
our Joe Miller. In the third tale, “The Boy and
his Stepmother,” we have the familiar type of the
cruel stepmother and her stepson, which in India
often takes the form of the malicious sam or
co-wife, who appears later on in “Sit and Bosont.”
In this third tale it is mixed up with the “Faithful
Animal” cycle, which, in this case, is represented
by the protecting cow—a legitimate descendant of
the Kamadhenu of Hindu mythology. Here, too,
we have a well-known incident of the lover who
finds the golden hair of the princess floating down
the stream. The common Northern Indian version
of this is given by Mr. Mark Thornhill in the
“Princess with the Golden Hair” and in Major
Temple’s “Wonderful Ring.”

In the fifth tale, “Kara and Guja,” we have
another well-known incident popular all over
Northern India of the demon who chews grains of
iron and is killed by the hero, while the casually
Dést or Dhós holds all the credit. Next follows
“The King and His Inquisitive Queen,” which
corresponds perfectly with the well-known story in
the Introduction of the “Arabian Nights,” where
the deus ex machina, who warns the merchant,
that he is a fool not to throw his wife, is a
cuckoo; here it is a he-goat. Then comes “The
Story of Bittam.” Bítá, Dr. Campbell may be
glad to know, is good Hindi, as well as Santal, for
a span, and the story of Bittam, who is known
as Bítan all over Northern India, is the Oriental
representative of one of the most delightful of
Grimm’s Household Tales (No. 27), “Thumbelina.”
The only difference is that the Santál Hop-o’-my-
Thumb is more of an imp than the touching
creation of the German fancy, in which, too, we
find the charming parental tenderness for the
dear little creature which we miss in the Eastern
form of the tale. “The Story of the Tiger” is our
old friend the fox, who acts as arbitrator and
induces the tiger to go back to his cage to shew
how he managed to come out. In “Lipí and
Lapra” we have the well-known idea of the clever
youngest son who gets the better of his brothers,
and “Gumda the Hero” is of the Munchausen
type. In Upper India it appears in the form of the
“Wrestler of the East and the West.”

Perhaps the most original and characteristic
of these stories are those about animals. A good
one describes the dilemma of the man who had
to arbitrate daily between the tiger and the
lizard; and here, too, we come across the stupid,
old tiger who allows his tail to be fried, who takes
people about on his back, and is swindled by the
crane who takes one year the root crop and in
the next the leaves, of which we have a German
version in Grimm. In the “Seven Brothers and
their Sister” we have the old superstition of
human sacrifice at the foundation of buildings,
on which Dr. Campbell might have given an
interesting note.

It will thus be seen that, to the student of com-
parative folklore, there is much of interest in this
collection. We can only express the hope that in
another series Dr. Campbell will give us more of
the really indigenous folktales, and ruthlessl
discard those which are obviously of foreign
origin; and he would do more justice to his work
if he would send it out equipped with analysis,
notes and illustrations of parallel plots and inci-
dents, without which any collection of folklore,
intended for serious students, is of comparatively
little value.

W. Crooke.

1 Dalton Descriptive Ethnology, p. 209 ff.
2 Indian Fairy Tales, p. 86.
3 Widespread Stories, p. 241.
It may be useful to give a somewhat fuller account of these works than has been given in the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustán.

(1) राम लला नाहाच्छु. Twenty verses of four lines each in Śīhar-chhand, consisting of 16 syllables and 22 mātrās. A short poem, celebrating the ceremonial touching of Rāma’s nails before his investiture with the sacred thread. This ceremony will be found described in Bihar Peasant Life, § 1314. A good commentary by Paśūṭ Bandan Pāṭhak, which has been printed at the Khaḍg Bilās Press, Bāṅkīpur.

The two opening verses may be taken as a sample of the style and metre—

इदि सरदय, गणपति, गायण मंडित हो ||
रामलला हरा नाहाच्छु गळ सुंदर हो ||
जेहि यदि चित्त हो यारम-चित्त पाह हो ||
कृषि जपामा हरा पातके दृषि हो सजन हो \ 1 11
कैशना द्वा सिनान दसरथ के ग्रेहा हो ||
देव-लोका साहा देखकर दाश दाश हाँ हो ||
नृया सोलासना लगता बारने ना जाता हो ||
कानालिया के करारे ना ह्रिदाया संदित हो \ 2 11

First reverse I Sāraḍá, Gaṇapati, and Gaṇu, and then sing I the nail-touching of the sweet child Rāma. He who singeth it gaineth perfect knowledge and the supreme treasure, and the sins accumulated through countless transmigrations leave him for ever (1).

Myriads of musical instruments sound in Dasaratha’s house. The Gods look on rejoicing in their hearts. The city of Ouml;h floorcloth so beautiful that tongue cannot describe it; and the bliss of Kaśī is contained in her heart (2).

(2) वैराग्य-संदिपांि (usually spelt ‘śīpāṇ’) or ‘the Kindling of Continence,’ or ‘of Devotion’ (as contrasted with the common expression नमागुि-ि, the kindling the fire of love, exciting sexual desire). In three prakāśas or lectures, with an introductory invocation. In verse 7, the poet himself calls the work Bīrīga-Śandipāṇā. A good Commentary by Bandan Pāṭhak, with glosses by Mahādīv Parśādu, Khaḍg Bilās Press, Bāṅkīpur. The contents are described by the names of the various lectures, as follows:—

Invocation 1., 1—7.
Prakāśa I., Sānt-Sanāthā-bhūmikā, an account of the true nature of a holy man. I., 7—33. Metre Dīvī, Sāraḍā and Uṣyādā.

Prakāśa II., Sānt-mahān-bhūmikā, an account of the true greatness of a holy man. II., 1—9. Metre, as above.

Prakāśa III., Sānti-bhūmikā, an account of the true Poona. III., 1—20. Metre, as above.

The work is principally composed of short sententious verses. The following may be taken as examples of the language:—

I, 5. Tulāñ, yūnh lānu mañā hān harat ||
Māmāvahā karmā khāna ||
Tām āmnu inān bihān īān ||
Dīnām tāmā inān nīduña ||

III, 1. Rāmā ko bhūkhāna tuñā hān ||
Dīman ko bhūkhāna dhānā ||

1 Lalā = idā, a darling.
I have noted two verses of the Vairāgya Sandhyāvat, which are repeated in other works of
the poet:—viz. Bāi. I. 1. This occurs in Dāhobāī (1) and Sat'āsā (1, 2). Bāi. I. 15. —Dāhobāī
(28) and Sat'āsā I. 107.

The poem being a short one, and containing much of interest to the student of comparative
religion, I here give a translation of the whole.

I.—Invocation.

Dāhā.—On the left of Rāma8 kītśeṣ Śītā and on his right Lakṣmanāsa: meditation on him
thus is ever propitious, and is, O Tul'sā, to thee thy wishing-tree (1). Tul'sā, the darkness of
the delusions of this world is not wiped away by the virtue of ten million holy deeds: for the
lotus of thy heart will never expand, till the sun of the Lord (himself descended from the sun)
shineth upon it (2). He heareth without ears, and seeth without eyes. Without a tongue doth
he taste. No nose hath he, and yet he smelleth; and no body hath he, yet he feeleth (3).
Śrājāḥ—Unborn is he. He alone existeth; his form cannot be comprehended. Utterly free
is he of quality, of Māyā (illusion)9 is he the Lord, and for the sake of his servants did he take
unto himself the form of man (4). Dāhā.—Tul'sā, this body of thine suffereth. It ever
suffereth the threefold woe.4 It obtaineth not peace, till, by the Lord's might, it reacheth the
stage of peace (5). Thy body is a field, thy mind, thy words, thine actions, are the husbandmen.
Two seeds are there, Sin and Holiness. As thou seest, so wilt thou reap (6). This book, the
'Kindling of Devotion' containeth the marrow of all knowledge. It giveth the teaching of the
Vēdas and Purāṇas, and the wisdom of all holy books (7).

II.—The Nature of the Holy.

Dāhā.—Simple are his syllables, simple his language. But, though simple, know thou
that they are full of meaning. Tul'sā, simple is the Holy, and thus mayest thou recognise
him (8). Chaupāt.—Unimpassioned is he, but giving happiness to all. Just and self-restrained
ever singing the praises of the Lord. Ever enlightening the souls of the ignorant, and ever for
this purpose wandering from place to place (9). Dāhā.—Such men are only here and there.
Blessed is the land where many Holy dwell. Ever devoted to helping others, ever devoted to
the supreme goal, in love10 working out their lives (10). Whether he shuttest the door of his
mouth, or whether he speaketh the truth,11 in this world is the Holy man ever discreet? (11).
When he speaketh, it is with discretion, and full of his own sweet nature; nor ever placeth he
his foot on the way which leadeth to pain or angry words (12). Ho showeth enmity to no
man, to no man showeth he over-friendship. Tul'sā! this is the religion of the Holy, ever to
speak with even justice (13). Chaupāt.—Very true is he to the One, over keeping his
members in subjection. His thoughts dwell on no one but the Lord. For he knoweth in
his heart that this world is but a mirage. Tul'sā, by these marks dost thou know him (14),

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8 Rāma, throughout Tul'sā Dāś's philosophy, the equivalent of the Īśvara of Rāmānuja's Vēdāntic systems. I hence translate the word for the future as 'the Lord.' Vide post, the remarks on the Sat'āsā.
9 Here the poet adopts the language of Śaṅkara Ādaśya.
10 Woe is of three kinds, those from within the body (e.g., disease, &c.), those from God (as a lightning stroke, &c.), and external (as from wild beasts, or serpents). Cf. Śaṅkara Kārīkā, I.
11 I take the reading prāti not vrīti.
12 I.e., even when speaking the truth, he speaks kindly.
13 Jāthā artha equal to yathārtha.
Doh. — One trust, one strength, one hope, one faith. As the chilak-bird longeth for a rain-cloud in the season of S 우, so longeth he for the Lord (15). He hath no anger nor fault, and is a ship wherein to cross the ocean of existence. He hath abandoned desire, and hath betaken himself to humility and content (16). He betaketh himself to humility; He endureth all things; with heart and mouth, he ever calleth on the name of the Lord. So dwelleth the Holy man, and so doeth he (17). Those who dwell by him, he makest like unto himself; while the wicked man giveth his soul twofold sorrow. Saith Tul'si, the Holy man is like Mount Malaya, but without its fault (18). Gentle are the words of the Holy man, falling like nectar on the ear. When the hard heart heareth them, it becometh wax (19). They beget the happiness of comprehending The Supreme they lift and carry away the errors of this world, and in the heart they are (sharp arrows) piercing sin (20). Cooling are they like unto the beams of the moon. Ten million fivers do they cure in the soul of him on whose ears they fall (21). Chauptah. — They destroy every thorn of sin and sorrow. Like the sun do they clear away the darkness of error. O Tul'si, so excellent is the pious man that the Scriptures declare that the ocean of his virtue is fathomless (22). Doh. — Not by deed, not by thought, not by word doth he ever give pain to any one. Yes, he is such because the Lord dwelleth in him on this earth (23). When thou seest the face of a Holy man, thy sin abandoneth thee. When thou touchest him thy deeds depart. When thou hearest his words the error of thine heart is swept away, and bringest thee to Him from whom thou comest (24). Very gentle is he, and pure even in his desires. In his soul is there no defilement. On his Master alone is his heart ever stayed (25). Him, from whose heart hath departed every worldly longing, doth Tul'si praise with thought, and word, and deed (26). To him gold is the same as a piece of glass: women are but as wood or stone. Such an Holy man, is a portion of the supreme Deity upon earth (27).

Chauptah. — Gold looketh he upon as clay, woman as but wood or stone. Of these things the flavour hath he forgotten. That man hath the Lord manifest in his flesh (28).

Doh. — Free of worldly possessions, his members in subjection, ever devoted to the Lord alone, such an Holy man is rare in this world (29). He hath no egoism, nor maketh any difference between 'I' and 'thou,' (but knoweth that all are but parts of the Lord). No evil thought is over his. Sorrow doth not make him sorrowful, nor doth happiness make him happy (30). Equal counteth he gold and glass. Equal counteth he friend and foe. Such an one is counted in this world an Holy man (31). Few, few wilt thou meet in this world, Holy men who have freed themselves from all illusion: for in this iron age men's natures are ever lustful and crooked, like the peacock and the crow (32). He who hath wiped out 'I' and 'thou,' and the darkness of error, and in whom hath risen the sun of 'know thyself': know him as Holy, for by this mark, saith Tul'si, is he known (33).

III. — The Greatness of the Holy.

Śrāṇṭha. — Who, O Tul'si, can tell with a single mouth, the greatness of the Holy man? For the thousand tongues of sorrorness, and Siva himself with his fivefold mouth cannot describe his spotless discernment (34). Doh. — Were the whole earth the tablet, the ocean the ink, all the trees turned into pens, and Ganesha himself the learned recorder, that greatness could not be recorded.
not all be written (35). Blessed, twice blessed, are his mother and his father. Blessed are they that he is their son, who is a true worshipper of the Lord, whatever he be in form or shape (36). Blessed would be the skin of my body, if it but form the sole of the shoe of him from whose mouth cometh the name of the Lord, even though it be by mistake (37). The lowest of the low is blessed, if he worship the Lord day and night; but what availeth the highest caste, if the Lord's name is not heard therein (38). Behold, how on very high mountains are the dwelling places of snakes, but on the lowest low lands grow sweet sugarcane and corn and betel (39). Chaupati. - Tul'sa'sal, I have seen the good men of all nations, but none is equal unto him, who is the single-hearted servant of the Lord, and who night and day at every breath reiterateth his name (40). Let the Holy man be ever so vile by birth or station, still no high-born man is equal unto him. For the one day and night uttereth the Name, while the other ever burneth in the fire of pride (41). Dohá,—The Servant of the Lord is ever devoted but to the one Name. He careth not for bliss or in this world or hereafter. Even remaining apart from the world, he is not scorched by the fire of its pains (42).

IV.—Perfect Peace.

Dohá. — The adornment of the night is the moon, the adornment of the day is the sun. The adornment of the servant of the Lord is Faith, and the adornment of that faith is Perfect Knowledge (43). The adornment of this knowledge is Meditation, the adornment of meditation is total Self-surrender to the Lord, and the adornment of self-surrender is pure and spotless Peace (44).

Chaupati. — This Peace is altogether pure and spotless, and destroyeth all the troubles mankind endureth. He who can maintain such peace within his heart ever remaineth in an ocean of rapture (45). The sorrows which are born of the threefold sins, the intolerable heard of grief begotten of faults committed, — all these are wiped away. Him, who remaineth rapt in Perfect Peace, doth no woe s'ere approach to pierce (46). O Tul'sa, so cool is the Holy Man, that ever he remaineth free of earthly cares. The wicked are like serpents, but what can they do unto him, for his every limb hath become a sure medicine against their bite (47).

Dohá,—Very cool is he, and very pure, free from all taint of earthly desire. Count him as free, his whole existence rapt in Peace (48).

Chaupati. — In this world, call thou him cool, who never uttereth words of anger from his mouth, and who, when pierced in front by sharp arrows of words, never feeleth one trace of wrath (49). Dohá,—Search ye the seven regions, the nine continents, the three worlds, and ye will find no bliss equal to Peace (50). Chaupati.—Where Peace hath been imparted by the True Teacher, there the root of anger is consumed, as if by fire. Earthly Insects and desires fade away, and this is the mark of Peace (51). Peace is a bliss-giving ocean, whose shining actions holy sages have sung. Him, whose body and soul are rapt in it, no fire of self can burn (52).
Albeit it is cool, and gentle, pleasure giving, and preserving life, still count not Peace as water, for as fire also are its virtues (68).

Chaulū.—Those mortals ne'er have Peace even in a dream, whose way is that they blaze, they burn, they are angry, they make angry, they spend their lives in love and hate alternately (57). Dōhā,—He is learned, he is skilful, he is wise and holy, he is a hero, he is alert, he is a true warrior (53), he is full of wisdom, he is virtuous, he is generous and full of meditation, whose soul is free from passion and from hate (59).

Chaulū,—The fire of Passion and Hate is extinguished. Lust, anger, desire are destroyed. O Tulā, when Peace hath taken up its abode within thee, from thy heart of hearts ariseth a loud cry for mercy (50). Dōhā,—There ariseth a loud cry to the Lord for mercy. Lust and its crew are flied, even as the darkness flied ashamed before the arising sun (61).

Good man, hear thou with attention this ' Kindling of Devotion,' and where thou meetest an unfit word, correct it (and forgive the poet) (62).

(3) Barawē or Barawai Ramāyan. In the Barawē metre (6 + 4 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 1 = 19 syllables). In 7 काव्य or cantos. काव्य I, बालकाय वv. 1-19. काव्य II, अयङ्क-कायक, vv. 20-27. काव्य III, आयुर्यक-कायक, vv. 28-33. काव्य IV, दक्षिणदुर्य-कायक, vv. 34-35. काव्य V, स्वाम्य-कायक, vv. 36-41. काव्य VI, लक्ष्मी-कायक, v. 42. काव्य VII, उत्तर-कायक, vv. 43-69. A good commentary by Ilandan Pāṭudak, another by Dāj-nāth, published by Nouwal Kishōr, Lucknow. Puṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivēlī is of opinion that this work is incomplete as it stands now. No other work of the poet is without a māṇya, or introductory invocation.

After three introductory verses in praise of Śītā's beauty, the poem follows the story of the Ramāyan, in an extremely condensed and often enigmatic form. Thus, the whole narrative of the Kīrkīndhvā-कायक is given in two verses, and of the Lakṣā visible in one verse; as follows:

Kīrkīndhvā-कायक.

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Sūdama gaurava dhan mātrai Larshīmara Ramā} & 1 \\
\text{Ina te bhai sitā hirāt nā abhirāma} & 1 \\
\text{Kujana-pāla gour-barajita abhā anātha} & 1 \\
\text{Kakula kripā-nilākha rātra hāva guma-pātha} & 2 \\
\end{array}\]

(Hanumān points them out to Ṣugrīva and says): 'These two forms, one dark and the other fair, are Rāma and Lakṣūman. They have won (lit. from them is sprung up) a spotless glory, very charming (to him who hears the tale). (When Rāma had killed Bāl, and set Ṣugrīva on the throne, the latter approached him and said), 'Tell me, Aboele-of-mercy, how I can sing thy virtues. I am but a lord of kujuus (monkeys), without a single virtue of my own, of mean birth, and with no protector (except thee).'

Lakṣā-कायक.

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Jīthilhā rāhun nilaṁsa mārī amanta} & 1 \\
\text{Jalalī ṣarīn ko kahāt lēṁd bhagavanta} & 2 \\
\end{array}\]

(On hearing about Śītā from Hanumān, the holy Rāma (started for Lakṣā) glories with an army (sāhāṇ for rāhun) of many kinds (of animals), accompanied by the Serpent of Eternity (i.e. Lakṣūman) who was its incarnation). Who dare say that (the army) was like the sea? (For the sea is destructive, but Rāma's army was for the benefit of mankind, as with it he conquered Lakṣā.)

\[\text{This requires explanation. The poet has in the last few verses compared Peace with water and contrasted it with fire. But, he says, the comparison must not be carried too far, for water, though it assuages thirst, &c., has but temporary effects, and third returns, while the effects of Peace are permanent. On the other hand, fire, though a burning destroyer, is also an universal purifier, and as such resembles Peace}.\]
(4) Parbati-mangal. The marriage song of Parvati. Sixteen stanzas. Each composed of sixteen or twenty-four lines in Aruna24 chhand, followed by four lines in Hariyati-chhand, a total of 360 lines or charans.

The poem describes the marriage of Uma, or Parvati, to Siva,—well known to readers of the Kumāra Sākhāvāna. It is a favourite subject with Tul's Dīs, (cf. Rām. Dīs, 75 and ff.), who makes skilful use of the contrast between the snowy purity and grace of the daughter of the Himālaya, and the terrifying horrors of Siva’s appearance. The tale may well be described as telling the legend of the marriage of pure Aryan Nature-worship to the degrading demon-worship of the aborigines of India. The following example describes the approach of Siva’s gruesome marriage procession to Uma’s home.:

Bibidha bīti Hari khae naiteṣa puru ṅeṣu
Ayana yapanā sāju sabahiḥ bilagāvṣu 1 97 11
Prāmātha-nāthā kāśātha Pramātha-gaṇa vṛjaḥiḥ 1
Bibidha bhadūti mukha bāhama bāhka bīrtiḥah 1 98 11
Kamaśṭa khaṇpara maḍhi khaṭā mśaṇa bājāvah 1
Nāra-kopaṇa jāna bhaṭi bhaṭiḥ pātitiḥ pāditaḥ 1 99 11
Bara anubhātā bārāṭa bānī Hari hāke kāhā 1
Suvī hia kākātu Mahaḥ boḥō kāhī kuvūkā maha 1 100 11
Bāja bīṇḍu maṇa mōde na kachhu kahā dvaṭa 1
Jāi nāgara mārīma bārāṭa bājāvāṭa 1 101 11
Pura bhārarānu vra harabhānu Achalv Akhaṇḍānu 1
Parava uḍāḍhi unagaja janu lokī bālku-maṇḍānu 1 102 11
Pramuditaḥ go aṣaṇā bīlī biḍāṭiḥ 1
Bhābhāri banaḥ na raḥata na banaḥ parāṭaḥ 1 103 11
Chāḷā bhōjī ṣaṇa bījī phērāhiḥ naḥīḥ phērāta 1
Bālaka bhabhāri bhūdāna phērāhiḥ ghara ḍhāṭa 1 104 11
Dīna jāi janāvāśa svapāṭa kiṣ sābā 1
Ghara ghara bāṅkā bāṅkā kahana lāgā taba 1 105 11
Paṭītā bārāṭi bārāṭi bhūyaṇaka 1
Barada chaḍhā bārā bhāraḥ suṣai bhūyaṇaka 1 106 11
Kuṭala karai harāvāra kaḷaḥahā hama śāṅkāṣa 1
Dīkha bāṅkā chaṭa jānai bāṅchā 1 107 11
Saṃkhaṅḍo evaṁ śoṇku bhāca manu Mahāvahī 1
Nārala ke śripūtra hanaṇa ghara viṇ nāhīḥ 1 108 11
Chhaṇḍa. 11
Ghara-gaḍāla cōlāla kaḷa-haṭi praya khāḍaṇa pramaṇa paramāraḥ 1
Tāyā bārāṭi bāṅkā pumi muṇi siṣṭa smārtiḥ koṭiḥ 1
Ura ṭāi Umahāḥ anēkā bāṅkā jālapatī jānai liṅka mahāni 1
Himānām kahai dānu-mahāmāy ayaṇa niṣṭaṇa na jāmai 1 13 11

(Siva, with his retinue of ghosts and goblins attended by all the other gods, approaches the bride’s home. The gods, headed by Vishnu, can hardly conceal their laughter at his strange array. Hari addressed the gods and said ‘The city is now near. Let us each march separately, each with his own retinue.25 Goblins will look best in attendance on their lord.’) (So Siva’s

24 Aruna-chhand. 20 metres, with pause at the 11th. The last two syllables must be one metrē each. The metre is not mentioned by Kollogg, or by Colebrooke in his essay on Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetry. It is described in the Gopa-Prastāra-Prakrit, of Ram Dīs Uddāc, which gives the first two lines of the Parbati-mangal as an example. Hariyati-chhand, also called Mahākāla-chhand is well known. Described by Kollogg on p. 20 of his prose, not mentioned by Colebrooke. It has seven feet in each line (4 x 8) + 6 + 2 = 38 syllables. Pause at the 10th instant, secondary pause at the 9th. The last syllable of each charan must be long. This is the standard of the metre, but there are many varieties, which, while having 38 syllables, with the last syllable of each charan long, do not follow the orthodox divisions. This is the case in the Parbati-mangal.

25 This is simply a piece of mischief on Hari’s part, to make Siva’s retinue more ghastly by contrast.
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retinues assembled), conspicuous with many kinds of faces, vehicles and dresses. They played
on kettle drums made of skin stretched over tortoise-shells or skulls, and filling human skulls
with water they drink from them, and give each other to drink. Hari laughing cried, 'Like
bridegroom, like procession;' and Mahēśa, as he heard his words, also laughed in his heart at the
outlandish contortions of his followers. Sporting mightily they went along the road. No
tongue could describe their diversions, as, when the procession neared the city, the music
began. When the stir rose in the city, the Unscathed Mountain26 rejoiced in heart, as the ocean
swells when it sees the face of the Moon at its change. The heralds joyfully went forward to
meet the God, but when they saw his procession, in terror they could neither stand still nor run
away. The elephants and horses fled in dismay and the latter refused to answer to their reins,
while the children ran for their lives in terror straight back home. (The procession) was led to
its lodging place, where all arrangements for their comfort were made, while in every house the
children began to tell (their elders) about their adventures. 'The bridegroom's people are
demons, goblins, and frightful ghosts. The bridegroom is a maniac riding on a bull and of
terrible exterior. We declare of a truth, that if God saves us, and we do not die of fright, we
shall see countless weddings.' When Mainā heard the news, grief filled her soul. 'What
house hath Nārada's counsel not destroyed?27

Ohand.—A desolater of homes is he, a lover of strife, though he calls himself a
seeker after supreme bliss. So also the seven sages, companions of their own selfish
ends, have arranged this marriage.' Full of sorrow the mother lamenting took Umā to her
breast, but Himālaya said: 'Not even do the Scriptures know the full extent of Siva's
greatness.'

(5) Janaki-mangal. The marriage song of Sītā. Twenty-four stanzas, with the same
metre as in the Pārball-mangal. Tulūt 480 lines. The poem describes the journey of Rāma
with Viśvāmitra from Ondhi to Mūlilī, the breaking of Siva's bow, and Rāma's marriage to
Sītā. The following specimen describes the journey of the young princes, with the saint
through the thicket:

Gīrī tara bili sarītu sara bipula bilōkāhiṃ ||
Dhārūrāhiṃ bili-subhāna bhiyā niṣṭha rōkaheh || 33 11
Sakṣikakāhiṃ munihiṃ subhāta bahuri phirī awahī ||
Tūri jhūkā jhula kanāla naḷa banāwahiṃ || 34 11
Dēkhi bōdū naṇuṇāya phrōha Kusuṭaka sūra ||
Kurudu jēkhiṃ ghura cāddaka sūmana barakhāhiṃ sūra || 35 11
Bālī Tējākhiṃ Bānā jānti sabō bāyāka ||
Biyā maṇiṭra sahaṇya diṭi muni-nilakata || 36 11
Magha-būjhesha ki ṁrītu niṣṭha mana ṛcchāna ||
Guru Kusukā ākramahiṃ bijra bhaṇaya-māčchāna || 37 11
Māri niśchetra-nikara jējū karvidu ||
Abhaya biṭ muni-bhūteda jyagata janu ṛcchā || 39 11
Bīpūr jēpūrn-sura-kāja mahāmukti maṇa ṛchā ||
Bērākhiṃ chālī bindi dhanukha-makka niṣṭa kari || 40 11
Gvanuva niḍi suthrā patiṣṭḥi jēkhiṃ udāmahiṃ ||
JNVN-KĀM+hara loṭi ṛcchā mahāmukti udāmahiṃ || 41 11
Cīhān! 11 Lai ṛcchā jēnukhiṃ (bhārī) sūma bīkhi jēcra karaṭāhā hiṭ ||
Muni-rūk ṛcchā bēna den sūcchiva ṛcchā bhāṣavra hiṭ ||
Nīṣṭha jēkhiṃ niṣṭha naṭi māṇa ṛcchā aṭi hiṭ || 42 11
Abhūkati jēnukhiṃ upavahavata janu Bhāma sūkha sau ṛcchā || 5 11

26 'Abhūkati', in the sense of Umā's father, the Himālaya. It may also be translated
'the firm, the unbroken one,' i.e., Siva.
27 Nārada was a great stirrer up of discussion and was the author of the ruin of many families.
The princes looked about them at the mountains, trees, creepers, rivers and
and in their boyish way ran after the birds and deer to try to catch them. Then remembering
in awe the saint, they would turn back to him in fear, and, plucking fruit, flowers and tend
twigs, would weave them into garlands. Love filled Viśvāmitra's heart as he watched the
playful sport. The clouds cast shade, the gods dropped flowers on them. When Rāma the
slain Tājākha, the mighty saint knew that he was all-fitted for his task, and imparted to
him the mystic charm of knowledge. Satisfying the hearts and eyes of the people on the
way, driving away the fears of the holy men, they arrived at Kanākā's hermitage. There the
boy princes attacked and defeated the demon army, and gave the hermits security for their
sacrifices, while the whole world sang his glory. Then the great saint, intent upon the need of
Brāhmaṇas, saints, and gods, induced Rāma to accompany him (to Mithilā) on the pretext
of the sacrifice of the bow. On the way the prince wrought salvation for Ahalyā, Gawāna's
wife, sending her to her husband's abode, and then, the great saint conducted Rāma to
Mithilā, the city of Janaka.

Ockhand. The son of Gāḍhi (Viśvāmitra) conducted Rāma, and gazed upon the city with
his heart full-filled with joy. Hearing of his arrival, the king (Janaka) with ministers
state and honorable Brāhmaṇas came forth to meet the lord of saints. The king himself
clashed his feet and earned his blessing, showing him hospitable reverence; and then,
his eyes fell upon Rāma, he felt as if the Almighty had multiplied his happiness
thousand times.

(6). Sri Rāmāyāna, or Sri Rāmāyana, or Rām-Sagunabali. The Commands of a Holy Rāma, or The Collections of Rām-omens. Metre Dōḥā. In seven adhyāyas or lectures of seven septakas or septads, each containing seven pairs of dōḥās. Each adhyāya forms
sort of running commentary or summary of the corresponding kāya of the Rāmāyana. Each verse or pair of dōḥās is used as a means of foretelling the success or otherwise of anything undertaken. It is a kind of Sortes Virgilianae. The inquirer takes three handfuls of leaves.
He counts the first handful out by seven, and whatever number remains over, is called the number of the adhyāya. Again he counts out the second handful in the same way, whatever is over is the number of the septaka; and similarly, whatever number is over by the third handful is the number of the dōḥā. Thus if there are 53 seeds in the first heap, the number of the adhyāya is 4 (i.e. 49 = 7 × 7 + 4. If there are 108 in the second the number of the septaka is 3 (15 × 7 + 3 = 108), and if there are 15 in the third, the number of the dōḥā is one. In this case the verse which is to be accepted as an omens is the first verse of the third septad of the fourth lecture. If the number of any handful is exactly divisible by seven, then the remainder is considered to be seven. There are several ways of finding out the verse based on the same principle, which need not be detailed here.

The following is a specimen of this work. It is the third septad of the third lecture:

Māyā-nṛgya pavichāṇā Prabhū chālī Śīya-rūshi jānī
Bana-chaka chhīrā prapātha-śrīta saguna khalata bhūdānī II 1
Śīya karma-abhaya saguna bhaya sansaya smādāya
Nādi-kāya śīla nīpaṣa gata prajāta parākshana pāya II 2
Gadha-rāya Ṛdana savara ṛḥāya āru bidāya
Sāra vojasu samyakunā mahi maranu śvāhunā kāya II 3
Rāma Lakhanu bana bana bhūla prārata Śīya-sūthā, lātā
Bhūvahana saguna bhūdānu baḍa avahā ariśṇa aśāda II 4
Rākhubhara bhūla bhūkṣaṇa lakhi  sat viṭhihi don bārā
Śīya-sūthā lakhi Śīya Rāma kahi teṣṭi dēha maitikākra II 5
Daśaratha tē dasa-guna bhāyatī sabhā tām karī kauj
Stākha bandha samāta Prabhū kripā-budhā Baghū-rājū II 6
Tulsī naśī samāta nīta samārākṣa Śūr Rāma
Śaguna sumangala nīśa vaśā dāī madhyā parināma II 7
Though he saw through (Maricha's disguise as) the false deer, the Lord, knowing Sita's longing, went forth. This must be called a disastrous omen of a deceiving thief, produced by illusion.

The omen of the opportunity for the rape of Sita is one of fear, and doubt, and anguish. Especially in reference to a woman's actions, doth it portend defeat and sin.

The Vulture-king fought with Ravana, and, wounded, shone forth as a hero. In the contest (this is the omen of) the glory of the valiant—that is death in cause of the Good Master.

Rama and Lakshmana wandered distraught through the forest, seeking for news of Sita. They point to an omen of great sorrow, of unlucky, senseless misfortune.

When Rama saw the bird (Jatayu, the vulture-king) distraught, and he saw the two heroes, he gave him news of Sita, and, crying 'Sita Rama,' with steadfast soul gave up the ghost. (This is an omen of salvation after death.)

The Lord Rama, the Ocean of pity, performs the funeral ceremonies of that (vulture), whose faith was ten times that of Dusharatha, and with his brother, grieves for the loss of his friend. (This is a good omen for those who believe.)

O Tul'isl, ever meditate with love on Sita and Rama,—an omen ever fortunate and lucky, at the beginning, at the middle, at the end.

The following interesting legend about the composition of the Râmaâyana has been communicated to me by Bânil Râm Dîn Singh. At that time the Râja of Kâl Râj Ghât in Banaras was a Bâhâwâl Kshatriya (to whose family the Bâjas of Mûrâ and Kânît now belong). His son went out on a hunting expedition with the army, and one of his people was killed by a tiger. This gave rise to a rumour, which reached the king, that it was the prince who had suffered, and full of anxiety he sent to Pahîlâd Ghât to summon a well-known astrologer named Gangâ Râm Jyôtish. On the astrologer's arrival he asked him to prophesy the exact time at which the prince should return from his hunting expedition. If his prophecy turned out true he would be rewarded with a lâkh of rupees, but, if false, his head would be cut off. Dismayed at this peremptory order, Gangâ Râm asked for time till tomorrow morning to calculate out his answer, and under this pretext obtained permission to return to his house at Pahîlâd Ghât, where he spent some very bad quarters of an hour.

His dearest friend was Tul'isl Dîs, who was living close by in the suburb of As, and the two holy men were in the habit of wading constantly and at the time of evening prayer taking the air in a boat on the river Ganges; accordingly, on this evening, Tul'isl Dîs came in his boat to Pahîlâd Ghât, and called out for Gangâ Râm, who, however, was too much occupied with his own unhappy thoughts to notice the cry, though it was repeated again and again. At length Tul'isl sent a boatman to see what was the matter, who returned with a message that the Jyôtish was just then unwell and would not go out that evening. On hearing this, the poet landed and went to his friend's house, and seeing him in tribulation asked him what was the matter. On being told the cause, Tul'isl Dîs smiled and said, 'Come along. What cause for tribulation is this? I will show you a means of extricating yourself, and of giving a correct reply.' Consented by these words, and trusting fully to Tul'isl Dîs's almost divine knowledge, Gangâ Râm went out with him and, as usual, offered his evening prayer. On their returning together to Pahîlâd Ghât, after nightfall, Tul'isl Dîs asked for writing materials, but no pen or inkstand, only some paper could he find. So the poet took some catechu out of his betel box for ink, and began to write with a piece of ordinary reed (not a reed pen). He wrote on for six hours without stopping, and named what he had written, Râmaâyana. He gave the manuscript to Gangâ Râm, and showing him how to use it for purposes of divination (as previously, explained) went home to As. Gangâ Râm then consulted the oracle, and found that the prince would return all well next evening. Early in the morning he went to Tul'isl Dîs, and told him what he had divined from the manuscript. The poet directed him to go and tell the
Rājā accordingly. He therefore went to Rāj Ghat, and declared to the Rājā that the prince would return all well that evening. The Rājā asked at what hour, and the astrologer replied 'one gharī before sunset.' Thereupon the Rājā ordered Gāṅgā Rām to be kept in confinement till further orders. Sure enough, at the very time predicted by the astrologer the prince returned, and the Rājā, overcome with joy at his arrival, forgot altogether about the former, and his promised reward. Five or six gharīs after nightfall, Gāṅgā Rām sent word to him that the prince had returned, and asked why he was still in prison. Then the Rājā remembered and hurriedly calling for him, offered him with much respect the promised lādhk of rupees. Gāṅgā Rām at first replied, 'Mahārāj, neither will I take this money, nor will I ever practice prophecy again. It is too dangerous. A moment's inadvertence may cost me my head.' The Rājā, full of shame, replied, 'What I said, I said when I was not responsible for my words. Show favour to me by forgetting them, forgiving your humble slave, and accepting this money.' The astrologer at first consented to take a small sum, but the Rājā would hear no excuse, and insisted on sending him and the whole lādhk, to his home in charge of a guard of soldiers. Gāṅgā Rām, took the money direct to Tulsī Dās at Aś, and laid the whole amount at his feet. The poet asked him why he had brought it. 'Because,' replied the astrologer, 'the money is yours, not mine. Why should I not bring it to you? My life has been saved and the money earned by your grace alone. It is for this reason that I am come to you. It is more than enough for me that my life has been saved.' 'Brother,' said the poet, 'the grace was not mine. All grace cometh from the Holy Lord Rāma and his blessed spouse Sītā. You and I are friends. Without Rāma's grace, who can save whom, and who can destroy whom? Take now away this money to your home, where it will be useful. What need have I of this world's goods?' But Gāṅgā Rām refused to be persuaded, and those two good and holy men spent the whole night arguing as to who was the rightful owner of the money. At dawn, Tulsī Dās was persuaded to keep ten thousand rupees, and helped the astrologer to convoy the remaining ninety thousand to the latter's house. With the ten thousand rupees, he built ten temples in honour of Hanumān, with an image of the God in each. These ten temples exist to the present day, and may be known by the fact that they all face south.

Tulsī Dās is believed to have composed other works to assist divination, but the one which is admitted on all hands to be authentic is the Kandyāgā, of which the copy written by his own hand, with the reed-pen, and the catechu ink, was in existence at Pahālād Ghat; up to about thirty years ago. As stated above, a largo number of verses of the Kandyāgā are repeated in the Dōhābālī.

(To be continued.)

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

DHAMMACHETI, 1476 A.D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

(Continued from p. 139.)

Evan Lākhādīpe sāsanapatiṭhānātō chasau vaṛasatasau kīcī apariṣuṇṇeṣu yāva Lākhādīpe bhikkhū tiḍhā bhinnaṭi: tāyō nikiyā jīta. Tōna Mahāvihāraśvinikīyō vaṭacaṁpariṣuddhā dhammayādi; asa dve nikiyā apariṣuddhā adhammayādiñā. Tatō paṭhāya Lākhādīpe anukkaramā dhammayaṁ appasara dubbāla; adhammayādiñā pana bhikkhū bahutarā balavantī. Te vividdhā apāṣīpatīyō duṇapāṣīpatīyō vā paṭipajjantī. Tōna sāsanā samalā saṅkaṭakām s’abādhasa jītaṁ.

Lākhādīpe sāsanapatiṭhānātō dvāṣṭāṭhikaratutadhiṅka vaṛasatasāheṣe, Satthupaṁ nibbānātō pana atth ‘uttaraṇasatasāṭṭhikā vaṛasatasāheṣe viṭṭavattā, Sirasaṅghābodhi̓.

28 Paṇḍita Sudhakar Drivedő justly points out that this sentence marks the whole story as apocryphal. The Kandyāgā cannot be used for such divination as this. It only discloses good or bad omens for commencing a new work. See dōhās 1-8 of the last sectad, where this is clearly stated.

29 The Rām Sūkta is one.

Tatō paṭṭhāyā Laṅkādīpē accantaparīpanadhāsas sammāpaṭṭipattipannassa dhammavādīnā Mahāvīravāsībhikkhusānagāhasa pavānibhūtō ēkanikāyabhūtō bhikkhusāhēyā yāv ajātanā pavattati.


Ahā rāja thāvāmē pātīsānapānā hālūhītvā: paṭīsāphasala-saṇvappaviraṇīcāṁ thūpikōparipatīṭhē-pitaṁ mahagghō inda-tulo-maṁṇānymāṁ okenupātapēna ca; saṭṭhiphūla-saṇvappabhūhikaṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ suvaṇpabhūhīgārāca ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasala-saṇvappadikāsāṁ sādāṅkālukkhamāṁ-pattanē ca; tiṁsāphasal
Chapter 28

The Indian Antiquary

August, 1893.

Ratanacetiya-thi-cetiya-Padavala-antha-balisa-Bodihrakka-pujanatanthaya ca: nanaavarnia pañcaśītāvāsānaṇa ca; svavāśāniṃśe mahāśīvaḥmahādīve ca; svavāśāniṃs e mahāśīvaḥmahāśiṣadīpe cībbhasahākhi.

Sihañadāvāsāna mahābhrāmas aśitaḥya: sunkhumāna kappāsuddasānaṇa cattārimamai-jaśe ca; Kośeyyayāni ka pappāsamayāni ca rattaṇaprupaṇṭevaṇṇa-cittayāya dhavaḥvaṃga-vaśeṇa nānāvāŋana vistāpivāpunāca ca; cittayāya Haribhujadāśiyāni visiṭatambubhiṣau-kāṇi ca; catasso sālamayakūṭikāya ca; aṭṭha Cintādāsyā cittakūṭikāya ca; visiṭi Cintādāsyā bijaniyo ca pasiṣajjī.

Apī ca Rāmaśaadīśaśaṇa rāmādātipalibhūti Rāmaśādātipalīṇa Śāhādāvāsānaṃ ayyāyaḥ mahābhrāmaṃ sakkaccaḥ abhivādētva, sandōsasāṇaṃ idānā nivēpASI: "Śīrīṣṭhā

dhātādipujanatthāya bhante, mayā pahitiḥ pūjaśēkārūhi Śīrīṣṭhādhūḍavyādā yā pūjaṃ byāpa¬
 raḥ karayathā. Sessiṣe bāvīṣīṣyā thīrīni sandōhiṃ pēṣiā Cittadāva-Rāmādātipalibhīdāni

saprjanā Śīrīṣṭhādhūḍāṃ pasūtanā vā, vandūtanā vā, yathā labhīsanāti; tathā ayyā, vēyānaḥ karuntu. Śīrīṣṭhādhūḍā-dassanabhaṭbhūdānaṃviṃjāni kuva, sussē bāvīṣīṣēi thērā Mahābhīraḥvāśeśāvibhūṭabhakūṭhasaṃghatā garjavapiṇāvādamattavirhaṇaṃ ganaṃ uccīnti, Bhagavatā mahāsāpanthā bhīṣeyāya paribhūṣitā Kalyāṇagātya soṣayāya udakkūkka-

pasīnaya upasampadaḥ yathā labhīsanāti; tathā ayyā, vēyānaḥ karuntāti. "Vvān Śāhādā-

pavāsāna mahābhrānaṃ pāhētvasandōsasāṇaṃ abhissahākhi.

Śihañāsāraṇa puna Bhūvanekābhrāhurajāsa: dvītātpha-hūrīy’ agganhikī dō ni lamapayē ca; cīmaśīkhakatustupahal’agghanikī dō lūṭīkapānapayē ca; dhīlakālūmukhāthiṣaḥ kathāni givakkkabhatinatambūḍahlāhunā pasaṣṭhathatciṭṭākānaṃ mahāghhūni uciṭṭāni Cīṇapātīni ca; dhavaḷa-nilavāṃpi bhaśmaihiṃ bhūṭapāṭhikāni tiṣi ghana-Cīṇapātīni ca; dhavala-nilavāṃpi bhaśmaihiṃ mahiṭhāni dō ghana-Cīṇapātīni ca; dhavala-nilavāṃpi mahiṭhāni ekan ghana-Cīṇapātīni ca; harivāṃpi vāṃpi bhūṭapāṭhikāni dō ghana-Cīṇapātīni ca; harivāṃpi mahiṭhāni ekan ghana-Cīṇapātīni ca; močakaṃvēni mahiṭhāni dō Cīṇapātīni ca; pitavāṃpi-

vāṃpi bhūṭapāṭhikāni ekan ghana-Cīṇapātīni ca; rattaṇaṃ-vāṃpi bhūṭapāṭhikāni močakaṃvēni pāḷav-Cīṇapātīni ca; dhavala-nilavāṃpi bhaśmaihiṃ vāṃpi bhūṭapāṭhikāni močakaṃvēni pāḷav-Cīṇapātīni oti; viṣaṃ Cīṇapātīni, Pāvīyābhūṭabhiṣeyāyya viṇāvīṭaṭhūṭatiṣi ca; caṃmakāvāvihāśeśe mātartikānaṃ dēvīphalasāṃati oti; —uṭhakānaṃ pūlaṇukānaṃ paṭisaṅkhārī. Śihañāsāraṇa Bhūva-

nekābhrāhurajāsa Śihañvājākamahābhrānāṇaṃ pahitiṃ sandōsasāṇaṃ vuttavacchānādēna sandōs-

vācānaṃ vīrīcchātaṃ suvaṇapāṭhaṇa ca paṭisaṅkhārī.

Vvān rājā yaḥ yattakānaṃ paṭisaṅkhārathabbaṃ taṃ sabbaṃ paṭisaṅkhārātvā, bhavīṣatiṭhēkānaṃ
tīcivārāṭthāya, sukhamakappārasānaṃ ca, cēvaṣṭhānaṃ paṭītavāriyāni ca; Marammaśīdeya

unāṣāmiṇyāni bhūṭapsūṭavataṇāni ca; bhūṭapsūṭavatāsambhakṣagyāni ca; Haribhujadāśīyaṃ sap-

dhānāni bhūṭapsūṭavatāsambhakṣagyāni ca dātāvā; mahagantavupāṭhūṭatiṣi ca, bhīṣajathūṭhi ca, bahuṃ diyeśhamsaṃ dātāvā; tāsaṃ sīsahītāniṃ pī bhūṭapsūṭakṣagyāni bhūṭapsūṭaṃ-kaṭiput-

tābhitthamaṃvāriyāni ca; Marammaśīdeyaṃ ghanapūppণāni bhūṭapsūṭavatāṇaṃ ca dātāvā; sīsī
dhāniṃ tu bhūṭapsūṭāḥ Cittadāva-Rāmādātipalibhīdāṇāṇāṃ dvinnāṃ dūṭhānām appētī
yathāvutāṃ dhātuspūkṣaṭaṇāni ca; Śihañāyaṃ mahābhrāṇāṇāḥ pūḷipūṭakṣagyāni ca, sandōsasāṇaṃ ca, Bhūvānekābhrāśihañāsāraṇaṃ pūlaṇukānaṃ ca, sandōsasāṇaṇaṇaṃ ca dūṭhānaṃ hathā adēsi. Bhūṭapsūṭagānaṇaṃ ca thūmānaṃ dubbhiḥkhaṇḍvarttāyē saṣi, catuṣpaṇacayam uppaḍam ca katham dūṭhānu, svavaṃpaṭhakāṇaṃ dēvīphalasāṃti dūṭhānām adēsi. Taṭo sasseśe Mügggalathētādāyā gōdāṣaṭhērā Rāmādūṭēna sandōhiṃ ekanaṃvām abhīr-

hāpēsi. Sasseśe Mahāśīvalithētādāyā gōdāṣaṭhērā Cittadūṭēna sandōhiṃ ekanaṃvām abhīr-

hāpēsi.

REVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.

Atha Rāmādūṭēbhūṭakā na nīva muni-sīkhi-nīga-sakkarājā māyhamāsāsā kājapak-

kē śkēḍasamyāṇaṃ ādiōcāvarīṣe Yāgabhitthamānādīmuṃhātā nikkhāmītvā, samuddha.
pakkhamā. Citradūṭabhīrulāḥi pana nāvā māghamasassā kālapakkhe dvēdasamiyayath candavāro Yogābhīṣṭhānaṇaṁdunikhatāḥ nikkhambitvā, samuddaḥ pakkhanditvā, chākṣuṣa niyamāṇaḥ, phaggamasassā kālapakkhe aṭṭhamīyaṁ Kalambuttāṁ paṭṭā.

Tatā Bhūvāmikālaṁ-Siḥalārājā tathā pavattitāḥ svāva, phaggamasmāsa kālapakkhe’ pūsasthadivasaḥ, tāsam oṣikadasanāṁ thūraṁnaḥ Citradūṭassa ca paṣcagamanāḥ kārāpāṭīvaḥ, Rāmādhātipatimahārājāṇa dhāvālaṇajujjugāpakuluppajjanaṇaṁ saṁmaṇānam adbhavata-thaśrāṇaḥ-kakunda-kumudasa-sāraṇa-samāna-grājapati-bhūtāya Saddhāyanakagunāsassanāṁgaḥ pahīsamandesa-paṅgubāṭatāḥ Citradūṭo‘ uññata suvaṇṇapāṭhāṁ vācāpāṭīvaḥ, atīvaṁ pūṣaṁmanassajāto. Thīrthā ca Citradūṭaṇa ca samudāśāyaṁ kathuḥ sārūpiyaṁ viṁśitāśvitaḥ, sayam eva vāṭṭhakāṭva, kappuṃrāṇa saḍdihiṁ tathālālaṁ saṅkhe tvāthānāṁ nīvaṇaṅgaṇāṇaḥ ca piṭñāṭṭapatacayo ca dāpēva, Citradūṭassa ca nīvaṇaṅgaṇāṇaḥ ca parībboyaṁ ca dāpēva.

Punadīvaṣo Citradūṭo Rāmādhipatimahārājāṇa paṁhitādāyyaṁvāmmēna saḍdihiṁ Siḥalāsaiyānaṁ mahāthārānāṁ saṅkulaṇapajjanaṁ adhāṣi. Atha tā mahāthārāḥ: ’yathā Rāmādhīpatimahārājāssā rocanti, tathā kurīsimāṇāḥ’ putṭipamān akāsaṁ.

Tatā Citradūṭāṇavābhiruḷāḥi oṣikadasatūraḥ, Rāmādūṭanāvābhiruḷāḥāṁ thērānaṁ saṅgaṇapattātā: ’yāv’ oṣiṣiḥ sūḥpajjāvapatiṣi, tāva mayān Siḥalajaranāḥ āyicītva (idd’evā Lakkādīpi vassimāṇāḥ cintiṃti tathā eva Siḥalajaranāḥ āyicītva, tēmuṁ Rāmādūṭanāvābhiruḷāḥāṁ thērānaṁ āgamaṇam āgamaṇo vusihīsa.

Atha Rāmādūṭabhīrulāḥi nāvī ’2 Anurādāhpurāṇamaggaṇapaṭatā caviṃvā, gamakalē pājlōmavāṭaṅgāaṣṭrāti kiechāna kawantā, citramāśasassā sukkapakkhe navamīyaṁ ādīcavārō Valligūmāṁ saṃpattā.


Punadīvaṣo Rāmādūṭo Huhūvacāvārīṇaṁ rāmīṇa paḥiṁ ṭhāva dūṣaṇaḥbhāvāṁ paṭṭhasaṅgaṅaṁ kālapakkhe dutiyaṁ niyāvīṣhitaḥ eva oun kālaṁ labhiṭvā, thūrāva ca Rāmādūṭo ca Valligūmato niikkhamibhiḥ, maggaṇataṅgaṅaṁ niyāvī saṅādāsaviṇiṇāṁ viṭṭhāṣṭhitvā, aṭṭhamīyaṁ Jayavādājānagarac cāntarā cāntarā saṃpattā.

Tatā Bhūvāmikālaṁ Siḥalānamuṣṭiṣiḥ thōrānaḥ Rāmādūṭassā cāgamaṇapavattitāḥ svāva, paṣcagamanāṁ kārāpāṭīvaḥ, Rāmādūṭasā samuṇātaṁ Rāmādhīpatimahārājāssā suvaṇṇapāṭaḥ vācāpāṭīvaḥ, paṇumulatahaṅkoṣṭiḥ vuttanayūḥ eva kauthālapaṭkantiṁhāṁ kathvā, thūrānaṁ Rāmādūṭassā ca piṭñāṭṭapati ca pārahīṣyati ca dāpēva, nīvaṅgaṅaṁ niyāsē.

Punadīvaṣo Rāmādūṭi ḍvāraṇāphūṭatikāṁ rāmīṇa paḥiṁ ṭhāva dūṣaṇaḥbhāvāṁ ca saṅgaṅaṁ saṅgaṅaṁ niyāsē. Tē sabbē pē mahāthārā Citradūṭassā viya Rāmādūṭassāṣiḥ putṭipamān adhāṣi.

Tatā paraṁ ḍvāraṇā ṭhitvāti, Citradūṭanāvābhiruḷāḥi Anurādāhpurāṇagataḥ thōrā Ratanacutiyaṁ ca, Maṅiṅkudugiyānaṁ ca, Thupāraṇacutiyaṁ ca, Abhājagiriṣṭiye ca, Siḷācetiyaṁ ca, Jetavanacutiyaṁ ca, Daṅkhiṣṭakṣaṁ Mahādābhūṛaḥkhuḥ ca, vaddutvā, Lūḍhapadesaḥ ca, pāṭihīva, kacāvī ṭhāva kacāvī, piṭñāṭṭakkṣārpulakakau vattapatiḥpiṭñāṭṭhitāṁ piṭñāṭṭa, pācāgantvā, Jayavādājānagarac saṃpattā.

2 Lecusma supplied from MS. (A).
Tatō Sihalārajā nāvādvayābhīrulhā sabbō pi thērā samāgatā tōsaū Siridāthādhāthaṃ dāssētu na, vandāpētu ca, kāḷū sampattō ti mantvā, duttiyāsalamāsassa kājapākkhaassa pāṭipadbhūtā ṛdīcavaṇā vass'upanāyikadāvās, sabbhān Siridāthādhāthaṃ manadrapāsādāman alakāraṇpētā, cēlavītanān bandhāpētā, gandha-dīpa-dhūmamālīhī pūjāpētā, vihārādīya mahādhērē ēkamantāṇa vāsēpyētā, sasīsē nāvādvayābhīrulhā bhīvīsamālīhīsa ca nimāntāpētā, Citorūta Rāmādūṭe ca pakkośāpētā, dvavaṇṇamāyamandīcā Siridāthādhāthaṃ niharāpētā, te bhīvīsavāṭhethē ca, Citorūta Rāmādūṭe ca pasāpēti, vandēpyētā, pūjāpētā.
Tatō Sihalārajā Rāmādhēpattāraṇī sandēsan anusaṭṭvātī, tēna pahītī suvaṇṇapamāyadūthaṃmadīcā Siridāthādhāthaṃ ṭhāpētē, tass' upari sēbacacchate dharāpētē, dhūtīya pūritaṃ suvaṇṇapamāypanāṇā ca, suvaṇṇamāyabhīrīgāri ca, suvaṇṇamāyaṃ dvādasaķoṃ ca tumbūlāpēṭkāna ca, ṭhāpētē, bāvīsaṭṭhērānaṇā ca, Citorūta Rāmādūṭaṇāna ca dāssētu: "tamaḥ ca bhautē, Citorūta ca, Rāmādūṭa ca, Sētacacchate yathā sandēsākāram mō jñānautūtī" āhu. Tatō pahītan Sihalārajā: "Sētacacchate yatā yathā sandēsaṃ ca kāricsāntī." Sīḥaliyamācēcā āyūpētā, nālānapabhīhīganī Bhaṅgavatā pariḥuttūtā Kalyāṇigaṇī yevaśāṅgāhētān kārāpētē, tass' upari pāsālaṅkā kārāpētē ca, ēlāvītaṃ bandhāpētā, nānāvīdānaḥ pātītonāmānā kārūpēti.
Vidūgamamahāthēranī ca Mahāvīhāravāsiṇāvāhiḥbūkhkhūnasāghatī gaṅgaṃ uccāpēti. Taḍḍa Vidūgamamahāthēraḥ Dhammakkhitamahāthēraṃ Vanaratanamahāthēraṃ Paṅcaspārīvēṇāvēsi Mahāgalathēra Sihalārajayaṃvāraṃvāsahīcāryāthe rādikādikānī catuvīsītikārīmānā paramāṇaṃ uccāpēti.
Evīvī rājā nāvīsāṅgāhētan paṭisāḷīpētē, gaṅgaṃ c' uccāpētē, duttiyāsalamāsassa kājapākkhē ēkādasaṃ Mahāgalathēram bhuddavārē Dhammakkhitamahāthērī adhīnī kumāmaśke catuvīsītikābhikkhī nimāntāpētē, nāvīsāṅgāhētan abhīrūpeṇāpētē, tēsūtī catuvācallasānaṃ Rāmādhēsāyīnānā bhikkhūnān upasaṁpādānānā kārūpēti.

Tatō Sīhalādēsīyanī mahādhērēsānaḥ pūrve pariṇāsāntā ughtāntānaḥ bhikkhūnān upasaṁpādānākāla yathācīṣāṇāmūpāppa ti catuvācallasānaṃ rāmaśekhābhikkhī girībhīvī paṭīṭhāpētē, puna Vanaratanamahāthēraṃ kāśnādāna-saraṇagamamadāna-vasīna paḷabūjītēvā sāmaṇerabhīmīyanī paṭīṭhāpēti.

Tatō paṛaṃ buddhavārassa rattiyaṃ, Mōggaḷanatēro na, Kumāraṅkassapathēro ca, Mahāsiṃhiyaśīrathēro ca, Sērīputthathēro ca, Nāṇaśāṅgarathērō cāti paṇca thērō catuvīsītikārīmānā mahībhīrī śākāgāsasa catuvācallasānaṃ Dhammakkhitamahāthēraṃ upajīhyaḥ, Paṅcaspārīvēṇāsī Mahāgalathēram ācāryānaḥ, katvā upasaṁpannā. Dvādasāmīyanī pana guruvārassa rattiyaṃ, Sumanathēro ca, Kassapathēro ca, Nandathēro ca, Bhūlathēro ca, Buddhavāṃṣathēro ca, Sumaṅgalathēro ca, Kuṭṭjanandathēro ca, Sūputtharathēro ca, Gūṇasāṅgarathērō ca, Dhammarakkhitathēro cāti dasāṭhērā na Vanaratanaṃmahāthēram upajīhyaḥ, Paṅcaspārīvēṇāsī Mahāgalathēram ācāryānaḥ, katvā, upasaṁpannā.
Tatō paṛaṃ tēra-sāmiyānaṃ sukkavaṇāssa divākaḷē, Cūḷasamaṅgalathēraṃ ca, Jāvanapaṇiṇīthēro ca, Cūḷakasapathēro ca, Cūḷesāḷīthēro ca, Māṇisāṭhēro ca, Dhammarājikathēro ca, Candaṇasāṭhēro cāti, sattā pi thērā Vanаратanaṃmahāthēram upajīhyaḥ, Paṅcaspārīvēṇāsī Mahāgalathēram ācāryānaḥ, katvā, upasaṁpannā. Tatō paṛaṃ ouddassāmiyānaṃ sanvīve, tēsām sīsā bāvīsītikādhārahabhīkkhī Paṅcaspārīvēṇāsī Mahāgalathēram upajīhyaḥ, Sihalārajayaṃvāraṃvāsahīcāryānaḥ, katvā, upasaṁpannā.

Tatō Sihalārajā upasaṁpannā bhīvīsītā-Rāmādhērī mō naruttāṭvē, blūjīṭvē; blūjānaṃvaṣātē ekām ekāssa tiśvarāna ca, Gōcaraṃdēsīyanī ekām ekānaṃ sāpielī ca, vitānaṇā ca, sīhaṃsāmā pūkham ekaṃ ekāṃ citraṃvamkhaṇṇaṃ ca, chīkēna cāṇaṇaṃvāhīsaḥkhaṃ cāṇaṇaṃvāhīsaḥkhaṃ ekām ekām tiśvaraṇībājīnāna ca, ekām ekāṃ tumbūlāpēṭkāna ca, duṭvā, put'ī āhu; "Tambuddīpan bhantē, tamaḥ gantvā, Hāṃsavatīpurē sāsanaṃ niḥcāvāsattū. Aḥīcāvāsattū naṃyāhamadānaṃ mē bhantē, kiti na loṭē, satī kārapī khippan ēva mahāsamudānamānaṃ. Tassām idānaḥ tamaḥkānaḥ nāmāntāṭvāditānaṃ dadāyyanī." Ēvaṃ bhantē, tamaḥkānaḥ yuvātāyakānaṁ sa thusaththinī vatvā, Rāmādūṭaṇāvābhīrīhanānaṃ: Mōggaḷanatēra-Kumāraṅkassapathēra-Nullaśāṅgarathēra-Buddhavāṃṣathēra-Nandathēra-Bhūlathēra-Sūpaṃgalathēra-Dhammarak k h i tāṭhēra-Cūḷasamaṅgalathēra-Kassapathēra-Māṇisāṭhēra-sahkhūṭānanā ēkādasaṃmānā thērē-


Athān kula Rūmīdhipatirūja Rāmadūnīmāvabhirūjanām thūrānām Yōgabhiḥbānumudūnimukkhasamūpata-pavatthitaṃtvā "maññāya "uṭṭha putiṭippaṭa, maṇṇa ṅaḷītukhaṇa Samiddhipāṇa gautaḥ, upaspasamudañhanābhūjikānuḥ thūrānuḥ yinaśa niyāpajamā paśeṭvā, paccaṅgamanā kāraṇānuḥ. Apīveda nāmānuḥ sūnāya yeva Tīguṇpamagāram gautvā, tassassekatilāparimāpa

kaṇṭhupaṭaṭhaṃ jñānāpajīmāna jñānamatākondhamadāhānto-cūtīannya assayajajagānatīyaṃ nāmāpajīmānuṃdūvānāsvaṃ pāṭiyāṃ, tathā niyāvatvā thūrānām paccaṅgamanā kāroṣyān ti ācintāya: "yāvante Tīguṇpamangamā pāṭiyāṃsiṃ; tāvā bhuddatā Tīguṇpamagāram ācintāya yeva vasantā" samudāyaṃ puttaṃ dattvā, thūrānuṃ vasantānuhāna ca, piṭṭhāpacā ca, paṭṭhakarāyaṃ, samuddadānyaṇyā jāṅgūnāvac "śirīprāvāya, niyāgānuṇaṃ niyāvāya "bhūrielāpāvāya, Tīguṇpamagāram vāsiyaṃ.

Citraśālītāmāvabhirūjaḥ pana ekādasathūrā "Sīvajjagatāpasaḥ bhante, Rūmīdhipatirahāyaṃ Rāmañīyaṃ prabhāyaṃ, samādhiyaṃ prabhāyaṃ, suhi maha putha-prabhāyaṃ, suhi maha putha-prabhāyaṃ, suhi maha putha-prabhāyaṃ; citraśālītāmāvabhirūjaḥ pana ekādasathūrā, yinaśa niyāpajamā paśeṭvā, paccaṅgamanā kāraṇānuḥ. Apīveda nāmānuḥ sūnāya yeva Tīguṇpamagāram gautvā, tassassekatilāparimāpa

kaṇṭhupaṭaṭhaṃ jñānāpajīmāna jñānamatākondhamadāhānto-cūtīannya assayajajagānatīyaṃ nāmāpajīmānuṃdūvānāsvaṃ pāṭiyāṃ, tathā niyāvatvā thūrānām paccaṅgamanā kāroṣyān ti ācintāya: "yāvante Tīguṇpamangamā pāṭiyāṃsiṃ; tāvā bhuddatā Tīguṇpamagāram ācintāya yeva vasantā" samudāyaṃ puttaṃ dattvā, thūrānuṃ vasantānuhāna ca, piṭṭhāpacā ca, paṭṭhakarāyaṃ, samuddadānyaṇyā jāṅgūnāvac "śirīprāvāya, niyāgānuṇaṃ niyāvāya "bhūrielāpāvāya, Tīguṇpamagāram vāsiyaṃ.

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Atthānu kula Rūmīdhipatirūja Rāmadūnīmāvabhirūjanām thūrānām Yōgabhiḥbānumudūnimukkhasamūpata-pavatthitaṃtvā: "maññāya "uṭṭha putiṭippaṭa, maṇṇa ṅaḷītukhaṇa Samiddhipāṇa gautaḥ, upaspasamudañhanābhūjikānuḥ thūrānuḥ yinaśa niyāpajamā paśeṭvā, paccaṅgamanā kāraṇānuḥ. Apīveda nāmānuḥ sūnāya yeva Tīguṇpamagāram gautvā, tassassekatilāparimāpa

kaṇṭhupaṭaṭhaṃ jñānāpajīmāna jñānamatākondhamadāhānto-cūtīannya assayajajagānatīyaṃ nāmāpajīmānuṃdūvānāsvaṃ pāṭiyāṃ, tathā niyāvatvā thūrānām paccaṅgamanā kāroṣyān ti ācintāya: "yāvante Tīguṇpamangamā pāṭiyāṃsiṃ; tāvā bhuddatā Tīguṇpamagāram ācintāya yeva vasantā" samudāyaṃ puttaṃ dattvā, thūrānuṃ vasantānuhāna ca, piṭṭhāpacā ca, paṭṭhakarāyaṃ, samuddadānyaṇyā jāṅgūnāvac "śirīprāvāya, niyāgānuṇaṃ niyāvāya "bhūrielāpāvāya, Tīguṇpamagāram vāsiyaṃ.

Buddha-sīkhi-nēga-sakkāraṇē paṇa visākhāmāsaṃ sakkapakkhe cattutthiṃ buddhavārē Tilīkaguruthē ca, Rataṅkālīkāraṇaṃ ca, Mahālāvathē ca: tēyō thiūrā Māliyapara-kāyabhiddhānāpaṭṭanādāhkārinīvābhīrahā, Cūḷābhayatissathē ca, puṇa Pacchāliyabhiddhāṇaṇaṭṭanādāhkārinīvābhīrahā, Nāvābhīrahānāpaṭṭanatū pakkhanṭa ca. Tēsā paṇa tēyō thiūrā thērāvībhīrahīya nāvāya visākhāmāsaṃ kēlapakkhe dvādasāmunīya sakkavārē Nāgärājapabattē’okkkantamulūhmahāpaṭṭaṇaḥ, jēṭṭhaṃmahāsaṃ sakkapakkhe pāṭipadavāsā aṅgāravārē, Kuṣumanāgarunam samapūṇaṃ. Cūḷābhayatissathē cāsaḥāsāmanaḥ sakkapakkhe tērāsamyaṃ Haṃsaṃvānaṇāgarunam samapūṇaṃ.

Kōmālaṇaṭṭanaṃ gaṇtva sattabhiṣkhihi saha vaṃsaṃsuṇaṃ sattasaṃ paṇa thiūrīsa Maṅgalaṭhē niyāsasaṇa bhikkhuṇaṃ ca, Vaṃraṇaṭhērāsasaṇa bhikkhuṇaṃ ca, Sirīdantudhathērāsasaṇa bhikkhuṇaṃ ca, rūpā-vēda-nēga-sakkāraṇē bhaddamāsaṃmāväṣyaṃ buddhavārē, Bindutthībhiddhanāvīkanāvabhīrahā, Kōmālaṇaṭṭanatū nīkkhamitvā, kattikassāmaṃ sakkapakkhe pāṭipadavāsē sakkavārē Nāgärājapabattē’okkkantamulūhmahāpaṭṭaṇaḥ potvā, aṅkasaṃyaṃ candavārē Kuṣumanāgarunam potvā, kattikassāmaṃ kēlapakkhe cuddaṃsaṃyaṃ sakkavārē Haṃsāvānaṇāgarunam samapūṇaṃ.

Avaseā paṇa chathēra caṭāli dahambhiṣkhihi sāddhim sāhuṣaṇtānaṃ kammādāyādatta akusalakammaṇapathām atikkamitum asamathattā, aṇicaṇīyaṃ pāpiṇāḥīṣitaṃ. Ahī sabbasaṅkhērā anicē tī !

OBVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

Nēga-sīkhi-nēga-parimāṇē yēva paṇa saṅkarāṇē, Rāmādhipatimahārūjja mahā-gaṇaṃ Kēṣadūṭhchātētyaṃ pājumaṭṭhaṇāya asaṃyaṃsaṃsaṃ sakkapakkhe aṭṭhāmāṇaṃ guruṃvaṃ nāvāsihaḥpāraṇiṣaṃsaṅkutuvaṃ svaṇkutuvaṃ pāṭṭhānubhīrahū ṇaḥ bhuḥ bhuddaṃ nīvāṇaḥasikkhānaṃvābhīrahū, nāvāhi pariṇākhaṇḍa ca, yēna Tiṃpanaṃgaruṇaṃ tāvasaṃ. Tiṃpanaṃgaruṇaṃ samapattakālī ca pāṇya asaṃyaṃsaṃsaṃ sakkapakkhe tērāsamyaṃ aṅgāravārē, Rāmādāṭvānāvabhīrahū kūṭaṭsathāthī nīpanēṭvā, nāṉ' aggrupaṭṭhanānaṃ samatpētvā sampavārētvā, tānāvaṭṭhaṃ aṅkasaṃyaṃ dvē dvē dossayuṃvatvā datvā, kuttabhaṭṭasatthē ca kātvā, nīvaṇaṭṭhaṃ ova patiṭāṭēvā.

Tato Rāmādhipatimahārūjja tiṇi dvātraiṃ mahāsāmājuṇa kūrpeṇā, mahāpavaṇṇāvālīsāvā garavare ca mahāghaṇaṃ Kēṣadūṭhchātētyaṃ pājumantLLUḥaḥ cētaṃyaṃcēpaṭṭanaṃ yakaṭīpācēvā.

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FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

By Pitlibai D. Wadia.

No. 15.—The Sleeping Nasir.

Once upon a time there lived two brothers, one of whom was possessed of ample means, while the other was utterly destitute, but the rich brother would not so much as give a handful of barley to save his brother and his poor family from starvation. One day the rich brother had occasion to give a large feast in honour of the untials of his children, and although he had invited a large number of his friends to it, he had not so much as sent a servant to ask his brother and his family to join them.

Now the poor brother, who had been long out of work, had exhausted all his resources, so that on the day of the feast he and his family had not a morsel of anything to eat, and

1 For a variant of this tale, see ante, Vol. XVII. page 13. Nasir means 'luck, good fortune.'
this had been their state for two or three days past. Towards evening therefore he said to his wife: "Go, wife, and see if you can bring us some of the leavings of the feast. There must be some bones and crumbs left in the pots and dishes; so make haste and do bring us something." The poor woman accordingly went round to the back of her rich relative's house. But she saw at a glance that she was too late, as the pots and pans had already been scrubbed clean, and that there was, therefore, no chance of her getting anything. Just then she saw some white flint in a large tub, and knew that it was the water in which the rice for the feast had been washed. So she begged of the servants to let her have some of it; but the mistress of the house, who happened to come up at the time, forbade them to give her anything at all. "Even this water has its uses," said she, "and it must not be wasted," and she relentlessly turned her back on her poor relative, who had to walk home to her unfortunate little ones empty-handed.

When she told her husband how she had been treated by his brother's wife, he was beside himself with rage and disappointment, and swore that he would go that very night to the rich barley fields of his brother and bring away some sheaves of barley, in spite of him, to make bread with for his starving little ones. So he took a scythe, and under cover of night stole noiselessly out of his house, and walked up to his brother's barley fields. But just as he was entering one, his further progress was arrested by somebody, who looked like a watch-man, loudly asking him what he wanted.

"I am come here to take home some barley from this field of my brother, since he is determined not to give me anything, although my children are actually dying for want of food. But who are you, to put yourself thus in my way?"

"I am your brother's nasib (luck), placed here to guard his possessions, and I cannot let you have anything that belongs to him!" was the stern reply.

"My brother's nasib indeed!" exclaimed the poor man in surprise; "then, where on earth has my nasib stowed himself away that he would not help me to procure the means of subsistence for my starving wife and children?"

"Thy nasib!" said the other mockingly; "why, he lies sleeping beyond the seven seas: go thither if thou wouldst find and wake him!"

So the poor fellow had to trudge back home just as he had come. The words of his brother's nasib, however, jarred on his memory, and he could not rest till he had told his wife of his interview with that strange being. She, in her turn, urged him to go and find out his nasib, and see if he could wake him from his slumbers, as they had suffered long enough from his lethargy.

The husband agreed to this, and the wife borrowed, or rather begged, some barley of her neighbours, ground it, and made it into bread, over which the poor starving children and the unfortunate parents broke their four days' fast. The poor father then took leave of his family, and set out on his journey.

He had proceeded about twelve miles, or so, when he again felt the pangs of hunger, and sat down under the spreading shade of a tree to eat a loaf or two of the bread that his wife had reserved for his journey. Just then, a little mango dropped at his feet from the tree, and on looking up, he saw that he was under a mango-tree filled to luxuriance with a crop of young mangoes. He eagerly picked up the fruit and gnawed at it, but to his great disappointment found that it was quite bitter! So he flung it away from his lips, and cursing his fate for not letting him enjoy even so much as a mango, again looked up at the tree and sighed. But the tree echoed back his sighs and said: "Brother, who art thou? and whither dost thou wend thy way? Have mercy upon me!"

"Oh! do not ask me that question," said the poor man in distress, "I do not like to dwell upon it."
On the tree, however, pressing him further, he replied: "As you are so very anxious to know my history, I shall tell it to you. Learn then first of all that—I am going in search of my naath, which I am told lies asleep beyond the seven seas! He then unfolded to the sympathising tree the whole dolorous tale of his poverty, his brother's brutal treatment of him, and his interview with his brother's naath.

When the tree had heard all, it said: "I feel very much for you, and hope you will succeed in finding out your naath. And if ever you meet him, will you not do me the favour to ask him, if he can tell why it should be my lot to produce such bitter mangoes? Not a traveller that passes under me fails to take up one of my fruit, only to fling it from him in disgust on finding it taste so bitter and unwholesome, and curse me into the bargain."

"I will, with pleasure," was our hero's reply, as he listlessly rose and again proceeded on his weary journey. He had not gone many miles, however, when he saw a very strange sight. A large fish was rolling most restlessly on the sandy banks of a river—it would toss itself to and fro, and curse itself at every turn for being so miserable.

Our hero felt much grieved to see the plight the poor creature was in, when the fish, happening to look at him, asked him who he was, and where he was going.

On being told that he was going in search of his naath, the fish said: "If you succeed in finding your naath, will you ask him in my name, why it is that a poor creature like myself should be so ill used as to be made to leave its native element and to be tortured to death on these hot sands?"

"Very well," replied our hero, and went his way again.

Some days after this, he arrived at a large city, the towers of which seemed to touch the skies, so grand and beautiful was it. As he proceeded farther into it, admiring its lofty edifices and beautifully built palaces, he was told that the Râjâ of that place was just then engaged in having a new tower built, which in spite of all the skill the best architects bestowed on it, tumbled down as soon as it was finished, without any apparent cause whatever. The poor traveller, therefore, out of mere curiosity, went near the tower, when the Râjâ, who was sitting by, with a disconsolate look, watching the operations of the workmen, was struck with his foreign look and manners, and asked him who he was, and where he was going. Our hero, thereupon, fell at the Râjâ's feet, related to him his strange story, and told him the nature of his errand. The Râjâ heard him through, and then desired him to inquire of his naath why it was that the tower he was bent on building collapsed as soon as it reached completion.

The poor man made his obeisance to the Râjâ, and promising to do his bidding, soon took leave of him.

He had not gone very far, however, on what now seemed to be his interminable journey, when he encountered a fine horse beautifully caparisoned and ready bridled, pasturing in a meadow.

On seeing him the steed looked sorrowfully at him and said: "Good Sir, you look as if you were laden with as much care as I am; tell me, therefore, where you are going, and what is the object of your journey?"

Our hero told him every thing, and the horse, too, in his turn, charged him with a message to his naath. He was to ask that personage, why it was that the gallant steed, so powerful and so handsome, was destined to his utter grief and despair to idle away his life in the manner he did, instead of being made to gallop and prance about under the control of a rider, although he was all-anxious to serve a master and go to the battle field to share his fortunes, whenever he might wish to take him.

"Very well, my friend," replied our hero, "I shall do as you desire." So saying he patted the noble animal on its back and trudged along as before.
But as he proceeded farther and farther without so much as getting a glimpse of even one of the seven seas he had been told of, our hero felt utterly disheartened, and tired out both in body and mind by the hardships and privations he was going through. So he threw himself under the shade of a large tree and soon fell fast asleep. But in a short time his slumbers were suddenly disturbed by the cries and yells of some eagles that had their nest in the top-most branches of the tree. No sooner, however, did he open his eyes than he saw a huge serpent creeping up the tree to get at the young eagles in the nest. He immediately drew his sword and divided the hideous crawling reptile into three pieces! The poor little eagles in the branches joined each other in a chorus of delight at this, and our hero, covering up the remains of their tormentor with his plaid, sheathed his sword, and soon fell fast asleep again!

When the old birds that had gone out in search of food came back and saw the traveller sleeping under the tree, they were at once seized with the idea that he was the enemy that had so long and so successfully been destroying their progeny; for many times before had that serpent succeeded in climbing the top of the tree and devouring either the birds' eggs or their little ones. So the enraged couple determined to be revenged upon him, and the male bird proposed that he would go and perch himself upon one of the topmost branches, and then fling himself down upon the sleeper with such violence as to crush him to death! The female bird, however, was for breaking the bones of the supposed enemy with one swoop of her powerful wing! At this stage, fortunately for our hero, the young birds interfered, and declared how the man had proved himself their friend by destroying their real enemy, the serpent, the carcass of which they pointed out to them covered up with the plaid! The old birds immediately tore the cloth open, and were convinced beyond doubt of the innocence of the sleeping man. So the old female bird, changing her anger into love, placed herself by his side, and began to fan him with her large wings, while the male flew away to a neighbouring city and pouncing upon a tray full of sweetmeats, temptingly displayed at a pastry cook's bore it away with him, and placed it at the feet of the still slumbering traveller.

When our hero awoke from his slumbers he saw the situation at a glance, and was deeply gratified at the attentions bestowed upon him. So without much hesitation he made a hearty meal of the sweet things he saw before him. It was, in fact, the first hearty meal he had made for many and many a day, and, feeling very much refreshed in body and buoyant in spirit, he told the birds all his story, how he had left his starving children to set out in search of his nasi, how he had travelled to such a distance amidst great hardships and privations, and how he had hitherto met with no success. The birds felt deeply grieved for him, and told him that it was hopeless for him to try to cross the seven seas without their help, and that they would, therefore, as a small return for what he had done for them, give him one of their numerous brood that would carry him on its back and deposit him dry-shod and safe beyond the seven seas.

Our hero was profuse in his thanks to the birds, and soon mounted the back of one of the young eagles, and bidding a hearty farewell to his feathered friends resumed his journey, this time not over hard and rough roads and mountains, or through deep dark jungles, but through the fresh balmy air and the cool transcendant brightness of the skies.

All the seven seas were crossed one after another in quick succession, when from his lofty position in the air he one day perceived a human figure stretched at full length on a bleak and desolate beach. This he was led to believe must be his nasi, so he asked the good eagle to place him down near it.

The bird obeyed, and our hero, eagerly went up to the recumbent figure and drew away from his head the sheet in which it was enveloped. Finding, however, that it would not wake, he twisted one of the sluggard's great toes with such violence that he started up at once, and began to rub his eyes, and press his brows to ascertain where he was, and who had so rudely awakened him.
"You lazy idiot," cried our hero, half in delight at his success and half in anger, "do you know how much pain and misery you have caused me by thus slumbering peacefully on for years together? How can a man come by his share of the good things of this world while his nāzīb neglects him so much as to go and throw himself into such a deep slumber in so unapproachable a corner of the earth? Get up at once, and promise never to relapse again into slumber after I depart."

"No, no, I cannot sleep again, now that you have waked me," replied the nāzīb; "I was sleeping only because you had not hitherto taken the trouble to rouse me. Now that I have been awakened I shall attend you wherever you go, and will not let you want for anything."

"Very well, then," cried our hero, perfectly satisfied, "now look sharp and give me plain and true answers to a few questions I have been commissioned to ask you."

He then delivered to him all the different messages given to him by the mango-tree, the fish, the Rājā, and the horse. The nāzīb listened with great attention, and then replied as follows:

"The mango tree will bear bitter mangoes so long as it does not give up the treasure that lies buried under it.

The fish has a large solid slab of gold hidden in its stomach, which must be squeezed out of its body to relieve it of its sufferings.

As for the Rājā—tell him to give up building towers for the present and turn his attention to his household, and he will find that, although his eldest daughter has long since passed her twelfth year, she has not yet been provided with a husband, which circumstance draws many a sigh from her heart, and as each sigh pierces the air, the lofty structure shakes under its spell and gives way. If the Rājā therefore, first sees his daughter married, he will not have any more cause to complain."

Coming then to speak of the horse, the nāzīb patted our hero on his back, and continued:

"The rider destined to gladden the heart of that noble animal is none but yourself. Go, therefore, and mount him, and he will take you home to your family."

This terminated our hero's interview with his nāzīb, and after again admonishing him not to relapse into slumber, he mounted his aerial charger once more, and joyously turned his face homewards.

When the seven seas had again been crossed, the faithful bird took him to where he had found the horse, and laid him down safe beside him. The traveller then took leave of the eagle with many expressions of gratitude and going up to the steed stroked him gently and said: "Here I am sent to be your rider! I was pledged to ride you, but as my nāzīb was lying asleep up to this time, I could not see my way to do so!"

"Keserīlūah," exclaimed the horse, "I am quite at your service." Our hero, thereupon, mounted the steed and the noble animal soon galloped away with him, and both horse and rider being infused with a sense of happiness did not feel the hardships and fatigue of the journey so much as they would have done under other circumstances.

While passing by the river on the banks of which he had perceived the fish writhing in agony, our hero saw that it was still there in the same sad plight. So he at once went up to it, and catching hold of it, squeezed the slab of gold out of its body, restored the poor creature to its element, and putting the gold into his wallet, made his way to the city where he had encountered the Rājā.

When he arrived there he put up at a sarīf, and purchased with the gold acquired from the fish, rich clothes, jewellery, and weapons befitting a young nobleman, and, attiring himself in them, presented himself before the Rājā.
The Râjâ was surprised to see him, so much changed did he look from his former self, and welcoming him most cordially, gave him a seat of honour in the midst of his nobles. He then inquired of him whether his nusrû had given him any solution of the vexed question of the collapse of the tower, and was delighted to hear in reply that so simple a matter was the cause of all the annoyance he had suffered, and all the expense he had been put to. With a view, therefore, to put an end to the difficulty at once, he ordered his daughter to be brought before him, and putting her hand into that of our hero, proclaimed him then and there his son-in-law!

After this the tower stood as erect and firm as the Râjâ wished it, and the whole kingdom resounded with the praises of the traveller who had been the means of contributing to its stability, and no one grudged him the hand of the fair princess as a reward for his services.

After a few days spent in feasting and merry-making, our hero took leave of his father-in-law, and set out on his homeward journey with a large retinue. When he reached the mango tree that produced bitter fruit, and sat down under its branches, surrounded by all the evidences of wealth and honour, he could not help contrasting his former state with his present altered circumstances, and poured forth his thanks to the good Allah, who had hitherto befriended him. He then ordered his men to dig at the roots of the tree, and their labours were soon rewarded by the discovery of a large copper vessel, so heavy as to require the united strength of a number of men to haul it up. When the treasure trove was opened, it was found to be full of gold and jewels of great value, and our hero got the whole laden upon camels, and joyfully resumed his journey home.

When he entered his native place with his bright cavalcade and his lovely wife, quite a crowd of eager spectators gathered round him, and his brother and other relatives who were of the number, although they recognised him, were too awed to address him. So he ordered his tents to be pitched in a prominent part of the town, and put up there with his bride. In due course he caused inquiries to be made regarding his first wife and his children, and soon had the satisfaction of embracing them once more. He was grieved to find them in the same half-starved, ill-clad condition he had left them in, but was nevertheless thankful that their life had been spared so long. His next step was to take his new bride to his first, and therefore more rightful wife, place her hand in hers, and bid her look upon her as a younger sister. This the old lady promised gladly to do.

All his friends and neighbours then called upon him to offer him their congratulations, and even his hard-hearted brother and his wife failed not to visit him, and wish him joy of his good fortune. Seeing now that he was a much richer man than himself, they tried their best to ingratiate themselves into his favour, and the wife even went so far as to invite his two wives to a grand feast, which she said she was going to give in honour of his happy return and reunion with his family.

Our hero consented to let his wives go to the feast, and the next day the two ladies, attiring themselves in their best clothes and jewels, went to their brother-in-law’s house, where a large party, consisting of ladies of the best families, had assembled to do them honour. After some time spent in the interchange of civilities, the whole company sat down to a sumptuous banquet. As the meal proceeded however, what was the surprise of the guests to see, that instead of putting the rich viands into her mouth, the old wife of our hero placed a tiny morsel each time on each of the different articles of her jewellery and on the deep gold embroidered borders of her dâtû. For some time no one dared to question her as to the reason of her strange behaviour, but at last, one old woman, holder than the rest, and who was, moreover, possessed of a sharp tongue, cried out in a loud voice: “Hild, what are you about? You don’t seem to have come here to feed yourself, for up to now you have been doing nothing but feed your jewellery and your clothes!”
"You are right, old lady," replied our hero’s wife, "you are quite right when you say that I have been feeding my jewellery and clothes; for has not this repast been provided, and all this distinguished company brought together, in honour of our rich clothes and jewellery? There was a time, when neither my husband nor myself was thought fit to partake of our hostess’s hospitality; nay, at one time, even so much as a bucketful of water in which rice had been washed for a feast, was refused to me, although my husband, my children and myself were starving! And all that because then we were not possessed of these fine clothes, and this jewellery!"

With these words she took her co-wife by the hand, and the two turning their backs on their hostess, walked majestically out to their palanquins and returned home!

The chagrin, disappointment, and rage of the hostess knew no bounds at this, especially as all her guests, instead of taking her part, began to laugh at her, and told her she had been well served for her ill-mannered pride and her hard-heartedness to her relatives when in distress. Nay, to show their contempt for her, they all left the feast unfinished, and went away to their homes in rapid succession.

Our hero passed the rest of his life with his two wives and their children very happily ever afterwards, and had never again any cause to complain against his use.
"Hail! Prosperity! In the 1st year of etc., which corresponded to the Saka year 1187, on the day of (the nakshatra) Uttarakāṣṭādhā, which corresponded to Saturday, the third tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Siśńha."

No. III.

On the same wall as No. I.

Svasti śrī Sakara-yagū 118[?]7 pṛga Tīrību-
vaṇaśakkarava[?]ttigal śrī-viśaya-κaṇḍa-Gopā-
adāvayktu yā[?]ṭ[?]na 1[?]v[?]n[?] Sīṁha-māytrt-
apa-pakṣatatu tritīyāyum Śaṇi-kiḷamāyayun-
pṛga Uttirāṭṭādī-nal.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[?]st year of etc., which corresponded to the Saka year 118[?]7, on the day of (the nakshatra) Uttara-Bhadrapāḍa, which corresponded to Saturday, the third tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Siśńha."

The details of these three dates are correct for the Śaka years quoted with them; except that the nakshatra of No. II. should be Uttara-
Bhadrapāḍa instead of Utarākāṣṭādhā.

The English equivalents of these three dates are:— No. I. Saturday, the 13th June A. D. 1265; and Nos. II. and III. Saturday, the 1st August A. D. 1265. The Śaka years in these three dates are expired, while that in the date of Gaṇapati is current.

From these data Dr. Hultzsch has already pointed out that the year fitting to the details of the 10th year inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya should be sought for between the Śaka years 1172 and 1190.

The 10th year inscription in which Sundara-
Pāṇḍya alludes to his victory over Kaṇḍa-
Gopāla, is dated in the solar month of Viṣṇubha. We see from the date No. I. of Kaṇḍa-Gopāla that his accession must have taken place not before the commencement of the month Māthisīma of Saka-Saṅṅivat 1172 expired. The first available month Viṣṇubha after this is that of S. S. 1173 expired. The Śaka year, therefore, for Sundara-
Pāṇḍya's 10th year inscription does not fall before S. S. 1173 expired. Strictly speaking, therefore, we should seek for the Śaka year fitting to the details of the 10th year inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, between the years 1173 and 1190 expired, both inclusive. Consequently, the Śaka year for his 9th year inscription should be sought between the years 1172 and 1189 expired, both inclusive. Taking, however, one year more on each side, I find that the Śaka years 1181 and 1182 expired are the only years corresponding respectively to the details of the 9th and 10th year inscriptions of Sundara-Pāṇḍya. I may say here, once for all, that the Śaka years in my calculation are all taken as expired years.

Tuesday, and the Punarvasu nakshatra falling on a śūla pakehantī in the solar month of Viṣṇubha, are the requirements of the 9th year inscription; and Wednesday, and the nakshatra Anurādhā falling on a kṛṣṇa pratiṣṭāda in the solar month Viṣṇubha, are required for the 10th year inscription. In both the inscriptions the solar month is Viṣṇubha. Parts of two lunar months, Vaiśākha, and Ṣyāṭṣaṭha, fall in the solar month Viṣṇubha. First I searched for the years, in which the given week days fall on the given tithis of Vaiśākha and Ṣyāṭṣaṭha. I need not give here all these years. I calculated afterwards in which of these years the given week days, the nakshatras, and the solar month full together; and found that the three required things for the 9th and 10th year inscriptions, respectively, fell together, actually or nearly, in the Śaka years 1181 and 1182, and again in 1184 and 1185. Also, taking each inscription separately, there is no other year for either of them.

Of the above two pairs of years, first I take the latter. According to the present Māṅgalya-Śiddhānta, in Saka-Saṅṅivat 118[?], the māṁkaka Vaiśākha śūla paryuṣad ended and the kṛṣṇa pratiṣṭāda commenced on Wednesday, the 25th April, A. D. 1863, at 9 ghaṭis 28 pulas. and the naṃkaka Viṣṇubha ended and Anurādhā commenced at 23 gh. 25 pul., Ujjain mean time (4. e. at so many ghaṭis and pulas after mean sunrise at Ujjain). So, two of the three requirements fell together after 23 gh. 24 pul. from mean sunrise on the Wednesday. But the Viṣṇubha-saṅṅitṛānti took place on the same day at 44 gh. 7 pul. (Ujjain mean time), which was 45 gh. 16 pul. of the apparent time on that day at Trichinopoly, the place of the 10th year inscription. In finding the apparent time, I have taken for Trichinopoly latitude 10° 47' and longitude 78° 43' east of Greenwich, and 30° 0' east of Ujjain (see Johnston's Atlas). There seem to be two systems at present of commencing a solar month civilly (see South-Indian Chronological Tables, p. 7 f.). According to one, when a saṅṅitṛānti takes place before sunset, the month is made to begin on the same day; while, if it takes place after sunset the month begins on the next day. According to the other system, when the sun enters a sign within three of the five parts into which the daytime is divided, the month begins on the same day; otherwise, it begins on the next day. In the present instance, the solar month Viṣṇubha did not begin on the Wednesday by either of the two systems. Even if we take the actual time of
the month began at about midnight; but no religious ceremony is likely to take place after midnight. According to the first Ārya-Siddhānta, which is the authority in the Tamil country, the solar month in question actually commences about 4 ghaha earlier; that is at about 40 gh (Ujjain mean time); but that hour also is too late. So, Saka-Saṃvat 1185 is not the year of the 10th year inscription.

Now as regards the 9th year inscription. According to Prof. K. L. Chhatrie’s Tables, in Saka-Saṃvat 1184, Vaiśākha śukla pañchami ended on Tuesday, 25th April, A. D. 1283, at 19 gh 40 pa. (Ujjain mean time); and up to about 33 gh. from sunrise there was the nakahatra Pumavasam. But here again, the Vrisabhā-suṣumkhānti took place, according to the present Sūrya-Siddhānta, on the same day at 28 gh 36 pa. (Ujjain mean time). So, only after this time on that day the three requirements, the week day, the nakahatra, and the solar month, came together. Moreover, the tithi, pañchami, was not current with them, though it was current at sunrise and up to 10 gh.

Taking the 9th year inscription alone, this year might be taken fitting, though not satisfactorily, to the details of its date. But taking both the inscriptions together, there remains no doubt that Saka-Saṃvat 1184 is not the year of the 9th year inscription. So Saka-Saṃvat 1184 and 1185 are not the years of the 9th and 10th year inscriptions respectively.

The other pair of years Saka-Saṃvat 1181 and 1182 is, however, quite satisfactory. In S. S. 1181, Vaiśākha śukla pañchami ended, according to Prof. Chhatrie’s Tables, on Tuesday, 23rd April, A. D. 1259, at 16 gh. 10 pa. (Ujjain mean time); from sunrise to the end of the tithi there was the nakahatra Pumavasam; and the solar month was Vrisabhā, the day being its fourth civil day, the sun having already entered that sign at night on Friday, 25th April. So, the three required things, the week day, the nakahatra, and the solar month, did exist together in S. S. 1181. In S. S. 1182, according to the present Sūrya-Siddhānta, Vaiśākha triśaṃsi pratiṇipada ended on Wednesday, 25th April, A. D. 1260, at 0 gh. 16 pa. (Ujjain mean time), and at 1 gh. 27 pa., Trichinopoly apparent time. A practical work, based on the first Ārya-Siddhānta—the chief authority for the Tamil solar calendar—must have been in use at Trichinopoly and other Tamil provinces at the time of the inscription in question. I do not know the actual work; but it must be similar to the Karana-pādās, a work composed in Saka-Saṃvat 1014, and based on the first Ārya-Siddhānta with a bīja correction. And by the Karana-pādās I find that the tithi ended at Trichinopoly at 3 gh. 58 pa., apparent time. This tithi ended rather soon after sunrise, and therefore I calculated it from different authorities, to find whether it might end on the previous day, Tuesday, by any authority; but now I am sure that by no authority, likely to be in use in the Tamil country at the time of the inscriptions in question, could it end on the Tuesday.1 On the above Vaiśākha yuddha-pratiṇipada, Wednesday, the nakahatra was Anuradha, which ended at 7 gh. 34 pa., Ujjain mean time, and at 8 gh. 45 pa., Trichinopoly apparent time, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, and at 9 gh. 56 pa., Trichinopoly apparent time, according to the Karana-pādās; and the solar month was Vrisabhā, the day being its fourth civil day, the sun having already entered the sign Vrisabhā on the night of Saturday, 24th April, A. D. 1260. So the three required things fell together in the Saka year 1182.

I may state here that the Śaka years 1170 and 1171, and again 1191 and 1192, are other pairs of years, in which the three required things fall together, actually or nearly. But the first of these two is more unsatisfactory than the pair of years 1181 and 1182 above described. The second pair is a little less satisfactory than the pair of years 1181 and 1182. But these two pairs are out of our limit, which has, as I have stated above, Śaka-Saṃvat 1172 and 1173 on one side and 1189 and 1190 on the other.

So, the Śaka years 1181 and 1182 expired are the only years respectively for the 9th and 10th year inscriptions of Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Jaṭāvarman. His accession must have taken place on some day from the fifth day in the solar month of Vrisabhā of Śaka-Saṃvat 1172 up to the fourth day in the same solar month of Ś. S. 1173; or from Vaiśākha yuddha devītya of Ś. S. 1172, to Vaiśākha śukla pañchami of Ś. S. 1173. These being about ten or eleven months of the year 1172 and only one or two of 1173, we should, in the absence of other definite proof, prefer the Śaka year 1172, expired, for the accession of Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Jaṭāvarman.

There is not a single year from Śaka-Saṃvat 1170 to 1182, both inclusive, that satisfactorily fits the details of the date No. 2, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 344, of the 9th year inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Māravarman. In the Śaka years 1174,

1 In the other calculations, also, in this note, I have assured as much accuracy as is required in each individual case.
and 1177, there is only a near approach of the three requirements. In these two years, Chaitra
kṛṣṇa tritiya ended and tritiya commenced on a Friday, at respectively 16 gh. 56 pa. and 46 gh.
41 pa. (Ujjain mean time), according to Prof.
Chhatre’s Tables, and after that time only, the
required things,—kṛṣṇa tritiya coupled with a
Friday, the naktakāra Viśākhā, and the solar
month Māha—fell together. If the Sundara-
Pāṇḍya-Māravarman of this inscription of the
9th year were the same as Sundara-Pāṇḍya-
Jaṭāvarman, the details of its date should fit
Śaka-Saṃvat 1181; but they do not. It is certain,
therefore, that Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Māravarman is
different from Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Jaṭāvarman.

Shankar B. Dikshit.

Dhulia, 10th May 1893.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

tad-vārṣaṁ-modal-dīpiṣa śrādha yam-dīgit. This shows that there were two
śrāde-days in the year; and that certain fixed
duties or taxes were paid on them. It also
proves that the word is śrāde; and not ashrade, as
is equally possible in the other passages in which
the word has been met with. But the meaning
of the word still remains unexplained.

J. F. Fleet.

BOOK NOTICE.

Pāṇini, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der indischen
Literatur und Grammatik. Von Bruno Liebich,
Dr. Phil., Leipzig. Hessel, 1891.

It is an observation as trite as it is true, that
an epoch-making work, besides having an impor-
tance of its own, renders possible the production
of other good books, and thereby opens new paths
of investigation, which but for them would have
remained closed to the most adventurous pioneers
by an impassable barrier. As Gunālī of Paññā
put it:

प्रमाणविधिमनसः यस्यन
gunaśī dhiṣayam

The work may be described as having the same
object as Goldstücker’s well-known essay—to
determine the place of Pāṇini in Sanskrit
Literature—and it may be at once stated that
the author has made a great advance in this
interesting investigation. He has had at his
command materials not available to former
authors, and he has employed new methods,
which had hitherto not been able to adopt.
Dr. Liebich’s first chapter is devoted to a review
of the attempts of former authors to fix the date
of Pāṇini, from Goldstücker’s suggestion of
not later than 700 B. C., to that of Dr. Pischel,
which puts him 1,100 years later. The author’s
own opinion on this point is that we have not yet
sufficient ground to come to a definite conclusion,
but that in all probability he came after the
Buddha and before the commencement of the
Christian Era: and that he was nearer the
earlier than the later limit. In the second
chapter the author continues the inquiry, by seek-
ing to establish the dates of Pāṇini’s commentators.
The author of the Kāśīkā Vṛtti, died about 660
A. D. He was preceded by Chandragośā, who
appears to have lived in the 4th or early in the 5th
century A. D. Before him came Paññājī, the
author of the Mahābhāshya, who probably lived
in the second century B. C. Kātyāyana, the
author of the Vārttika, lived some generations
before Paññājī, and Pāṇini was at least one
generation before Kātyāyana.

Dr. Liebich in his third chapter opens the most
original and interesting portion of the work.
He compares the Sanskrit language as laid down
in Pāṇini’s Grammar with the actual Grammar
exhibited by four stages of Sanskrit literature,
between the first and last of which he must
certainly have lived. For this purpose he takes a
thousand verbal forms in each of the following—
(a) the Atharva Brāhmaṇa, (b) the Byāhaddāraya
Upanishad, (c) the Āśvākyma and Pāraskara
Orhyāshāstras, and (d) the Bhagavadgītā. The first
represents the language of the older Brāhmaṇas,
the second that of the later Brāhmaṇas, the third
that of the śāstras and the fourth that of Epic poetry.
Every form is compared with what Pāṇini says it
ought to have been, and eacb departure from his grammar is recorded and classified. Omitting irregularities which are noticed by Pāṇini himself, as belonging to the Chhandas or older (i.e. before him) language, the following is the number of forms found to be grammatically false according to his rules, out of the thousand examined in each work.—(a) 6, (b) 27, (c) 41, (d) 37. From these statistics, and from a consideration of the nature of the irregularities in each case, he comes to the following conclusions:—

1. That Pāṇini is nearest in time to the Grihyasthāras.

2. That both the Aśārya Brāhmaṇas and the Brihadādṛṣṭotkya Upanishads certainly belong to a time earlier than his.

3. That the Bhagavadgītā certainly belongs to a time later than his.

In his fourth chapter the author deals with the Pāṇini’s relation to the language of India; without a clear comprehension of which it is impossible to solve the problem of the extent to which Sanskrit was a living speech. The author first gives a brief résumé of the various propositions on this point which have hitherto been advanced, in which I may notice that he omits to mention Scudder’s arguments, contained in his essays on the Inscriptions of Pāṇini. His own opinion is that Pāṇini taught the language spoken in India at his time, that the Sanskrit which he taught was, syntactically, practically identical with that of the Brāhmaṇas and of the Sāstras, and that in grammar, it only differed from the Brāhmaṇas by the absence of a few ancient forms, most of which were specially noted by him as Vedic peculiarities, and from the Sāstras by the omission to notice certain loosely used forms, such as those which exist in every language beside the stricter ones enjoined by grammar.

In suggesting that Pāṇini taught in his grammar the Aryan language, in the form in which it was at the time generally spoken even by the educated in India, I think Dr. Lidzbarski goes too far. That Pāṇini, in his grammar, illustrated a language which was spoken at the time by some persons, and probably by himself, is possible, and may be allowed; but I, for one, cannot admit that that language was in Pāṇini’s time the general spoken language of India, or even of North-Western India. One fact alone makes the thing seem to me impossible. Pāṇini, probably lived somewhere about 300 B.C., but sup-

1 Of course I do not for a moment suggest that the oldest Brāhmaṇas were only a hundred years older than Pāṇini. I am only stating the case in the most favourable way I can for the other side.
arrest its development, as suddenly and fixedly as the development of Sanskrit was arrested. The assumption of such two conditions of existence in two periods of a language’s history, one of which immediately succeeds the other, is too violent to be credible.

But I have admitted that it is possible that at the time of Pāṇini, Sanskrit was a spoken language. If it was not spoken by the common people, by whom was it spoken? The answer is, by the schools.

From the earliest times the Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to the study of the language of their sacred books, and no doubt they used it amongst themselves, in the schools, as a medium of disputation, and, perhaps, even, of ordinary intercourses. In later times we find, in the Brāhmaṇa, Hanumān considering whether he should address Śākų in Sanskrit or in Prākrit, and no doubt this illustrated the state of affairs in Pāṇini’s time as well. Brāhmaṇas could address each other in the holy language, which they so carefully studied and kept up in its integrity, but in communication with the outer world beyond the boundaries of their schools, they had to use that vernacular language of the people, which, descended from the dialects in which the Vedic Hymns were first composed, passed, regularly and inevitably, in the course of centuries, into (amongst others) the language of Aśoka, and thence into that of Hāla and of Tulasī Dās. Call that Vernacular language what you will, so long as it is not called Sanskrit. Many things add proof to the existence of this vernacular language at the time when Sanskrit was fixed,—nay, Sanskrit itself bears witness to itself, on its very face, in the way in which it has borrowed some of those vernacular words, in their vernacular forms, and then re-transferred them, by a process of reversed etymology into what it imagined to be their original Vedic forms. Its mistakes in this process of rever- 
ing betray the secret. No doubt in speaking Sanskrit in the schools many things were referred to, of which the original Vedic name was forgotten, and of which the vernacular form had perforce to be used in a form dressed up for the occasion.

In short, Sanskrit was used in the schools in Pāṇini’s time much as Latin was used in the schools in the Middle Ages. It was habitually used and spoken as a scholastic language, and in the course of time had even branched out into scholastic dialects, as Dr. Liebich’s statistics of the Śāstras show.

I think, therefore, that Dr. Liebich goes too far, if I understand him aright, when he says that Pāṇini’s Sanskrit was ‘the spoken, the living speech of the learned men of his time.’ Unless he means by this that it was merely a school language of the learned, entirely distinct from the general language of Hindūs, or also spoken by, and actually the vernacular even of, these learned men, I cannot but consider him, and the many who agree with him, to be labouring under a false impression.

In concluding this subject, Dr. Liebich’s classification of the various stages of the Sanskrit language may be given here. He divides them as follows:

I. Ante-classical
   The Sanshikas of the four Vedas.
II. Classical
   (a) Brāhmaṇas and Śāstras.
   (b) Pāṇini’s teachings.
III. Post-classical
   (a) Literature not governed by Pāṇini: The Epic poems.
   (b) Literature arisen under the influence of Pāṇini: the language of Kāliyug, etc.

In the fifth chapter Dr. Liebich combats Prof. Whitney’s attacks on the Sanskrit grammatical school in general, and in the sixth he applies the statistics already given to deciding whether any portions of the Nāstikadharmaśāstra Upaniṣad and of the Ādiyāra Brāhmaṇa are older or more modern than other portions; but I must refer the reader to both these essays directly; as the demands of space do not allow me to describe their contents. Suffice it to say that with regards to the Kānya Recension of the former, he considers the whole of it (with a reservation regarding the 5th book) to be earlier than Pāṇini. So also the Ādiyāra Brāhmaṇa with the exception of the 31st Aṣṭyāya.

This excellent and most interesting book concludes with two useful appendices, in which the author explains the Punician teaching on the genus (pada) of the Verb, and on the formation of the Feminine of nouns.

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* An example is the Sanskrit ṛṣādra, sugarcane sprout, which I have referred to (ante, p. 165) in reviewing Dr. Macdonell’s Sanskrit Dictionary. This word is manufactured from the old Prākrit ṛṣā(pra)ḥa. Sanskrit took ṛṣā(pra)ḥa, and by a mistaken etymology assumed that it was derived from ṛṣā, and therefore it declared

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that ṛṣādra was the Sanskrit word for sugarcane sprout. Really, the word is derived from ṛṣa with plasmati ca (quis dat). There are many examples of this sort.

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* Just as Father Tom said to the Pope in their immortal conversation: ‘Dimidium cynathi voc eapd metropolitum Hibernius dicite sandane (a dandy)’
DANISH COINS FROM TRANQUEBAR.
NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

BY G. A. GRIEBSON, I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 206.)

(7.) Dohštalt. See above. Five hundred and seventy-three miscellaneous dohā and straṭā verses.

The following may be taken as a specimen. They are extracts from other works of the poet:

Taba lagī kusaḷa na īśva kahuḥ sarpanaḥ śuṇa baisvama
Jabha lagī bhajata na Rāma kaḷuḥ sōka-dhāma tājī kāma ॥ 131 ॥
Bīnu suta-sagga na Hari-kathā tehi bīnu mōla na dhūgā ॥
Mōla ārō bīnu Rāma-pada hās na dṛṣṭha amūrga ॥ 132 ॥
Bīnu bīrāvam bhajati nāhī tīhi bīnu dravah jīva na Rāma ॥
Rāma-kṛpā bīnu sarpanaḥ īśva na laha bīrāma ॥ 133 ॥

131. No happiness will be in life, no rest to the soul even in dreams, till a man, abandon-
ing desire, that home of sorrow, worships Rāma.

132. Without fellowships of the faithful, there can be no converse about God, and
without that converse illusion does not disappear. Unless illusion disappear, there is no firm
love for Rāma’s feet.

133. Without trust there is no faith, and without faith Rāma is not compassionate.
Without Rāma’s mercy there is no rest for life, even in one’s dreams.

(7a.) The Sat’śai, or Seven Centuries. I have already discussed at considerable length the
question of the authenticity of this work. Whether written by Tul’s Dās or not, it certainly
contains, and is the only work attributed to him which does contain, a systematic exposition of
his religious opinions. It therefore deserves more than a passing notice.

Although nominally in seven svarga or parts, each consisting of a century of verses, this is
not quite an accurate description, for, as will be seen, each part contains a few more or less than
a hundred. This lends counterpoint to the theory that verses have been interpolated here and
there. The object of the work is purely religious, and though each dohā is capable of being
quoted independently by itself, the book is not a mere collection of disjointed gnomic verses.
A clear connecting leading idiom runs through the whole of each part.

The verses may be considered as falling into three classes, viz. gnomic, parenetic, and
purely devotional. The majority belong to the second class.

The following are the names of the various parts:—

Sarga I., Trāma-ḥakiti-nirādēśa, Explanation of Faith as Adoration. One hundred and
ten dohās.

Sarga II., Upanand-paraḥbhakti-nirādēśa, the Explanation of Faith in its Highest Form as
Adoration. One hundred and three dohās.

1 Kirā Rām, pupil of Śāh Mahārām, the son of Śāh Dātā Bām, is the author of the following verse, compar-
ing the various Sargas to different portions of Śtā’s body. Mātra Chāhappai:—
Sri ji pranabh īśva, laṅka aṭiṭiyaa pate hāi ॥
Vakrāti hāi uḷana Rāma raṇa anīya bhārī hāi ॥
Yaduṛū ṛūm-ūmūla, karmā-nūmihita pade hāi ॥
Anāma jīnā-nūmihita jānā hāi brahma hālī hāi ॥
Rājāvalī hāi śre siyā, ehi vudhi Tulāti Dāna hīya ॥
Aili aili īrā dēkhiyē satamiyē hāi sattā Siyā ॥

The sarga on Faith as Adoration is Śtā’s feet, that on Faith in its Highest Form greatly to be cherished in her
waist, that on the Essence of the Lord described in Enigmas, filled with nectar, is her womb, that on Self-knowledge
is her heart, that on the Doctrine of Karma is her neck, that on the Doctrine of knowledge, by which Brahma
may certainly (be found), is her face, and that on the Duties of kings is her head. Thus did Tul’s Dās determine in
his heart that from beginning to end the Sat’śai should be a representation of Śtā.

2 Cf. Sākājīya I., 1, 3, sābhi ḫakhi-sīkhan, eṣa pariṣamścīvīr hārā, Now then there is a wish to know faith. In
its highest form it is an affirmation fixed on God (Cowell).
Sarga III, Sūkta-nabrākti-rāma-rasa-varpana, the Description of the Essence of the Lord by means of symbolical Enigmas. One hundred and one dōhās.

Sarga IV, Ātma-dōhā-nirādēśā, the Path of Self-knowledge. One hundred and four dōhās.


Sarga VI, Jayā-siddhānta-yoga, the Determination of the Doctrine of Knowledge. One hundred and one dōhās. Subject,—the necessity of a spiritual guide for a perfect knowledge of the mystery of the Perfect Name.


As stated above, a large number of the verses in the Sat'sat are repeated in the Dōhābalī. Sat. I, 2, also occurs in the Bairasya Sandhyānt (I, 1) and Sat. I, 107, in Rāj, I, 15. Both these verses are also repeated in the Dōhābalī (I, 35).

The part of the Sat'sat which is best known is the third sarga, in which various devotional exhortations are disguised in symbolical enigmas, in the style long afterwards made popular by Bihārī in his Sat'sat. As already explained, the authenticity of this part is more than doubtful. Each dōhā is a riddle, in which the true meaning is hidden to any one not possessed of the key. Two examples will suffice.

Dīja dhananājaya rabi sahita Tulasī tathā mayanka |
Pragata tahān nākih dana tanā sama chīta hākata avānka || 5 11

Literally this means:

'The seed of Dhananājaya with the sun, and, O Tulaśī, also the moon. Where they are manifest, the night of darkness is not, and the soul remains at peace and serene.' This is, as it stands, nonsense. But dīja is a technical term for the esoteric meaning of the letters of the alphabet, and the word dhananājaya means also 'fire.' Therefore the dīja of dhananājaya means that letter, the esoteric meaning of which is 'fire,' i.e., ra. So also the dīja of ra, the sun, is a, and of mayanka, the moon, ma. These three together make up the word Rāma, and hence the poet means to say that when the name of Rāma is manifest, the night of ignorance vanishes, and leaves the soul at peace.

Again,—

Bhaju hari dāñchīh bāțhā bhari tā rājīha aṁta 1
Kara tā pada bīśoda bawa sarid tarasi turanā || 22 1

Worship, after taking away the first syllable of (ā-rāma, a synonym of) bātīhā, a garden, and adding tā to the last syllable of (sa-si, a synonym of) rājīhā, the moon (i.e., worship Rāma and Sītā). Place trust in their feet, and at once dost thou pass over the sea of existence.

The fifth sarga is a good example of the author's didactic style, and the following free translation of it may be acceptable, as it contains Tulśī Dāś's doctrine of karma or works.

It will be advantageous, however, first to warn the reader as to the ground on which we are treading. Tulśī Dāś's system of philosophy was mainly that of the Vādantas,—not how—

8 Tulśī Dāś's use of the word karma, may be gathered from 56th dōhā of this sarga, where he gives in illustration a goldsmith as the karīṭa or agent, the gold on which he works as the karma or object acted on (i.e., the material cause), and the finished ornament as the kṛṣyā or effect. Kṛṣyā and karmera are to him almost equivalent terms (e.g., 31. 88). Just as there cannot be an earthen pot without presupposing the existence of a potter, so without a karīṭa or agent, there cannot be a karma. It is only by knowing the karīṭa that the true nature of the karmera can be recognized (57). Karma can never be wiped out, only the Lord is free from its law (12). Each individual is a 'store' of karmera (9), and hence never loses his identity. As a seed always produces its own kind and not another plant, so an individual always remains the same, even when he is absorbed in the Lord (10). Just as water is absorbed by the sun, and yet is never destroyed, so the individual is absorbed in the Supreme God, and yet is never reduced to nilibīty (8).
ever of the school more usually known, that of Sankara Acharya,—but partly based on the lesser known school of Ramanuja, as developed in the Sri Bhashya. Fifth (?) in descent from Ramanuja (11th-12th century), in the line of religious teachers came Ramanand, the founder of the Ramavat Sect, to which Tulsi Das belonged. The philosophical system of the Ramanujas is much the same as that of the Ramavata. It is in matters of detail of doctrine that they differ. The main difference is the somewhat liberal views of Ramanuja. He wrote for the Brahmanas and in Sanskrit, and his system of ceremonial purity was strict in the extreme. Ramanand was converted to broader notions by his expansion from that brotherhood for an imaginary impurity, and this insult was the direct cause of one of the greatest revolutions which India has seen. A revolution, like the Buddha's, from intolerance to tolerance, from spiritual pride to spiritual humility, and from a religion which teaches that the highest good is self-satisfaction, to one which teaches love to God and a man's duty to his neighbour. That Perfect Faith in God consists in Perfect Love to God is the first text of the sermon which Ramananda's disciples preached, and the second was the Universal Brotherhood of Man, for 'we are all His children.' Ramanand called his followers Advaita, for they had 'shaken off' the bonds of narrow-mindedness. To the happy accident of the insult, we owe the noble catholicity of Ramanand's disciple (greater than his master) Kabir, and this teaching reached its final development, and — what is more, — reached its acceptance by the masses of Hindustan, at the hands of Tulsi Das.

We are, however, now more concerned with the scheme of philosophy on which this system was based. The main points of difference between the Vedanta doctrines of Sankara Acharya and of Ramanuja, are given by Dr. Thilakat, in the introduction to his translation of the Viidanta Sutras, and a very brief sketch, based on his remarks, such as is necessary for understanding Tulsi Das's language, will suffice here. I shall translate throughout the personal name 'Rama' by 'The Lord.' As Dr. Thilakat says of Ramanuja 'The only "sectarian" feature of the Sri Bhashya is, that it identifies Brahman with Vishnu or Narayana; but . . . . Narayana is in fact nothing but another name of Brahma.' So also Tulsi Das identifies Brahman or Isvara with the Rama incarnation of Vishnu.

The key note of Ramanuja's system is a personal Supreme Being, whether called Brahman (meaning, 'Nara', or Rama, who is the highest person in the universe). According to Sankara, on the contrary, Brahman, the Supreme being, the highest Self, is pure Intelligence or Thought, or which comes to the same thing, pure 'Being.' Absolutely nothing can be predicated of it. All the world around us is simply a projection of this absolute intelligence in association with maya or illusion, and, as so associated, Brahman is called Isvara, the Lord. Each soul (jiva) is pure Brahman, and the aggregate of bodily organs and mental functions which make up the individual, and which separate and distinguish one soul from another, are mere maya and unreal. So also all objects of cognition, volition, &c., the external world, are mere maya; the only thing that really exists is the soul, — the projection of the supreme (param) qualityless (nirguna) Brahman. The non-enlightened soul is unable to look beyond the veil of maya, and blindly identifies itself with its adjuncts, the bodily organs and cognitions which make up the individual. It thus becomes limited in knowledge and power, as an agent and enjoyer. As such it labors itself with the merit and demerit of its actions, and as a consequence is subject to a perpetual series of births and re-births into infinity, each of which is a direct

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4 Now in course of publication in the Bulletin of the American Oriental Society. That Tulsi Das is considered a profound follower of Ramanuja is manifest from the introductory verses of the Marana Ramakirti of Bhusan Pitam. He praises Sita, Rama, Hanuman, Lakshmana and Tulsi Das. There he says all "sri-Ramanuja-me ma pure dharma dharmatva jiva Tulsi-das vijnana chaturvarata mula jiva." The author would not have brought Ramanuja's name so prominently forward, were it not germane to the object of his work.

5 Sacred Books of the East.

[Note: I have inserted in Legends of the Puranas in similarly translating Rama, Hanu, Raghuvra, Raghunatha, &c., as "God." As the point is of much interest I give the following references to that work: L. 125, 325, 357, 368, 369, 408; II. 47, 11, 161, 294, 214, 217, 376; III. 386. — R.]
consequence of its previous actions. The only way of escaping from this weary continual
round of births is the recognition by the soul of the soul as one with the Supreme Brahman,
— the highest self. By such knowledge the seeker after truth withdraws from the influence
of nitya, and, at the moment of death obtains immediate final release, being absorbed into and
altogether losing his identity in the absolute Supreme Brahman. He once more becomes
himself pure “Being,” without qualities, cognitions, or identity.

On the other hand, according to Rāmānuja, Brahman, the Supreme Being, the highest
Self, the Lord, is not pure Intelligence, though Intelligence is his chief attribute. So far from
being pure ‘Being,’ devoid of all qualities, he is endowed with all auspicious qualities. ‘The
Lord (I quote Dr. Thibaut’s words) is all-pervading, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-merciful;
his nature is fundamentally antagonistic to all evil. He contains within himself whatever
exists,’ ‘Matter and soul (achīt and chīt) constitute the body of the Lord; they stand to him
in the same relation of entire dependence and subserviency, as that in which the matter forming
an animal or vegetable body stands to its soul or animating principle. The Lord pervades and
rules all things which exist, material or immaterial—as their antaryāmin,’ or inward ruler.
‘Matter and soul as forming the body of the Lord are also called modes of him (prakāra).’ They
are looked upon as his effects, but they have enjoyed the kind of individual existence which is
therein from all eternity, and will never be entirely resolved into Brahman. Creation (as both he
and Sankara agree) takes place at intervals. Between each period of creation, is a period of
pralaya or non-creation, during which matter is unevolved (āryavartā), and (according to
Rāmānuja) ‘individual souls are not joined to material bodies, but their intelligence is in a state
of contraction, non-manifestation (vasubandha).’ During this pralaya period Brahman is said to
be in his causal condition (bhāriyavasthā). ‘When the pralaya state comes to an end, creation
takes place owing to an act of volition on the Lord’s part.’ Primary unevolved matter becomes
gross and acquires those sensible attributes (such as visibility, tangibility, etc.), which are
known from ordinary experience. ‘At the same time the souls enter into connexion with
material bodies corresponding to the degree of merit or demerit acquired by them in previous
existence; their intelligence at the same time undergoes a certain expansion (vīkṣaṇā). The
Lord, together with matter in its gross state, and the “expanded” souls, is Brahman in the
condition of effect (bhāryavasthā). Cause and effect are thus at the bottom the same; for the
effect is nothing but the cause which has undergone a certain change (prakāra).’

There is thus, as in Rāmānuja’s system a never ending round of births influenced by former
actions, and the only way of escaping from the endless chain is cognition of and meditation on
the Lord, a thing which can only be done by His grace. There is no veil of nitya, as there is
in Sankara’s system, between the soul and the Lord: but without the Grace of the Lord, true
understanding and true meditation is impossible. He who obtains that grace obtains final
emancipation, and an everlasting blissful existence. He does not become absorbed in Brahman,
but ‘enjoys a separate personal existence, and will remain a personality for ever.’ The release
from samsāra, the world of births and rebirths ‘means, according to Sankara, the absolute
merging of the individual soul in Brahman, due to the dismissal of the erroneous notion that
the soul is distinct from Brahman; according to Rāmānuja it only means the soul’s passing from
the troubles of earthly life into a kind of heaven or paradise, where it will remain for ever in
undisturbed personal bliss.’

The above brief abstract of Dr. Thibaut’s luminous comparison of those two sister
philosophies, will, it is believed enable the student to understand the panentheistic side of Tulsi’s
Dās’s writings, and in concluding this portion of the essay, I will give one more quotation from
Dr. Thibaut, which (res aux teṣāt) accurately sums up the history of this side of religions

1 Note that according to Sankara there are two conditions of Brahman, a higher, which is Brahman, pure
Intelligence, param nityāparam Brahman — a lower, associated with nitya, aparasa nityāparam Brahman, known as
Īśwara, the Lord. Rāmānuja knows only one condition of Brahman, with which many śiśu, the Lord, is
synonymous.
Although this (Sankara's) form of doctrine has, ever since Sankara's time, been the one most generally accepted by Brahmanic students of philosophy, it has never had any wide-reaching influence on the masses of India. It is too little in sympathy with the wants of the human heart, which, after all, are not so very different in India from what they are elsewhere. Comparatively few, even in India, are those who rejoice in the idea of a universal non-personal essence in which their own individuality is to be merged and lost for ever, who think it is sweet "to be wrecked on the ocean of the Infinite." The only forms of Védântic philosophy which are and can at any time have been really popular, are those in which the Brahman of the Upanishads has somehow transformed itself into a being, between which and the devotee there can exist a personal relation, love and faith on the part of man, justice tempered by mercy on the part of divinity. The only religious books of wide-spread influence, are such as the Râmâyana of Tul'sî Dâs, which lay no stress on the distinction between an absolute Brahman inaccessible to all human wants and sympathies, and a shadowy Lord whose very conception depends on the illusory principle of nîdyâ, but love to dwell on the delights of devotion to one all-wise and merciful ruler, who is able and willing to lend a gracious ear to the supplication of the worshipper.

With these introductory remarks I submit the following analysis of the fifth, or karma,ª sarga of the Sît-sarî.

The commentator Bajjhâ's preface to this part is not uninteresting and must first be quoted. 'The subject matter of this part is an account of the doctrine of actions (karma-siddhânta-varga). Now this karma is the primal cause (âdi-karma) of all things. This karma may be good or evil (sukhâshâna), It is, as it were, the wings of the bird-like soul (jîva-rûpa-paksh), wings by the support (siddhânta) of which the soul continually makes progress (gati). Moreover, good and evil karma ever emanate naturally from the soul,—good, such as giving water to the thirsty, gifts to the hungry, setting on the right path those who have gone astray, leading the heat-oppressed to shade, and the like,—evil,—but they are countless. Or again; everything double (yâdârtharîkânta) is karma, as for example, calmness, self-command, patience, trust. The six kinds of religious meditation, freedom from passion, desire for salvation, and other means of obtaining perfect knowledge are all examples of karma. Or again; hearing the Scriptures, chanting hymns, prayer and adoration, faith, these are all karmas. Or again; no karma which may be done contrary to a man's position in life or caste can be considered a good one. Thus, the branches of the tree of karma extend to hell (naraka), to the lower heaven (maharûpa), and to the abode of supreme bliss (âmbhit-dhâman), and are (the soul's) one support. Wherever the soul may go, if it do karma with a selfish object (saudîka karma) (e. g., to obtain salvation), it must remain dependent upon karma alone, which thus becomes its feter; but if it does karma with no selfish object (nîrodhika karma), that is merely in order to please the Lord, then karma is no longer a fetter; it gives faith and salvation; nay, it is an agent (karta) of both. For example, Prithu when he sacrificed, had no selfish object, and became endowed with faith to the Lord, but through performing a sacrifice with a selfish object Daksha fell a victim to calamities. So Dhruva performed unsâlshful austerities, and obtained faith, but Râvaça performed selfish austerities and wrought his own destruction. Ambika obtained faith through his selfish sacrifice. Other examples of karma are, unsâlshful justice, as in Yudhishtîrâ, and selfish (karma), Jharandhâ. Thus a man who relies on selfish karma attains only to the lower heaven (maharûpa), and having thus exhausted his merits must again be born in the world of mortals. Hence, in order to attain to faith in the Lord, a man should only perform good karma. This ocean of the doctrine of karma is fathomless and illimitable, but with the aid of a spiritual teacher, one crosses it as in a boat.' End of Preface.

Text.—Consider thy body as worthy of honour, for the Lord himself once took the human

ª The fifth sarga is devoted to the doctrine (siddhânta) of karma, and the sixth to the doctrine of jîda. There is no reference here to the karma-kânta (prâra-mundhata) and the jîda-kânta (uttara-mundhata) of the Védântists.
form (and became incarnate as Rāma), and knowledge of the non-dual ( advaita) Lord is never far from it. 1 2. The holy man alone understandeth the mystery of the sun and the water, and obtaineth nirvāṇa. 3. The Lord is like the sun which draweth water from the Earth in the hot season and again dischargeth it upon the Earth in the rainy season, never desisting in his course. 4. He calleth the holy to union with himself as the magnet doth steel. 5. Even as the sun's action in giving water is visible, but in taking water (by evaporation) is invisible, so is the action of the Lord, which can only be learnt by the grace of a spiritual guide; 6; for every one knoweth what is before him, visible to the eye,—the gifts of the Lord, but who knoweth what happeneth after death, when the Lord absorbeth ( laya) a man to himself? 7 Even as water is drawn from the earth to the sun, and is not lost in it but remaineth water, even so life goeth to the feet of the Lord, but is not absorbed ( laya) in him. 8 Each according to his nature taketh his store of actions ( karma) with him, and wheresoe'er he goeth he beareth its consequences. 9 As a seed (or Earth-born material cause) changeth not its nature, but always produceth its own kind, so doth a man when absorbed ( laya) in the Lord still retain his individuality. 10. Thus, all things are in the Lord, yet is he not affected by them, as a mirror is not affected by that which it reflecteth; 11 for karma (i.e. actions) cannot be wiped away; 12 it is like a series of waves; the actions of a man's present life ( kriyāsvādha) are the result of those of his former lives ( sauchita), and cause those of his future lives. 13 Actions ( karma) are of two kinds (good and bad), 14 and the Lord alone is entirely free from them. Few there are who can understand this mystery.

But the holy man, who is absorbed in faith in the saving power of the Lord, doth every action only out of adoration for his Lord, and never looketh back. 15. He unchangingly locketh upon Sītā (the energetic power of the Lord) as the giver of happiness, and upon Rāma (the Lord) as the taker away of his woes; the moon and the sun of the night and day of his faith. 16 The holy man's one joy is in Sītā, the tender, illuminating moon of his faith, and as gold gloweth in the fire, so gloweth the soul of a holy man in the cool rays of that moon, casting itself at their feet. 17 (18).

Mankind, in their own obstinacy, keep binding themselves in the net of actions (or works) ( karma), and though they know and hear of the bliss of these who have faith in the Lord, they attempt not the only means of release. 19 Works ( karma) are a spider's thread up and down which he continually runneth, and which is never broken; so works lead a soul downwards to the earth, and upwards to the Lord.

Thy nature is ever with thee, and where thou art, there is thy nature too, nor is it set aright till thou has learnt association with the holy. 20. If, as the Vaiṣṇavists do, we talk of an individual's subtle body ( vibhūna kārana) and his grosser body ( vibhūta kārana) then there is

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1 This is not the interpretation of Bājñāth, and depends on a reading ya laum instead of yatau ( yatau) in the first line.
2 It will subsequently appear, cf. Vis. 8 and ff. that this is very different from the nirvāṇa of Buddhism.
3 Bājñāth's explanation differs here.
4 For the Lord is devoid of karma ( a-karma), and cannot become one with a kārāna soul.
5 The argument is that a soul can never free itself from its karma, while the Lord is ever free from karma, hence the two never can become one. A-karma cannot unite with a-karma.
6 Karma (actions) has thus three aspects, that which is being done now ( kriyāsvādha), which is the result of that which has been done in the past ( sauchita), and which is the cause of that which has to be done in future ( pravṛttihita).
7 Bājñāth gives an alternative classification. He says that, with reference to the future, the present and the past of the present are the same. Therefore the two kinds may be, on the one hand sauchita (including kriyāsvādha) and on the other pravṛttihita.
8 The 'night' of ignorance ( avidyā), and the 'day' of knowledge ( jñāna). The darkness of night is śāda, illusion, and the heat of the day is 'works' ( kārana), which Rāma, unlike the real sun renders unnecessary, by the gift of knowledge.
9 All by destroying the dross of gold, so Rāma and Sītā destroy the dross (sin) of human beings. She, however, does not burn, as fire burns the gold.
no difference between them. The faults and virtues of the subtle are all found in the grosser body (22).

As water for four months cometh from the sun, and for eight months goeth to it, so are the souls of men; they return to the place whence they came (23). The water as it cometh is visible, but as it goeth is invisible, even so is the going of the soul hard to know without a spiritual guide (24). The wicked man goeth along the path of sorrow and is reborn to misery for countless generations (25). There are the two paths of bliss and sorrow, but without the grace of the Lord they cannot be recognised (26), and it is not till he experienceth the sorrow of these perpetual births, that he calleth for the moon, lit. way of Śītā (wisdom) (27). Once a holy man troueth on this path his woes disappear. For that path leadeth to Śītā's (wisdom's) feet, which guide him to the feet of the Lord (28). This moon of wisdom distilleth nectar of itself, and never suffereth eclipse or shadow (29). Like the real moon she giveth joy to all the world, and if the chathrāvīka bird and lotus (i.e. the worldly) grieve when she appears, 'tis not her fault (30). Yet when the world, without experience, seeeth them in sorrow, it falsely accuses her of the fault, though, with a spiritual guide, all that sorrow would be wiped away (31). Learn the parable of the rain-cloud, which sheddeth water and maketh the whole world to rejoice. But, though the rain also causeth the jwāda plant to wither, no one blameth the cloud (32). The moon drinketh poison from the earth, and yieldeth nectar in return; such is faith which destroyeth the holy man's sins, and giveth him peace (33).

Again, the fierce rays of the sun draw moisture from the earth, and the cool rays of the moon give back nectar. Each is the complement of the other,—so is it with the Lord and with wisdom (34, 35).

The earth is like the grosser (sthūla) body, and water like the subtle (adharma) one (which is absorbed by the sun, and given out by it again). This requireth a spiritual guide to understand (36).

The just man adoroth the cool rays of this moon, while others are seeking refuge (at once) in the fierce rays of the sun (which undergo difficulties and miseries) (37). Therefore should a man by every possible device seek association with the holy, for this endeth finally in union with the Lord (38). Take the part of a servant, which leadeth to happiness, and not that of a master (which by pride and confidence in good works) leadeth to misery. Remember the fates of Vibhishana and Ṛvanā (39).

'The moon produceth coolness, and the sun heat,' (so saith the ignorant), but neither produceth either; consider thou this carefully (40). No one ever saw them do it, yet everyone calleth them 'the cool-maker' (jita-kara) and 'the heat-maker' (usūpa-kara), and saith, therefore it is true, and cannot be false.' But the maker of heat and cold, of sun and moon, is the Lord alone (41). The very Védas tell us of the virtues of nectar, how a draught of it destroyeth disease, and bringeth the dead to life, yet even it is subject to the Lord's will (42). Everyone knoweth that the property of earth is small, of water coolness, of fire heat, and of air the sense of touch, and their existence is accepted as proved, although they cannot be seen (43).

18 That is to say during the peniṣa period (see above) during which matter is unevolved, and intelligence is in a state of contraction, when the Lord is in his causal state.

19 Endj'sd's commentary is instructive. 'A father cannot cherish a young child. The mother cheriseth it and brings it to the father, &c.'

20 Or, the sun giveth fiery rays, and the moon coolness.

21 I. e. seeking to know the supreme deity at once, by pure reason, without an intercessor, or by means of good works alone,

22 As for instance, the shower of nectar after the battle of Lanka only brought the bears and monkeys to life, and not the rākṣasas.

23 Read, gauṭha alī api uṣrayati apartha vidiṣṭa jaya jīva. A reference to the well known categories of the Nyāya philosophy. In the following verses, alī = alīt = pūrva = chītra = parameṣṭhirāja = rāmamandana. I am indebted to Upātha Swinhboor Drivdī for the explanation of this very difficult verse, of which the commentators available to me can make no sense. If, in verse 44, we could read bīkakha as instead of bīkakha, the passage would be still easier. 'So in these (i.e. the faithful) the Pure Almighty is not visible, but is revealed, &c.'
In them all is visible the Pure Almighty Lord, who is revealed easily to the heart by the teaching of a spiritual guide (44). Of this nature is the supreme knowledge, which only a few by the grace of their spiritual guides obtain, and thus become for ever holy and able to understand (45).

As the young cuckoo deserteth its foster-father, the crow, and seeketh its own kin, as soon as its wings are grown, — so the soul, when it gaineth wings of intelligence (chatânya) abandoning things of this world and seeketh the Lord (46). An even mind (samâtâ) and clear discrimination (viveka) follow from abandoning mundane welfare (svârtha) (47), yet all men clamour for the latter, though not one desire is ever perfectly fulfilled; for, void of knowledge (jñâna) their delight is in ignorance (ajñâna), and their trust is in their hard and evil intellect (48). But that only is welfare (svârtha) which destroyeth woe, and a spiritual guide alone can point it out (49). They desire this welfare, which is an effect (kârya), without doing those things which are its cause. Learn, saith Tulâś, the parable of the cotton bush, and the sugarcane (50).

Every one confesseth that the effect (kârya) is a necessary consequence of the material cause (kârya), and saith Tulâś, thou and thou alone art the agent (kâra or kâtar) which acteth upon this material cause (51): for without an agent there can be no effect, and how can he attain (to his effect, i.e. salvation) without the instructions of the spiritual guide (as a material cause). The agent acteth upon the material cause, and the effect is produced, but, under the influence of delusion (mâda) the agent acteth not (goeth not to the spiritual guide), and hence the effect cometh not (52). For the effect (i.e. salvation) never cometh without the action of the agent upon the material cause (e.g. faith), as surely as waves come not except from the action of the wind upon the water (54). The ultimate refuge of the agent (towards which he should act) is the Lord (55). The agent and the material cause are the two essentials. (56) By them thou becomest free from impurity, and endowed with faith in the one Lord, while karma (actions) waxeth or waneth (as their effect) (56). Where there is a material cause, the action (karma) must be produced (as an effect) self-born like the sweat-born insects. (57) No one sees them produced, and yet they come (57).

From unholy actions (karma) holiness cannot come. Wash thyself of ear of unholliness, and be holy (58). Show love to all creatures and thou wilt be happy (59), for when thou lovest all things, thou lovest the Lord, for He is all in all (60). Thou and the universe are made of the same elements, and in thee dwelleth thy soul (jîvânam), which thou canst not know till thou hast gained perfect knowledge (61). This knowledge may come in a sudden inspiration, or from humbly sitting at the feet of a spiritual guide (62). Learn from thy guide to distinguish - effects (kârya) temporal from effects eternal (63); the night is dark, let the sunrise of

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24 Defined as (1) sundâra varnâ; (2) atâ lâl sugandâ; (3) sundâra varnâ; (4) bhojan; (5) yâm lû; (6) tâmbâ; (7) uttâm bhojân; (8) gajâliga.
25 Worldly welfare consists in fine clothes, sweet food, and the like. These are effects, and cannot be produced without weaving cotton, and pressing the sugarcane. The preparations of the cotton and of the sugarcane are therefore the material causes of these effects. So also the supreme welfare, or salvation, is an effect which necessitates a material cause. This material cause is true knowledge, faith and the like. Here the dry cotton bush represents the dry (sûtram) path to salvation by philosophy alone, while sugarcane represents the sweet (sûtram) path to salvation by faith in the Lord.
26 I follow the reading kârma-kâra ji, st tâ tra.
27 Bajânâth says, these two of the three (agent, material cause, and effect) are the essentials, because when the agent acquires belief (brahâd, not bhâkhi; cf. Sâkalyâ, 26) he approaches material causes, such as association with the holy. By the power of these his mind (manus) is directed to the Lord, and he does works (pûrṇâram) such as hearing the scriptures, hymn-singing, adoration and the like from which love (pûrṇâram) arises. Thus his ecstatic wisdom (citâsâra, which was soiled, is destroyed, and into his pure mind material discrimination will enter, and with pure affection he will obtain the Lord. So also, when the agent associates with the worldly, he looks upon mysteries after their fashion, and any purity which he originally had is destroyed, the mind becomes attached to things of the senses, and owing to sinful karma (i.e. actions) the agent gains the eighty-four hells. Therefore, saith Tulâś Dâ, make association with the holy a material cause.
28 Like, etc., which are classed as a separate order of beings, distinct from those which are viviparous or oviparous. They have no parents.
knowledge shine. A man cannot trust for salvation to his good works (karma)," for often do they mislead and the wisest are thereby made fools (65). A work (karma) done for mere reputation (nāma-kāra) desileth, for it is done without considering its effects (66). Flee evil communications. Holiness waneth when near wickedness, as the moon waneth when approached by the sun, and waneth as it goeth farther from it (67).

As thy father and thy mother were born, so hast thou been born, but thou art not one with thy father and thy mother (thou art only one with the Lord) (68). Hence thou art one with the whole universe (which is one with him), yet, at the same time thou art a distinct separate being (69). Even as gold is made into various ornaments, but still remaineth gold: so is the soul, and only by the Lord’s grace can the wise man testeth the ornament, and knoweth that it is gold (70). It is one thing throughout, yet it hath many qualities and many names, beyond the possibility of counting, and thou canst only ascertain its true nature with the help of a spiritual guide (71). The gold is the root-substance, and it is only the adjuncts (upādā) of name, form, &c., which cause it to appear as the countless ornaments of the body (72). The form of the root-substance may change owing to its adjuncts, and according to them it is beautiful or the reverse, and only the clear intellect considereth the effect of those qualities in his mind (74).

When thou seest the outer form, give thou it its name and tell of its qualities only after

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29 I retain throughout the word karma besides translating it. Here it means good works, which, I may note, are of three kinds, those done for the love of God (mākṣādā, those done for personal salvation (māyā), and those done for mere reputation (nāma-kāra). The names, however, do not agree with the descriptions, which are Bājñāth’s.
30 Bājñāth gives several examples. Two will suffice to explain the author’s meaning. The pious Nyga gave the same cow to two Brāhmanas by mistake, and was cursed in consequence. Here a good karma led to a bad result. Ajjimātha, a notorious sinner, accidentally, and not intending it, uttered the name of God when at the point of death, and thereby got salvation. Here a bad karma led to a good result. Hence the moral is, yet not your trust in kāra or works, but faith in the Lord.
31 All commentators explain this by a reference to the Śāṅkara doctrine of Māyā, which was ignored by Bāhūmāja, who only recognizes the Lord in two conditions of cause and effect, kārādākārā and kārādākārā. If the interpretation is true (which I greatly doubt), then Tul’si Dās has superadded to Bāhūmāja’s doctrine, a doctrine of kārādākārā. Bājñāth’s explanation is as follows, — As a son is born from the union of his father and his mother, so the soul comes into living being from the union of the Lord (Āyāra) and Māyā. At the will of the Lord Māyā becomes a triple qualified self (trīśāstraśāstra). Māyā is of two forms, viz., of cause and of effect, but āyāra projected a portion of himself, like seed (śrīsāra), into the causal form (kārādākārā) = āyārāśāstra. Thence was produced the soul in a condition of forgetfulness of its true self, and imagining its body, &c., to be its real self. At the same time Māyā in its form of effect (kārādākārā), having deluded the organs of sense, &c., and having caused them to forget happiness in the Lord, made them devoted to temporal happiness. Hence the poet tells the soul not to think himself one with his earthly father and mother, or even with his supreme parent āyāra and āyārādākārā Māyā, but to recognize himself as really one with the Lord only.
32 Hence we come back to Bāhūmāja’s doctrine of the eternally separate individuality of the soul. There is nothing about the kārādākārā in the text. Indeed in 773 the poet apparently treats Śītā as a kind of āyāra, and he assurably would not call her Māyā.
33 Bājñāth carries on his explanation, — Just as gold is made into many ornaments, yet still remains gold, and its quantity remains unaltered, and is not diminished, so, with Māyā for a material cause, the formation of bodies takes place, but the true nature of the soul (ātman-lativ) is in no way diminished, but ever remains unaltered.
34 Gold may have many qualities, — e.g., it may be used for charity or for debasery, for food or for clothes, ornaments, and so on, — and many names, as, a specified coin, a bracelet, an earring, and so on.
35 According to Bājñāth, prakārāna is a trade term used by goldsmiths for gold. So also Śēkh Dāst Sārmā.
36 It is not given in the usual dictionaries.
37 Bājñāth says ornaments (bhūṭhāṣṭra) are of twelve classes according as they are worn on the crown of the head (1), forehead (2), ear (3), throat (4), nose (5), arm (6), wrist (7), finger (8), waist (9), foot (10), ankle (11), toe (12). Each of these classes contains countless ornaments.
38 From the 84th to the 86th Śūha, the poet has dealt with the question of the soul recognising its own form. He now deals with the question of recognizing the form (āśā) of the Lord. According to Bājñāth, the Lord has five principal forms, viz., (1) Antaryāmin, the Inward Ruler, who is void of quality, niṣyut, (2) Puro, He who becomes incarnate, like Śiva, out of pity for mankind, (3) Yudha (not explained), (4) Viṣṇu, He who becomes incarnate for special purposes, such as Nrisīhīka, &c. (5) Archā, Local forms, such as Jagannathīka, &c. No. 2—5 have qualities (saṣaṇa). Antaryāmin (Inward ruler) is usually mistranslated by Hindi scholars as antaryāmin, the inward knower (aṃtād jñānā, Bājñāth).
careful thought (75). The Lord is ever endowed with all auspicious qualities, in whom alone is the hope of ultimate salvation (76). There is only one easy, simple, means of approaching this \textit{sa\-guna} (with-quality) Lord (namely faith), while the way of knowledge to a \textit{nir\-guna} (without-quality) Brahm\=an is full of countless difficulties (77). In that one Lord there are four classes of qualities, and say (O doubter) what existeth not within these qualities? All things are included in them, a saying hard to understand (78). The holy man knoweth the secret of the universe from East to West, and without that knowledge how can one wipe out one’s heritage of woes (79); for the disease which hath doubt and sorrow (or error) for its root giveth unmeasured sorrow, as snakes seen in a dream, from which a man cannot escape (80). The snakes to him are real things, until he openeth his eyes; so is this sorrow real, till the eyes of the soul are opened by hearing the words of the spiritual guide (81). As long as hope (in things temporal) but toucheth the soul, no full sight of the true object of desire can be gained; even as, in the rainy season, as long as rain cometh not, the husbandman is not satisfied (82). As long as the soul hath ever so little desire, every one is greater than it, but once a man entirely loseth all desire, who can be greater than he and he obtaineth in the end the supreme home (83).

The cause (\textit{k\=ara\=sa}) is the agent (\textit{k\=ara\=ra}) (i.e. Brahm\=an) immutable, without beginning, in the form of the uncreated, free from blinsh, and incomparable. From it cometh many effects

\begin{quote}
\textit{The Indian Antiquary.} [September, 1893.}
\end{quote}
But the agent cannot be known without the help of a spiritual guide, and except in the way of true happiness, how can sorrow be wiped away? The world knoweth that an earthen vessel cannot be made without a potter, so how can any action (karma) be done without an agent? Learn thou to know that agent (the Lord) from whom cometh the chief action; for without that knowledge, though thou reason in countless ways, thou wilt not come to see him. Reasoning cannot prove anything without a witness, therefore, if thou depend upon reason, I challenge thee to show me what visible proof thou hast. The potter, the agent, with his material cause, the earth, maketh (vessels of) many (varieties as his effects); but the man without discrimination looketh only at the cause (the earth) and considereth not that there must also have been an agent (the potter). The goldsmith, as the agent, maketh manifest the gold which is the material cause; his joy-giving effects are the ornaments which he maketh from it, whose qualities are to enhance the beauty of the wearer. From the gold come ornaments of countless kinds, each depending on the intention of the agent. The soul which devoteth itself to him (instead of to their agent, the Lord), and hath not a spiritual guide (is doomed) to woe. Owing to (the trammels of) its body, the soul imagineth that whatsoever existence it findeth itself in, that is the real one; but when given knowledge it knoweth that this is not so. The potter's vessels are of various kinds, each taking its form according to the volition of the agent, and he who hath a spiritual guide knoweth this (not only) giveth joy (to others but) obtaineth matchless wisdom. In the market (every one looketh at and admireth the vessels) and few think of the potter, according to whose volition there are many forms, vessels very small and very great. The potter is uniform, and so is the clay. The vessels are of many kinds, small and great, and their form is due to the volition of the

In this and the following verses I deliberately throw over all the commentators. First, because my translation is literal, and secondly, because it exactly agrees with Rāmānuja, who says expressly that the Lord in the prakṛtya state is in his causal state bhūrmātrāt. When the prakṛtya state comes to an end, creation takes place according to an act of volition on the Lord's part. He is therefore now both a cause, kriya, and an agent karma. When creation is complete the Lord (together with all created things) is in the condition of an effect, bhūrmātrāt. Cause and effect are thus at the bottom the same. It will be seen that this is just what Tulsi Dīs says above. The commentators explain the agent to be the soul, and the cause to be means of salvation (converse with the holy and the lika) or the reverse. These two are immutable, अन्तः. The effect they explain to be good actions, karma, अन्तः. This is nonsense, as I understand it. How can such a cause be described as immutable and so on? Rāmānuja, it is true (11, 8, 84-10), describes kartariya to the jiva, but I do not think that this is what Tulsi Dīs refers to here, though he undoubtedly does so in दैवभा 51 ff.

The clay is the material cause, the potter is the agent, making the pot is the action or karma (Bājñāṭh in his commentary on Nikāya, distinctly says that karma = māna, and I think that here he is nearly right). So all this will be very familiar to readers of the Bhāratavyāsak Upanishad, cf. also Vedānta sutras II. 16-20. So also the Lord, acting as above described, creates all things, which effects are karma. By 'chief action,' I understand the creation of all existing things. Not only the Lord, but every individual soul is an agent. The Lord is the chief agent, and his action should also be the chief.

Bājñāṭh, still interpreting the soul as the agent, adds,—the effects are joy-giving, because, if the goldsmith is skillful and knoweth this king, nor covets and steals a portion of the gold, but uses all his industry to make beautiful ornaments, and giveth them to the king to wear, the beauty of the king is enhanced. Then the king, being pleased, giveth the goldsmith a reward, who thereby is made joyful. But if the goldsmith is foolish and covetous, and putteth alloy in the gold, the ornament is spoiled, and the king punisheth him. This parable is to be explained as follows: The soul is the agent, the goldsmith. His skill is self-knowledge, and abandonment of worldly desire. Association with the holy, and the like, are the cause, the gold. The nine different categories, prāvritti, loka, etc., are the effects, the ornaments. The Lord is the king. By causing him to wear the ornaments, the qualities of tenderness to the devotee and the like are made manifest. By the grace of the Lord, the faithful being released from fear, are exulted. On the other hand, the soul which is foolish, attached to things of this world, and full of desires, makes alloyed ornaments for its karma or actions, and its punishment is (to fill of the world.

I adopt the rendering kartariya (karma)
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

DHAMMACHELLI, 1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

(Continued from p. 213.)

Atha rājā pañcitañjā pūṣṭvā parivāmañāpīti. Tatā parivāmañsanakkha thānaśe śākasa ca dāharabhikkhunā dāharabhikkhunā, upasampagahānantō āpāñjārāya pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī pariṣuddhī parti

(To be continued.)

61 The earth, the material cause, has nothing whatever to do with the shape of the resultant effect. Cause and effect are essentially the same, and in all the verses the same cause, the earth, exists unchanged. Any difference in form is due therefore to the volition of the agent, whom I interpret as the Lord, and Bājñāthi and other commentators as the soul, acting on the body as the material cause, and producing different forms in different births.

62 Every soul is of the Lord, and a portion of him. He therefore is in every thing, unchangeable and unchangeable, without beginning (past) or end (future).

63 This is the plain meaning of the words Śrīdara-catuṣṭayā pradyaquṣa eva mābhīkā dārmaś kāhāt. The commentators, however, give an altogether different mystical interpretation. The body is composed of five elements, ether, air, fire, water, and earth. Here air, includes ether and fire, and water includes earth. Therefore fire and water are the essences of the body. Therefore the line means this: self, composed of breath and water, when visible, is pure like a mirror, but it is only visible by the Lord's grace.

64 Read, Tathā tīri vañā jīta hā pañjāta na acaha upādāta. Pañjita Suñhkhi Dīvākhi gives me the following explanation of this verse, which has completely baffled the commentators. Tīri vañā (śūne kar) vañā jīta hā (chup hō jīta hā). Acaha upādāta māhā muñca jīta hā (pañhā) nāhī hā, arūkāhā nāhī nāhī nāhī. The verse is as follows, and I have given above a literal translation:

karīt kāraṇa kāla ke ṣīpa karma mūti jīna

khāna kāla kārthā durāta kāraṇa rūpata pramanā
dhāta

I interpret this as referring to the two states of the Lord. In the kārya-durāta, the condition of effect, he creates and actions are produced. Again, in course of time, in the pradīpa-kāla, matter becomes unevolved, and individual souls are in a state of non-manifestation (sahābhāsa). The Lord himself is quiescent, and as it were, far off. He is then in his kāraṇa-durāta. Hence the poet says "at one time, during the period of action, the Lord is an active agent; by his volition all actions (karma) take place. At another time, during the (pradīpa) period, he withdraws himself, and becomes a mere unevolved cause (kāraṇa) which is all that remains to prove his existence.

The commentators treating the agent as meaning the individual soul, say that kāla yūpā means according to age periods, such as the saṅga yūpā, the despupa yūpā, and so on; or, in other words, according to associations. According to good or evil company, the agent (the soul) and the cause (the associations or saṁyaktvā) produce different fruits (karma), some good, some evil. Then durāta 'becomes distant,' is interpreted in mean 'changes,' and the second line is translated 'as times change, the soul (the agent) changes its nature as a goldsmith manufactures his ornaments as the fashions change' (karīt, jī jīna, aca durāta, bhīma, mohbhā tīri, arūkāhā saṁyaktī jāna bhī hō jīta hā pañhā māhā muñca jīta hā pramanā dārmaś kāraṇa rūpata bhuṣana rohitaś). 'Tīri kārīt kāraṇa kārthā durāta.' while the cause (just as the gold and the clay of the potter are always the same) i.e., māhā, that is to say, ignorance, evil companionship, wickedness, and on the other hand, knowledge, good companionship, holiness, remains always exactly the same.' I cannot admit this interpretation to be correct. It is in the first place forced, and in the second place is opposed to Bājñāthi's doctrine.
REVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

Simā-sammuti'īyā "nautaranā āva yē tē saddhāsammānā bhūtā pāṭibāḥa pabh' upasampaddāśa sānukā Sīha' upasampaddo-parampa' upasampaddāsā gaṃhitukāmā pāṭipado' āva rājanām upasākaṃvītva yāvunā. Tē rājanām upasākaṃvītva āva āhāvāsā 'nabtīt. Athā rāja pamuditabhadāyo upasampadāpikkhekkhān upajjhayabhiyuttāya thūrnāṃ nimate. Tēdā thūra: "pabh'kahāriyā Mahārāhā, kītiṣavattāhā atanā lītaṃ vihitā paccantukā sāsanauddhām āvakaṃ. Āva āhāvāmā pi Mahārāhā, sappurisagati anugantvā sāsanauddhām karisamittā" vaṃ rāhāa piṭiṇnām ādāsi.
Upasampadakammakārakā dasathērā ca, upasampann' upasampannā pañcacaśattāli-sādhisthikavissampamālamānaṃ gañacarīyā ca, tēsaṃ ca sissabhūte bhū bhikkhu ca, Sīha'y upasampadaṃ ganhitukamā añn' ogtatagatē gañacarīyē ca, divasē divasē nirantarasaṃ upasampādaṃ.

Apī ca Rāmādhīpaṭīrājī sakalāṃ pr bhikkhu sañcāhaṃ sañcāhaṃvaṃ pāñcā lañcā lañcā aniccaṃ nañcālaṃca. Akkappajhānaṃ, vā pā happenappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāhappāh...
Atta appi kacoo bhikkhu saddhāsampamattā tī sabbā nissajjītvā sikhāsuddhārūpa samāpatisatiyo ya paṭipajjantī.

Attha appi kacoo thōrī sul-bu pī santikā nissajjītān attāhāsikā samābinnanti."
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4. Malinaṃ sūsanaṃ disvā sahāvgāpannamānaśā
Pāpakā bahavā bhikkhū dhamaśiyādhammahāvādinā.
5. Maṭṭhivābhavāpanāhā savājāhā dhammadhammaśā
Saṅghām āhanikāyān ca ṣhapetvā sūdhanaṃ akā.
6. Tatū paccēya puna c' anūti Viyāyakū-bhuṭṭati
Parakkamarāja āpi tattāvā sūsanaśādhanaṃ.
7. Aṃhākaṃ Būdhisattvā pūrṇātī pāramā purā
Tidasālayasaṅgānāṃ dūvarajjaṃ akārayī.
8. Tadā Anandatīrō pūrīsīpurātī akā
Rajjam Usinnāru hūtī Kassapa Buddhāsānaṃ.
9. Maṇaṃ disvā pūrī mahātūtī nākā sūsanaśādhanaṃ.
Tadā Sākārī dūvarajja dhībāsukhaṃ purī-mukho
10. Kaṭhasaṃkhaṇā-vanāṇā gantvā Matalinā saha
Uttāseṭvāna rūjānānā tadā 'niutarānāmakaṃ.
11. Sūsanaśādhanaṃttīhāya laddha tapati anānaṃ
Pačhā 'nusūsanaṃ katvā paccūgī Tidasālayān.
12. Tasmā Rāmaṇadīśissurā pūrī Rāmaḥcari-bhuṭṭati
Sanāṭharaṇa satācāraṃ anuṅgantvāna sūsanaṃ
14. Itthānā sūsanaśādhanaṃkuraṃ Rāmaḥcari-bhuṭṭati-hanatīrā
Tūnākādīla iha jātaṃ sātirmā suddhānā savānā pačchā.
15. Haṃsāvatīpuraḥcari-pūtī saṃbhālūnā bhūpālavārā
Disvā sūsamaṃtī nālaṃ pūñayitaṃ vāyamaṃtī sadā.
16. Kuṇāvā kalakācāthūtūrā Majjhantikādāyī
Vimūttadūkham ohāya pāvivākamaṃ api
17. Sūsanaṇuṇāliyā hōtū bayāpāram akaram purā.
Tasmā tūṣāna sandhakam anukammā supūsalū
18. Pačchā Haṃsāpūruśūtūrī bhikkhuṣāngo ca sādārū
Sāsanaṃ nālaṃ disvā sūdhanaṃ kurataṃ tatū
19. Yāhā taṇī tīḷhūṇī 'ūḷgūtātī tarūtam dūrītā kasi-śyātanā jāhitaṃ
Ariyaṃ padadhiṃ pāvarānā ganaṃtuḥ adhibhūde-buddhālaśījām laḥitaṃ.

Iti Kalyāṇī nāma pāṭasākāhā mittītā.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENZA.

No. 16.—The Prince and the Kambals.1

There once lived with his queen a king, whose dominions extended far and wide, and who
had an immensurable hoard of treasure; but, as the saying goes, "there was no one to eat,"
or in other words, the good couple had no children, though they had become old, and this
grieved them very much. Every day the queen used to make it her habit to sit in the balcony
of her palaco, with a svāpti (silo) full of gold, which she distributed among beggars, with
the expectation that she would get a son through their prayers and blessings.

One day, as she was seated as usual with a silo full of gold, there came up to her a
gādāw4 who asked her what she had in the silo. The queen answered saying it was gold.

1 For the description of a kambal, see the story of "The Snake and the Girl," ante, Vol. XIX, p. 315,
note 5.
2 For the description of a gādāw, see the story of "Bāphkādī," ante, Vol. XX, p. 142, note 1.
Upon this the gásáivi again asked her:— "Is there any one that will eat it?", meaning "Have you got any children who will enjoy all this gold?"

"No!" said the queen in a sorrowful tone; "and that is the reason why I am sitting here with this sieve full of gold in order that, by distributing it, the receivers of it may pray and obtain a son for me; but up to this time it seems that their prayers have not been heard."

The queen was then asked where her husband, the king, was; and she said that he was gone out.

"Very well," said the gásáivi. "Tell the king, when he comes back, to come to a certain village where is my mat, and then I will tell him what to do in order that your desires may be satisfied."

Thus saying the gásáivi received some alms from the queen and went away.

Now, when the king came back in the evening, the queen laid out supper for him, and while he was partaking of it, the queen said:— "My dear husband, this morning as I was seated as usual in the balcony with a sieve full of gold to distribute to beggars, a gásáivi, who says his hut is in such and such a village, came up to me and asked me what I had in the sieve, and when I told him it was gold, he asked me if there was one who would eat it, to which I said "no," and that I was distributing it in order to obtain a son through the prayers of the beggars. Upon this he asked me if you were at home, and I told him that you were not at home. Then, telling me where his hut was, he asked me to send you to him, when, he said he would tell you what to do to obtain our desires."

The king listened to her very attentively, and, when she had finished speaking, said:— "But, my dear wife, you are distributing a sieve full of gold every morning and we are both performing other charitable acts, and all to no avail; what can the gásáivi tell and much less do, that our desires may be fulfilled? It won't be worth my while to go to him."

But the queen pressed and begged of him to go, saying:— "Let us see what he says. Who knows but that he may help us to obtain our wishes?"

After much entreaty the king consented, and, having finished his supper, set out for the mat (hut) of the gásáivi. When he reached it, the gásáivi asked him what he wanted.

The king said:— "Did you not go to the palace this morning and tell my wife to send me to you when I came home?"

"Yes, my lord," answered the gásáivi. "I will now tell you what to do. Go to a certain place where you will find a tree laden with fruit. Climb the tree and shake it. Come down and take two of the fruit. Mind you do not take more than two. Eat one yourself, and give the other to your wife, the queen; thereby you will obtain your desires."

The king went in the direction that the gásáivi mentioned, and saw a large tree, which was bent down by the weight of its fruit. He climbed up and shook and shook the tree till he saw hundreds of the fruit fall on the ground, but when he came down and went to pick up the fruit he found only two. So he climbed again, and again shook the tree for a long while, and again he heard the sound of hundreds of fruit falling; but, as before, when he was picking up he got only two. The king was astonished at this occurrence, and climbed up in the tree a third time, and shook and shook the tree with all his might for a very long time till he was quite fatigued, and he heard the sound of some thousands of the fruit dropping on the ground. When he came down, the ground under the tree was so covered up by the fruit that he could not put his feet down but fell on heaps of fruit, which made him glad to think that he had now plenty of them, but, to his great astonishment, as he proceeded to gather them, all the fruit went up again in the tree, and there remained for him to carry only two.

* X 'holy' man's hut.  
* It is to be regretted that the tree and the fruit are not mentioned by name.
Thought the king to himself:—"The gôsâñi told me to take only two of these fruit, but though I want to take more, and I knocked down so many, I can't get more than two. There must be some meaning in it. I will, therefore, abide by the instructions of the gôsâñi, or, who knows, if I take more, they will have any effect."

He then took the fruit and shewed them to the gôsâñi, who again told him to take them home, and to eat one himself and to give the other to the queen to eat.

The king, after thanking the gôsâñi for his kind advice, went home with the fruit, and giving one to his queen, told her to eat it, while he ate the other himself. From that time the queen became pregnant, and, when one, two, three, and so on till nine, months of her pregnancy had elapsed, she gave birth to a very beautiful boy. This event caused great joy to the king and queen, and they entertained all the palace servants to a great treat.

Now on the fifth day was celebrated the pûñêkâri of the new-born, and on the sixth day was the saññi. On the day of the saññi a fortune-teller was called to consult about the fortune and career of the infant-prince. While the fortune-teller was consulting the horoscope the parâhan kept watch outside. Though the fortune-teller knew what would happen to the prince, she did not tell the king and queen of the results of her calculations, and was going away, when the parâhan stopped her and asked her what was in the lack of the new-born. She refused to tell him anything, upon which he threatened to kill her if she would not tell him of the fortune of the king's son.

The fortune-teller then said:—"It is written in the fortune of the prince that on the twelfth day after his birth the boy will be drowned in the sea!"

Thus saying she went away. The parâhan, however, kept this story to himself.

Eleven days passed after the birth of the prince, and on the twelfth day was to be done the hârâñ ceremony. For this purpose they had to go to a certain temple, to come to which they had to cross a sea. The king and every one else, with the exception of the parâhan, being ignorant of what misfortune was in store for the child, made grand preparations to celebrate the auspicious occasion with great pomp and joy, and hundreds of relatives and others were invited to be present at the ceremony of naming the child.

At the appointed time they took a ship and set sail for the temple. On the way one person took up the child; a little while after a second person carried him. Soon after a third would take him, and so on, all the guests vying with each for the honour of carrying the prince. When they had sailed for several hours they came to the middle of the sea. The child happened to be in the arms of a woman, who, by accident, let the child fall, and down went the prince to the bottom of the sea! Hundreds of people dived after the child but in vain, and with tears in their eyes and broken hearts the king and the queen returned home with their guests. When they came home the king sentenced the woman, who had so carelessly dropped the child, to imprisonment for twelve years, during which she had to grind adhât.

Now it happened that as soon as the child fell into the sea, he was devoured by a magalmâsâ, which, again, was carried by the tide and thrown on dry land in a certain village. In the morning a fisherman, who lived with his wife, and who were very wealthy, was going in pursuit of his vocation, viz., that of fishing, when he came upon the magalmâsâ. He, therefore, managed somehow or other to drag it to the shore, and cut it open, when to his great surprise and confusion, he saw a child come out of the belly of the magalmâsâ. The child was alive. Having no children himself with all his wealth, he gladly took up the child in his arms,

A prince is usually called a parâhan, but here, I think, is meant the prime minister, or some kârâkârî of the household.

- Adhât is a sort of grain. It is popularly supposed that women, when sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, are made to grind adhât.

- Equals magalmâsâ = an alligator,
and went home and handed him to his wife, who also rejoiced at the event, saying:—"At last God has sent us a child in this miraculous manner."

They constituted themselves the drowned prince's foster-parents, and, possessing great wealth as they did, took every possible care, and brought him up with great tenderness. The prince grew up rapidly. When he was only one month old he looked two months old, when two months old, he seemed to be four months old, and so on.

Thus the boy grew up strong and beautiful, and was known to all as the fisherman's son, for the prince, too, always addressed the fisherman and his wife as father and mother. When he was about six or seven years old, he used to run about and play with the children from the neighbourhood.

One day the children ran to the shore, and the prince asked his foster-parents to permit him also to go and play there, but the fisherman said:—"No, my dear child. Don't you go and play near the seashore. You know how mischievous the children are. Who knows but that some accident or other may befall you? Then what shall I do? Tell me what you may need, and I will get you any toys that you may wish for, with which you can play about the house in safety."

In spite of the kind advice the prince, as is the wont of children, ran full speed, and joined his playmates at the seashore.

Now it happened that, as the children were playing and running about on the sand, they spied a very beautiful kambal, floating on the tide which was coming in. Every one of the children attempted to get it, but all failed. At last our hero said he would fetch it, but all of them laughed at his folly, saying:

"What a silly child you are. Such big boys as we are could not succeed, and you say that you can fetch it."

The prince, however, persisted saying he would fetch the kambal, upon which they laid a wager, to which he consented and dived headlong into the waves, and in a few moments was again on the shore triumphantly carrying the kambal, and thus won the wager. The prince then carried the kambal to his foster-parents, who, on seeing it, asked him where he got it from, or whether he had stolen it from any one. The prince told them how, as he and other children were playing on the shore, they spied it floating on the water, and how, when all the other children had failed, they laid a wager for it, upon which he dived into the sea and came out safely with the kambal.

Now in that country kambals were so rare, that not even the nobles and very seldom the kings could obtain them, and to possess one was thought a great luxury. So the fisherman began to think to himself:—"Here is a most beautiful kambal, but of what use can it be to a poor man like me? I will go and present it to the king."

So one day he took the kambal and presented it to the king, who was very glad to see such a beautiful flower, and asked him where he got it from. The fisherman told him the whole truth, and the king, being satisfied with the answer, dismissed him, after rewarding him handsomely. The king then took the kambal and hung it upon his bed. One of the maidservants of the queen, who happened to come into the room just then, on seeing the kambal, said:

"My lord, this flower is certainly very beautiful, but unless you can get and hang up two more it will never lend any beauty by itself to the bed."

It must be borne in mind that this king is the father of our hero.

If we were added would make three kambals. The number three has here evidently some meaning to it, for it could be more natural to add three, so as to make four, one for each of the four corners of the bed.
The king, having heard this, sent for the fisherman, and told him to ask his son to bring two more; but the fisherman protested, saying:—

"My lord, it was by sheer chance that my son obtained that kambal, and it is next to impossible to get any more."

The king, however, would not be convinced of the impossibility of getting more kambals, and told the fisherman that should his son fail to bring him two more kambals he should forfeit his head.

The poor fisherman went away downhearted, thinking upon the unreasonableness of the king. He went home, and, refusing to take any food or drink, took to his bed. Now, it was customary during meals for the old man, owing to his great affection, to feed the prince as one would a little child, though he was already nearly eight years old. That day, however, the prince missed him, and so asked his foster-mother why his father did not take supper. She said she did not know the reason; perhaps he was not feeling well. Upon this the prince went and asked him why he did not come to supper, but the old man said:—

"Go, my child, and take your supper. I do not want any."

"But, father," said the prince, "you fed me every day, and why don't you do so to-day? What is the matter with you? What misfortune has befallen you that you look downcast and won't touch your food? Tell me, father, all your cares and anxieties."

The old man was very much pleased with the prince's kind words, and said to him:—

"My dear child, the kambal you brought from the sea, and which I presented to the king, has brought a very great misfortune on me. The king went and suspended the kambal upon his bed, but a maid-servant, who saw it, said, that the kambal, though certainly very beautiful, lent no beauty to the bed, and that, if there should be hung up two more, it would make the bed appear very handsome. The king, therefore, wants you to bring him two more kambals. I remonstrated with him on the impossibility of getting any, but to no use, for the king cannot be persuaded of it, and he has ordered you to fetch them on the penalty of forfeiting your head in case of failure. God gave you to us so miraculously in our old age, and the cruel king wishes to take you away. This, my child, is my grief, and I will starve myself to death before you are snatched away from me. Go, my dear boy, and take your supper, and go to bed quietly."

Thus said the fisherman, and heaved a deep sigh, and tears could be seen trickling from his eyes in profusion.

Upon this the prince said:—"Is this what has caused you so much anxiety? Tell the king that I promise to bring him two kambals. But, first of all, tell him that he must provide me with a ship completely manned with khaldés and other servants, and I must have provisions to last for several months, and an iron chain several yards long. Then I will go and fetch him the kambal. In the meanwhile you must calm your fears, and rise and take your supper."

When the fisherman heard these words he took heart, and rose and took his supper. On the following morning the fisherman bent his way to the palace and informed the king that his son had promised to bring him the kambal on condition that he fitted out a ship with servants, a long iron chain, and provisions to last for several months. The king agreed to the conditions, and ordered a ship to be built. What did the king lack? He had hoards of treasures. So he hired numerous workmen, and a job, that would take two or three months to finish, he got done in a fortnight, and fitted out the ship with a great number of khaldés and other servants. He also procured a very long iron chain, and stored in the ship provisions of all sorts, and for some months, but for years!
Everything was now ready, and the prince, taking a tender leave of his foster-parents, went and embarked on board the ship, and in a little while more the ship was out of sight dancing on the waves of the vast ocean.

They went on and on for many days. When they had reached the middle of the sea, the prince ordered them to cast anchor. He then hooked on the long iron chain to the side of the ship, and said to the khaleds:—

"I am now going to dive into the sea. Keep hold of the chain, and as soon as you feel extra weight on it pull up the chain and haul it home."

Thus he said to the khaleds, and descended along the chain and dived into the sea. When he had gone down a long way, he came upon a beautiful country with large gardens full of fruit-trees of all sorts, bent down with the weight of the abundance of fruit, very tempting to the view.

Here he walked about for a couple of hours, and came upon a large but lonely mansion, most beautifully furnished, and as he entered it he came in sight of a damsel of unparalleled beauty, from whose mouth fell kambals as she spoke. Our hero asked her what she was doing there apparently alone, for he could see no signs of any other human beings.

Our hero being also very beautiful, the damsel of the subterraneous abode was enamoured of him, but said with a sorrowful tone:—

"I am the daughter of a rākhas who has gone out in search of his food, which consists of animals and such like, and occasionally human beings, should any fall into his hands by chance. I am certainly glad to see you, but still I am anxious about your safety, because, should my father see you, he will have no mercy on you, but will make a meal of you in a trice."

"Then tell me where I can conceal myself with safety," said the prince.

Upon this the girl said:—"See, I will transform you into a fly and put you up on the wall, where you must remain till my father goes out again to-morrow. In the meanwhile you must be hungry; so take some food at my hands and be ready for the transformation before my father, the rākhas, comes back, which will not be very long hence."

The prince thanked her for her kindness. She then set before him some food, which she prepared in a hurry-scurry, and to which our hero did ample justice, being very hungry, as he had not eaten for several hours. This done, the girl changed the prince into a fly and stuck him up on the wall.

Not very long after the rākhas came home after his day's excursion, and, as usual, lay down to rest, while his daughter shampooed his body. As he lay there he said to his daughter:—

"My dear girl, I smell the smell of a human being about the place. Are you aware of any one having come or gone this way?"

And the daughter replied:—"What makes you think of human beings about here? Here I am alone from one hour of the day to the other. What a silly idea this is of yours?"

"But" said the father, "I do smell the smell of a human being; otherwise I shouldn't have said so."

The girl, however, said that she had seen no human being, and was, therefore, unaware of it. The rākhas was now quieted, and fell fast asleep.

On the next day when the rākhas went, as usual, in search of prey, his daughter transformed the fly on the wall into its original shape, and there stood our prince before her. She then prepared some food of which they partook together, and conversed with each other freely.

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10 i.e., a rākhas = a giant.
during the whole day. At the close of the day, when it was near time for the rākhas to return, the girl again transformed him into a fly, and stuck him up on the wall. Thus matters continued for several days.

One day the prince told the girl to ask her father, the rākhas, in what his life lay. Accordingly, in the evening, when the rākhas returned, and she was shampooing his limbs, she said:

"Father, tell me in what lies your life?"

The rākhas replied:—"Why are you so anxious about knowing in what my life lies?"

"Father," said she, "if I am not to be anxious about your life, who should be? Every day you go in quest of food, which consists generally of animals. Should any accident happen to you, how could I know it, and what shall I do in the event of your death?"

But the rākhas replied:—"Cast off your fears and anxieties, for there is no likelihood of my ever dying. However, to calm your fears, I may tell you as regards my life,—you know the three brab-trees standing near our house. Should any person cut one of the trees with one stroke, I shall get a strong attack of fever; and if he succeeds in cutting the other two also with one stroke, there will be an end to my life. So long, therefore, as the trees are safe I am safe also. You see, then, that you have no cause for anxiety about me."

He then fell asleep. The following day, when the rākhas was gone, the girl, after transforming the prince, told him everything she had heard from her father. Our hero now looked about and caught sight of the rākhas' sword hanging on the wall. He took it, and, having sharpened it, went out, and, with one stroke, cut off one of the brab-trees. As soon as the tree was cut down, a strong fever came on the rākhas, who now retraced his steps home, but before he could reach it, our hero cut down the other two brab-trees also with one stroke, and with the fall of the trees the rākhas also fell dead.

The prince then lived with the damsel for several days, during which he gathered plenty of the kāmbale, which fell from her mouth every time she spoke. He now thought that he had been absent for a rather long time from his foster-parents, who must be becoming anxious about him. So he made up his mind to quit the place taking with him the kāmbale, which he intended to give to his king. He, therefore, made the damsel of the subterraneous abode acquainted with his intention.

The girl, however, said:—"You have killed my father, and now wish to go away, leaving me alone! What can I do here all by myself? Under whose protection shall I live? Take me with you, and we will be husband and wife, and live together happily."

The prince consented, but the difficulty was how to bring her to land. He then hit upon the following plan. He put her in a box and carried her to the place where his ship was waiting. He then tied the box to the chain, but alas! so soon as the khalādis felt the weight of the box they pulled up the chain, and to their astonishment saw that a box was tied up with it!

"Where is the boy?" they thought. "From whence comes this box? What can have become of him? We have, however, acted up to his orders and are not to blame. Let us now return home; but let us, in the first place, see the contents of the box."

Thus saying, they proceeded to open the box, but to their utter embarrassment they heard a voice coming from inside:—"Hold! Be cautious what you are about. Do not open the box. Any one, who dares to do it in spite of my remonstrances, will be plagued with worms."

—[This is an exceedingly interesting instance of the local survival of an old forgotten Anglo-Indian word, the last previous quotation for which is 1800, so far as I know, the earliest being 1823. Brab is a corruption of Portuguese branco, and stands for the tree otherwise known as the toddy palm, the palmyra, and the fan-palm = Borsusus flamelliformis.—Ed.]
When they heard these words, they thought it best not to meddle with the box, but to take it and present it to their king for what it might be worth.

Accordingly they set sail, and with a favourable breeze reached their native shore in a very short time. When they had landed, they carried the box into the presence of the king, who was impatiently waiting for the prince back with the kambals, and thus addressed him:—

"Sire, here we are after a long absence. When we had reached in the middle of the sea the young lad, who promised to bring the kambals, descended into the sea with the aid of the long iron chain, which he had so particularly ordered you to make, and diving under the waters disappeared. Before doing so he told us to hold the chain in its position till we felt it getting heavier, when we were to pull it up. After waiting there for many days, we felt an unusual and extraordinary weight, upon which we pulled up the chain, expecting, every moment, to see the lad, but to our surprise we found this box tied to the chain. We cannot say what has become of the lad. When we attempted to open the box, we heard a female voice speaking from inside the following words:—'Hold! Be cautious what you are about. Do not open the box. Any one, who dares to do it in spite of my remonstrances, will be plagued with worms.' We, therefore, refrained from opening the box, which we now present to your Majesty."

The king was pleased to accept the box, and proceeded to open it, expecting to hear the words the kambals had told him, but our heroine let him open it. When the box was, however, opened, out popped a damsel of unequalled beauty.

The maid-servants, who saw her, at once exclaimed: — "Sire, she is fit to be your queen, while the queen ought to be made her maid-servant."

The king, thereupon, asked her if she was willing to be his queen, but she said: — "I am under a vow for twelve years; should any one dare touch me before that period has elapsed he will be plagued with worms. If, however, you wish to keep me, you must allot me a separate room, to which no one is to be allowed admittance, except one or two maid-servants. When my twelve years of vow have passed away I will be yours."

The king did not wish her to violate the vow of twelve years which she had mentioned. He, therefore, ordered a large room to be furnished in an elegant style for her to live in separately, and provided her with maid-servants and everything else necessary to her comfort.

To return to our hero, the prince, whom we left behind in the country under the sea. As soon as he found that the chain with the box was hauled up, and there was no chance of his coming out of the sea, he walked back, and wandered about in the gardens, subsisting on the various fruits with which the place abounded. He lived in this way for many days. One day he felt himself fatigued and so lay down to rest under a pinapal-tree.

Now it happened that two birds, a male and a female, called gurapyakshah and gurapyakshahin, were in the habit of breeding in that pinapal-tree, but, to their misfortune, as soon as they left the place in search of food or for any purpose, some wild animal or bird used to come and eat up their young ones. That day, too, the gurapyakshahin gave birth to two little ones, after which she and the gurapyakshah went away in search of food. During their absence a huge wild bird came and was about to gobble up the little birds, when our hero at once rose up to their help, and killed their enemy. Some four or five hours afterwards the gurapyakshah and gurapyakshahin came to the tree carrying some food in their beaks, and proceeded to feed the little ones, upon which they said:—

"Before you feed us, tell us if you had any other issue besides ourselves, or are we your first-born?"

The parent-birds said: — "Dear little ones, we had many children born before you, but some cruel bird deprived us of all of them. We are certainly astonished to find you alive; and from what we are not certain how long you will be spared to us."

(To be continued.)
VADDAVARA.

The details given by Prof. Kielhorn on page 111 above, in connection with certain dates which include the word Vaddavāra as the name of a day of the week, render unnecessary the greater part of a note which I have had on hand, unfinished, for over four years. But it may be useful to now supplement what he has written.

Prof. Kielhorn has arrived at the opinion that Vaddavāra must be either Saturday or Sunday, and that the chances are in favour of Saturday.

On the other hand, I arrived at the opinion that Vaddavāra is most probably Saturday. But I have not been able to obtain the actual proof that is needed. And that is why my note has remained unpublished.

Finding, like Prof. Kielhorn, that the available dates do not give uniform results, I was pursuing a different line of inquiry, which was suggested by the fact that, among the grants recorded in an inscription at Talgund in Mysore, dated in the Īvāra saṅkrānti, A. D. 1137-55 (Pāli, Saṅkrāti, and Old-Cenares Inscriptions, No. 219), there is mentioned (line 65-06) the item of — Vaddavāra-abhaya-āīga. Sūnavandha 30 manuṣya brāhmāṇaṁ vygurati kṣāva nāvidana jīvitaṁ ga 4, — “four gadyaṁ (for) smearing the body with oil on Vaddavāra, and for the support of a barber who is to bathe thirty sick brāhmāṇaḥ (or, perhaps, the thirty brāhmāṇas, when they fall sick) on Monday.”

This passage shows that at any rate Vaddavāra is not Monday. And my object was to find out the day of the week for which the abhaya-āīga or tālīdha-bhaya-āīga is prescribed by the Śāstras. Prof. Kielhorn will very probably be able to give the final passage that is required. Meanwhile, I will quote the following:

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit supplied me with the following from Śripati’s Ratanamūli, Vāra-prakaraṇa, verse 9:

Revis tāpah kāthiṁ vitarati Saśi Bhāumītanayō mṛtiṁ lakṣaṁbuṁ Ciśāndriś Śravatiguru vitta-haṁpaṁ i

vipattīṁ Daityādāṁ Gurū akhaḷa-bhāya-āīgaṁ

nāśanāṁ tālīdha-bhaya-āīgaṁ, saṅpaṇi kurutē

Śaṅkrāntiṇaṁ.

This marks Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, as unlucky days,— Monday and Wednesday, as lucky days,— and Saturday, as the best day of all, for the tālīdha-bhaya-āīga.

So, also, a verse from the Mahārāṣṭra-Mārtanda — (Bhadra-suṣikrama-pitā, etc., quoted in the Dharmaśāstra-whālak, parichhāṅda i. para. 156) — says that one should not make the tālīdha-bhaya-āīga, without some sufficient reason, on Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday.

And another verse, given in the same paragraph, implies the same, by stating that the tālīdha-bhaya-āīga confers happiness, if flowers are scattered on a Sunday, fragrant earth on a Tuesday, dry-grass on a Thursday, and cow-dung on a Friday.

Also, another passage in the Dharmaśāstra-whālak, parichhāṅda i. para. 46, says, in general terms, that the tālīdha-bhaya-āīga should be avoided on a Sunday.

There are also rules prescribing the tālīdha-bhaya-āīga for certain festivals and holidays, and prohibiting it for certain other similar occasions. But the above is all that I have been able to find, on the subject of the tālīdha-bhaya-āīga in connection with the week-days.

The general tendency of the passages given above is, that the tālīdha-bhaya-āīga may ordinarily be performed on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday. Of these three days, Monday is plainly excluded, as far as the meaning of Vaddavāra is concerned, by the Talgund inscription. And, Saturday has been clearly indicated as the best day of all for the tālīdha-bhaya-āīga, and also answering best to the dates that I calculated, I arrived at the opinion that Vaddavāra is most probably Saturday. But of course the result is not a decisive one. And it remains to be seen whether it can be borne out by, for instance, any other passage to the effect that, under all ordinary circumstances, and as far as the week-days only are concerned, Saturday is the proper day for the tālīdha-bhaya-āīga.

1 As regards the latter point, he seems to have been somewhat influenced by some remarks by Mr. Rice, from which he infers that oṣda may be synonymous with maṅgarē and ṣtip. But I cannot find anything to support such a meaning of the word. — As we have, in Kānarese, oṣda, ‘dolmas;’ it is just possible that oṣda, vadda, may be a corruption of the Saṅkrāti worda, which is used as a name of the planet Saturn. But I have not been influenced by this idea in the result at which I have arrived. — In an inscription at Talgund (P. S. and O.C. Inscriptions, No. 217, line 80, and Mysore Inscriptions, p. 295, and note), that village is called “the glorious great vadda-village, Talgundūṭa” (see ante, Vol. IV. p. 279, note 3). But I doubt whether in that expression, or in vadda-rājunī, as the name of an ancient town, and in vadda-rājunī, which indicates a trade or profession, vadda has the same application as in vadda-village.
To the dates given by Prof. Kielhorn, I can add the following:—

An inscription on a stūpa at Hali in the Belgaum District is dated on Vāḍājavāra, the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa of the Sarvajīt saṅvatsara, which was the thirty-second year of the Chālikya-Vikrama-kāla. Here, Sarvajīt coincided with Saka-Saṅvat 1090 current. And the given tithi, beginning at about 48 gh. 40 p., = 19 hrs. 28 min., after mean sunrise, on the Friday, ended at 49 gh. 45 p., = 19 hrs. 44 min., on Saturday, 10th August, A. D. 1107.

And, on the dates put forward by him, I would make the following remarks:

The inscription of A. D. 1087. This records a grant of land and an oil-mill; and the latter item seems to connect the grant closely with the tīlādbhāsya. I expect that in this record the fourteenth tithi, which began on the Saturday at about 48 gh. 40 p., = 17 hrs. 4 min., and ended on the Sunday at 48 gh. 45 p., = 18 hrs. 42 min., is a genuine mistake for the thirteenth, which included all the daylight hours of the Saturday.

The inscription of A. D. 1144. The resulting day for Vāḍājavāra, with the ended tithi, is Friday, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn. But, as Friday is mentioned in the first part of this record by the usual name, Śubrava, it seems hard to me that Vāḍājavāra also can be really used here to mean Friday. — Though the two parts of the record are dated in two successive years, they seem to have been written at one and the same time. — With the tithi, the second, which seems, at first sight, to be given in the first part of the record, the resulting week-day there is Monday, instead of Friday. But there are indications that the "two" was corrected into "six." And this would give the correct day, Friday. — It seems possible that there was some similar carelessness, left uncorrected, in respect of the tithi in the second part of the record. The given tithi, indeed, Maṅga-krīṣṇa 14, is the tithi of the Mahā-Sivaratri, which is named in the record; and there ought to be no mistake in connection with any rate the tithi of so very special a festival. But, plenty of cases can be turned up in which the rites have had to be celebrated on the day on which the thirteenth tithi ended. And the question may be, whether, on the occasion in question, there were any circumstances that necessitated the celebration of the rites during the fifteenth tithi, which ended on Saturday, — with the result that the writer made confusion between the ended tithi of that day and the tithi of the festival.

The inscription of A. D. 1163. The tithi began on the Saturday, at about 3 gh. 15 p., = 1 hr. 18 min., and ended on the Sunday, at 6 gh. 5 p., = 2 hrs. 25 min. As a current tithi, it was connected with almost the whole of the day-time of the Saturday. And my belief is that we have always to consider the week-day during which a tithi is current during an appreciable portion of the daytime, quite as much as the week-day on which it ends.

The inscription of A. D. 1187. The resulting week-day is undoubtedly Saturday, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn. The tithi began at about 39 gh. 10 p., = 15 hrs. 40 min., on the Friday; and ended at 39 gh. 22 p., = 14 hrs. 4 min., on the Saturday. And both the daytime condition and the ending condition are satisfied.

The inscription of A. D. 1234. Here, again, the resulting week-day is undoubtedly Saturday, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn. The tithi began at about 33 gh. 40 p., = 13 hrs. 28 min., on the Friday; and ended at 33 gh. 45 p., = 11 hrs. 26 min., on the Saturday. And, here also, the daytime condition is satisfied, as well as the ending condition.

The inscription of A. D. 1284. According to all but one of the inscriptions of Rāma-chandra in Sir Walter Elliot's MS. Collection, the Ssāhāri saṅvatsara, A. D. 1283-84, ought to be the thirteenth year of his reign; — not the twelfth, according to the one exception, it would be the twelfth year. My results are the same as Prof. Kielhorn's, for the three years given by him. And there must be more than one mistake in the details given in the record.

It seems to me that the evidence decided, preponderates in favour of Vāḍājavāra meaning Saturday. But, as I have already said, definite proof is still wanting.

24th May, 1893.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

- Fules Hobson-Jobson, e. v. teak, quotes Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindostan or the Mogul Empire, 1798, p. 260, to the following effect:—
  the teak forests, from whence the marine yard at Bombay is furnished with that excellent species of ship timber, lie along the western side of the

Gaut Mountains . . . . on the north and north-east of Bassoon.

This settles the pronunciation of Bassoon when the word first began to be recognized, although the Bassoon referred to by Rennell is I take it the town in the Bombay Presidency and not the town in Burma. See ante, p. 13 ff. R. C. Temple.
NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

BY G. A. GRIerson, I.O.S.

(Concluded from p. 236.)

8. The Kabitta Ramayan, or Kabittabhakti. The history of Rama in the kabitta, ghanda-kshari, chappai, and sauwaiya metres. It is devoted to the contemplation of the majestic side of Rama's character.1 Paññā Śuddhākara Drivēḍi informs me that the poem has been enlarged in later times by the addition to the last kaṇḍa of occasional verses written by Tul'Sī Dās in kāvīrāta metres. That Tul'Sī Dās did write occasional verses, like other poets of his time, is to be expected, and they have been collected and arranged in appropriate groups by admirers of the poet. Such are K. Ram., Ut., 132 ff., in praise of the Jñānak-vaśa, or peepul tree at the site of Vālmikī's hermitage, which still exists on the banks of the Ganges, and is an object of worship to the present day. So also, Ut. 94-96, addressed to the Kāliyugas, Ut., 170 and ff., lamenting over the insults offered by the Musalmans to Bānāras, and Ut., 174, which is said to have been uttered by him when at the point of death. Other collections of similar verses, frequently found appended to the Kabitta Ramayana are the Rām-stuti, Udghāra-gīyakā-sambhād, Hanumāndī-stuti, Jñānak-stuti, Sankar-batī, and the Hanumān bāhuṇā (written when the poet was suffering from a severe sore in the arm).

In seven kaṇḍas or cantos, viz.:

1. The Dāl-kaṇḍa, Childhood. Commencing with Rama's childhood and ending with the breaking of Śiva's bow. 22 stanzas (pāda), mostly quatrains.
2. The Ayūthya-kaṇḍa, Ayūthyā. Describes the circumstances attending Rama's departure on exile. 28 stanzas.
3. Arāya-kaṇḍa, the Forest. Describes the chase of the golden deer. One stanza.
5. Sundar-kaṇḍa, the Beautiful. Śītā in the garden in Lāukā. Hanumān's adventures there. The conflagration of Lāukā. Hanumān bids farewell to Śītā, and returns to Rāma. Thirty-two stanzas.

1 The commentators say that there are three ways of looking at Rāma (śrī ṝṣikī ṝṣi), viz., the tender side of his character (mādākhyāya), the majestic side of his character (āvēkṣyāya), and the complex (māvēkṣyāya) of which tenderness and majesty are combined. There are four ways of singing his praises, as a māṇḍaka or panegyrist, a vandeka or bard, a śātra or historical poet, and an arthīka or suppliant. A work in which the complex view of Rāma's character, together with his glory and his power, is celebrated is called a charita, and should be sung by a śīla (also called a paraśīkā) an historical poet. His tenderness should be sung by a māṇḍaka, and his majesty by a vandeka; while eulogies addressed to him should be sung by an arthīka. Tul'Sī Dās first composed the Rāma-charita-māṇḍaka, dealing with the complex side of Rāma's character, as a śīla. Then, to encourage the faithful with a true idea of Rāma's power, he illustrated his majesty in the Kabittabhakti, assuming the rôle of a vandeka. Then to strengthen the love of the worshipper, he dwelt on Rāma's tenderness in the Gītābhakti, taking the rôle of a māṇḍaka. Finally becoming an arthīka, a suppliant, he wrote the Bānay patrīkā. Paññā Śuddhākara Drivēḍi gives me the following sthūla:

Śītā paraśīkāḥ prāśā, māṇḍakā vandēkām māṇḍakāṁ

from which I gather that a śīla is a reader of ancient histories, a māṇḍaka praises the king's family, and a vandeka is expert in complying with his demand for a fine poem.
The following are examples of this work. K. Rām. I.

Mētra. Suvāyuṣ, Awadhāsa kā dāra sakāre gāt eva gōda kai bhūpati lai nikase! Abalākhi hauṇ soka bimādūnā kē ṣhagi si rahi, jē na ṣhagē aṭīha sē! Tulaśi mana-rājana rājita aṭījana naima sukhānjan月a-jādūkā sē! Savarti, saus meh sama sūla udhai nava nīla sarvārā sa bikase II 1 II

(One townsman of Ayādhyā says to another) "I went at dawn to the portal of the Lord of Awadh (Daṣāratha), as, son in arms, the king issued from the palace. As I gazed upon the babe, the releaser from sorrow, I stopped like one enchanted,—yes, shame on all who were not enchanted at the sight. (O Tūlāśi), His eyes darkened with heart-rejoicing heena were like young khaśīnas. My dear, 'twas just as though two dark lotuses had bloomed, noble in character, upon the fair moon (of his countenance)."

We may note that the first word of the first line is said by the commentators to set the whole keynote of the poem. Awadhāsa, the Lord of Awadh, (tīrṣṭava), indicates that the subject of the poem is majesty (sivārtya).

The next example (V, 14, 15) describes how Hanumāt, with his flaming tail sets fire to Lānkā. It is a good example of Tūlāśi Dāsa's power over words, with which he makes the sound an echo of the sense.

Mētra. Kavītā. Hāya-bātā bōta-_LOAD{bōta-LOAD} atani agon pauri khōri khōri dawri dīhā ati āgi hai! Arāta pukrāνa, sakānārāna na hōu kāhā, byākula jahāṇ sō tahāṇ lōga chalīyau bhāgī hai! Bālākhi priyāvai, bāra bāra jahārāvaic, jharāi bānēyā sē, laṅka paghītā pāgi pāgi hai! Tulaśi, bālākhi akulānti jātuḥānti kahai chitra hān kē hāpī sō niśchāra na lāgī hai II 14 II Lāgī lāgī āgi, bhāgī bhāgī chalē jahāṇ tahāṇ, āhāya kō na méyā, bāva pūta na sakānāraśā! Chhálē bāra, basama ughērē, dhāma dhunţha andā, kahai bāre bādēkē bāri bāri bāra bārānā! Haya kihāntā, bhāgē jāta, jahārāta gaja, bharī bāva dhēli pōli rānītī khaṇādi ādāhā! Nāma lai chīlāta bilālāta akulānta ati tāta tāta tawinśīyata jhawinśīyata jhāraṇāhā II 15 II

In the market-gulleys, on the bulwarks of the citadel, on the balconies, on the terraces, running along from lane to lane, Hanumāt sets alight a mighty conflagration. In terror the people scream. One fails to help another, every one is in confusion, and every one only tries to run away from where he finds himself. The monkey brandishes his (blazing) tail: he jerks it from door to door; sparks fall from it like rain drops, and Laṅkā, as it were, ripens and melts into syrop. (O Tūlāśi) the distraught Rākṣasā woman cry out as they look at him:—"not even in a picture hath such a monkey been seen by the night-prowlers?" (14)

'Fire! Fire! Fire!' They flee, they run hither and thither for their lives. Mother knows not her own daughter. Father helps not his own son. Girls with their hair dishevelled, nay, their very garments torn open, blind in the darkness of the smoke, children, old men, cry and cry again for 'water, water!' The horses neigh, the elephants trumpet, as they break from their stalls. In the vast mob men shove and trample one another, one crumpling another as he falls beneath his feet. Calling each others' names, children screech, lamenting, distraught, crying 'my father, my father, I am being scorched, I am being burnt alive in the flames.' (15)

1 The kite is a very quickly darting bird, to which eyes are frequently compared. 2 i.e. Rākṣasā.
9. The Git Râmâyân or Gitâbâlt: The history of Râma, in various song-metres. Devoted to the tender side (mûdhûrya) of Râma’s character. In seven kâtha, or cantos, viz.

1) Bâl-kâtha. Childhood. A gospel of the infant Râma. The birth of Râma and his brothers. Rejoicings thereon. The delight and affection of the queen-mothers (?), and of Dâsâratha in and for their infant children. The blessing of Vâsishthâ (13). The mothers’ affection. They rock the babes to sleep. Description of the beauty of the infants. They grow older and crawl about the court of the palace (26). Râma’s beauty at this age. They play in the courtyard and lisp their first words. Their first lessons in walking. The wakening of Râma, at dawn, by his mother (36). The boys run out to play. The admiration of the town folk. They play on the banks of the Sarayu (46). (The first half of the canto ends here. Forty-six songs).

Viśvâmitra comes to Ayodhyâ. His welcome. He asks for Râma and Lakshmana to relieve the hermits from the Râkshasas. They start off with him. Description of their charming appearance. Their delight and wonder at the novelties they see on the way. The slaughter of the Râkshasas. Rejoicing of the hermits. The salvation of Ahalyâ (57). They set out for Janakapura. Their reception there: admiration of the citizens. The two princes introduced to Janaka. They reach the scene of the bow-sacrifice. The appearance of the princes. The crowd assembles to see the sight. The townsfolk talk. The grandeur of the assembly. Arrival of Sîta in state (84). The proclamation of the conditions. The other competitor kings fail even to move the bow. Râma, at Viśvâmitra’s instance, breaks the bow (90). Rejoicings threaten. Rage of the defeated kings. Delight of the townsfolk (99).

Kausalyâ’s lamentations in Râma’s absence from Ayodhyâ. The other queens comfort her. Arrival of news from Janakapura. Rejoicings in Ayodhyâ. The marriage procession starts and arrives at Janakapura (100). The wedding. Description of the beauty of Râma and Sîta. Of Lakshmana and Urmilâ. The townsfolk talk of Râma. His reception at Ayodhyâ by his mother. Altogether 110 songs (pada) to various melodies.

2) Ayodhyâ-kâthy. Ayodhyâ. Dâsâratha determines to make Râma yuvârâja. Kaîkîyâ, under Mantharâ’s influence, gets Bharata made yuvârâja, and has Râma sent to exile (1). Lamentations of Kausalyâ and Dâsâratha. They entreat Râma to stop, but unavailingly. Sîta makes ready to go with Râma. Ho remonstrates. She insists. The townsfolk lament that Sîta is going (11). Lakshmana also insists on going. They start (12). Sîta washes Râma’s feet when he is weary with the road. Their pilgrimage (14). The comments of the people along the way, on their appearance. Of the village people (15-20). Their hardships. Comments of people on the road (31-41). The comments of the forest women (kîrîtâtîn) in Chitrakûṭa. The pilgrims settle there. Their life. The forest and all nature gain new beauties (42-50). At Ayodhyâ, the lamentations of Kausalyâ (51-55). Return of the charioteer Sûmantra. Dâsâratha addresses him, laments, and due (56-59). Bharata reproaches Kaîkîyâ (60, 61). He speaks humbly to Kausalyâ. Ho reply (62-64). Ho refuses to be made king, and sets out for Chitrakûṭa (65). Lamentations of the parrots, &c., in Râma’s house (66-67). Bharata’s journey to Chitrakûṭa. He meets Râma, and entreats him to return. Râma refuses (68-72). Bharata asks for Lakshmana at least to return, and to let him go instead with Râma. This he also refuses. He takes Râma’s shoes home with him, to set them on the throne. He himself lives in humble guise at Nandâgrâma (73-79). Praise of Bharata (80-82). Kausalyâ’s lamentations (83-87). The talk of the townsfolk (88, 89). Total eighty-nine songs (pada).

3) Aranyâ-kâthy. The Forest. The pilgrims in the forest. Râma as a hunter. The leaf hat in Pâchchavanâ (1-5). The golden deer. The circumstances of its death. The approach of Râvaṇa disguised as the mendicant devotees. The rape of Sîta. The conflict with Jâîtyû (6-8); return of Râma and Lakshmana to the hermitage. The search for Sîta. They find Jâîtyû. He tells them of the rape (9-16). The meeting with the Savarî (17). Altogether 17 songs (pada).

See note on the Kâpitâbâlt.
(4) Kīshkindhā-kāṇḍ. The Adventures in Kīshkindhāya. Sugrēva shows Rāma the bracelets dropped by Sītā. When the rainy season is over the monkeys and bears go off to search for Sītā. In all two songs (pada).


The following is an example of this poem. Gītā. I. 32.

Rāg Kāndāra

Laśita ratahi lālati sauchu pāyeh |
Kauśalyā kaha kanaka ajira mahā sikhawata chalana cāguriyāda lāyāh || 1 ||
Kēji bīkhini pājini pājini bējati runa jhunu maňdura rēṇgāyāh || 2 ||
Paňkāch karani kanṭha kanṭkal kanjou lāhari-nāka manj-jaṛāla jayāyāh || 3 ||
Pāla puntra bhāhuṁ jhāṅgulīyā bākati suyāma sāvra sohāyāh || 4 ||
Dāsīyā dāsī dāsī mahāhara muha-chhābi aruna adhāra ohtā lēta chhordyāḥ || 5 ||
Chābuka kopāla nāēkā sundara bālā sālaka mañi bindu bandāyāh |
Bējata nayana mañīṇī ajjana-juta khaṇjana kañja minā nada uṣāyāh || 6 ||
Lājānā chāru bhrīkuṭiyā tākhā maṛīkā suṅgha suṅgha subhāyāh || 7 ||
Kākā kākā nāōka chūfāhī runi ṣarapat jānani okhaṭhukhṇīh || 8 ||
Gīṁ gūṭhurumīṁ kēō kēō amūjani āṭhari bēlaka pēpa dēkhyāyāh || 9 ||
Bāla-bāli abalihi mātu saba muḍita magana duṇḍa anamāyāh || 10 ||
Dākha nāha ghamā ṭāja chāriya muni jēga somaṁṭā bīrati bisārāyāh || 11 ||
Tulari Dēśa jē ṛṣṭre na yehi rava tē nara jāha jwāla jaya jēyāh || 12 ||

Full of happiness Kauśalyā caresses her darling boy. She lets him cling to her finger as she teaches him to walk in the fair golden palace court (1). Runu jhunu, runu jhunu, sweetly tinkles the bell-girdle on his waist, sweetly tinkle the anklet-bells on his foot, as she helps him along. On his wrists are bracelets, and round his throat a jewelled nooklet studded with (evil-
fending) tiger's claws (2). A spotless saffron-coloured little silken coat adorns him, while it itself looks charming on his dark limbs. His sweet face is a picture, with two little teeth above and below, peeping out behind his cherry lips, and stealing away the hearts of all (3). Lovely is his chin, his cheek, his nose. On his forehead, like a caste mark is a drop of ink (to ward off the evil eye). His bright eyes, henna-darkened, shine, putting to shame the khañjana, the lotus, and the (glancing silver) fish (4). On his bow-shaped brow hang dainty curls, and over them hair-plaits of enhancing charm. As he hears his mother snap her fingers, he crows and springs with delight, and when he lets go her finger from his hand she is filled with dismay (5). He tumbles down, and pulls himself up upon his knees, and babbles (with joy) to his brothers when his mother shows him a piece of cake, and she, as she looks at all his pretty baby ways, is drowned in love, and cannot bear her joy (6). The saints in heaven gaze at his pranks from behind the clouds, and forget all their austerities. Saith Tul'Si Dás, the man who loveth not this sweetness, hath no soul, and his life in this world is in vain (10).

10. The Kṛishṇa Gīttabali. A collection of songs in honour of Kṛishṇa. In the Braj, or rather the Kansāvī, dialect. A collection of 61 songs (pada). The first portion deals with Kṛishṇa's babyhood and boyish pranks in Gokula, and the latter portion with the lamentations of the hard-maidens during his visit to Mathurā. The style is quite different from that of Tul'Si Dás's other works, and many scholars deny its authenticity. I have only seen two lithographed editions of the text, and no commentary. The following is an example. It describes how Kṛishṇa hold up Mount Gāvadhanas. Kṛishṇa Gīttabali. 18.

Edg Muldr

Bṛja para ghana ghana vṛjya kari ṣyē
dhi apanāuna hīnārī ṣapanā, kōpi swēna paśkāyē
damakalī daksina daka ṣu ṣuśā dāmīnī, bhayō tama gagana gādāvā
Garajuta ghora virākhara ṛddvūta ṛddvā ṛddvā samāra
Rāma ṛddvā paśi-pāda upala ghana barakhatara būhā bīgāla
Shāma-salbāla yulākara ṛddvūta ṛddvā ṛddvā gōhā gosīla
Rākhaṅa Rāma Kāṅkha chi abarana dāushā dāpā bhai bi
Nanda bīnjhā kījō surajyā saṁhā ṛtā tumākard bāla pār
Suhi hāvē ṛghya Namā ṛtāhara ṛtāhara tūhāhara tūhāhara
Tulasi Dīvan, Mahākaṇḍa apānā saṁh kari gayō garva gādha

On Vṛjā the storm clouds have arrogantly come, for the king of the Gods (Indra) considering himself invincible sent them. Lightning, irresistible, flashes all around; in the heaven bath been born a profound darkness. Fierce rain clouds roar and rush, impelled by a mighty wind. Again and again fall thunderbolts, and the indrops of the clouds are huge hailstones. Terrified at the cold, the cowboys, the cow-maidens, and the cowherds scream aloud, 'Protect us, O Halarāma and Kṛishṇa. Our lot is now more than we can bear. Nanda has contended with the Lord of the Gods, trusting in your power.' When Nanda's tiger heard these words, he rose up smiling, and lifted up the mountain (of Gāvadhan) with his hand. Saith Tul'Si Dás, Magha-vītn (Indra) thus, by his own action, humbled his own pride.

11. The Binay Pattrikā. The Book of Petitions. In this the poet writes in the character of a suppliant (arthin). There is an interesting legend as to the way the book came to be written. Tul'Si Dás first, as a paurāyika, wrote the Rāma Charit Mānas, in which he dwelt on the complex side of Rāma's character and on his glory, might and prowess. Then, as a rāndī, to establish the hearts of those who sought the Lord, he wrote the Kabitādbali dealing with Rāma's majesty. Then, to increase love in the worshippers of the Lord, he wrote as a maṇḍiga, the Gīttabali. Subsequently to all this, a murderer one day came on a pilgrimage crying, 'For the love of

* Using it as an umbrella to shelter the distracted cowherds.
* See footnote 1 to the account of the Kabitādbali.
the Lord Râma, cast aims to me, a murderer." Tulâśi, hearing the well-beloved name, called him to his house, gave him sacred food which had been offered to the God, declared him purified, and sang praises to his beloved deity. The Drâhmâs of Banâras held an assembly, and sent for the poet, asking how this murderer's sin was absolved, and how he had eaten with him. Tulâśi replied, 'Read ye your Scriptures. Their truth hath not entered yet into your hearts. Your intellects are not yet ripe, and they remove not the darkness from your souls.' They replied that they knew the power of the Name, as recorded in the Scriptures, 'but this man is a murderer. How can he obtain salvation?' Tulâśi asked them to mention some proof by which he might convince them, and they at length agreed that, if the sacred bull of Siva would eat from the murderer's hand, they would confess that they were wrong, and that Tulâśi Dâs was right. The man was taken to the temple and the bull at once ate out of his hand. Thus did Tulâśi teach that the repentance of even the greatest sinner is accepted by the Lord. This miracle had the effect of converting thousands of men and making them lead holy lives. The result enraged the Kâliyuga.? (the present age of sin personified), who came to the poet and threatened him, saying, 'Thou hast become a stumbling block in my kingdom of wickedness. I will straightway devour thee, unless thou promise to stop this increase of piety.' Full of terror, Tulâśi Dâs confided all this to Hanumat, who consolod him, telling him he was blameless and advising him to become a complainant in the court of the Lord himself. Write a binây-pattirâhô, a petition of complaint, and I will get an order passed on it by the master, and will be empowered to punish the Kâliyuga. Without such an order I cannot do so, for he is the king of the present age. According to this advice the poet wrote the Binây Pattrâhô.

The book is in the form of a series of hymns, adapted to singing, and addressed to the Lord, as a king in a court. According to earthly custom, the first hymns, or petitions, are addressed to the lower gods,—the door-keepers, ushers, and courtiers as it were, of heaven, and then the remainder of the book is devoted to humble petitions to the Lord Râma himself. Thus,—He first addresses Gaṇâsa (the door keeper) (1), then the Sun-god (2), Siva (8—10), Bhairava (Siva, the protector of Banâra), (11), Sämâkara (12), Siva (13), Siva and Pârvati in one (14), Pârvatî (15, 16), the Ganges (17—20), the Yamunâ (21), the Kaâthâ-pâla of Banâras (22), Chitrâkûta (23, 24), Hanumat (25—38), Lakshmana (27, 38), Bharata (39), Satrugna (40), Sâta (41—43). With the 44th hymn the petitions to Râma begin, and are continued to the 277th. In the 277th the poet addresses the whole court, and the 279th, and last, hymn records the successful result of his petitions.9

The following are specimens of this work:—

Bin. 249.

Kâlâ jânu, kà sânu bahun, aura ñauura na mërd 1
Jama gâvàyà têrâ têrâ bishêra têrâ 2 1 1
Mayâ tau bighârâ, nàthâ, sà svaratâ hê bûhê 3 1 1
Tohî kripâ-nilhî kyaun bûnai mërd si kinh 1 2 1
Dina duradína, dina durudâs, dina dûkha dina dûkhâna 3
Jauh lauâ tâh na bûdhihâ bâghbâna-bîbêkhâna 3 3 1
Dai piâhî bûna âïhî hâu, bûâva-bîsêchana 1
Toh sâh tu-hinn, na dásârâ, nata-sâka-bîsêchana 1 4 1
Pârdâhâna, dêva, dina hauî, sêdvêhàna guddhîh 1
Bûndâhârî sô karai, bali, bûna hî jhûhî 5 1 1
Apu dêkhi, moûn dêkhîhî, jana jëniyê sêkhî 1
Badh òta Râmà nâmà, hî jhûhî lal sô bûhîhî 6 1 1
Bhakan ràti Râmà ōvarî nîta hiyê hulau hâî 7 1
Jauh bhâwâ jauh karu kripâda têrû Tulâsî hâi 7 1

8 Kâliyuga, as a person, may practically be translated by 'the devil' of Christianity. [For Kâliyuga's doing when personified as a god in popular poetry, see Legends of the Purâñas, Vol. II. p. 320 ff.—Ed.]

9 Some editions make 280, not 278 hymns.
In the preceding hymn, the poet has prayed to the Lord to look upon him,—he can do nothing of himself. He now continues,—“For whither can I go? to whom can I tell (my sorrows)? No other place have I. Have I not passed my life a slave at thy door, and thine only? True, often have I turned away from thee, and grasped the things of this world; but, O thou full of mercy, how can acts like mine be done by thee (that thou shouldst hide thy face from me)? O Glory of Raghu’s race, till thou wilt look upon me, my days will be days of evil, my days will be calamity, my days will be woe, my days will be defilement. When I turned my back to thee, and (it was because) I had no eyes of faith to see thee where thou art; but thou art all-seeing (and canst therefore look upon me where’er I be). Thou alone, and no other, art like unto thyself; thou who dost relieve the sorrows of the humble. O God, I am not mine own; to some one must I be the humble slave, while thou art absolutely uncontrolled, and master of thy will. I am but a sacrifice (bali) offered unto thee; what petition can the reflection in the mirror make to the living being who is reflected therein? First, look thou upon thyself (and remember thy mercy and thy might). Then cast thine eyes upon me; and claim me as thy true servant; for the name of the Lord is a sure protection, and he who taketh it is saved. Lord, thy conduct and thy ways ever give joy unto my heart; Tul’si is thine alone, and, O God of mercy, do unto him as it seemeth good unto thee.”

Bis. 195.

Bali jāuh hauk Rāma Godāḍā 1
Kṛjai kṛṣṇā āpyā niśā 2
Paramātrāha - muryūra - sūlāna, saba svādāha suḥḥāda, bhalāi 1
Kali sakāyā lōpi sukhālī, niṣa kāthāna bhūkhāli chālāi 2
Jhaṁ jahaṁ chhita chhita wata kīta, tahan nīva bhiḥkāda dāhīkāi 1
Buchī bhūvatī bhabhāri bhāgā, samuḥādi amitā anahādāi 2
Aḍhī maṉana maṉa, byādā ḍikāla ṭama, backāna māṭṇa jhūvatāi 1
Bīkuḥ para tumha sūt. Tulaśi ki sakāla nāndha sagā 2 95 11

O Rāma, my Holy one, I offer myself a sacrifice unto thee. Show thou grace unto me as thou art wont. The evil age hath in its wrath cut off every good way, the means of ultimate salvation, and the means of attaining to the lower heaven, yea, every earthly happiness, every goodness,—and hath brought into use its own, hard, evil way.

Wherever the soul looketh towards good, there ever it causeth new sorrows to increase. Every pleasure that delighteth flesh in terror, while all things that delight not, stand in front of a man, in unmeasured numbers. The soul is plunged in spiritual woe: the body is distracted by disease: man’s very words are foul, and false. And yet, (O Lord,) with thee doth Tul’śi Dāś hold the close kinship of perfect love.

12. Rāma-charita-mānas, the Lake of the Gest of Rāma. Written in various metres. Most commonly eight pairs (frequently more) of chaupāsī followed by one pair (sometimes more) of dōḍhīs, with other metres, in the more high-flown portions, interspersed. In seven sāpaṇā, or descents (into the lake), viz.:

(1) Bāla kāṇḍā. (2) Ayādhāyā kāṇḍā. (3) Āraṇyā kāṇḍā. (4) Kiśkindhāya kāṇḍā.

This work, which is more usually called the Mānas Rāmdyañ, or the Tul’śi-krīt Rāmdyañ, is, as already shown, largely quoted in the Dōḍhālī. The following references will show that

9 The reflection of a man in a mirror is entirely dependent on the man who is reflected. It moves as he moves, and only acts as he wills. So man’s soul, which is but a reflection of the universal Soul, is entirely dependent on the will (prāṇa) of the latter for all his actions good and bad. Hence the poet asks that the Lord may will him to lead a holy life. He has no right to ask for it as a right, he can only ask for it as a favour.

10 Bāma = dāhāra (ujjñātā gurūdhyā dharmasamāti dām āčchāraṁ par āgya ṛhaṁ; tā tā ṛhanāṁ kaḥt, comm.).

Rāma = vṛndāvaṇe (tī vṛndāvaṇā tī mandhā mātra śeṣak prāṭādi par vartāmānām).
certain verses occur twice in the poem itself. Whether this is due to interpolations or not I cannot say. My references are all to Chhakkan Lál's Corpus, and also to the new edition published by Bábú Rám Dín Singh.

Rám. Bā., Ch. 77, 2 = Rám. A., Ch. 212, 3 (Rám Dhn., 213, 3)
Sīra dharī śoīna kariā tumbhārd
Parama dharāma yala nākha lamārd

Rám. Bā., Ch. 73, 3, 4
Tapa-bala vachāi prapañcāha bihātād
Tapa-bala Bishṇu sākala jaya-trīṭād
Tapa-bala Sambhū karahān sanghārd
Tapa-bala Śēkha dharāi mahi-bhārd

Compare Rám. Bā., Ch. 163, 29
Tapa-bala tē jaya orjai bihātād
Tapa-bala Bishṇu bhoj parīṭād
Tapa-bala Sambhū karahān sanghārd
Tapa tē eagama na kachha sawdārd

Rám. A., Ch. 89, 2 = Rám. A., Ch. 111, 7
Tē pūta mātu kahahu, sahāh, kainād
Jūna pañcāb bau mālaka aise
dhāra māri aise

Ram A., Ch. 123, 1, 2 = Rám. Ár., Ch. 7, 2, 3 (Rám Dhn., 9, 2, 3)
"Aphere Rāma Lākhanu bama (puṇi) pāchhē
Tāpāra ībīha birdjita (bānē all) lāchhē
Ubihya bicha Siya sūhātī kainād
Brahma jiva bicha māyā jaitē.

Note that the last half line, "as Māya exists between Brahmān and the soul," shows that Tulāš Dās was not altogether in accord with Rámānanda, who altogether denied the existence of the Māya postulated by Saṅkarāchārya. This will be dealt with subsequently.

Ram Sun., Ch. 23, 1
Rāma charana-punkhajā nra dharmād
Jāhā sākala rījū tumbha karahād

Rám. Lāc., Ch. 1, 8
Rāma charana-punkhajā nra dharmād
Kautuka ēka bhātī koijī karahād

The poem was commenced in the year 1574 A. D. in Ayodhyā, where the first three sūdūnas were written. Thence he went to Banārāsa, where Tulāś Dās completed the work.18

I do not give any analysis of the contents of this excellent work. Mr. Growse's translation makes this unnecessary. I hesitate also to give any example of it. No specimen will give a fair idea of the poem's many beauties, and at the same time of its (to European taste) defects. It would be as unfair as to show a single pearl as a sample of the ocean with all its profundity and all its terrors. The Rāma-dharmād-nāmatā is the earliest known, and at the same time the greatest, of Tulāś Dās's works. But, though the earliest, it has none of the crudeness which we might expect in a poet's first attempt at song. Its metre is correct, though never monotonous; its language is appropriate without being affected, and the chain of thought, ever bound together by the one golden string of love and devotion to his master, is worthy of the greatest

18 Rám. Kl., Sā. 1. wūktījima māhi jādi, &c. Here the poet for the first time in the poem praises Kīś (Banāres), instead of Ayodhyā, and this passage is to be interpreted as above. The tīda, Ayodhyā and Kīśaṅkīdhāra, are written at Ayodhyā, and the Kīshiśkindhyā, Sundara, Laliś and Uttarā Kṛśṇa, at Banāres.
poet of any age. In the specimens taken from his other works I have shown what power the poet had over language, and how full that language would be either of tenderness, or of soul-absorbing devotion to the Deity whom he adored, and if I now give an extract from the Tul's-krit Rāmdyaṇ it is not as a specimen of the work, but to show Tul'si Dās in his lighter, perhaps more artificial mood, in which, with neatness and brevity of expression worthy of Kālīdāsa, or of Horace, he paints the marvellous transformation of nature which accompanies the change from one Indian season to another. I allude to the well-known passage in the Kishkindhyā-kōṇḍ which describes the rainy season, and the coming of autumn (Ch. 14 and ff.). I follow Chhakkan Lāl's text, as usual, in this paper.

A word as to the style. Tul'si Dās here adopts a series of balanced, antithetic sentences,—each line consisting of a statement of fact and of a simile,—the latter often of a religious nature. This method of writing closely resembles that adopted by Kālīdāsa in portions of the first book of the Raghuvāṃśa, and still more that of the Book of Proverbs. Thus,—(Prov. xxvi, 7 and ff.)

"The legs of the lame are not equal;
So is a parable in the mouth of fools.
As he that bindeth a stone in a sling;
So is he that giveth honour to a fool.
As a thorn goeth up into the hand of a drunkard;
So is a parable in the mouth of fools.

In the same style, Tul'si Dās here says—

As the shoot lightning flieth,
So is the short-lived love of the wicked.
As the clouds heavy with rain bow down to the earth,
So boweth (humbly) the wise man full of wisdom.
As the mountains heed not the assaults of the raindrops,
So the holy man heedeth not the words of the wicked.

The translation given by me below will be found to be more full than the above, but it will be seen that, throughout, the text is built on this principle.

Chawpdā.

Ghana ghanapāda nābha garojata ghrōṭā
Priyā-līka mama ṛārapata mōpā
Dāmīni damaka raka na ghana mādā
Khala hui pritī jathā thiru nādī
Barakkhiṅī jalada bhūmi niḍāṅ ī
Jathā nāvahīnī budha bīdī pāṅ ī
Bāṅdā ughītu sahaṅī gīrī kāṅī
dhala ko vouched santa suha jāṅī
Chhūtra nudi bhari chali ṛāṅī
Jana thīra he ghana khala ṛāṅī

Dāmī ni paruta būd gīhara pāṅī
dhana jinaṅi mūyā lapasāṅī
Samītī samīti jala bharakī tālāṅī
Jiṁi nadapahṣa saṅja pahū ēdī
Sariṅī jala jala-nītī makāṅ āṅī
Ilā ahaṭā jīṁ jīva Hari pāṅī

Dēhā.

Herita jīṁāṁ trīna saṅkula
Jiṁi pakhāṅda bāṅa teh

Samūḥi parahāṁ nāṁī panaṅāṁ
Gupta kūṁśi sadagrotāṁ

OCTOBER, 1893.] NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.
Chaupati.

Dādura dhuni cha haṁ dhuni disd suJidā
Bāda paṭhaṁ haṁ janu baṭu samuddā
Nava Pallava bhaṁ bītpa anēkā
Sāhaka mana jasa mīlī bībāhā
Arka jwāna pāṭaṇ bīnu bhayaṁ
Jasa suṛāja khalā udvama geyāh
Khājala katakuṁ mīle naṁī dāhīrī
Karai krāha jimi ākramaṁi dūrī
Sasi-sampanne sōha maṁi keiśā
t
Upākāri koṁ sampaṁi jaiśā

Nītī sama ghaṅa bhavaṁta ṇṛējā
Janu dambhīnha kav mīṁ samējā
Mahābrīṁśi ṇa ṇiṁ pṛījī kiṁśā
t
Jimī suṁaṁra bhayaṁ bigarabhiṁ nāṁā

Krīṁi nirkaṁavāna chaturva kiśāṇā
Jimī būḍha taḷaṁiṁ mūka maṁa māṇā
Dhāṁyaṁ chakrādāka bhaga māṁiṁ
Kaliṁ pāī Jimī śharmā pariṁī
t
Usana barahkāṁ ṇīna māṁiṁ ṇāṁī
t
Jimī Hari-jana-hāya upaja na ṇāṁā
Bibhīna jmaiṁ-ṣanbhū maṁ bhrējā
Prājā bāṛkā jimi pāī suṛājā
Jahāṁ tahaṁ raṁ āṛīṁka thāṁī nāṁā
Jimī śrīmṛya-gana upajaṁ jūnāṁā

Dōhā.

Kaba-huṁ prābadha bhaṁ māṇiṁ jahaṁ tahaṁ māṁga bībāhī
t
Jimī kaptāṁ kē ṇuṇaṁ pājāṁ kula suṛāhama nasāhī
t
Kaba-huṁ abhaṁ māṁa niṁbaṁ ṇaṁa kaba-huṁ ha ṇagata paṭaṁga
Binasaṁ upajaṁ jūnāṁ jimi pāī ku-saṁga ni-saṁga 15

Chaupati.

Barahkāṁ bigata sarada-ṛitu ādī
t
Laṁkāhāna dēkhaṁ parama suhāt
Phūḷī kēsa suhaṁ maṁ maṁ cīhāt
Janu barahkāṁ-ṛīna ṇagata buḍhāhī
t
Udṛṛata Harṣīṭa pauthe-jala sōkhāt
Jimī lōḍhāṁ sōkhaṁ sanōkhdā
Saritā saṁaṁ nirmata jala sōhā
t
Santa hridaya jasa gata-maṁa-māṁhā
Rasa rasā sūkhaṁ saritā saratā pāṁī
t
Mamāṭa-ṛīṇa karāṁ saṁtī jūṁśā
Jimī saradha ṛitu ṇhāṁjaṁ dē
t
Pāī saṁaya jimi suṛīta suhāt
Panha na rēnu, sōḥa atī ṇhārāntī
t
Nītī niṁpuṇa māṁa kai jasi karōṁī
t
Jalu-sanloka bākala bhaṁ māṁā
Abuddha kuṣumbī jimi ṇhāṁa-hīṁā
t
Bīnu ghatana nirmata sōha abēdā
t
Harjī jana bā parīkṣa sava āde
t
Kahūṁ kahūṁ bṛīṁśiṁ saradī dūrī
t
Kou sā haṁva bhagāṁ jimi mōrī
Dédh.
Chalé harakhi taji naçara nīpa,  
Jimi Hari-bhagati pāi saranā  

tāpasa, banika, bhikhāri

Chhapāi.
Sukhi mīna jē nīra aghādā  
Jimi Hari-sarana na ēkau ēddā  
Pāṭi kāmala, ñhra sara kaiē  
Nīrjuna Brahka saquna bhae jaiē

Gruśata mādhukara mukhara anūpā  
Sundara khaga rāda nāmā rápā

Chakrabāka mañc dukha nīś pēkhi  
Jimi dūrjena para-sampati ēkhi

Chākha rājata trikaṇā aśi ēōhi  
Jimi suhka lakaś na Sankara-ārāhi

Sarāṣa teṣa nīśi sasi aparṣarāi  
Saṅkara-darasa jimi pātaka foraśi

Dākhā indu chakora samuddāi  
Chitauatā jimi Hari-jana Hari pāti

Manaka dana bhī hina-trāśed  
Jimi dūja-ārāhi kiē bula-nūshē

Dédh.
Bhāmi jīva samukal rāhā  
Sada-gurā mitt jāhīn jimi  

gah sarada-rīkha pāti  
sānaya dhrama samuddā 17 11

Rāma addresses Lakshmana, while they are waiting in the Kishkindhā forest for the rains to pass over, that they may start on their search for Śīrā.

Chhapāi.—The sky covered with arrogant rain-clouds fiercely reareth, while my heart is distraught, bereft of its darling. The sheet lightning flickered amidst the heavy clouds, fitful as the short-lived love of the wicked. The heavy vapours pour forth rain, and hang close-bellied to the earth, like a wise man stooping 'neath his weight of wisdom. The mountains bear the never-ocasing assaults of the rain drops, standing proudly unconcerned; and even so the holy man keedoth not the words of the wicked. Each shallow streamlet, fed to the brim, hasteneth eagerly on its way, like a vain fellow puffed up with a little wealth. The clear water whirled on the earth is become mud (and hidest it from the sky), as the cares of this world envelop the soul (and hide it from its Creator). With here a drop and there a rill, the water filleth the lakes, like virtue entering a good man's heart; while the rushing rivers flow into the Ocean and find rest, even as the soul findeth rest in faith in God.

Dédh.—The grass groweth green and thick upon the ground, hiding the very paths so that they cannot be traced out; and even so the disputations of the unbelievers ever hide the true path of the scriptures.

Chhapāi.—The frogs shout lustily around, like a school of postulants reading holy books. Fresh shoots appear on bushes, as wisdom springeth in the hearts of the pious; and only the arka and jawda, trees lose their green leaves from the rainfall, as the schemes of the wicked fall under a righteous governor. Seek where thou wilt, thou wilt find no dust,—so when a man yieldeth to passion his pious deportment. Fair shineth the earth prosperous with its fields of corn, as fair as a charitable man blessed by prosperity; but in the dark nights the countless fireflies are radiant, like unto hypocrites that have met their meet companion (the night of ignorance). The field banks (left uncared for) are burst and wasted away by the sudden rain-storms, as a woman is ruined by being left to her own devices; but the wise and clever husbandman weedeth his crops, as the wise man weedeth his heart of delusion, passion, and pride. The Brāhmaṇ goose hath hidden itself, even as pious disappeareth in this age of sin;
and as on the barren land, for all the rain, not a blade of grass is seen, so lust is born not in the heart of a servant of the Lord. The earth is brilliant with swarms of manifold living creatures; so, under a good governor, do his subjects multiply. Here and there a weary traveller sitteth to rest himself, as a man's senses rest when wisdom is born in him.

Dhá.—At times a mighty wind ariseth and hither and thither scattereth the clouds, as, with the birth of a disobedient son; a household's pieté is destroyed. At one time, by day, here is a thick darkness, at another time the sun is visible; even so, true knowledge is destroyed or born, as a man consorteth with the vile or with the holy.

Chaupt.—The rains are past, the Autumn-time is come; O Lakshman, see how fair the world appeareth. (The first sign that it cometh) is the white-bearded blossom of the tall thatch-grass, which hideth the earth as though declaring that the old age of the rains had come. Canopus shineth in the heavens, and the water which drowned the pathways is drying up, as desire drieth up when the Tru Content is achieved. The water glistonesth clear in the streams and lakes, like a holy man's heart from which passion and delusion have departed. Gently minisheth the depth of the streams and lakes, as the wise man gradually loseth his thoughts of self. The wagtail knoweth that the Autumn is arrived, and cometh forth from its hiding place, beautiful as a good work done in season. No mud is there, and yet no dust, fair shineth the world, yea, like unto the deceds of a lord-learned king: yet as the waters fall the fish are troubled, as a foolish spendthrift is perplexed when his possessions are wasted. The sky serene and pure, without a cloud, is like unto a servant of the Lord, who is free from all earthly desire; while now and then there fall a few drops of Autumn rain,—few, as the few, who place their faith in me.13

Dhá.—Joyfully issue forth from the cities, kings and ormonites, merchants and beggars, even as the four orders of mankind desert all care when they find faith in the Lord.

Chaupt.—Happy are the fish where the water is deep; and happy is he who findeth naught between him and the fathomless mercy of the Lord. The lotuses bloom, and the lakes take from them a charm, as the pure Spirit becometh lovely when it taketh material form.14 The noisy bees hum busily, and birds of many kinds sing tuneful notes. The Bráhma is alone is mournful when it seeth the night approach (which separateth it from its mate), as the evil man mourneth when he seeth the prosperity of another. The chídak walketh in its ever waning thirst, even as an enemy of the duty never findeth peace. The moon by night consoleth for the heat of the autumn sun, as sin vanisheth at the sight of a holy man. The partridge-coverts gaze intent upon the moon, like pious men whose only thought is for the Lord. The grass and the gadfly disappear in fear of winter, as surely as a house is destroyed which persecuteth Bráhma.

Dhá.—The swarms of living creatures with which, in the rainy season, the earth was fulfilled, are gone. When they found the Autumn approaching, they departed. So, when a man findeth a holy spiritual guide, all doubts and errors vanish.

(3) Legends and Traditions.

In conclusion, it will be interesting to record such legends regarding the poet, as have not been already given in this paper. Some of these have been published before, but others are, I believe, new to English scholars.

I commence by giving some valuable facts communicated to me by Mahâmahopadhyâya Sudhâkara Dvivedi. Some say that the poet was a Kânyaikubjâ, and others that he was a Sarayûparâna-Brahma. Bráhma of the former clan condemn the receipt of presents, begging for alms, and the like; but Tulsî Dâs in Kâlîtâvuli, U. 73, says distinctly, 'jâyâ kula mahâgana, I was born in a family which begged,' and hence he must be considered to have been a Sarayûparâsa. Tradition adds that he was a Dubâ of the Parâ solar gîtara of that clan. The most trustworthy accounts state that he was born in Samvat 1599 (A. D. 1532), so that he must.

13 Bâma was of course an incarnation of the Lord.
14 Here Tulsî Dâs certainly speaks both of a Nîgâpû and not of a Sagupû, Brahman.
have been 42 years of age when he commenced writing the Rāmāyaṇa, and this conclusion is borne out by the nature of the work, which is that of a mature intellect,—of a man who had lived.

In former days, before the British rule, children born at the end of the asterism Jyāṣṭhā, and at the beginning of that of Māla, were said to be born in Abhukta-māla. Such a child was considered to be of the worst possible nature, and destined to destroy his father. On this account he would usually be abandoned by his parents, or, at the best, if from natural affection they could not be so inhuman, they would not look upon its face for eight years. Thus, in the Muhārtta-chitāmāpa (composed about Tulśi Dās’s time), it is written, ‘jātakā śūn tatra purīṇajād vā mukhan pīṭa ’yud śhāśamāna pāyāt.’ In the purāṇas, Nārāyang is mentioned as having been born to Rāvana in Abhukta-māla, and to have been abandoned in this way. He did not die, but grew up and had many children and grandchildren. At Nārada’s instigation, Rāvana sent for them, and they were all killed in the conflict with Rāma.

Tulśi Dās was one of these children born in Abhukta-māla, and, when his parents abandoned him he must have been picked up by some wandering sādhru, for no respectable householder would have had aught to do with such a child. He tells us himself in Dīnay Patrikā, 227, 2, ‘janamī janaka tejo jana-mi, kārama bīnu bādihi-kān śivajyā abādār, ‘My father and mother brought me into being and then abandoned me, and God himself created me without good fortune, and forsook me.’ Compare, also, the whole passage above quoted from the Kabītādī, Ut., 73. He must, as a boy, have lived and wandered over India with this sādhru, and learnt from him and his companions the story of Rāma, as he himself tells us.13

He was probably named Tulasi Dāsa by the sādhru, according to a custom which these men have. When they desire to purify any person, they cause him to eat a tulasi leaf which has been dedicated to an image of Viṣṇu. This was probably done in the unfortunate lad’s case, and hence his name.

He is popularly supposed to have been a profound pāṇḍita, but this is an evident error, as is shown by his works. His Sanskrit is full of mistakes, e. g., in the introductory tīkhas to Rām. Ut., he writes kṛtāyāyaśaḥkālanī for kṛtāya, and chintakṣaya manabhrāngasamguṇa for “manabhrīnga”, or in the Rudrāśāsana,14 Rudrāśāsana idāh prakāhā virapṛṣa harsa-tāhagayā, for “tāhagayā.

According to tradition, his father’s name was Ātmā Rām Supkha Dābē, and his mother’s Hulasī. His real name was, as he tells us in K. Rām. Ut., 94, Rām Bōlā. His spiritual preceptor was named Narāhari. His father-in-law’s name was Dīnabandhu Pāthak, his wife’s Ratnāvatt, and his son’s Tīrana.15 Various places claim the honour of his birth, e. g., Tarī in the Dōb, Hastināpur, Hājipur near Chitrakūṭ, and Rājpur, in the district of Bāndā, on the banks of the Yamunā. Of these, Tarī appears to have the best claim. In his youth, he studied at Śākara-khutā, the modern Sōrūn (Rām. Ba., 66. 30). He married in his father’s lifetime, and after the latter’s death, he lived contentedly as a householder, and begat a son. As explained elsewhere, Tulśi Dās was a follower of the viśiṣṭa-dāśānta Vedantic teaching of Rāmānuja, as modified by Rāmānanda. It would be incorrect, however, to call him a strict adherent of that sect. I have previously pointed out that, in Ayodhyā he was a Śmārtī, not

13 Rām. Ba., 30. 30, 1 (Māma puri māna gura, &c.) and the following chaupās. This passage also tells us that he learnt the Rāmā-śīrī from this sādhru, or guru, as he called him, in Sanskrit, and why he determined to tell it in the vernacular (bhāṣā-laṅkāda, &c.)
14 See remarks above on the Kabītādī.
15 The following dohās give the above particulars:

Dōhā Ātmākīrāna hai

Māla Hulasī kahata saba
(Prakāśāsana-sūkṣma nāma-kari)
Prajaga nāma nahi kahata sāga
(Dīnabandhu Pāthaka kahata)
Ratnāvatt śīla nāma hai

The Guru’s name cannot be plainly given without sin, but it is that form of Viṣṇu which saved Prahlāda, i.e., Narāhari. From the last line it appears that the poet’s son died at an early age.

The poet also mentions his Guru’s name in a similarly disguised fashion in Rām. Ba., 66. 1, 5 ‘bandana gurudāsana kaṇḍa-kṛṣṇa sāmbhāra sāṁjna nāma-pāxa manuḥ.’ With regard to his mother’s name, see, poet.
a Vairācī Vaishnav, and also worshipped Mahādeva to some extent. In the Rāmāyaṇa he himself states that he has followed many scriptures, and now and then he even alludes to the nirviśeṣa advaita Vedantic teaching of Saṅkarāchārya, with its māyā and its nīrguṇa Brahma. A great friend of his was Madhu-sūdana Sarasvatī, who was a follower of the doctrine of Saṅkarāchārya. As a whole, however, his teaching may be taken as that of the vidvīśeṣa advaita vedānta, with a liberality, leaning sometimes to approval of strange or more esoteric doctrines. I have obtained from Bābā Mōhan Dās Śādhū the following genealogical table showing the line of succession of the teachers of the poet. It starts from Śrī-Mannārāyana, who was twelfth in ascent of teachers before Rāmānuja. I have no means of checking it, and give it for what it is worth, and with the warning that it is probably largely based upon unwritten tradition. Some of the names are interesting and well known. I give in a parallel column another list of names received from Pațnā, which differs in a few particulars, and the authority of which is unknown to me.

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<tr>
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<th>Pațnā List</th>
<th>Mōhan Dās’s List</th>
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<td>10 Śrī Pārānukṣa</td>
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<td>30 Śrī Harāyānanda</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>Śrī Rāmānūjavāmin</td>
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<td>13 Śrī Śaṭākṣāchārya</td>
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<td>32 Śrī Harivāryānanda</td>
<td>As in Mōhan Dās.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Śrī Kurāṭāchārya</td>
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<td>33 Śrī Rāghūvananda</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>15 Śrī Lōkāchārya</td>
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<td>16 Śrī Parākrāchārya</td>
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<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>36 Śrī Māhāvananda</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>18 Śrī Lōkā</td>
<td>As in Mōhan Dās.</td>
<td>37 Śrī Gurlānanda</td>
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<td>19 Śrī Dēvābhāpāchārya</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>38 Śrī Lākeśānanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Śrī Sālāchārya</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>39 Śrī Guṇālādeśajī</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

18 Ed. Add. 7. viṣṇu-purāṇa-māyāmāyā-vanavasiśca.
19 Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, gives a much shorter line of descent between Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda. On p. 35, n. 1, he concludes that Rāmānuja was born about the end of the 11th century, and that the first half of the 12th century was the period at which his fame as teacher was established. On p. 47, he says "Rāmānanda is sometimes said to have been the immediate disciple of Rāmānuja, but this appears to be an error." He adds that a more particular account gives the following succession:—

1 Rāmānuja (No. 12 in above list).
2 Dēvānanda (No. 25).
3 Harānanda (? No. 30).
4 Rāghūvananda (No. 33).
5 Rāmānanda (No. 53).

which would place the last about the end of the 13th century. The Bhāktimālā omits No. 4 in the above list.
OCTOBER, 1893.

NOTES ON TULSI DAS.

His father-in-law, Dinabandhu, was devoted to the adoration of Râma, and his daughter, who had been married to Tulâ's Dâs in her girl-hood, but who, according to custom, lived with her family till she was grown up, became also imbued with the same faith, and, when holy men visited her father used to tend them, and entreat them hospitably. When she grew up she went to live with her husband, who became passionately devoted to her. After a son had been born, one day, Tulâ's Dâs came home, and discovered that his wife, without letting him know, had gone to her father's house. Full of anxiety he followed her there, and was received by her with the following dâhs:—

Lâjñâ na lâd-galâ årñ ki dhâurâ dâyâ sûthâ ||
Dhikâ dhikâ asû prêna ki kahâ kahâuî nainî ndâthâ ||
Asâhî-charma-nya dâha mama tâ mûn jaisi prîtî ||
Tulâi jainî Sri Râma mahâî hûta na tau bhava-bhûtî ||

'Are you not filled with shame, that you have pursued me here? Fie on such love. What can I say to you, my Lord? My body is but made of perishable bones and skin, and if such love as you have for it, had been but devoted to the holy Râma, the terrors of existence would not have existed for you.'

Immediately on hearing these words, Tulâ's Dâs became 'converted,' and set out again for his own home. His wife, who had by no means intended to produce so violent a reaction, followed, calling him back, and asking him to stay and eat, that she might return with him. But 'what could a man do, in the face of a whirlwind?' Tulâ's Dâs from that moment became an ascetic and, abandoning horse and home, wandered about as a 'released' worshipper of Râma. He made Ayodhyâ, and subsequently Banâras, his head-quarters, from which he frequently visited such places as Mathurâ, Vrindâvana, Kurukshêtra, Prayâga (Allahabad) and Parashottampurt.

After he had left his home, his wife wrote to him the following letter—

Kafi ki khalî kanuka si râhata sakhina saîga sî ||
Mobi phatî ki jara naih anata kafû jara hûî ||

'Slender of loin am I, and, fair like gold, I dwell amid my girl-companions. I fear, not that my own (heart) may break, but that thou may perchance be captured by some other woman.'

To this Tulâ's Dâs replied—

Kafi dha Raghunâtha saîga bâñhi jasî sîra-lêsa ||
Hina tê chukhî prêma-ma patuî hê upalêsa ||

'Captured alone by Raghunâtha am I, with my locks bounded in matted curls. That is flavour of the love which I have tasted, taught by my own wife.'

On receiving this reply, his wife sent him her blessing, and praised him for the course he had adopted.

Years afterwards, when Tulâ's was an old man, he was returning from Chitrakûta, and, rapt in devotion he came to his father-in-law's village, and called at his house for hospitality, without recognizing it, or knowing where he was. His wife, who was now also very old, came out, according to custom, to tend the venerable guest, and asked him what he desired to eat. He replied, 'I will make a mess of potting,' and so she prepared him an eating place (chakâd) and brought him wood, rice, pulse, vegetables, and clarified butter. Tulâ's Dâs, as is the custom of Smârta Vâishnâvins, began to cook his food with his own hands. After his wife had heard him speak once or twice she recognized him, and became full of joy that her husband had so manifestly become a devotee of Râma. She, however, did not disclose herself, but only said, 'Reverend sir, may I bring you some pepper?' He replied 'there is some in my wallet.' 'May
I bring you some sour condiment? 'There is some in my wallet.' 'May I bring you some camphor?' 'There is some in my wallet.' Then, without asking permission, she attempted to wash his feet; but he would not let her. After this she passed the whole night thinking to herself, 'How can I manage to stay with him, and to spend my time at once serving 'the Lord and my husband?' At one time she would wish to do so, and at another she would remember that her husband had left her and become an ascetic, and that her company would only embarrass him. Finally she made up her mind that, as he carried about with him, in his bag, delicacies like pepper, sour condiments, and camphor, she as his wife, would be no impediment to him. Accordingly, at early dawn she invited Tul'si to stay there, and worship. He refused, in spite of all her entreaties. He would not even stay to eat. Then she said 'Reverend sir, do you not know me?' He replied 'No.' 'Reverend sir, do you not know whose house this is?' 'No.' 'Do you not know what town this is?' 'No.' Then she told him who she was, and asked that she might be allowed to stay with him; to which he would in no way agree. She continued, 22

Khariyā 22
kharī kayāra tūn
nukha na piya tiya tyīga
Kai khariyā mohī niīli kai<br>achala karatī anuvṛtāya II

'If there be in your wallet everything from chalk to camphor, you should not, my love, have abandoned your wife. Either take me also in your wallet, or else (abandon it) and devote yourself entirely to love for the Omnipotent (giving up all care for earthly things). 24

Thereupon Tul'si departed, and gave away all the things in his wallet to Brahmapur, and his wife's knowledge of things divine (jānā) became fuller than before.

On one of his journeys, Tul'si Dās, after visiting Bhrigurāmati, 25 Hāsimagar and Parasīyā, being attracted by the devotion of Gambhirā Dāva, Rājā of Gāy Gḥūṭ, stayed there a short time, and thence went to Brahmapur 26 to visit the shrine of Brahmuvarnāthha Mahādēva. From Brahmapur he went to the village of Kāṭ, 27 There not only did he find no place, where he could get any food, but was distressed to see the people devoted to the manners and customs of female demons (Rākṣasāt). He went on his way, and met a cowherd (ākhī, āhīrā) of Kāṭ, named Maṅgar or Meṅgar, the son of Sāvārī Ahīr. 28 He had a cattle yard in the open plain, where he used to offer hospitality to holy men. With great humility, he invited Tul'si Dās thither and gave him some milk, which the poet boiled down into ḫūd, and ate. He then asked Maṅgar to ask a boon, and the latter begged first that he might be endowcd with perfect faith in the Lord, and secondly that his family, which was short lived, might be a long lived one. Tul'si Dās replied, 'If you and your family commit no thefts, 29 and avoid causing affliction to any person, your desire will be fulfilled.' It is now claimed that the blessing has been fulfilled. The story is still well known both in Bāliyā and Shāhābād districts. In 1889 A.D. the representative of his family was an old man named Bihārī Ahīr. Maṅgar's descendants have always been well known, ever since, for the ready hospitality they offer to holy men, and are said never to commit theft, though other Ahīrs of the same village have by no means so good a reputation.

22 This verse is Dīkṣāli 255, with slight differences of reading.
23 Khariyā is the technical name for a Vaishnava mendicant's wallet. It is made of khārūd cloth, and carried on the shoulder.
24 The meaning is that he keeps himself too well supplied with delicacies, to be a pure mendicant. He should be either a pure mendicant, or not at all.
25 Bhrigurāmati (sic) is the chief town of the District of Bāliyā, opposite Shāhābād, and east of Banbhāras, in the E. W. P. Parasīyā is in the same district. It is said to be the site of Parasīyā's hermitage. So also Hāsimagar and Gāy Gḥūṭ are in Bāliyā. The latter is no longer the seat of a Rājā. The family of the Rājā of Gāy Gḥūṭ is still seated at Balī in the same district. They are Khaṭṭīyās of the Hayāhi clan.
26 Brahmapur is in the District of Shāhābād (Arrah). A mela is held there at the festival of the Siyāarti.
27 Also in Shāhābād, about two miles east of Brahmapur. It is in fact commonly known as Kāṭī-Brahmapur.
28 Two men of the same names are prominent figures in the well known folk song of Lōrīk.
From Kāhī, Tul'sī Dās went on to Bēḷā Pataut where he met a Paṇḍīt, a Śakadvipa Brahman, named Gōbind Mīśā, and a Kāhāṭriya, named Raghunāth Singh. These received him with great hospitality. He complained that the name of the town, Bēḷā Pataut, was not a good one, and suggested its being changed to Raghunāthpur, by which both Raghunāth Singh's name would be preserved, and also hundreds of thousands of men would be continually uttering a name of Rāma, (i.e., Raghunātha) when speaking of it. This proposal was agreed to and the place is now known as Raghunāthpur; it is a station on the East Indian Railway, and is about two miles south of Brahmapur. The chaour, or place where Tul'sī Dās used to sit, is still shown there. Another village in the neighbourhood is called Kaithā, where the principal man, Jōrāwar Singh, is said to have received the poet, and to have been initiated by him.

Tul'sī Dās at first resided in Ayōdhya, as a Śmāra Vaiśṇava, and here the Lord Rāma is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and to have commanded him to write a Bāmāyana in the vernacular language used by the common people. He commenced it in the year 1574 A.D. and had got as far as the end of the Arasya-kāṇḍa, when his differences with the Vairāgī Vaṁśa, with whose regulations about food he could not comply, induced him to go to Banaras, where he completed the poem.

He settled in Banaras at Āśī-ghāṭ, near the Lōlārka-kāṇḍ, and here he died in the year 1623 A.D. A gādā on the Ganges near this place is still called the Tul'sī-ghāṭ. Close by is a temple in honour of Hanumān, said to have been built by the poet, as mentioned, when describing the legend as to manner in which the Bāmāyana came to be written.

It is said that, after he had finished his great poem, he was one day bathing at Manikarṇika-ghāṭ, when a Paṇḍīt, who was proud of his knowledge of Sanskrit came up to him and said, ' Reverend sir, Your Honour is a learned Sanskrit Paṇḍīt. Why, therefore, did Your Honour compose an epic poem in the vulgar tongue.' Tul'sī Dās replied; ' My language in the vulgar tongue is imperfect, I admit, but it is better than the erotics of you Sanskrit-knowing gentlemen.' 'How is that?' said the Paṇḍīt. 'Because,' said Tul'sī,

Mani bījāyana bīkha pārat 
prāna ami nihāri

bāhū bīkha bīkha bīhāri ॥ ॥

'If thou find a jewelled vessel full of poison, and an earthen cup (prāna-purva) full of ambrosia, which wilt thou refuse, and which wilt thou accept? Tell me this after thou hast considered the matter.'

Ghana Śyāma Śukla was a great Sanskrit poet, but used to prefer to write poems in the vernacular. Some of the latter were on religious topics, and a Paṇḍīt reproached him for this, telling him to write for the future in the pure Sanskrit language, and God would be pleased thereby. Ghana Śyāma replied that he would ask Tul'sī Dās, and do what he advised. He then laid the whole matter before the poet, who replied,—

Kā bāhū bāhū kā sākasēta
prēma chātyaṁ sāhā

Kāma jō āvat hāmarī 
ḥā lai harī kumāhāh ṭa ॥ ॥

'Whether it be in the vulgar tongue, or whether it be in Sanskrit, all that is necessary is true Love for the Lord. When a rough woollen blanket is wanted (to protect one in the storm), who takes out a silken vest?'

It was the custom of Tul'sī Dās to cross the river Āśī every morning for purificatory purposes. On his way back, he used to throw the water, which remained unused in his īḍā,

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1623 A.D.

26 October, 1893.

NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

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It was the custom of Tul'sī Dās to cross the river Āśī every morning for purificatory purposes. On his way back, he used to throw the water, which remained unused in his īḍā,
upon a mango tree which grew there. A ghost (prétā) lived in that tree, and one day he appeared to the poet, thanked him for the daily draught of water, and told him to ask a boon. Tulāsī asked to be shown the Lord Rāma with his attendants. The ghost replied, 'I have no power to show you Rāma, but I can show you how to get to see him. In a certain temple the story of the Rāmāyaṇa is being recited. There you will find a very poor miserable looking man, who comes before every one else to hear the reading, and goes away last of all. That is Hanumān. Go to him privately, fall at his feet, and make known your petition to him. If he be willing, he will show you Rāma.' Tulāsī Dāś went home, bathed and worshipped, and then went and sat where the reading was to go on. Sure enough, as the ghost had said, a wretched looking man came first of all and stayed till the very end. When he went away, Tulāsī followed him, and when they got to a lonely place, fell at his feet, calling him Hanumān and making known his petition. Hanumān said: 'Go thou to Chitrakūṭa and there will thou be vouchsafed a sight of Rāma Chandra.' With these words he disappeared.

Tulāsī Dāś started for Chitrakūṭa with his heart full of love and joy; stayed there a few days to visit the various holy places, and then, one day, took a walk outside the city, where all of a sudden he came upon a Rām Līlā, or dramatic representation of the history of Rāma. The scene which was being acted was the Conquest of Lanka, including the giving of the kingdom to Vibhipa, and the return to Ayodhya. There were Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Śītā, Hanumān, and all their friends. When Tulāsī Dāś had finished looking on he turned to go home, and met a Brāhmaṇa, who was no other than Hanumān in disguise. 'Sir,' said Tulāsī Dāś, 'this is a very excellent Rām Līlā.' The Brāhmaṇa said, 'Are you mad, talking of Rām Līlās at this time of year? Here they only take place in Āśvin and Kartik (October and November). This is not the season for the Rām Līlā.' Tulāsī Dāś, feeling annoyed at the brusque answer which he received, replied, 'No, Sir, I have just seen one with my own eyes, come along, and I will show it to you.' He took the Brāhmaṇa back to the scene of the Līlā, but, when they got there, there was nothing visible. Tulāsī asked all the people about, 'Where is the Rām Līlā I saw just now going on here? Where have the actors gone to? Did not you see it?' Everyone said, 'Who would see a Līlā at this season?' Then Tulāsī remembered what Hanumān had said to him at Banaras, and recognized that what he had thought was a Līlā was really a vision of the actual heroes of the drama. Full of shame at not having recognized his Lord and done honour to him, he went home weeping, and refused to eat. At night, when he had gone to rest, Hanumān came to him in a dream, and said to him 'Tulāsī, regret not. In this Kula Yuga, even gods get no opportunity of seeing Rāma. Blessed art thou among men, that he hath shown himself to thee. Now abandon sorrow, and adore him more.' Comforted by these words, the holy man returned to Banaras, and spent his days adoring his Master. It was on his way home on this occasion, that he met his wife as already recorded.

As Tulāsī Dāś was going home one dark night in Banaras, he was set upon by robbers, who rushed at him crying 'māt, māt.' He did not attempt to protect himself, but stood his ground fearlessly, saying:

Bāṣara dhāsani hē dhakdē rajani chāhān dīsi chṛhā
dālā na dānīdhi dēkhi gē kayī béārā bīdarā 1 18

The ghost was a wicked man who had died under the tree just outside Banaras. He had thus not gone to Heaven, but had been saved by procrastination to the holy place, from going to hell. He was accordingly settled in the mango tree. The story goes that after his interview with Tulāsī Dāś, he was allowed entrance into the city, and thereby obtained salvation.

18 Compare Dohādī 239, in which the second half line runs,

'Sāhāra nāgā purā rūbāhī/ chetāi evāhāna bāhān.'

'O Śiva, protect thise own city (Banaras), with a glance (luminy margin) of thy propitious eye.' Śiva had three eyes; two were propitious, and the third turned to show him on whom his glance fell (c. g., Kānelītva. C. 81. 8. 5, tabe śūna trāna nāgara upāhāre). I am indebted to Bepūlī Śukhār Dvīχīlī for this explanation of this difficult verse of which I have seen several attempted translations. The sixty-year cycle of Jupiter is divided into three periods of 20 years each, sacred to Banūsh, to Vishnu and to Śiva, respectively. The last mora or 'Radhāvīsh', celebrated in Tulāsī Dāś's time about V. S. 1555 (1598 A. D.), just when the Muniśūrīn commenced to oppose
"By day, I am rudely thrust aside by scoffers; by night, robbers surround me. O Hanumān, thou monkey-prince, thou son of Kāsin, gaze in compassion as they oppress me."

Whereupon Hanumān appeared and so terrified the robbers that they fell to the ground in fear, and Tul'sī went on his way unmolested.

Another thief-legend is better known. A thief came by night to break into his house, but as he was about to enter, he was alarmed to see a mysterious watchman, armed with bow and arrow standing in his way. Thu thief retreated, to come again two or three times the same night, but always with the same result. The same thing happened for two nights more. On the morning of the third day, the thief approached Tul'sī Dāś and asked who the handsome dark-complexioned man was thus living in his house. Tul'sī asked him when he had seen him, and the thief confessed the whole affair. Then the poet recognized that the mysterious stranger could be no other than his master, Rāma, and grieved that his possessing property should have given his Lord such trouble to guard it, distributed all he had to Brāhmaṇs, offering some to the thief also. The latter, overwhelmed with remorse, gave up his house and home, and became a follower of Tul'sī Dāś.

A mendicant of the Alakhiya sect came to Banaras, and every one gave him alms except Tul'sī Dāś. Annoyed at this he came to the poet's residence with his usual cry "Alakh hādhī, Alakh hā dhākhī, 'Tell of the Unseen. See the Unseen.'" Tul'sī made no reply. Then the mendicant began to abuse him, but Tul'sī replied; "Why do you abuse me, and call upon the Unseen? Call upon Rāma."

Hāma lakhu hama-ki hanāra lakhu hama hanāra hē bhūka
Tulśi alakahāh kā lakhu
Rāma-nāma jaaya nīhā

"Thou who art in the midst of 'I' and of 'mine,' see (that which thou callest) "I" and that which is) really "I." See (that which is really) "mine." Why dost thou endeavour to see the Unseen? Vilō one, utter prayer in the name of Rāma."

Here "I" and "mine" mean the illusion, mādyā, of the Vēdāntins, in which the ignorant man is enveloped. This is well brought out in the oft-quoted line,

mañca munā tāvā saṁtha mādyā,
"I am, thy, thy and thou, are illusion."

Tul’sī Dāś tells the Alakhiya to distinguish what he calls self from his real self, the Antaryāmi Brahma. When a man is in the midst of illusion, all he can see is the illusion. The Alakhiya is to break the veil, and to understand what his real self is. Without breaking that veil it is impossible to see Brahma. The only way to break it is to worship Rāma.

At the village of Mainwā in the district of Sāran is a Brahma-sthāna, where one called Hari Rāma committed suicide, compelled thereunto by the tyranny of Kāśi Bīshā. Throughout the districts of Gōrkha-pur and Sāran, there is a widely believed tradition that Tul'sī Dāś was present when he was invested with the Brahmanical thread. The sthāna is called Hari Rāma Brahma, and a large fair is held here on the ninth of the bright half of Chaitra (the Rāma-nawamī). The place is a station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway.

The celebrated 'Abhū-Ṭāshī Khānkhanī used frequently to correspond with Tul’sī Dāś. On one occasion Tul'sī Dāś sent him half a dākhā as follows:

'Sāra-tiya, na-handiya, nāgā-tiya, saka ṣādona saka hōtī'

Benares. The verse (the original is certainly the Dākhāī version) refers to this. The dākhā, the ammunition, was the Musulmans. Dōhad is equivalent to dākhā, a shore. Cf. K. Ram., U. 78, Ṭhāṅkā oṣhaṇā, &c. Cf. also Dōhadī, 241, and K. Ram., U. 170-175, in which the Redcrust is specially mentioned.

28 The Alakhiya-panthikās are Saivas. The name is derived from alakhiya, invisible. They are a sub-division of the Pārīcī division of the Dānamsī sect. They are also called Akhbiyā. Some of the Gūrkhāpanthikās also call themselves Alakhiya, but the true Alakhiya do not all their ears as the Gūrkhāpanthikā do.

29 See Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān, § 188.
To which the Nawab replied,

"Gartha kyS Hulasī phirē
Tulasī sē sutā hōī it."

"Women of the gods, women of the mortals, women of the Nāgas, all suffer pain (in child-birth)."

Yet Hulasī (the poet's mother) let herself become with child, that she might have a son like Tul'ā.'

Paścit Sudhākār Dvīvēdī gives a variant of the legend, with a slightly different reading of the verse. A poor Brāhmaṇ is said to have worried the poet for money to meet the expenses of his daughter's marriage. Finally Tul'ā gave him the following half line:

"Sura-tiya nara-tiya nāga-tiya
sabu chāhata aśa hōī!"

"These three kinds of women all desire a son like thee," and told him to present it to the Emperor's Governor. The latter on receiving it rewarded the Brāhmaṇ, and wrote the answer

"Gāda lāi hulasī phirinl
Tulasī sē sutā hōī it!"

"But all women desire that they may joyfully (hulasi) carry in their arms, a son like Tulasī. This verse, the Paścit explains, is probably the foundation of the tradition that the name of the poet's mother was Hulasī.

The famous Tōḍār Mall[40] was another of Tul'ā's friends and was an ardent devotee of Rāma. When he died (1589 A.D.) the poet wrote the following verses in memoriam:

Mahātī chhērī gāhau hō
dhērī bhūtā māhīpa
Tulasī yā kālī-kālī mēn
athayō Tōḍāra dīya
Tulasī Rāma samāha hō
sīra dhērī dhērī dhērī
Tōḍāra dhārē na kadāka hā
jaga kara rahu suīra
Tulasī wē thāīd bimala
Tīḍāra guṇa-gana bēga
Samujhī suīlchāna sīnchānē
umājī umājī auwājī
Rāma-dhēmā Tōḍāra gauā
Jīyābō mīhā punātā bīnā
yāhī bātī suīlchānā

"A master of but four villages, but a mighty monarch of himself. Tul'ā, in this age of evil the light of Tōḍār hath set. Tul'ā placed on his head the heavy burdon of love for the Lord, but Tōḍār could not bear the burden of the world upon his shoulders, and laid it down. Tul'ā's heart was a pure watering-basin in the garden of Tōḍār's virtues. When I think of this mine eyes overflow and water them with affection. Tōḍār hath gone to the dwelling place of the Lord, and therefore Tul'ā refraineth his grief, but hard it is for him to live without his pure friend."

The famous Mahārāj Mān Śīgh[43] (d. 1618) of Ambār (Jaipūr), and his brother Jagat Śīgh and other great princes were in the habit of coming to pay reverence to the poet. A man once asked why such great people came to see him now-a-days. In former days no one came to see him. Tul'ā's Dās replied:

Lahāi na phātī haumī-hā
ko chahāi ko hōā
Sō Tulasī mahānōḥ kīhī
Rāma gārūnāvīdā hūā

It is an idea expressed frequently in Tul'ā's Dās's poetry, that the mother of a son devoted to Rāma is blessed above all others.

Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindo-Siōm, § 102. The deed of abdication already alluded to was devoted to settling a quarrel between his descendants. We have already seen that Tul'ā's Dās is said to have compiled the Dēhāīṣ, after the year 1588 A.D. at his request. Tul'ā's Dās objected on principle to praising any great man, see Bān. Bā. Ch., 11, 7 (kind prākṛita jana, etc.)

This may be either taken literally, or if śāhēnā, gāhīu be used in its idiomatic meaning of 'lauded property,' the sentence may mean 'respected in his own property.'

Meaning of this dhā is doubtful to me.

(Once did I beg) and collected not even a cracked cowry in alms. Who wanted me then for any need? But Râma, the cherisher of the poor, made me of great price. I used to beg from door to door for alms, now kings worship my feet. Saith Tulât: then it was without Râma. Now Râma is my helper.'

One day a Brâhman woman, whose husband had just died, and who was on her way to become suttee, passed Tulât Dâs and made obeisance to him. The holy man, in absence of mind, blessed her, saying 'sukhdyayati hî,' 'blessed be your wedded life.' Her relations who accompanied her said: 'Rev. sir, this woman only to-day became a widow, and is on her way to become a suttee with her husband. You have just now given her a blessing, which must turn out unfulfilled,—but, still, all men know your might.' Tulât replied, 'Achchûtô, do not burn her husband till I come.' He then went to the Ganges and bathed, put a new garment on to the corpse, and began to repeat the name of Râma. He remained praying and praising the Lord in this way for nearly three hours, when the corpse rose, as one awakened from sleep, and sitting up in the presence of thousands of men, said: 'Why have you brought me here?' His relations explained to him that he had died, and that Tulât had brought him to life, at hearing which he fell at the poet's feet. Therupon all the people praised the name of Râma, and took him who was dead, and was now alive, to his home.

News of this reached the emperor at Dehli, who sent for Tulât Dâs. When the poet arrived in court, the emperor received him with much honour, gave him a high seat, and then asked him to perform a miracle. Tulât smiled and answered, 'Your Majesty, I have no power to perform miracles. I know not magic. One thing, and only one, I know,—the name of the Lord, Râma Chandra.' The emperor, on this, flew into a rage, and ordered the poet to be imprisoned till he should perform some miracle. He sat in prison, repeating the name of Râma and praising Hanumân.

Seeing the trouble in which this faithful devotee of Râma was involved, Hanumân sent myriads of monkeys, who entered the city and began to destroy the palace and all its contents. They even went so far as to make faces at and threaten the emperor and his wives. When nothing could stop their devastation, the emperor's eyes became opened, and going with his chief queen he fell at Tulât Dâs's feet and implored his forgiveness. The poet then prayed again to Hanumân and the army of monkeys withdrew, after the emperor had promised to leave Dehli (a city of holy memories to Hindus), and found a new city. This new city is that now known as Shahjahânâbâd. From Dehli, Tulât Dâs went to Vrîndâvan, where he met Nâbâb Dâs, the worshipper of Krishna and the author of the Bhakt Mâlî. One day, the two poets went, with other Vaishnavas, to worship at the temple of Gêpâla (Krishna). Some of the Vaishnavas said to him sarcastically, 'He has deserted his own God (Râma), and come to worship in the temple of another (Krishna).' To this Tulât replied:

| Kô haramanâ chhabî éja ki bhâtî birâjan vàîhâ |
| Tulâtô vâstulô taba naâvai dhâmakha bôôa hie hâthâ 11 |

'How am I to describe the representation (of Krishna) which I see to-day. Noble indeed doth he seem, but not till he appear with bow and arrow in his hands (i. e., in the character of Râma), will Tulât bow his head to him.'

While he was yet speaking, behold the image of Krishna changed its appearance. His flute became an arrow, and his reed a bow. Seeing this miracle, all were astonished, and praised Tulât.

Some legends say this was Shâh Jahân, who reigned from 1628 to 1638 A. D. But the poet died in 1624 A. D.
The following are said to have been Tulasi Dasa's dying words:

Rama-nama-jasa barami hai bhayau chahata aba mauna!
Tulasī ki muhka dijug

"I have sung the glory of the name of Rama, and now would I be silent. Now place ye the gold, and the leaf of Tulasi, into Tulasi's mouth." 47

I may add that K. Rama, Ut., 180 (kunkuma rangu su-anga jitu, &c.), is said to have been composed by the poet, when his eye fell upon a kshēmakārt falcon, a bird of good omen, as he sat on the banks of the Ganges awaiting death.

In conclusion, I must again thank the various scholars who have helped me to compile these notes, more especially Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivēdi, and Bābū Rām Dīa Singh. Without their kind assistance, I should never have been able to place on record the information here made public.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

(Concluded from page 243.)

Postscript.

[By Major B. G. Temple.]  

In May 1892 the Local Government in Burma authorised me to arrange for the restoration of the three Pāli stones of these inscriptions, if possible.

Through the kindness of Messrs. E. W. Oates, Algie and Griffin, of the Public Works Department, preliminary works were undertaken, with a view to finding out what remained of the stones and how far they could be put back into their original condition.

Mr. Griffin took a great deal of trouble over the matter, and the immediate result of his labours was the following report:

"The stones, of which there are ten, i.e., including both the Pāli and the Talaing inscriptions, are all more or less broken. Their original form was approximately that shown in the sketch (see the six Plates entitled "Restored Portions of the Pāli Stones of the Kalyani Inscriptions"). They stood 6 ft. high above the ground surface and had their tops curved, as shown in the Plate, "Stones 1 to 10 of the Kalyani Inscriptions." Only one retains any part of the top curvature, the rest being broken off much nearer the ground. Their thickness averages about 13 inches, but they differ in this respect from each other, and each stone varies in itself. The broken pieces shown in the Plate, "Broken Portions of the Kalyani Stones," are numbered as belonging to the various stones; but this selection depends partly on the position in which they are lying, and partly on their thickness. Consequently, since the thickness is variable, the selection is only approximate and cannot be absolutely determined mechanically till the pieces are fitted together. The material from which the stones were cut is a moderately hard sandstone.

"The stones are inscribed on both sides, and, consequently, many of the broken pieces have been lying with one surface in contact with the soil. In some cases this has decayed the stone, and a few portions of the inscriptions have been thereby entirely destroyed. Other portions have also been destroyed by the stone having flaked off, not by the action of the weather, but when the stones were broken. These flakes it will, of course, be impossible to recover. It will, therefore, be impossible to entirely restore the inscriptions.

"The sketches in the Plates above mentioned show those portions of the stones, which are still left standing above ground, and also those pieces lying on the ground, which are above one member of the Vaishnava sect, it is customary to place Ganges water, gold, and a leaf of tulasi in Tulasi's mouth.
Plate I.

Restored portions of the Pali stones of the
Kalyana Inscriptions of Dhammachati, 1476 A.D. Obverse face of the first stone.

(78 lines)
Reverse face of the first stone.

70 lines.
Plate III.

Obverse face of the second stone.

(67 lines).
Plate IV. Reverse face of the second stone.
Plate V.

Obverse face of the third stone.

(78 lines)
VI. Reverse face of the third stone.

(68 lines).
Broken Portions of the Kalydot Stones.
cubic foot in size and which bear a portion of both inscribed surfaces. The total volume of all these is approximately 200 cubic feet; while the total volume of the original stones above ground must have been at least 325 cubic feet, taking an average thickness of 13 inches. This leaves a difference of 125 cubic feet, representing the volume of the missing portions.

"All that is now visible does not exceed half of this, if, indeed, it is as much. It is clear, then, that some portions of the stones have either been removed from the site, or are lying buried near it.

"With regard to the possibility of some pieces of inscribed stone being buried near the site, the Plate, "General Plan of the Site of the Kalyâñi Inscriptions," shows a slight mound near the south-west corner and a small hollow at the south-east. The former does not rise more than twelve to eighteen inches above the natural surface of the ground and appears to be composed of broken brick, possibly debris from a ruined pagoda opposite. The hollow is circular, and about two feet deep, with brickwork shewing round its edge. This may possibly be the top of a well which has been filled in, but this is doubtful. There is a small mound at its edge, which is made up of brickwork, partially broken away and overgrown by bamboo. The only other mound is that shown in the "General Plan" about the centre of the line of stones. This is very small, having been formed by ants round the base of an old bamboo clump, now cut down. Two stones have already been taken out of this and it could not possibly contain more of any consequence. The ground slopes slightly from the base of the stones and the pieces shown in the plates were lying on the slopes, either on the surface, or partially buried to a depth of only three to four inches below it.

"The general inference, then, is that the probability of finding any considerable amount of inscribed stone buried in the vicinity is very small.

"Building up the various parts of the stones would be attended with considerable difficulty, since the stones are inscribed on both sides. The only portions available for connecting the parts are, therefore, the broken surfaces (these in many cases have a considerable slope to the horizontal) and the outside edges; so it would be exceedingly difficult to fix the centre portions. For the same reasons, also, it will be necessary to build them up in a vertical position."

The above report, having made it clear that the restoration of the stones, if possible at all, would be attended with much difficulty, advantage was taken of a set of ink impressions taken by the late Prof. Forchhammer, and found among his papers, to aid in piecing the broken stones together.

The work of restoring the stones on paper from Prof. Forchhammer’s fragments was in itself a matter of no small difficulty, but it has been successfully accomplished, so far as the materials at hand sufficed for the purpose. For this work the MSS., from which the text given in this Journal was compiled, were of great value, and their general accuracy was proved by the fact that with their aid the text of the original stones could be followed so closely as to admit of the fragmentary impressions collected by Prof. Forchhammer being arranged in the order, in which they must have originally been inscribed on the stones.

When the fragments of the text were thus restored, they were fixed on to large sheets of paper, the original forms of the stones were roughly drawn in, and the spaces left between fragments blackened over. The sheets were then photo-lithographed and the results reproduced in Plates I. to VI., entitled "Restored Portions of the Pâli Stones of the Kalyâñi Inscriptions of Dhammachâti, 1476 A. D."

These plates are now in the hands of the engineers, and it may be possible yet to restore these most important stones and preserve them from further destruction.

The credit of the difficult and ingenious work of piecing together Prof. Forchhammer’s fragments is due to Mr. Taw Sein-Ko.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

[October, 1882.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.
BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 16.—The Prince and the Kambula.

(Continued from p. 250.)

The little birds then said:—"We thought as much. We did see some huge bird falling upon us, and had it not been for that boy there under the tree, we, too, should have been lost to you. As soon as he saw the wild bird trying to devour us, he got up and killed it, and there lies the carcass of it. Go down, therefore, and thank him first as our deliver. You must also try and render him some help, for he appears to be in great anxiety about something or other."

The gārāpakṣaḥ and gārāpakṣaḥ's then came down and saw that all that their children said was true. They, therefore, thanked our hero very heartily, and asked him why he looked so dejected and care-worn, and if they could help him in any way. The prince told them everything: how he had come to that land in search of kambula; how he killed the rākshan; how he packed the vīkhānī daughter in a box and tied it to the chain of the ship in which he came; how the chain was drawn up, and he was left behind without any chance of his ever getting back to his parents, which thought caused him the greatest pain and anxiety.

When the gārāpakṣaḥ and gārāpakṣaḥ's heard his story they said to him:—"Is this all that you are anxious about? Order us and we will bear you in a short time to your home in safety. But before you go, take a little present from us. We will oon give you a feather. When you wear the feather of the gārāpakṣaḥ in your turban, at any age, you will look like a person a thousand years old; again, when you wear that of the gārāpakṣaḥ's, you will look like a lad of twelve years. Now tell us where you wish to go."

Upon this our hero took heart at the opportunity offered him of once more going to see his parents, and told them where he wished to be carried. The gārāpakṣaḥ and gārāpakṣaḥ's then both joined their wings and thus made a fine seat, and having seated the prince thereon, bore him into the air, and in a few moments put him down near the fisherman's house, and went away, after again thanking him for rescuing their children's life, and each of them gave him a feather.

The fisherman and his wife, who were nearly blind from the effects of crying day and night for the supposed loss of their child, were taken by surprise, as they heard the prince's voice suddenly fall on their ears, calling out to them as father and mother. They were now very glad to see him back, and asked him where he had been and what he had been doing for so long. He told them everything from the moment he had left them to the time of speaking. They listened, with amusement, to the exploits of their son, and were proud of him. Now that their son was again with them safe, they shook off their cares and anxieties, and, recovering slowly, regained their strength. Thus they were again themselves in a short time.

A few months after this, there happened to be a great festival, and every one was supposed to eat and drink merrily for the day. The old fisherman called the prince, and, handing him some money, told him to go to the bāsār and buy some meat and vegetables and fruit, and other nice things for dinner. The prince at once obeyed. Going to the bāsār, he bought what was necessary, and, hiring a cooly, sent it to his house, while he himself kept roaming about the place, as he had not been there since he had left in search of the kambula, diverting himself with sweets and fruits. Rambling from one place to another, he happened to come to where the palace of the king was located. Just then he remembered the feathers given to him by the gārāpakṣaḥ and gārāpakṣaḥ's, and of their virtue. So wishing to amuse himself by passing off for an old man, he wore on his turban the feather of the gārāpakṣaḥ, when, at once, he was transformed into an old man of a thousand years!
In this guise he went past the king's palace. The king, who happened to be standing in the balcony of his palace, saw him, and thought to himself:

"How old that man looks! Surely, he must have seen many countries, and must be acquainted with many stories. It will certainly be worth while to hear some tale or other from him."

Thus thinking, he called him in, addressing him as ājīḍ (grandfather), and said: — "Ājīḍ, you look a thousand years old. Won't you oblige me with one of the old tales of which you must be full?"

But our hero modestly said: — "No, no; what do I know about old stories?"

The king then again said: — "Come, come, ājīḍ, who will believe that you are not acquainted with stories? Do oblige me."

After much begging and coaxing, the supposed old man began: —

"Sire, as I told you, I do not know any old stories, but listen to what little I can tell you. Once upon a time, there lived a king with his queen, whose dominions extended far and wide, and who possessed an immense hoard of treasure, but, to their great grief, they had had no issue, to procure which the queen every day gave away one sāṛā (sieve) full of gold in alms to beggars, hoping that the recipients of the alms would pray and thereby obtain them a son.

"One day she was seated in the balcony with a sieve full of gold for the purpose of distributing among the beggars, when a gōśāvī, who happened to come to beg, saw this gold, and asked her what she had in the sieve. The queen told him it was gold, upon which the gōśāvī asked her: — 'Is there any one that will eat it?' And the queen answered in a sorrowful tone: — 'No; and that is the reason why I am sitting here with this sieve full of gold, hoping that, by distributing it, the receivers of it may pray and obtain a son for me, but to this day it seems that their prayers have not been heard.' The gōśāvī then asked her if the king, her husband, was at home, but she said that he had gone out. 'Very well,' said the gōśāvī. 'Tell him, when he returns, to come to my maṭ in a certain village, and then I will tell him what to do in order that your desires may be satisfied.' The queen promised to send the king on his return, and the gōśāvī, after receiving alms, went away.

"This is the story, O king, I know; and now let me go."

The king, who suspected that this story was all about himself, was anxious to hear more, and so said to him: — "Go on, ājīḍ, tell me further. It is a very interesting tale."

But the supposed old man pretended to know nothing more. The king, however, begged of him, and urged him to tell more, upon which he continued: —

"Then, Sire, when the king returned in the evening, the queen laid out supper for him, and while he was partaking of it, the queen said: — 'My dear husband, this morning, as I was seated as usual in the balcony with a sieve full of gold to distribute to beggars, a gōśāvī, who says his hut is in a certain village, came up and asked me what I had in the sieve, and when I told him it was gold, he asked me if there was any one who would eat it, but I said there was no one, and that was the reason why I distributed it among beggars, in order that, through their prayers at any rate, we may get a son. Upon this he asked me if you were at home, and when I told him you were gone out, he asked me to send you to his maṭ on your return.'"

"The king listened to her very attentively, and, when she had finished speaking, said: — 'My dear wife, you are distributing a sieve full of gold every morning, besides which we are performing other charitable acts, and all to no avail. What can a gōśāvī tell, and much less do, that our desires may be fulfilled?' But the queen pressed and begged of him to go, saying: — 'Let us see what he may have to say. Who knows but that he may help us to obtain our wishes.'"
"After much entreaty, however, the king consented to go, and, having finished his supper, he set out for the gōdāvī's man. When he had reached it, the gōdāvī asked him what he wanted. The king said:— ‘Did you not go to the palace this morning and tell my wife to send me over to you when I came home?’ ‘Yes, my lord,’ answered the gōdāvī. ‘I will now tell you what to do. Go to a certain place where you will see a tree laden with fruit. Climb up the tree and shake it. Come down and take two of the fruit. Mind you do not take more than two. Eat one yourself and give the other to your wife, the queen; thereby you will obtain your desires.’

The king went in the direction he was told by the gōdāvī, and saw a large tree which was bent down by the weight of its fruit. He climbed up and shook and shook the tree, till he saw hundreds of the fruit fall on the ground, but when he came down and went to pick up the fruit he found only two. So he climbed again, and again shook the tree for a long while, and he again heard the sound of hundreds of fruit falling, but, as before, when he was picking them up he got only two. The king was astonished at this occurrence, and climbed up in the tree a third time, and shook and shook the tree with all his might for a very long time, till he was tired, and he heard the sound of some thousands of the fruit dropping on the ground. When he came down, the ground under the tree was so covered by the fruit that he could not put his feet down without treading on heaps of them, which made him glad to think that he had last plenty, but, to his great astonishment, as he proceeded to gather them, all the fruit went up again into the tree, and there remained for him to carry away only two. The king now thought to himself:— ‘The gōdāvī told me to take only two of these fruit, but though I wished to take more, and I knocked down so many, I cannot get more than two. There must be some meaning in it. I will, therefore, abide by the instructions of the gōdāvī; or, who knows, if I should take more, they may lose their virtue?’

He then took the fruit and showed them to the gōdāvī, who again told him to take them home, and to eat one himself and to give the other to the queen to eat.

The king, after thanking the gōdāvī for his kind advice, went home with the fruit, and, giving one to his queen, told her to eat it, while he ate the other himself. From that moment the queen became pregnant, and, in due time, she gave birth to a very beautiful boy. This event was the cause of great joy to the old king and queen, and they feasted the palace servants very sumptuously.

‘This much, O king, I know; I shall thank you to let me go.’

The king, however, could not be persuaded to believe that the old ājīrā knew only so much, and again prayed and urged him to tell something more, upon which the thousand-year-old man continued:—

‘Five days passed after the birth of the child and they celebrated the gōdāvī, and on the following day, the sixth day, was the uññī. On the day of the uññī a fortune-teller was called in to consult about the future of the infant-prince. When the fortune-teller was going away, after consulting the horoscope, the pārījan of the palace, who was watching outside, stopped her and asked her what would be the future career of the king’s son. The fortune-teller, after much reluctance on her part, and much entreaty on the part of the pārījan, said:— ‘It is written in the fortune of the prince that on the twelfth day after his birth the boy will be drowned in the sea!’ Thus saying she went away, and the pārījan, too, did not divulge what he heard from the fortune-teller.

‘Eleven days passed after the birth of the prince, and on the twelfth day was to be celebrated the bārāvī ceremony. For this purpose they fitted a ship to convey them to a certain temple, to come to which they had to cross a sea. Hundreds of guests were invited to be present at the ceremony, and the king and queen made grand preparations to celebrate the event of naming the child, with great joy and befitting pomp.
"At the appointed time, the king and the queen, with all their guests, embarked on board the ship, and soon set sail. On the way, the guests vied with each other for the honour of carrying the child, though it was only for a moment. Scarcely one had lifted the child, when a second person asked and took it from him. In another moment a third person came and took up the child, and then a fourth, and a fifth, and so on. When they had sailed for several hours they came to the middle of the sea. The child happened to be in the arms of a woman, who, by accident, let fall the child, and in a moment more the prince was drowned. Hundreds of people dived into the sea after the child, and made a long search, but in vain, and with tears in their eyes and broken hearts the king and the queen returned home with their guests. When they reached their home, the king sentenced the woman, who had so carelessly let fall the child, to a rigorous imprisonment for twelve years.

"Thus far, O king, I know the story, and can't tell what happened afterwards. I am now getting late for my meal, do let me go."

The king, who was now almost certain that the story was about himself and his child, for whom he had not yet left off mourning, was now more anxious to hear further. He made himself sure that an old man of the story-teller's age knew everything.

So he said:— "O kijij, come, finish your story. You are only pretending not to know further."

But the supposed old man said:— "No, no; I know no further. I have told you all I knew."

Nothing, however, could convince the king of the ignorance of the old kijij, as he called him, and he begged hard of him to continue the story. So at last the old man said:—

"Listen, O king; as it was written in the fate of the king's son, so it came to pass. As soon as the child fell into the sea, he was swallowed by a large magalmadás, which was carried by the tide and thrown on dry land in a certain village of the king's dominions. In the morning a fisherman, who lived with his wife, and possessed great wealth, was walking along in pursuit of his vocation, and he happened to see the magalmadás. He dragged it to shore, and cut it open, when to his great surprise and confusion he saw a child come out of the belly of the magalmadás alive. The fisherman, too, with all his wealth had no children. He, therefore, gladly took up the child in his arms, and, going home, handed him to his wife, who was also very glad, saying: — 'Dear wife, God has, at last, given us a child in this miraculous manner."

"Thus they constituted themselves the prince's foster-parents, and, possessing great wealth, took every possible care, and brought him up with great tenderness. With such care the prince grew up rapidly. When he was only a month old he looked a child of two months; when two months only he appeared as four months old, and so on. He grew strong and beautiful, and was the pride of his foster-parents. He was known in the neighbourhood as the fisherman's son, and the prince, too, always addressed the fisherman and his wife as father and mother.

"When he was about six or seven years old he used to run about and play with the children from the neighbourhood. One day they ran to the shore, and the prince, too, wishing to go with them, asked the foster-parents permission to go, but the fisherman said: — 'No, my dear child. Do not go to play near the seashore. You know how mischievous the children are. Who knows but that some accident or other may befall you? Then, what shall I do? Tell me what you require, and I will get you any toys you may wish for, with which you can play about the house in safety.' The prince, however, in spite of the kind advice of the old man, ran at full speed, and joined his playmates at the seashore.

"Now it happened that, as the children were playing and running about on the sand, they spied a beautiful kumbal floating on the waves. Every one of the children attempted to get it,
but with no success. At last our hero said he would bring it, but all of them laughed at his folly, saying:—'What a silly child you are. Boys bigger than yourself have failed to get it, and you say that you can bring it.' But the prince said he would bring it, though he was younger than the rest of the children. Upon this they laid a wager, to which the prince consented, and immediately dived headlong into the water, and in a few moments came on the shore triumphantly carrying the kambal, and thus won the wager. The prince then carried the kambal to his foster-parents, who asked him whence he got it, or whether he had come by it through stealing. The prince told them how, as he and other children were playing on the shore, they spied it floating on the water, and how, when all the children had failed, they laid a wager for it, upon which he dived into the sea and came out safely with the kambal.

"Now, in that country kambals were so rare, that even kings could seldom get them. The fisherman thought to himself:—'This is a very beautiful kambal, but of what use can it be to a poor man like me? I will go and present it to the king.'

"So one day he took the kambal, and, going to the palace, made a present of it to the king. The king was certainly very much pleased with it, and asked the fisherman whence he had obtained it. The fisherman told him how, while his son and other children were playing on the seashore, they saw it floating on the sea, and how, when all the children had failed in their attempts to get at it, his son succeeded in bringing it out. The king accepted the kambal at the hands of the fisherman with thanks, and rewarding him handsomely, dismissed him. Afterwards the king took the kambal and hung it on to his bed, but a maid-servant, who chanced to come into the room at the time, praised the kambal for its beauty, but said that if there were two more hung up, then it would really lend beauty to the bed, and not otherwise. The king, thereupon, sent for the fisherman, and told him to order his son to fetch him two other kambals. The fisherman protested against the idea, saying:—'My lord, it was by sheer chance that my son got that kambal, and it is simply impossible to get any more.' The king, however, would not be persuaded of the impossibility of getting more kambals, and told the fisherman that if his son failed to bring him two more kambals he would forfeit his head.

"Such, my lord, was the cruelty of the king. The poor fisherman went away downhearted, thinking upon the unreasonableess of the king. He went home, and, refusing to take any food or drink, took to his bed. Now, the love of the fisherman for the prince was so great that though he was now a lad of about eight years, he used to feed him like a child. That evening, therefore, the prince missed him at supper, and asked his foster-mother why his father did not come and eat with him. She said she was unaware of the reason why he did not take supper, but, perhaps, he was unwell. The prince, however, was not satisfied with the answer of his foster-mother. So he went and asked the old man why he lay in bed, and why he did not join him at supper; but the old man said:—'Go, my child, and take your supper. I do not want any.' 'But, father,' said the prince, 'you fed me every day, and why don't you do so to-day? What is the matter with you? What misfortune has befallen you that you look so downcast, and won't touch your food? Tell me, father, all about your cares and anxieties.' The old man, thereupon, much pleased with the kind words of the prince, said:—'My dear child, the kambal which you found in the sea, and which I presented to the king, is the cause of misfortune to me. The king took the kambal and hung it upon his bed, but a maid-servant, who chanced to come into the room, said that the kambal, no doubt, looked very beautiful in itself, but that, to impart beauty to the bed, there were required two more. The king, therefore, wants you to fetch him two more kambals. I tried hard to persuade him that it was impossible to get any more kambals, but in vain, for he will not convince himself of the impossibility, and says that, if you fail to carry out his orders, you run the risk of forfeiting your head. We have had no children, and God gave you to us in a miraculous manner in our old age, but this cruel king wants to deprive us of you. This, my child, is the cause of my grief, and I will rather starve myself to death, than see you snatched away from me. Go, my dear boy, and take your supper,
and do not think about me.' Thus said the fisherman, and heaved a deep sigh, and shed tears in profusion.

"'Upon this the prince said:—'Is this all that has caused you so much anxiety? Go and tell the king to-morrow that I promise to fetch him the kambals. He must, for that purpose, provide me with a ship fitted out with servants and provisions to last for several months, and also an iron chain many yards long. Then I will go and bring him the kambals. In the meanwhile, father, calm your fears, and get up and take your supper.'"

"At these words the fisherman took courage, and, getting up, took his supper. The following morning he went to the palace and told the king that his son had offered to fetch him kambals, provided the king supplied him with a ship and everything else requisite for a long voyage, with provisions to last for several months, and also an iron chain several yards long. The king agreed to the conditions, and ordered a ship to be built. He engaged numerous workmen, and a job, that would take some months, was finished in about a fortnight. The ship was then manned by a number of khaldës and other servants, and the king did not forget to provide also a long iron chain. Provisions were also stored in the ship that would last, not for months, but for years.

"Everything was now ready, and the prince, taking a tender leave of his foster-parents, embarked on board the ship, and set sail. They went on and on for many days. When they had reached the middle of the sea, they cast anchor. The prince now hooked the iron chain to the side of the ship, and said to the khaldës:—'I am now going into the sea. Keep hold of the chain till you feel extra weight on it, when you must pull it up, and return home.' Thus saying, the prince descended along the chain, and disappeared under the waters.

"Did you hear, O king? Such was the cruelty of the monarch, that for the sake of two kambals, he was determined even to deprive the poor fisherman of a son, whom he had obtained so miraculously. Here ends my story, O king, and now let me go.'"

The king listened with wrapt attention, for he had now not the least particle of doubt that the story was his own. At the same time it gladdened him to find that his son was miraculously saved and was living. He wished to know more about his son, and would not believe the supposed old man that that was the end of his story.

So he begged of him to tell the whole story, saying:—"O djjä, this cannot be the end of the story; do tell me the whole of it. An old man of your age must know more.'

And thus he kept pressing him and begging of him to finish the story. Thereupon the supposed old man continued, saying:—

"After the prince had disappeared under the waters, he walked on and on, and came upon a beautiful country, where he saw large gardens full of fruit-trees of all sorts bent down with the weight of their fruit.

"Here he walked for a couple of hours and came upon a large but solitary mansion, furnished in a manner better imagined than described. He entered the mansion, in which he saw a damsel of unparalleled beauty, from whose mouth, as she spoke, fell kambals. Our hero asked her who she was and what she was doing there all by herself, for wherever he cast his eyes, outside the mansion, he could see no vestige of human beings. The damsel was at first glad to see him, and she was also enamoured of him for his beauty, but said with a sorrowful tone:—'I am the daughter of a rûkhus, who has gone out in search of his prey, which consists of animals and such like things, and occasionally human beings, should any unluckily fall into his hands. I am certainly very glad to see you, but am still anxious about your safety, for should my father, the rûkhus, see you, he will, without fail, make a meal of you.'

"'Then tell me where I can go or conceal myself with safety,' said the prince. The girl then said: — 'See, I will transform you into a fly and put you up on the wall, where you must
...in the meanwhile you must be hungry; so take some food at my hands and be ready for the transformation before the râkshas, my father, comes back, which will not be very long hence." The prince thanked her for her kindness, and being very hungry did ample justice to the dishes set before him. After this the girl transformed him into a fly and put him up on the wall.

"A little while afterwards the râkshas came home after his day's excursion, and, as was his custom, lay down to rest, while his daughter shampooed his body. As he lay there he said to his daughter: —'My dear girl, I smell the smell of a human being about the place. Are you aware of any one having come or gone this way?' In reply the girl said: —'What makes you think of human beings being about here? Here I am, alone from one hour of the day to the other. What a silly idea this is of yours?' 'But,' said the râkshas, 'I do smell the smell of a human being; otherwise I shouldn't have said so.' The girl, however, said that she had seen no human being anywhere, and was, therefore, unaware of it. The râkshas was now quieted, and fell fast asleep.

"On the next day when the râkshas went, as usual, in search of prey, his daughter transformed the fly on the wall into its original shape, and there stood the prince before her. She then prepared some food, of which they partook together, and conversed with each other freely during the whole day. At the close of the day, when it was near the time for the râkshas to return, the girl again transformed him into a fly and stuck him up on the wall. Thus matters continued for several days.

"One day the prince told the girl to ask her father, the râkshas, in what lay his life. Accordingly, in the evening, when the râkshas returned, and she was shampooing him, she said: —'Father, tell me in what lies your life.' The râkshas replied: —'Why are you so anxious about knowing in what my life lies?' 'Father,' said she, 'if I am not to be anxious about your life, who should be? Every day you go in quest of food, which consists generally of animals. Should any accident occur to you, how could I know it, and what shall I do in the event of your death?' But the râkshas replied: —'Cast off your fears and anxieties, for there is no likelihood of my ever dying. However, to calm your fears, I may tell you as regards my life, — you know the three banyan-trees standing near our house. Should any person, with one stroke, cut down one of the trees, I shall get an attack of strang fever; and if he succeeds in cutting the other two trees, also with one stroke, then shall I die. So long, therefore, as the trees are safe and intact, I, too, am safe. You see, therefore, you have no cause for anxiety about my life.' He then went into sound sleep.

"The following day when the râkshas had gone out, the girl, after transforming the prince, told him everything she heard from her father concerning his life. The prince now looked about and saw the sword of the râkshas hanging on the wall. He took it down, and, after sharpening it, went where the three banyan-trees stood. He first cut down, with one stroke, one of the trees. As soon as the tree was cut down a strong fever came on the râkshas, who now reduced his steps homewards, but before he could reach it, our hero, using all his strength, cut down the other two trees also with one stroke of the sword, and with the fall of the banyan-trees the râkshas fell down dead.

"The prince then lived with the damsel for several days, during which he gathered plenty of the kambala, which dropped from her mouth every time she spoke. At last he got tired of the life in the subterraneous abode, and thought to himself that he had dissipated himself for rather a long time from his home and foster-parents, who must be growing anxious about him. So he determined to quit the place at the earliest opportunity, taking with him the kambala, which he intended presenting to the king. So he one day told the girl of his intention. The girl, however, said: —'You have killed my father, and now wish to go away, leaving me alone. What can I do here all by myself? Under whose protection shall I live? Take me with you, and we will be husband and wife, and live together happily.'"
The prince consented to take her with him and to marry her, but the difficulty was how to carry her to his house. He then hit upon the following plan. He put her into a box and carried her to where the ship was waiting. He then tied the box to the chain, but misfortune of misfortunes! as soon as the khalids felt the weight of the box, they pulled the chain up, as instructed, and our prince, to his confusion and distress, was left behind, with little or no chance of his ever seeing his home and parents, who, he thought, must now die of grief.

He now retraced his steps, and wandered about in the gardens, subsisting on the various fruits, which the gardens yielded in abundance. He lived in this way for many days. One day he felt himself quite fatigued; so he laid down to rest under a pīmpal-tree.

Now it happened that two birds, a male and a female, called gūḍṛpakhā and gūḍṛpakhānā, had made their nest in that tree, and were in the habit of breeding there, but to their great sorrow, some wild animal or bird used to come and eat up their young ones. On the day that the prince came under the tree the gūḍṛpakhā gave birth to two little ones, after which she and the gūḍṛpakhānā went in search of food. In their absence a huge wild bird came and was about to eat up the little ones, when our hero, seeing its cruel intention, rose up to their help, and killed their enemy. Some time afterwards the gūḍṛpakhā and gūḍṛpakhānā returned, carrying some food in their beaks, and found, for once, their little ones alive, and proceeded to feed them, upon which the young birds said:— 'Before you feed us, tell us if you had other issue besides ourselves, or are we your first-born?' The parent-birds answered:— 'Dear little ones, we had many children born before you, but some cruel bird deprived us of them all. We are certainly astonished to find you alive; and still we cannot say for certain, how long you will be spared to us.' Upon this the young ones said:— 'We thought as much. We did see some huge bird falling upon us, and had it not been for that lad there under the tree, we, too, should have been lost to you. As soon as he saw the cruel bird trying to make a meal of us, he got up and killed it, and there lies its carcass. Go down, therefore, and first of all thank him as our deliverer. You must also try and render him any assistance that may be within your power, for he appears to be in great anxiety about something or other.'

When the gūḍṛpakhā and gūḍṛpakhānā heard these words, they flew down immediately, and found that their children told them was only too true. They, therefore, thanked the prince with all their heart, and then asked him what was his trouble, that he looked so dejected and care-worn, and if they could do any service to him in any way. The prince then told them everything: how he had come to that land in search of kambals; how he killed the rākhas; how he packed the rākhas' daughter in a box and tied it to the chain of the ship in which he came; how the chain with the box was hauled up; and how he was left behind with little or no chance of his ever getting back to his parents, which thought caused him the greatest pain and anxiety. Upon this the gūḍṛpakhā and gūḍṛpakhānā said to him:— 'Is this all you are so anxious about? Order us and we will bear you in a short time to your home in safety. But before you go, take a little present from us. We will each give you a feather. When you wear the feather of the gūḍṛpakhā in your turban, at any age, you will look like a person a thousand years old; again, when you wear the feather of the gūḍṛpakhānā, you will look like a lad of twelve years. Now tell us where you wish to go.'

Upon this the prince took heart at the opportunity offered him of once more seeing his parents, and told them where he wished to be carried. The gūḍṛpakhā and gūḍṛpakhānā then joined their wings together, and thus made a fine seat, and having seated the prince thereon, bore him in the air, and in a few moments more put him down near the fisherman's house, and went away after again thanking him for rescuing their children, and each of them gave him a feather.

The fisherman and his wife, who were nearly blind from the effects of crying day and night at the loss of their supposed child, were taken by surprise, as they suddenly heard the prince's voice calling to them as father and mother. They were, of course, very glad to see
him, and asked him where he had been so long and what he had been doing. He then
upon related them his adventures, from the moment he took leave of them to depart in search of
Kambala to the moment of speaking. Now that their son was back, they slowly recovered their
sight as well as health, and were again themselves.

"And, here, O king, ends the story. And, now that you have heard the whole of it, do let
me go."

Just then the king happened to look behind him, when, at once, our hero removed the
feather of the gurpakaśī from his turban, and replaced it by that of the gurpakaśī, when lo!
he appeared like a child of twelve years. When the king again turned towards him, he
recognised in him his son, and folded him in his arms, saying:—"You are my son, my long
lost son." The rākhās' daughter, too, who was close by, also made sure that this was no other
than the prince, to whom she promised to be a wife, and she too rushed into his arms, and
said:—

"This is my husband, on whose account I had made a vow of twelve years."

The prince, however, said:—"No, no, I am the fisherman's son. They brought me up;
I am not your son. Let me go to my parents; they must be waiting for me." But the king
would on no account let him go, for he was more than sure that he was no other than his son,
whose story he had just heard from his own mouth. The king then sent a palanquin to fetch
the fisherman and his wife to the palace, and as a reward for their kindness in nursing and
bringing up the prince, they were asked to live in the palace. The fisherman and his wife
could not but accept the good offer of the king, and lived with the king and their foster-child
very happily to the end of their lives. The prince was shortly afterwards married to the damsel
of the subterraneous abode, and on this auspicious occasion the king feasted not only his
relatives, but all his subjects for several days. The king now being very old preferred a more
quiet life; so he made over the reins of government to his son, the hero of our tale, who
ruled the vast kingdom with wisdom, dealing justice to all, making the welfare of his subjects
his own, loved and respected by every one.12

FOLKLORE OF THE SCAW-KARANS.

TRANSLATED BY B. HOUGHTON, M.R.A.S., FROM THE PAPERS OF SAYA KYAW ZAN 
IN THE 'SAU-WAW.'

I.—How the Karen was the Wisest Son of God.

Here is written what our elders relate of the mighty things that happened in the
beginning of time, in order that those who come after may hear, and hearing, understand.

See and consider these things carefully, O ye who come after! May you estimate
properly how these matters happened. O fellow tribesmen, do not slumber nor sleep!

What the people of the world say is as follows:—There were three brethren and their
father was God (Ywā), And the eldest of these three was the Karen, and the second

12 [Is it not possible that the rākhās is merely the most-casting aboriginal, as distinguished from the vege-
tarian invaders of ancient India?—Ep.]
1 A Scau-Karen periodical published monthly in Rangoon at the American Baptist Mission Press.
2 Yaw. This word is used by the Missionaries to translate "God" in the Bible, and it is the word used for
the deity in the curious old Karen semi-Christian traditions. My impression is that the Karen, when in high
Asia, were converted by the Nestorian Missionaries, and, after the expulsion of these, have retained in a mutated
form the teachings they received from them, in addition to the old fairy-worship, which they had before their
probable merely partial conversion to Christianity. If this is so, it is possible that Yaw is merely a corruption of
the Hebrew Yahweh = Jehovah in our version. I hope to produce evidence in support of this theory hereafter.
4 The present folklore, though not older than the irruption of the Karans into Lower Burma, has, excepting one
obvious interpolation (as noted hereafter), nothing to do with Christianity.
5 I am glad to see Mr. Houghton take this view, which is that I have always maintained, and it is in accord
with the account tracing back of the one supposed indigenous "Great Spirit" of the North American Indians to
the teachings of 13th Century Roman Catholic Missionaries.—Ep.]
was the Burman, whilst the youngest was the 'Kula.' The Karen grew up the biggest, but, if there was any work to do or journey to make, he did not like to do it. The younger brethren did the work and the elder one oppressed them beyond measure.

After a long time the younger brethren could not endure this oppression any longer, and they went away, one to one place and one to another. They could not remain together. But their father, God, thought to himself: "Cannot my children live together? I will remove a little way, and instruct them, and they will live together."

II.—How the Karens procured liquor.

Now there was a good piece of level ground near, and God made the Karen cut a clearing there, and said to him, "Clear this ground thoroughly and well, and your father will plant it nicely with wheat.

"And God thought: "If I instruct my children, they will certainly again live together."

The Karen took his "dā" and axe and went at once to the level spot. And, he saw that there were very many big trees (to cut), and a fit of laziness came over him, and, seeing some pleasant shade, he put down his "dā" and axe, and slept comfortably.

And one big tree was conspicuous amongst the others, but it was swollen in the middle and there was a hollow in it, in which was water. The latter, being visible, was drunk by various small birds, and those who drank it, becoming exceedingly excited and noisy, fell headlong on to the ground. But some fought and pecked each other on the tree. The excitement was entirely ceaseless. However, the Karen, having awaked from his sleep, looked and saw the great excitement of the birds, and said, "How is this?"

He slept no longer and went quickly to look. He climbed up the tree and saw the water that was in the hollow, and it was transparent and pure and good in his eyes. And the Karen touched it with his hands, and smelt it and tasted it. However, the Karen, not being yet stupefied, took up some more in the hollow of his hand and drank it, saying, "It is very sweet to my taste," and, having taken up and drank some more, he became aware that he was getting drunk! His heart and mind became different, and he became very brave and fierce. He descended quickly to the bottom of the tree. He became very brave until he became stupefied, after which, recovering his senses, he took up his "dā" and axe and returned home. He then went to drink of the water of that tree every day. O friends! Thus have our elders related how the Karens first drank intoxicating liquors!

A long time then elapsed and the Lord God, his father, asked the Karen if he had finished cultivating the piece of flat ground that he had sent him to do. And the Karen replied: "Let my father, God, have patience with me, I will work until it is finished, and will then inform my father."

But though the Karen had thus replied, in his inmost heart he did not wish at all to do his father's business. And if his father had sent him to go and do any work whatever, he had no wish for it. He had become lazy from getting drunk from the water in the tree, and did not want to do any work. However, his father said, "This son of mine is of no use at all."

And there was an orphan living with God. And God ordered him to cut down that tree, telling him to go to it by night.

And the orphan replied, "But my father, by night I cannot see, and I cannot cut at all."

And God answered, "You shall most certainly go."

Whereupon the orphan said, "I will go, but I cannot see, as it will be night."

And God said, "Come close to me."

* Burmanese word = Barbarian or Foreigner.
* The universal knife of Burma.
And when the orphan did so, God passed the palm of his hand over the orphan's face, so that he saw as well in the night time as by day. And God instructed him to go to the level ground and look for a tree, which was bigger than the others, and to split and fell it. As soon as the orphan had cut the tree and it cracked, ready to fall, he was to run away quickly and save himself; because, if the lazy man caught him, he would be killed. And the orphan went during the night and cut that tree, so that at dawn it broke and fell. The orphan put down his axe quickly, clenched his fists and made his escape at once. But the great tree cracked, and the entire trunk split and crashed down, all the water being split (on the ground). When the Karen heard the noise his mind was uneasy, as he considered the crash must be that of his big tree. With an evil mind he ran quickly at once to it, and finding the liquor evaporating, he said, “If I see the man who has felled this big tree of mine, I will kill him off hand.”

At this time, then, the Karen got no liquor, and was ill at ease, and he went about inquiring for some from this man and that, but no one could tell him (where to get it.) However, on his inquiring of Satan, the latter asked him in reply: — “O Karen, what is it you are seeking?”

The Karen replied: — “O Satan, the sap of the tree that I used to drink was pure and clear, but now there is nothing for me to drink. Have you ever chanced to drink from such a tree?”

Satan asked, “What happens if one drinks such sap?”

The Karen answered, “O Satan, if one drinks that water, one becomes exceedingly fierce and strong.”

Satan immediately got up and going to the liquor jar, filled a cup with liquor and gave it to the Karen to drink. After the latter had drunk, he addressed Satan and asked him whence he had procured it.

Satan replied, “O Karen, we know where to make that liquor.”

The Karen said, “Please tell me exactly how.”

Satan replied, “It is made as follows. Steep some unboiled rice in some water for a short time, and then take it again out of the pot, and pound it up with yeast powder, press it down with a lever and put it aside for seven days; then boil some rice and mix it with it. After letting it settle in water for three days you get a clear liquid, which is the one (you have drunk).”

And the Karen did carefully as Satan had instructed him, and brewed some liquor. The Karen drank it and said, “This is indeed the liquor.”

He told Satan: “You have been kind to me and I will not forget you. My death I will die with you and my life I will live with you.”

Then his father, God, knew that his son was friendly with Satan, and, being grieved, he abandoned again the place where he had been staying.

So God, from dislike at the Karen drinking liquor, left him.

III.—How the Kalda proved bold.

And the Lord God said, “These, my children, are no longer of any use to me. I will return and go to another country. I will get each of my children to come and accompany me on the way.”

And God arose, and going to the Karen said to him, “My child, come and accompany your father on his way.”
Now the Karen was fast asleep by the side of a liquor jar. After God had called him
many times, he partially woke up and said, "I cannot go with you. Return in my old sow's
trough. I have neither boat nor paddle, only this trough. Do you please go in it, my father,
and he dragged the trough down to the water."

God then went and called the Burman. The latter replied, "How can I possibly
go with you? Please go and call my elder brother, the Karen."

God replied, "Your elder brother also is not able to go. He only gave me a pig's
trough."

The Burman replied, "You could only get the pig's trough, I will give you my paddle,
to paddle it with."

So God went to the Kulā and said to him, "My nephew, please come and accompany
your father."

The Kulā replied, "My father, have nothing in which to come and accompany you."

God replied, "You can come. The Karen has given me his pig's trough and the Burman
his paddle. Come along with your father."

The Kulā got up quickly and followed behind God to the sea. There God grasped
the paddle and got into the trough, whereupon the trough became a great ship and the
paddle became its masts and sails. Then the ship started forthwith and God came to his own
country.

IV.—How the writing of the Karens came to them.

God wrote Karen writing on a piece of leather, Burmese writing on a palm-leaf, and the
Kulā's (Foreigner's) writing on a piece of cloth.

And God commanded the Kulā and said to him:—"You, my nephew, have indeed
approached near to your Lord. Your father has written for you writing on cloth. But the
Karen's writing is on leather, and the Burman's on a palm-leaf. Do you without fail learn
your writing carefully until you understand it. Take back also the writing for the Karen
and the Burman, and instruct them to learn carefully the writings, which their father has sent
them."

And the Kulā answered, "O Lord God, my father, I will do faithfully what you have
commanded me."

Then he asked, "How shall I return?"

God replied, "Go into the sow's trough again and remain there. Your father will send
you away."

The Kulā went into the trough again and returned quickly. He came first to the
Karen, and producing the leather scroll, gave it to him at once.

And he said to the Karen, "Our father, God, has commanded me to tell you to learn your
writing carefully. Also please take back your old sow's trough." And the Karen went near
to the sea, and seeing that the trough was not as before, said to the Kulā, "My youngest
brother, the trough is not as before. Your elder brother no longer cares for it. If you
care for it, take it back with you."

The Kulā turned and went back to the Burman. He produced the palm-leaf with the
Burmese writing on it and giving it to the Burman, commanded him, saying, "Our father has
directed that you must certainly learn your writing, which is on this palm-leaf. Take back
also your paddle."

1 P3.44. Observe the altered form of address.
And the Burman replied to the Kula, "You will have to paddle the trough you are in with this paddle. Take it back with you."

The Kula went back forthwith, and, coming to his house, he arranged suitably the masts and sails of a big ship. And as the Lord God, his father, had commanded him, he studied and learnt his writing thoroughly.

And the Kulas increased in all that is good, and right, and fair to look upon.

V.—How the Writing of the Karens was lost.

The Karen's country was very pleasant and fair, and if difficulties of any kind whatsoever, or disease, or anything else, came to him, he took medicine, but did not do anything else. And the Karens increased and became very numerous. However, the Burmans did as the Kula had told them, but not so the Karens. For, although the writing, which the Kula brought, had reached them, they took no heed of it at all, but put it on a tree-stump, and went on clearing the weeds (in their clearings), nor did they take it away when the rain came and wetted it. At eventide they took the writing, and, returning home, put it on the shelf over the hearth. And as the rice was cooked and chillies were pounded and food stirred up, many times the leathern scroll fell on to the hearth.

And after many goings to and fro, the fowls came up and scratched in the hearth, so that the leathern scroll fell down under the hut. Now the Karens were not of a mind to look after things, and they forgot about the scroll. They did not care about the scroll in the least, and saying, "We work hard and we eat. If we learn writing we shall only bother ourselves. Eating good food and drinking good liquor always suits us," they let the matter drop.

Now the Karen's old sow was under the hut and grubbed up (the ground) diligently all day long, and it grubbed about the scroll, so that it was utterly lost.

Thus the Karens never saw their writing again.

VI.—How Charcoal was first rubbed on yokes.

After a long time the homes of the Karens became bad, and their food was bad, and even their wise men did not know how to make anything. If any forest was to be cleared, they had to go and ask the Burman for his adz and axe, and if they wished to cook any food they had to ask the Burman for a pot. And behold, the Burman and the Kula were happy and became great. There were wise men with them and they multiplied exceedingly. But the Karens were without implements and knew not how to forge them, or how to make pots, and had to ask the Burman for everything.

However, they remembered the former times somewhat, and, resolving to turn over a new leaf, they consulted one with another, but were unable to devise anything. They said to each other, "We must instruct ourselves anew from the writing."

They asked one another for it, and at last some said, "Woo wero weeding, when the Kulas brought us the writing and we put it on the stump of a tree. When the rain came it got wet, and we put it on the drying shelf (over the fire,), and as we wore continually pounding and scraping the food for cooking, it was shaken off and fell on to the earth. Woo neglected to take it up again, so when the fowls came and scratched, the writing was scratched away and fell under the hut. Then the pig came and grubbed it about, and it was utterly lost."

However, some said, "The fowl's feet when they were scratching must have trodden on and knocked against some charcoal. Let us, therefore, take the charcoal and rub it on our yokes. We will cast lots, and when they are favorable, we will unite again."

The Karens did in this manner, and so amongst all people they are distinguished as those who rub charcoal on their yokes!
FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKES, O.S.

No. 6. Princess Fireflower.

Once upon a time there was a Rājā who had two sons, the elder of whom was married, while the younger was a bachelor. The younger prince used to come for his food to the house of his elder brother, but one day, when he asked for something to eat very early in the morning, his sister-in-law tauntingly said to him:

"How can I get up to cook for you? If you want your breakfast so early, you had better marry the Princess Fireflower, and she can do your cooking for you."

"Well! I will find Princess Fireflower," said he. And off he went on his travels in search of her.

On the third day of his travels, the Prince reached the Brindaban Khakharpur forest. There he found a faqir, who used to sleep for twelve years at a time and remain awake again for twelve whole years. When the Prince saw the faqir asleep, he began to fan him, so that he soon awoke and said:

"Son! Thou hast done me good service. Ask now the boon that thou most desirest."

"Father!" replied the Prince, "if thou wishest to do me a service, give me Princess Fireflower in search of whom I have come hither."

"My son," he answered, "ask any boon but this."

"Nay," said the Prince, "through your kindness I want naught else but her. Paramār has given me all else I lack."

The faqir meditated for some time and said:

"Well! If you long so for Princess Fireflower, I will tell you how you can win her. But mind my words, and if you disobey me it will be your ruin. I am going to turn you into a parrot. Then fly to the island where Princess Fireflower lives, which is across the seven oceans. This island is guarded by demons (deś) and you can escape them only by watching when they are engaged in playing ball (jęph khālitā kāhā). When you reach the island pluck a flower and fly away with it in your beak. If the demons call you, do not look back. Otherwise ruin will befall you."

So saying the faqir transformed the Prince into a parrot, and he flew across the seven oceans to the island of Princess Fireflower. Arriving there, he plucked the flower and was carrying it off in his beak, when the demons called out to him:

"You thief! Come back and pluck one flower more. We will not hurt you."

Hearing this he turned a little back and was at once burnt to ashes.

Meanwhile the faqir was awaiting his return, and when he did not return in two days, he knew that disaster had befallen the Prince. He went in search of him, and when he reached the place he found only one of the tail feathers of the parrot, which had escaped the burning.

1 A tale told by Chhimbindāt Māhāth, a Māhāth, one of the Dravidian races, resident of Jārākhār, Dūth, Mīrāpur District, recorded by Papiṭī Bhāgunāth Chambō. The number of the last tale of this series, published at p. 72 ff., should have been No. 5 and not No. 4 as printed.
2 Aśgāhball Ilāhī, the title of the prince, means "the flower of blazing charcoal."
3 Brindaban is, of course, in the Mathurā District—where Khakharpur is I do not know. It is not given in Mr. Growse's list of village names in the Mathurā District. Possibly it is merely an imaginary name.
4 The word used is Ilāhī, a common way of addressing faqirs.
5 For many instances of similar metamorphosis see Temple, Widespread Stories, 420 sqq.; Tawney, Kathā Sarīt Sāɡar, II, 215, &c.
6 The sīl samudrār, or seven oceans, constantly appear in Indian folktales, see Temple, loc. cit. 482.
7 For the "looking back" taloc, see Grimm, Household Tales, II, 400; Miss Stokes, Indian Fairy Tales, 282-3, and the legends of Orpheus and Eurydice and Lot's Wife.
Over this he breathed his spells (mantra), and bringing the Prince to life again, returned with him to his hut. When they arrived there he said:

“Ask me for another boon. This quest of yours is too dangerous.”

The Prince replied:—

“Bábá as I said before, through your kindness I lack nothing but the Princess Fireflower. Only grant me that I may find her.”

“Well!” answered the fagfr, “if you will not heed my advice, go again to the island in the form of a crow and pluck another flower. But, take care, look not back a second time, or you will be turned to ashes and then I am helpless to serve you.”

The Prince promised to obey, and in the form of a crow flew again to the island, and on reaching there, plucked a flower which he took in his beak and flew back towards the fagfr’s hut. The guardian demons tried in vain to induce him to look back, but he would not, and came back safe to the fagfr.

The demons followed close behind and, standing at the door, called out:—

“Bábá! a thief has robbed us and entered your hut. Restore him to us at once.”

Meanwhile the fagfr turned the Prince into a cat, and called out to the demons:—

“Come and look. There is no one here but my cat and myself. If you do not trust me, you can come in and search for yourselves.”

The demons came in and looked everywhere, but when they found no one there, except the fagfr and the cat, they returned home. When they had gone, the fagfr restored the Prince again to the form of a man, and gave the prince a little red-lead box (vinachudan) and said:—

“Take care not to open it till you reach your home.”

The Prince started for home with the box, but when he reached close to his father’s city he began to think:—

“Perhaps the fagfr has cheated me: and my sister-in-law will laugh at me again.”

So he opened the box, and immediately a lovely girl, twelve years old, came out, and so beautiful was she that the sun lost its brightness. The Prince made her sit down and was going to a well close by to draw water. She said:—“Where are you going?”

He answered:—“I am going to draw water for you and for me.”

She answered:—“Do not bring water for me. If you do, I shall fall into Pátála. It is my task to serve you, not for you to serve me.”

So she went to the well to draw water: and it so happened that at that very time the handmaid of the Rájá came too to draw water. When she saw Princess Fireflower, she said:—

“Who are you and where are you going?”

The Princess answered:—“I am Princess Fireflower, and the Rájá’s son has brought me hither.”

The handmaid said:—“Let us change our clothes and see which is the lovelier.”

The Princess agreed and made over her dress and ornaments to the handmaid: and when she went to the edge of the well to draw water, the handmaid pushed her in. She then filled a vessel of water and took it to the prince who said:—

“How black you have grown by walking in the sun!”

He drank the water from her hand, and, believing her to be Princess Fireflower, told her to wait there while he went to the palace.
When his sister-in-law saw him, she said:

"Well! have you found Five-flower Princess?"

"She is at the well," he answered.

So he took a retinue and brought her home, and lived with her as his wife.

But a month after, a blaze, like that of a lamp, appeared over the well, and all who saw it were astonished; but whenever they went near the well the light was quenched. By-and-by this news reached the ear of the Rājā, and he sent the Prince to see what had happened.

At break of day the Prince went to the well, and saw the place ablaze with light. So he threw himself into the water, and found there a flower bud, which he tied in his handkerchief and brought home. For many a day he kept the handkerchief carefully by him, but one day he happened to drop it in the courtyard, and his son, who had meanwhile been born of the handmaid, saw it and took it to his mother. She found the bud tied up inside, and threw it on the dunghill behind the palace.

In one night it grew into a large mango tree, and next morning the false queen saw it and fell ill of fright.

Her mother-in-law asked:— "What ails you?"

"I have fallen ill," said she, "since I have seen this mango tree. Have it cut down and I will soon recover." 10

Her mother-in-law told this to the old Rājā, and he sent for labourers to cut down the tree. The Prince went to his father and said—

"To cut down a green mango tree is a sin. Let me remove it elsewhere, and the princess will not see the cause of her illness and recover."

"Be it so," said the Rājā.

So the Prince removed the tree to his own orchard and said to his gardener:—

"When this tree fruits, let no one touch it but myself."

By-and-by the tree blossomed and bore fruit, and one of them fell on the ground. This the gardener’s wife picked up and laid on a shelf to keep till the Prince should come. Meanwhile she went to buy grain and her cat knocked down the mango, and the moment it dropped, a lovely girl twelve years old stepped out of it.

When the gardener’s wife returned and saw her, she was afraid, and said to the girl:—

"Stay here, but never leave the house even for a moment."

But one day she ventured into the courtyard, and the handmaid of the false queen saw her and told her mistress. The queen called the keeper of the elephants, and said:—

"Go to the gardener’s house and crush the girl you will find there to dust under your elephant’s feet."

When the keeper of the elephants went to kill the girl, she brought out a great club and beat them and routed all the Rājā’s elephants.

Then the queen fell ill again and her mother-in-law asked her what ailed her.

"If the heart of the gardener’s daughter be not brought to me I shall die," she said.

The Rājā sent for the gardener and his wife and ordered them to bring out their daughter.

"We have had neither chick nor child all the days we tended Your Majesty’s garden. How can we give our daughter when we have none?" they answered. But the Rājā did not

10 So the mother is changed into a tree in the “Wonderful Birch,” *Lang, Red Fairy Book*, 123 sqq.
believe them and had their house searched, and finding the girl delivered her over to the executioner. 11

They were about to kill her in the forest, when an old Jum said to the others:

"What is the good of killing such a pretty girl for the sake of a few rupees. Let us spare her life and reach paradise (nivarga); even if we kill her, the Raja won't give us his raj for our trouble. Let us kill a goat and take its heart to the queen and she will be cured." 12 The others obeyed his words and spared the life of the girl. When they took the goat's heart to the queen, she recovered at once.

The Princess Fireflower then went on to Brindaban Khakhara, and there with her hand she struck four blows upon the earth, when a splendid palace appeared and there she lived. She kept several parrots and used to amuse herself by teaching them to say: 'Ram! Ram!'

A long time after the old Raja and his son, the Prince, came into the forest to hunt, and being thirsty came to the palace for water and the Princess entertained them hospitably. At night they slept in the portico, and early in the morning, while they were half-asleep, the parrots began to talk to each other, and they told how the Prince had brought Princess Fireflower, and how the handmaid had cheated him, and became queen, and how the life of the Princess had been saved, and how she had come to the palace. 14

At this the Raja and the Prince were much astonished, and going at once to the Princess Fireflower, asked her if all this was true. She began to shed tears and told them the whole story from beginning to end. They brought her home in triumph.

Then the Raja had a deep pit dug and buried the false queen alive. The Prince and Princess Fireflower lived happily ever after, and the Raja became a Sanjaydi jagngr and made over his kingdom to them.

As Parameswar overruled the fate of Princess Fireflower, so may he do to all of us. 15

FROG-WORSHIP AMONGST THE NEWARS, WITH A NOTE ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD 'NEPAL.'

BY A. L. WADDLELL, M.R., M. R. A. S.

In his work on Nepal, 1 Dr. (Buchanan-) Hamilton incidently noted that the Newars worship frogs. I have ascertained some interesting details of this worship.

The Newars are the aborigines of Nepal Proper; that is, of the valley in which the present capital Khātnagārī stands; and their present tribal name appears to be of territorial origin. The etymology of the word Nepal seems to the be thus accounted for:—The whole of the hill territory of the Gorkhas is called by the Non-Hinduised hillmen of the Himalayas

11 The word in the original is Jum, the most degraded caste, why not as executioners.
12 This, it need hardly be said, is a stock folklore incident.
13 The common form of invocation and substation, constantly taught to parrots.
14 These guardian, friendly parrots appear in many of the tales relating to manchis; see The Wonderful Ring in Temple's Wideawake Stories, 265.
15 This is the common refrain of the rural story tellers. This tale is interesting us to the following points. It exhibits the spread of the belief in the wonder-working "saint" see Legends of the Panjikā, index, s. v. uraño and metamorphosis, for a large number of Indians. This wonder-working saint is a counterpart of the wonder-working devil (khetā) of Southern India, s. t will be seen by comparing the tale about to be published in this Journal, under the title of the "Devil-worship of the Tulavas," with those in the legends of the Panjikā. It also exhibits the widespread idea of the "skeletal person"; see indices in Wideawake Stories and Legends of the Panjikā, s. v. And it exhibits strongly the anthropomorphous nature of the folk-tale parrot; see Legends of the Panjikā, index, s. v. parrot, and especially Vol. I. p. 386, where the parrot is a holy personage versed in the Four Vedas. For a number of variants of the tale as a whole see remarks in the Nepu-pha in Wideawake Stories, p. 666 f.—Ed."
1 An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, &c., by Frances Hamilton, M.D., F.R.S., &c., Edinburgh, 1810.
and the Tibetans call it; and the original name of this section of the Pāli country, which contained the home of the Newars, seems to have been Nê, while the people were hence called by the Hindus Newar, or "Inhabitants of Nê." Eastern Nepal, as well as Sikkim, is still called Nê by the Lepchas antecedently, and the Lepchas interpret the word as meaning the place of Caves for shelter or residence. Nê in most of the cognate tribal dialects of the Indo-Chinese—to whom, I think, both Newars and Lepchas belong—means 'residence,' the same root also appears with similar meaning in the Tibeto-Burman group; and in Judaism it is usually restricted to sacred caves and other sacred spots and shrines. It was very probably used in a similar sense by the pre-Jainist Newars, who were the originators of the so-called Nepalese form of Buddhism, and early gave up the greater portion of their original language for a Sanskritised speech. Some of the Newars are still Buddhists under the title of Bandhamârgis or followers of the Buddhist path, but the vast majority, as is well-known, have lately followed the fashion set by their Gorkhâ rulers of adopting the externals of Hinduism and call themselves Saivamârgis or 'followers of the Siva path.'

Now the chief Buddhist nês or shrines in the Cis-Himalayas of any antiquity c. c., the Kathâs and Sambhunâth stôpas, are all situated in the valley (Nêpâl Proper) of the Pāli country. Thus the word 'Nêpâl' seems to mean the Nê (i.e., 'the residence, or head-quarters, or the shrine') of the Pāli country, and it is so distinguished from the adjoining Nê country of the Lepchas.

The frog is worshipped by the Newars, not as a tribal totem, but in its supposed capacity of an amphibious (water and earth) divinity subordinate to the Nâga demi-gods, and associated with the latter in the production and control of rain and water-supply, on the sufficiency of which the welfare of the crops depends. This elevation of so insignificant an animal as the frog to the dignity of an assistant to the Nâgas, is all the more curious in view of the fact that frogs form the chief prey of the hooded cobra—the prototype of the Nâga. But the Newars justify their worship of the frog by pointing to the sympathetic and intimate relation of the frog with water, and saying that frogs, although terrestrial animals, are found in moist localities, and herald by their appearance and croaking the onset of the rains. They are also found especially at springs, and also on digging deep down into the bowels of the earth, where lies, according to the Newars, the primary store of water. It is interesting to note here that frogs are also worshipped by the Japanese in the Kishihiki marshes as metamorphosed heroes.

Frog-worship is performed by the Newars at a different season and place from that required for the Nâgas. The Nâgas, of whom the Newars consider Karâkótâ the greatest, are worshipped on the fifth day (Nâgapâcham) of the month of Sâwan (July) at the commencement of the rainy season, when the Nâgas (water-dragons) are thundering in the sky. The site for the worship is selected by preference at a place where four or five streams meet. A Newar priest is needed for this ceremony. On the morning of the eventful day, the priest ceremonially washes his face and hands and collects the following offerings, namely:—whole rice, vermilion for making the tillû mark of beauty on the forehead, milk mixed with an equal bulk of water, and flowers, ghâ and butter, jaïphâl spice, sandalwood, etc.

* Which in Tibetan means 'wool.' It is doubtful, however, whether the name was really intended to mean

* the wool-country, for sheep are equally plentiful across the Himalayas.

* The leading results of these observations I hope shortly to publish.

* Spelt in Tibetan guru—but pronounced ne.

* See Mr. R. Temple's and R. C. Temple's Nyârdrakshâ, Kathâs, Sîkhdron and Nepal, Vol. II. p. 524. [En.]

* Vide an account of this stôpa by the present writer in the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society for December 1858.

* Bhêjû, the vernacular word for frog, is an onomatopoetic attempt at reproducing the frog's call.

* Sato in Murray's Handbook to Central and Northern Japan, 1884.

* The pre-suffix thus given to Karâkótâ is evidently due to his being considered the tutelary Nâga of the lacustrine valley of Khêmphêl, which traditionally was formerly a vast lake reclaimed for the use of man by the lacustrine valley of Khêmphêl, which traditionally was formerly a vast lake reclaimed for the use of man by the lacustrine valley of Khêmphêl, which traditionally was formerly a vast lake reclaimed for the use of man by the lacustrine valley of Khêmphêl, which traditionally was formerly a vast lake reclaimed for the use of man by the lacustrine valley of Khêmphêl, which traditionally was formerly a vast lake reclaimed for the use of man by the.
and sandal resin incense. The priest deposits these articles in the midst of a plate of water, in the above-named order, ignites the incense and spice which occupy the top of the pile, and then chants the following short prayer:—"Hail Paramesvara Nagaran, Paramount King of Nagas, and ye Nine Nagas. I pray you to receive these offerings and to bless us and our crops."

Frog-worship, on the other hand, is performed on the seventh day of the month of Kartik (October), and usually at a pool, which is known to be frequented by frogs; although it is not essential to the efficacy of the rite that a frog be actually seen at the time of performing the ceremony. For this service also a Návar priest is necessary, who, after careful ablation of face and hands, places in five brazed bowls a doli consisting respectively of rice, flowers, milk and vermillion, ghee and incense, and water. Lighting the pile of ghee and incense the priest says: "Hail Paramesvara Bhūmīnathal! I pray you receive these offerings and to send timely rain, and bless our crops!"

The title of Paramesvara is given to the Nágas, Frogs and all the other Návar divinities; but Bhūmīnathal, 'Lord or Protector of the Soil,' is specially reserved for the Frog. Owing to its sacred character, the Frog is held by the Návars in special reverence, and every care is taken not to molest or injure it. But despite its semi-divine nature the Návar, like other Buddhists, believe that the frog, as well as the Nága, is within the cycle of re-births.

THE TRADITIONAL MIGRATION OF THE SANTAL TRIBE.

BY L. A. WADDELL, M.R., M. R. A. S.

It seems to me that the current story preserved by the Santal, or Saontára, of their advance from Ahtri or Ahtri-pzipi, via Chhái and Champá, to their present location is manifestly a record of actual tribal progress, not, as is usually believed, from one part of the Hazaribagh Hills to another — where indeed there could have been practically no Hindú pressure exercised, — but from the central alluvial valley of the Ganges south-westwards to the hills, under pressure of the Aryan invasion of the valley from the north. For, in this part of the Gangetic valley, I find ancient territorial names in keeping with this story of migration.

Moreover, the names of the Hazaribagh purgyama, which have been identified with certain of these legendary lands, present many difficulties in the way of their acceptance in interpretation of the story, even as a record of recent hill-migration. Ahtri could never become corrupted into Ahtri, or vice versa. The Chháni purgyam of Hazaribagh is a remote hilly tract, from which there could have been no desire on the part of the earlier Hindús to dispossess the Santál. Besides, the greater part of it is still under primitive forest, uncultivated, and in the occupation of the Santál. The name is more likely to be a transplantation to their new home of their old country name, from a desire to retain the old home associations, such as is observable in colonists of all nationalities. The Champá purgyam of Hazaribagh is situated on the high central plateau occupied by the semi-aboriginal Uplás and Múndás, who seem to be the autochthones of that area, and to which location it is generally believed the Santál tribe never penetrated.

The tracts, which I would identify with those of the story, are the following. The Ahtri, or herdsmen-tribe, was the dominant race in the Bhígar section of the Ganges valley in the later pre-historic period. The Ahtri-country extended from about Deneros eastwards to the Kust river, and lay mainly to the north of the Ganges. The greatest stronghold latterly of the Ahtri and Gwálías was at Hardi in the Durbhagá District, where their heroic chief Lórik is

10 Shores reduced.
now worshipped as a god, and his exploits still sung by the Gwálías and Ahirs of Bihár and Northern Bengal. This Hardigáry may, in fact, be the Haraduttie and Hurredgarhi of Col. Dalton’s version of the legend.\footnote{Dalton’s Ethnology of Bengal, p. 607.}

Pipír is a very common village name all over Bihár;\footnote{It means the village of the pipal tree (Ficus religiosa).} but a well-known pre-Aryan settlement named Pipir exists near the south bank of the Ganges near Chunar, and was figured by Mr. Nesfield in the Calcutta Review for January 1888 in connection with his article on the semi-aboriginal Muskhiás, or Musahars. It was originally a stronghold of the Chándas, who were dispossessed by the Ahirs under Lórik. And this is very probably the Ahiri-pipir of the Santál story; but it would be worth while enquiring from Mr. Grierson, or some other correspondent well-acquainted with the Trans-Gangetic portion of North Bihár, whether there be another famous Pipír thereabouts, near Hardí, specially associated with Lórik and his Ahirs.

Chhái is the old pargana of that name, in the modern Bhágálpur District, 489 square miles in extent, south of the Ahiri stronghold of Hardí and bordering the Ganges. From its jadí-traversed aspect it was probably in those days a dódh, or an island, between the Ganges and the combined Gáplák and Ghagar rivers.

Directly opposite Chhái, across the Ganges to the south, is the old kingdom of Champa, now generally corresponding to the cis-Gangetic portion of the modern district of Bhágálpur. Champa was one of the earliest Hindu settlements in the lower valley of the Ganges — according to Híuen Tsáing’s account it “was one of the first cities founded in Jambudípa,”—and it was still the name of the country at the time of Fa Hian and Híuen Tsáing’s visits in the 5th and 7th centuries A. D. It now survives in the name of the old section of Bhágálpur town, which is called Champahágar and Champájarí. The “Khairágarh” of Col. Dalton’s version, and one of the recorded pass-words of the tribe, is evidently the fortified hill of Khbirí about twelve miles south-west of Champahágar, and an outlier of the Hazährígh section of the Vindhyá range.

The Santál story also tells us that when “the Hindus drove them out of Champa they (the Santálás) established themselves in Saout,” whence they have derived their present tribal name. The migration hero referred to was evidently southwards into the adjoining hilly tract, extending from Southern Champa, through the eastern part of the Hazährígh District, to the borders of Midnapur District and the Upper Damuda Valley, in the south of which is said to be situated the village, or land, of Saout, though its exact situation does not seem to be known.

It may be worth considering, however, whether this name of Saout is not really related to their holy hill of Sásti Síkár (the scene of the Jina Párvanáthá’s nirvána and therefore also called by his name), towering high above their holy river, the Dámurá.\footnote{Dámir is a Santál word meaning ‘the Home Water or Home-River.’ The Brahmins have Sanskritised it into Dhamóká, the only word in their mythology to which it bore any resemblance; and as Dhamóká is a title of the god Kríshná, this river is now held by Hindus to be Kríshná himself!} Sásti is the Sanskritized form in which the name has been fixed in the earlier Hindu books. Saout may, therefore, not impossibly be the original name of their holy hill, which is in the very centre of their modern location. In this hilly tract, centring around Sásti Síkár, the tribe remained, hemmed in more and more by Bengáli encroachments till quite recent times, when Government interference rendered it possible for the tribe to re-emerge on to the skirts of the Ganges Valley.

Their deified mountain Mrang Búrû, or ‘the Great Hill,’ is distinctively specified in Colonel Dalton’s version to have been encountered after the expulsion of the tribe from Champa, and it is also stated to have been the god of the Mündás, whom the Santálás found already in occupation of the Hazährígh plateau. This pre-eminent hill must surely have been the graceful mountain of Sásti Síkár (Parsúnáth)—the culminating peak of this portion of the Vindhyá range, and those savage refugees naturally worshipped the hills which sheltered them.
securely from their Hindu enemies. Their other god's name Mōrēkā, may be the Mōrēkā River, which traverses this area and whose course is beset by numerous hot springs, still worshipped by the aborigines. These in the winter mornings belch forth great clouds of sulphurous steam, marking their site from afar.

I have no doubt that the other minor names of the story, and most of the fore-names which enter into the tribal pass-words, will be found still current as territorial names, or in the traditions of the Ahirs and Gwāls, if only searched for in the tracts here indicated.

It will also be noticed that such a progress of the tribe, as that herein indicated, takes them from the base of the Himalayas to their present location, thus accounting for the 'Turanian' element in their speech.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME DATES IN THE CHALUKYA-VIKRAMĀ-DITYA.

The Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. sought to supersede the use of the Śaka era by an era which was named after himself the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla and Chālukya-Vikrama-varaḥa, and the first year of which was the first year of his own reign, viz. the Āana or Nāla sāhāntara, Śaka-Sāvant 999 current, = A. D. 1075-77.

According to Sir Walter Elliot's Cargāñā-Dēša Inscriptions, Vol. 1. p. 255, the earliest date in this era is one of Chaitra krishṇa 5, in the first year of it, contained in an inscription, which does not refer itself to any particular reign, at the temple of Kudānumbāvara at Arāḷeshwar in the Hāngal Taluk, Chālukya District. Prof. Kielhorn has recently calculated this date; with the result that the details, as taken by him, do not work out correctly (para 10 above, No. 5). He took them, however, from the reading which I myself gave (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 190, No. 4), from the transcript in the Elliot Collection. And I now find, from an ink-impression, that the record is dated, as plainly as could possibly be, -- not in the first year of the era, as represented by Sir Walter Elliot's copyist, -- but in the sixty-first year of it. The original has -- śrīnāch-Chālukya-Vikrama-kāḷāda ālīcay-ānāji-sāuvatāsara-da Chaitrā-kāḷā-paṇidh ład-Mangalāvara-Māma-(phu)-saṃkrānti-vyāntiṣṭhāna-āndāna. And these details work out quite correctly. The year is Śaka-Sāvant 1099 current. By Prof. Kera Lakshman Chaitrā's table, the given līthi ended at about 21 gh. 10 p., = 8 hrs. 28 min., after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Tuesday, 24th March, A. D. 1136. And the Māsīira-saṃkrānti occurred, while that līthi was current, at about 56 ghū́tis, :: 22 hrs. 24 min., on the Monday, and, on account of the lateness of the hour, would be celebrated on the Tuesday.

This date is, in reality, one of a few which show that an attempt was made to continue the era after the end of the reign of Vikramāditya VI.

These dates may be divided into two classes:--

A. Some of them show simply a continuation of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla. To this class belongs the Arāḷeshwar date, mentioned above. And other instances are to be found in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 193, Nos. 37 to 39, and 41 to 43.

Of these, Nos. 41, 42, and 43, of the sixty-first, eighty-fourth, and ninety-fourth years, are already verified. And I can now verify No. 37.

[I have referred this article to Mr. Grierson, who seems to disagree with Dr. Waddell. He writes:—"I know of no Phry in North Bihār. There is said to have been a Phry and a Hard in Gujārāt, but they are mythical and solely due to the stories which each Bihār district has of appropriating Lērik to itself. Hardi is really in Bāhil. I should say that the Ahirs were more common in South Bihār. I do not remember any place called Hardi in Darbhāṅgh, but it is twelve years since I was there. Lērik is not much known east of the Gānghā. The story is essentially Western Gānghā and South Gangāthin. Sīlavān and Kāmā are full of it. So also are Sīrām, Bāhil and Benares. The favorite Darbhāṅgh legend is the Darbhāṅgh one of Bāhil. There will be a good Ahir legend of South Bihār in the articles now being printed on Thūlāt Dēśa."—Kn.]

1 I mean, to the extent of showing that the records really exist. The point whether the details work out correctly, is not of present importance. I think that, as a matter of fact, the majority of these dates will not work out correctly. But, as Prof. Kielhorn has indicated (para 111 above), this is the case with many of the dates of this period. And the records containing them are not necessarily to be stumped as not genuine on that account. From more ample experience of the work of Sir Walter Elliot's copyist, I consider it waste of time and trouble to calculate dates, the details of which depend solely on his transcripts. His versions may be true and correct in the majority of cases. But I have come across too many instances in which he has taken liberties with the text of the originals.
This record, at the temple of Rāmēśvara at Hiré-Muddannūr in the Nizâm’s Dominions (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 700), really does refer itself to the reign of Bhoḷākama-Sāmēśvara III, and belongs to his fourth year; but it is, nevertheless, dated (from an ink-impression)—śrīmach-Chālukya-Vikrama-varṣhada 5 Śnaya Saumya-saṅvataraśa 104 śa-kāsa-sāmāya. The year is Saka-Saṅvat 1052 current.

And I can add the following five instances:

In an inscription on a pillar at the temple of Vīra-pākaṇa at Kūrta-kōṭi in the Gadaṇ Tālukā, Dāhurwā District, which does not refer itself to any particular reign, the date (from an ink-impression) runs—śrīmach-Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla Sa(sta)-vāraśa 104 Śnaya Parbha-saṅvataraśa. Jyēṣṭхah-samvaśaya Sāmavāra sṛṣṭya-grahana daśa-ta-kāla-kadō. The year is Saka-Saṅvat 1048 expired,—the first year of the reign of Sāmēśvara III. It is also the fifty-first year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla; but the writer of the record, though apparently intending to quote this fifty-first year, omitted after all to do so.

Another inscription at Araiśēkhwar, on the mākara-tōrāya of the temple of Kadaṃbēśvara, which does not refer itself to any particular reign, contains two dates. The first of them is in the Viḥaṇa saṅvataraśa, the thirteenth year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla. The second, not fully transcribed by Sir Walter Elliot’s copyist, runs (from an ink-impression) — [śrīmaṭ] Jih-Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla Saṁvaya Plavha-saṅvataraśa Vaiśākha-suda-[read śudhā]-10 Br(bri)-havṛdra-șadv. The year is Saka-Saṅvat 1050 current,—the second year of the reign of Sāmēśvara III.

In an inscription which is now stored in the Kachēri at Lakshmeshwar, within the limits of the Dāhurwā District, the date of a supplementary record, which does not formally refer itself to any particular reign, runs (from an ink-impression) — śrīmach-Chālukya-Bhoḷākama-saṅvataraśa Kāla Saṁvaya Kiśka-saṅvataraśa śravara-suda-[read śudhā]-pachchami-Adīvaru saṃgraḥana-șadv. Here two things are mixed up,—the fifty-third year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla, and the third year of the reign of Bhoḷākama-Sāmēśvara III. The year is Saka-Saṅvat 1053 current.

An inscription, which does not refer itself to any particular reign or reigns, on a beam in the madhyavāra of the temple of Sārēvārā at Nārāgāl in the Hāngāl Tālukā, Dāhurwā District, contains two dates. The first is in the month Pauha of the Viśvāra saṅvataraśa, which was, and is quoted as, the fiftieth year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-varṣhada. The second (from an ink-impression) runs—Śnaya Sādharana-saṅvataraśa śrāheyọḷ; the words Chālukya-Vikramara-varṣhada are intended to be supplied from the first date. The year is Saka-Saṅvat 1053 current,—the fifth year of the reign of Sāmēśvara III.

And a third inscription at Arājēśkhwar, on a pillar in front of the gateway of the temple of Kadaṃbēśvara (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II. p. 601; where, however, the year and saṅvataraśa are not given, and Pauha is given instead of Jyeṣṭha), contains two dates, of which the first (from an ink-impression) runs—Śnaya Bhoḷākama-saṅvataraśa Jyeṣṭha-(read Jyeṣṭha)-sudhā-[read śudhā]-pugyi-saṁvṛdra-șadv. The record does not refer itself to any particular reign. And the words Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla or varṣhada were omitted by the writer. But there can be no doubt that the year is the sixteenth year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla, which was the Bhoḷākama saṅvataraśa, Saka-Saṅvat 1058 current, and the tenth year of the reign of Sāmēśvara III.

With these records we may also class an inscription on a stone built into a maṇḍapa at the Mūla-thēśvara temple at Nādāpūla in the Narasāvupēṭa Tālukā of the Kistna District, Madras Presidency. It does not refer itself to any particular reign. But the date (from an ink-impression, which reached me from Dr. Hultzach after the rest of this note was written) runs—śrīmach-Chālukya-Vikrama-varsha 5 Śnaya Plavha-saṅvataraśa Bhaḍrapada su-[read śu] 1 Br(bri)-havṛdra. Here,—unless Vikrama is a mistake for Bhoḷākama, which, seems, on the whole, not so probable as the other alternative, though the writer very possibly had also the second year of Bhoḷākama running in his mind,—Śnaya is which was the fifteenth year,—or properly the sixteenth,—in the reckoning of the Kaḷacchurya king Bijāla. And it is possible that the whole record was put on the stone at that time. — In this second date, Sir Walter Elliot’s copyist has given Śnaya, instead of the Śnaya which the original has.
a mistake for Śānya; the Plavanta samvatavara was Saka-Sanvat 1050 current,—the second year of the reign of Śomāvāra III.

B.—The dates of the second class show an imaginary continuation of the reign itself of Vikramāditya VI, as well as a continuation of the era.

Of this there is an indisputable instance in the inscription on a stone lying on the road on the north of Kysasatūr in the Hāngal Tālukā, Dhāvarā District (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 686; and ante, Vol. VIII. p. 193, No. 40). The preamble contains the words śrīmah—vyānamalla-vijaya-vijaya-vyayam=ūtār-dīṣṭār-dhīṣṭār-dhīṣṭār (read śrīmah—pavavādhamam=si-chandrār-dhrka-tārtham baruḥ samudram=āśa, which do expressly refer to the reign of Vikramāditya VI. But, as regards the date, the words Chālukya-Vikrama-kāha (sic), which I gave when I first noticed this date, are a pure invention of Sir Walter Elliot’s copyist. What the original really has is (from an ink-impression) simply śrīvat-sēmenya (read śrīvat-sēmenyā) Pavādhī-śan-vrachoda (tes) renta Chālūtra-sūdaḥ (read sūdhaḥ) pachamalī-Bhāṣpatī (read Bhāṣapati) vrādham. The samvatavara was the fifty-seventh year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāha, and the seventh year of the reign of Śomāvāra III. And the year is Śaka-Sanvat 1055 current.

And there is another equally clear instance in an inscription near the large tank at Hunagund in the Badākṣār Tālukā, Dhāvarā District. The preamble refers the record, in just the same way, to the reign of Vikramāditya VI. But the actual date (from an ink-impression) is śrīmacā-Chālukya-Bhūlakāmalla-varṣadā Śeṇya Saumya-samvat—spatīvārαum=uttārasya-saṃkramaya-vyātpātem kṛjāya puṇya-tīthiyol. The year is Śaka-Sanvat 1052 current,—which was properly the fourth, not the third, year of Śomāvāra III.

If reliance may be placed on the transcripts, the following records also, though dated in years which fall within the reign of Śomāvāra III, similarly refer themselves to the reign of Vikramāditya VI. —An inscription at the temple of Bhūgōḍāvara at Gobber in the Raichūr Tālukā, Nizān’s Dominions, dated in the fifty-second year, the Plavanta samvatavara, in the month Jyēṣṭha falling in A.D. 1127 (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 623); an inscription at the temple of Hānunmata at Kānāpur in the Kōlihāpur territory, dated in the fifty-fourth year, the samvatavara, in Vaiṣṇava falling in A.D. 1129 (ibid. p. 627); an inscription at the temple of Kāllāvāra at Narēgal in the Bhī Tālukā, Dhāvarā District, dated in the month Panha of the same samvatavara, coupled, not with the fifty-fourth year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāha, but with Śaka-Sanvat 1051 (expired) (ibid. p. 630); and an inscription at the temple of Śankarālīnga at Kūrtakōṭi in the Gudag Tālukā, Dhāvarā District, dated in the Parādhīvīn samvatavara, coupled, not with the fifty-seventh year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāha, but with Śaka-Sanvat 1054 (expired) (ibid. p. 632). As regards these records, however, I have to remark (1) that I cannot make out such a date in the ink-impression, which I have seen, of the Kūrtakōṭī inscription; and (2) that, whereas the Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 626, represents an inscription at Laksahmanwār as similarly referring itself to the reign of Vikramāditya VI, and as being dated in the fifty-second year, the Plavanta samvatavara, I find, from an ink-impression, that the original refers itself, as plainly as could possibly be, to the reign of Viṣṇa-Somaśāra IV., and that the Plavanta samvatavara is mentioned as the second year of his reign.

It may be useful, to give here the latest date, known to me, that is undoubtedly attributable to the actual reign of Vikramāditya VI. There are several records dated in his fiftieth year, the Viśvävasu samvatavara, which was Śaka-Sanvat 1048 current. And the latest of them is an inscription at the temple of Sarvēśāra at Narēgal in the Hāngal Tālukā, Dhāvarā District (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 613). The name of the reigning king, in the preamble, is illegible; but there is no doubt that the bīrūṇa Tribhuvanamallāda stood there, in the usual manner. And the date (from an ink-impression) runs śrīmacā-Chālukya-Vikrama-varṣaḥ(dā) Śeṇya Viśāvasu-samvatavamāra Māgha-suḍhāḥ (read suḍhāḥ) saṃpātī-Śomavāra-śahdu samastapuṇya-tīthi-gal. The date does not work out satisfactorily. Thus—The year is Śaka-Sanvat 1048 current. And the given śātī ended at about 2 ghaṭās, 5 gola, 50 minutes, after mean sunrise, on Sunday, 3rd January, A.D. 1138; and so it cannot be connected with the Monday at all. This is the more remarkable, because, though the aśekhara are now illegible, the śātī was evidently described as an emphatically auspicious one; in consequence of which, one would imagine, special care would be taken to compute all the details accurately. Still, there is nothing else in the record, to lead to its being looked upon as not genuine.
ASOKA'S SAHASRAM, RUPNATH AND BAIRAT EDICTS.

BY G. BÜHLER, F.R.S.-L.L.D., C.B.E.

The subjoined new edition of the Sahasram and Rāpnāth Edicts has been made according to most excellent materials, rubbings (A) and paper-casts (B) made over to me by Dr. J. F. Fleet. The casts show the letters reversed in high relief and indicate even the smallest flaws, abrasions and exfoliations in the rocks. It is in fact chiefly owing to them that a really trustworthy edition has become possible. Though, thanks to Sir A. Cunningham's kindness, a direct photograph of the Sahasram rock and a very fine rubbing of the Rāpnāth inscription were available for the first edition,¹ they could not render the same services. For, the nature of such reproductions makes it impossible to answer a good many questions, which the decipherer must put to himself. They give merely surface-views, and necessarily leave one in doubt regarding the depth of the strokes and the minor details of the state of the stones. Nevertheless, one portion of the old materials, the photograph of the Sahasram rock, still retains a considerable value. For, since it was taken, the rock has suffered a good deal. Pieces have peeled off at the edges of the old exfoliations, and a new one has formed. Thus, to the left of the old exfoliation the letters vañh₁ have disappeared in line 1, and, on its right side the signs -ṣaḍvanti savavahd. ² Similarly line 2 has lost, after adhike, a stop and the syllable aḥ, and to the right of the exfoliation the letters -t-saḥ cha aśta. The new exfoliation has destroyed some letters in the middle of lines 6-8.³

The most important changes in the text of the Sahasram Edict, which the new edition exhibits, are l. 2, saṇvahḥāḥḥ for savinvalaḥ, sah₁[š] for the conjectural hauṣṭ te and l. 8, -t sa, a, it, for yī. With respect to the first word it must be noted that the paper cast proves distinctly (1) that there is no Anuvāra after the second sign, (2) that the shape of this second sign slightly differs from that used for vr. The corresponding passage of the Rāpnāth Edict has according to B quite distinctly oḥḥavahḥāḥ, which represents exactly the Sanskrit saṇḍvahṭaḥ, "a period of six years." There is not the slightest doubt that the sign ₁ may be equivalent to ₁ and ₁, and that it is possible to read saṇvahḥāḥ. The form saṇ for Sanskrit shad occurs in the dates of the Pillar Edicts I.—VI., where we have saṇ-u-vaṣati "twenty-six," and it must be noted that the dialect of the Pillar Edicts and of the Sahasram inscription is the same. The forms taṇḍūva (Kāsi, Dhami, Jaugada X.), ñau (Girnār I.), jñau (Girnār II.), and dudḍau (Girnār III., IV.) prove that groups with u are admissible in the ancient Pali of the inscriptions just as in that of the Buddhist scriptures.⁴ Hence the word saṇvahḥāḥ is also grammatically unobjectionable.

These reasons appear to me sufficiently strong to warrant the assertion that the reading saṇvahḥāḥ can only be upheld in defiance of the fundamental principles of philology. He who still adopts it, has first to select an interpretation of the second sign which yields a word without any meaning, and next has to emend it as well as the perfectly intelligible form of the Rāpnāth version.⁵ I, of course, have to plead guilty to having committed both these mistakes. My excuse must be that in 1878 I was still under the erroneous impression that the Asoka

¹ Ante, Vol. VI. pp. 140ff. The facsimile of the Rāpnāth version is an exact reproduction of the rubbing, which has not been touched up or corrected in any way.
² For further details see the notes to the transcripts.
³ See E. Müller, Simplified Grammar of Pali, p. 54.
⁴ It is quite possible that the lovers of emendations will point to the readings savavahd or santoḥvaḥḥāḥ in the Mysore versions, as to proofs for the necessity of correcting those of Sahasram and Rāpnāth. I have shown in my paper on the new inscriptions, to be published in Dr. Hultsch's continuation of the Epigraphica Indica, that such and such may likewise be equivalents of Sanskrit shad.
inscriptions required corrections in every line, and were full of the most absurd mistakes. Thanks to Drs. Burgess and Fleet, it is now evident that they have been well incised and that most of them show only few and trifling mistakes. Moreover, the necessity for, nay the inclination to make, extensive or even more frequent alterations disappears, in the same degree as the character of the language and the contents of the edicts come to be better understood. The retention of the forms sañcuchhād and ahauncahād with the sense of "a period of six years" has, of course, a most important bearing. With this explanation it appears that the Beloved of the gods had been an adherent of the Saṅghā that about four, but about nine years, and that when the inscriptions were incised his reign must have been longer than those of most of the later Maurya princes.

With respect to the substitution of the reading sañcul[ś] for Dr. Hsung-an-li’s conjectural emendation kuvaś tu, I have to add that M. Senart has vindicated its correctness long ago, and has been the first to recognise that the reading of the Mysore versions suñcula, the present participle of the Śāmaśpuḍa of the verb as, fully agrees. I must also acknowledge that the division of the words līkhāpañčaka (1.7) and līkhāpanātaka have been taken over from his edition.

Turning to the Rāpamāth version the most important new readings are sañcullkṣa for sañcullkṣa, ahauncahādī for ahauncahādī, and sañcula u.hi for sañcula u.hi, all in line 1. M. Senart had long ago given sañculaḥaḥādī. Dr. Fleet’s paper-cast shows that the unimportance of the sign is due to an attempt at correcting the Māgulī suñcula to sañcula, which the ancient dialect of the Central Provinces, no doubt, required. My old reading ahauncahādī, on which I based one half of the historical deductions given in the introduction to my first edition, has been objected to by Professor Oldenberg and afterwards by M. Senart, who have proposed ahauncahādī or ahauncahādī equivalent to Pali añcuncahy or añcuncahy „two and a half.” The paper-cast certainly makes the second form very probable, and the distinct reading of Mr. Rice’s Brahmagiri version ahauncahādī fully confirms it. With respect to the third change, I must confess that, looking now at my old facsimile, I cannot understand how I ever came to read papīṭa. The first letter is their clearly an s, not a p. But, I fear, the recognition of the truth has only now come to me, after seeing the Mysore versions, where Mr. Rice has at once given correctly papīṭa. The paper-cast of Rāpamāth shows upiṭa quite plainly, but it proves also that the vowel attached to the second consonant has been destroyed. There are flaws both to the right and to the left of the top of the p, one of which in the rubbing has assumed the appearance of an ī. But, the real reading of the stone was probably upiṭa. The new division of the words līkhāpañčaṇa has been taken over from M. Senart’s edition. The text of the fragments of the Bairāt Edict has been prepared according to two impressions on thick country paper, likewise sent to me by Dr. Fleet. They show the shallow letters reversed, and give a faithful picture of the state of the rock, which apparently has a very uneven surface, and has been greatly injured by the peeling of the uppermost layer. The letters are very large, between an inch and a half and two inches high, but few among them stand out quite clear.

I am unable to give at present a new translation and discussion of the contents of the New Edicts, since that would necessitate a reproduction of the exact text of the Mysore versions according to Dr. Hultzsch’s new impressions, which I have agreed to reprint only after my article on the Southern edicts has been published in the continuation of the Epigraphia Indica. But, there are two points on which I must say a few words. First, I must point out that the position of those scholars, who deny the identity of the Devaśāṁ Pīṇḍa of the New Edicts with Devaśāṁ Pīṇḍa Piyadas, has become exceedingly difficult and precarious since the discovery of the Mysore versions. For, there a brief résumé of Asoka’s well-known Dhamma is tack on to a free reproduction of the contents of the Saluṣerā and Rāpamāth texts, and the writer gives a

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* See, Notes d’Epigraphie Indienne, No. 4, p. 11 (Jour. Asiatique, 1862, p. 482).
portion of his signature in the Northern characters, used in Gandhāra and in the Pañcāḷa. We now know that their author, Devanāṭi Piyā, was a king who ruled from the extreme Northwest of India as far as Magadha in the East and Mahishamāṇḍala in the South, and who not only used in his inscriptions many of the phrases and terms peculiar to Pāyānī, Beloved of the gods, but also tried to spread those particular principles of morality, which the third Maurya king recommended to his subjects as the Dharma ensuring endless merit and bliss in heaven.

Secondly, as the heading of Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published with this paper, mentions "the year 256," I think it only right to say a word regarding the question, how the passages with the numerals are to be interpreted, and to state more distinctly, than I have done on other occasions, that neither the objections raised against my translations nor the new explanations substituted for them by Professor Oldenberg and M. Senart,⁷ tempt me to give them up. Further researches have, however, taught me that the sentence of Sahasrām, याहूँ chā sa[ar]vānd Vivdhāna; dvād sapahūlālitati viśvākā tī, may be appropriately rendered into Sanskrit (as Professor Pischel first demanded) by याहूँ cha ārdvam Vyūvatāna [kriyā] deś shatadakshadādākātā [svardadā] vyāsikā tī. For vyāsikā, an irregular form of the participles passive of tos, certainly occurs with the sense of "passed away, elapsed." Thus we read in the Gobhila Gṛīhyastūtra XI. 5, 6, jemandā dākardārā vyāsikā satardārā sahasratārā dvād年至byemāyam. "When a period of ten (days and) nights, a period of one hundred (days and) nights or a year has elapsed, the name-giving (takes place)." ⁸

Further, I will state that when I render ait by adhika, I simply mean to declare the meaning of the two words to be equivalent. Ait appears not really for ait in the older language. Thus we have rashātēśa for rashāhōýa, aitāpadā saheya a Sakarī verse with a foot in excess," Mahābhārata, Vol. IV. p. 189 (Kieliṁ)⁹ and so forth. Finally, the omission of svardadā, which has caused such difficulties to my two critics, appears to me quite in keeping with the character of the ancient Indian prose, where many numerals like "cows, men, pieces of gold" and so forth are frequently omitted, provided that some other word, which occurs in the sentence and is incompatible with the sakya artha, makes it necessary to supply the omitted word by takaḥātā. This incompatible word is in our case vivādā 'elapsed,' which requires a noun denoting a period of time to be understood.

The new explanations of Professor Oldenberg and M. Senart are made unacceptable by various hazardous assumptions. Both scholars separate satā, which they take to be the representative of satadv, from the numerals and assume that, among the remaining syllables sapahudāti, a stands for sa[ar] (100) and paṇhā for paṇhā[sa] (50). They further emend tā to cūdā (8) and explain the final tī by tiṇī. The result is, dvād sar[ar] paṇhā[sa] tā[čūdā] ti sarāvātā ti or in Sanskrit, deś paṇhātāt shah ti sattā vyāsikā tī, which

³⁸ This passage has been correctly rendered by Professor Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXX, p. 67. Professor Kusnetz's translation, "Ist von der Geber der siebente Tag oder der hundertfünfzehnten Tag," is correct, involving two mistakes against the grammar, as dasardārā does not mean "the tenth day" nor satardārā "the hundredth." Moreover the word "Ist . . . . ein Jahr angebrochen," i.e., "has a year begun" do not express what the author means to say. The commentators, of course, explain vyāsikā by atidēśadā.
³⁹ This is the form which occurs invariably on the coins and inscriptions of the Indo-Skythian period, see e. g. Epigraphica Indica, Vol. I. pp. 826 and 839, No. VIII. and No. XIX.
⁴⁰ With respect to M. Senart's other objections I may add that he is quite right in saying that "two by-fifty-six hundred" for "two hundred exceeded by fifty-six" is not a correct expression. But the Hindus are very loose in the use of their compounds, and similar bad idioms, where an independent word has to be connected not with a whole compound but only with one of the parts, are not rare. In the second edition of his Sanskrit grammar, para. 1616, Professor Whitney has collected a few examples among which Manu's (VI. 56) dāsaguptāna cha svarasvarasāna is the most striking. I have given a few others in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XL pp. 589 and 644. Among them adhārasyaśānā is from the Pali, where, by the bye, they are even more common than in Sanskrit. In the dates of the inscriptions a good many errors occur, which are much worse than Aoka's little slip. Thus we have, bṛhatramadāśaśetseratuastraśkravatādādāśātālādāśātālā dla. For Vakṣrāsacavat 1199, and in the Aiholā inscription, anta, Vol. VI. p. 70, in order to express the figure 3765, tridhānu triśatākharēndha bhraṭāt Āhāraṇō uṣāh । See trīśatākharēndha bhraṭātāḥ Āhāraṇō uṣāḥ ।
It lasted some time, until the verse was correctly interpreted.
means according to Professor Oldenberg "256 beings have passed (into Nirvāṇa)," and according to M. Senart "256 men have been sent forth on missions."

My special objections against this very uncenemonious treatment of the text are, (1) that cardinal numerals are never shortened, in the manner assumed, neither in ancient nor in modern Indian inscriptions, while in those of the seventh and later centuries the first syllable of an ordinal is put occasionally for the whole, see e. g. ante, Vol. XIII. p. 94, l. 40, and Vol. XV. p. 340, l. 57, where ṅv occurs for ṅvīṣa, (2) that, to judge from the analogies, furnished by the forms sad-u-vaṭṭi and a-saṁ-maṅkē in the Pillar Edicts, the form ohha is not admissible in the dialect of the Sahasrāṃ inscription, and (3) that the phrase dvaṣa eva[ta] paṁan[ī]va[na][ha]ḥ it would not be idiomatic, ohha cha being required instead of ohha ti. The meaning, which Professor Oldenberg elicits by his remarkable interpolations and emendations, is more curious than interesting. M. Senart's translation is on the contrary very interesting, and would make the passage historically valuable, if it could be upheld. This is, however, not possible, because it rests on the same doubtful assumptions as Professor Oldenberg's, and because the proofs for various minor auxiliary statements, such as, that viṇṇa means 'to depart on missions, and viṇṇaḥ 'missionary,' and that the Rūpāṭa text has the reading viṇṇaḥśarvaṇ, have been omitted. Under these circumstances I can only adhere to my former interpretation, which makes it unnecessary to do violence to the authentic text. And it is a matter of course that I still hold the passage to refer to the time elapsed since Buddha's death and the 257th year after Buddha to coincide with the last of Asoka's reign. As according to the beginning of these edicts Asoka's connection with the Buddhists had lasted upwards of eight years, his conversion falls about the twenty-ninth year of his reign.
The Sahasram Edict.

Iyana...Vivutha...tamu...dutam...uvala...had...lakkhapata...valata...had......

The Rupanath Edict.

...Vivutha...tamu...lakkhapata...valata...had......

The Bairat Edict.

...Vivutha...tamu...lakkhapata...valata...had......

1. B shows that the last syllable is ka, not kha, as A and the facsimile might suggest. The direct photograph used for the first edition has clearly iyani sahuvaucchalani, before an upashak and kota da at the beginning of the line.

2. The upper half of the vertical stroke of na is injured, and the reading may have been no.

3. Neither A nor B shows any trace of an Anuvarna after the second syllable. But B shows a deep abrasion to the right of the na, extending about a third of an inch from the circular portion and the vertical stroke as far as the horizontal line at the top of na. It is deepest close to the akshara, but the outlines of the latter are nevertheless clearly distinguishable. From the right end of the horizontal line at the top of na issues a vertical one, which is longer than that of the vowel i. For this reason and because the Rupanath edict has clearly chauvachala, it is necessary to read sahuvauchala instead of sauvichala, which latter form besides makes no sense. The mistake was originally mine, but has been adopted by all my successors in the explanation of the edict. The photograph has sathika instead and after the break t etena cha ahaladu.

4. The et-stroke is not certain, and the reading may have been also santhah or santha, which both are equally admissible. The new materials make Dr. Bhagvanlal’s conjecture usaha te, which I adopted in my first edition, absolutely impossible. Before san stands only the stroke marking the division of the words. The photograph has in line 3 aun hid misah deva kapi palu, after the first break [h] i yam phale, and after the second yam mahatali, etc.

5. The space between the vertical stroke of ki and the right hand stroke of g, is about an inch and a quarter, and just double the size of that between the vertical stroke of ki and the left side of ye. It is, therefore, most probable that a letter, either so or cha, has been lost, the restoration sakiy or olakiy being required by the sense and the parallel passage of the Rupanath edict. The photograph has dha before the break.

6. Read sauvan. As the apparent et-stroke of the second syllable is rather short and running off into a point, it is possible that it is due to a flaw in the rock.

7. There is no Anuvara after cha, but there is a rather deep abrasion, which extends all along the upper half of the vertical stroke.

8. The photograph has plainly ohitahiti. The last two vowels are now injured.

9. The photograph has plainly vatha, the second syllable of which is at present almost entirely gone.

10. The photograph has distinctly iyah cha savanh. Possibly sapanadhitisat is to be read.

11. The photograph has distinctly lakhopaditha and lakhopayatha. The word pi stands above the line. Of the last syllable of the edict nothing has been preserved, but the upper part of a vertical stroke to which the vowel i, is attached. The ye, which Sir A. Cunningham and I have given formerly, does not exist. B shows clearly that peculiar shape of the edge of a large exfoliation, by which the real consonant has been destroyed, has produced the mistake. The lost consonant no doubt was ta and the reading ti, as M. Senart has suggested. The correct division of the words lakhopaditha and lakhopayatha has been first given by M. Senart.
12. According to the new materials it would seem that first sātilēkānī was incised and then partly erased, a ra being at the same time placed before it. No doubt the clerk copied sātilēkānī, the Māgadhī form, and then wanted to put in sātilēkānī, as the vernacular of the Central Provinces required. In the transcript of this edict the horizontal lines between the words indicate that they stand close together in the original.

13. According to the new materials the reading asvātiyānī, which is possible also according to my facsimile, is more probable than asvātiyānī. The di of my first edition is simply a misreading.

14. M. Senart's case is a misreading, the new materials giving va-yā-saṇī as plainly as the facsimile attached to the first edition.

15. Read bādā; the stroke, intended for the curve of the first consonant, has been attached by mistake to the top.

16. Both according to A, and B, especially according to B, the first letter is an imperfectly formed sa, exactly as it looks in my facsimile. B seems to show before ka the somewhat indistinct outlines of a sa, while A has a blurred sign exactly like that on my facsimile. Though there is no trace of a letter in the blank space, the possibility that the reading may have been upāśādē, is not absolutely precluded.

17. M. Senart's bādā is neither supported by my old facsimile nor by the new materials, which all show short vowels. The Anuvāna stands low at the foot of the ka.

18. B shows gha plainly, as more faintly, while A agrees exactly with my old facsimile. The reading may have been saugha, sauggha, or saγha.

19. The first letter is undoubtedly sa according to the old and the new materials, and the third te. The vowel, attached to the second, is not distinguishable in A and B, and the reading may have been either upātē or upātē.

20. B shows that the real reading is bādhi not bādhi, as M. Senart has, the dot after ghī being much too small for an Anuvāna. Chā for cha (my misreading) is distinct on all the materials, especially on B.

21. The horizontal vowel-stroke, attached to ya, has according to B on the right a portion of an upward line, and the correct reading seems, therefore, to be yī (not yī); compare bādhi for bādhi and pavatī for pavatī.

22. Both A and B show somewhat faintly mī and to the right of the upper portion of the vertical stroke of sa a deep abrasion. It must remain uncertain, whether the reading was mī or mīnī.

23. The initial ṡ of ṡaḥ consists of an acute angle and is open at the base, the third line having been left out, I suppose, accidentally.

24. The new materials, especially B, show ki ka yī pānmanīṭun, which, as I have proposed formerly, must probably be altered to ki krohā yī pānmanīṭun. Ka might, however, stand, if it were possible to assume that the Pāli had preserved the ancient neuter kā. B makes it probable that ra was originally ka and that a very short portion of the crossbar has been lost accidentally by an abrasion on the left. B shows distinctly that the last syllable is not sa but na, the apparent ṡ-stroke being due to a flaw in the stone.

25. The first letter of pīpalī is slightly injured, but the reading given is even according to B more probable than pīpalī. The form need not cause suspicion, as the sporadic change of sa to sa is not uncommon in the literary Pāli and in that of the inscriptions.

26. Read ṣrādāvā. The ro is certain, but the apparent stroke before ḍha, which M. Senart believes to be an ṡ is not connected with the consonant and clearly due to a flaw in the stone.
27. Śīḍya must not be changed to śīḍya, as M. Senart proposes; it is the dative of the feminine stem śiḍ, which appears in śīḍi, śīḍe, and so forth. The use of the feminine for the masculine is common enough in these inscriptions; compare e. g. above I. 2, indya kālāya.

28. B proves most distinctly that atā not api is the reading. The form atā for apī occurs also in the Kāli Rock-Ed. XIII. 2, 6, atēs, and is protected by numerous analogies like maga for mañgya, kētī for kūnti, and so forth.

29. The vowel of this word is not distinguishable. It probably was paṅkṛ, and may be a mistake for pākṛ, as M. Senart thinks, or equivalent to paṅkṛ, “manner” (of acting).

30. Read saṅkhīsati.

31. The u-stroke of the last syllable of pavaṭīsa is very short, but unmistakable, especially in B. The correction pavaṭīsu, which M. Senart proposes, seems to me unnecessary, as in Pāli i frequently appears for Sanskrit e.

32. Hātha is either a mistake or a vicarious form for hūthā. The words lākhāṭā-vaṭā are as plain as possible on the new materials, and B shows that the rock has not been worn away. On the supposition that vaṭā stands for pāṭa, i.e. pātra, with the in Pāli not unusual softening of the pa, the clause may be translated: “This matter has been incised by my order in the far distance (in the districts) and here (in Magadha).” The last words remind one of the phrase in Rock Edict V, hīda bāhīhaḥ chā nagādava, (K. 1. 16). With this interpretation the sense is unobjectionable, but it may be urged that the parallelism of the next phrase and the corresponding passage of the Sahasrām edict make it probable, that there should be a future participle passive instead of the past participle passive. If that seems indispensable, it will suffice to insert one single syllable and to write lākhāṭava-vaṭā. Lākhāṭava, i.e. lākhāṭaṃ as good as lākhāṭaṃvīya. M. Sonart’s extensive changes seem to me neither necessary nor even advisable as they destroy the sense of the passage.

33. In B the dental āha and the final i of athi are perfectly recognisable. In A these signs look exactly like those of the old facsimile. Cha has been inserted as a correction. Sūdāthuḥṇi is not very plain on the old facsimile, but unmistakable both in A and B. The change of a to u has been caused by the influence of the labial; compare B. Müller, Simplified Pali Grammar, p. 6.

34. Read lākhāṭātmanyaya. With the termination veyya for viya compare such words as supaddāyuḥ, dupatipādyoḥ, and so forth. The final īa stands for ī, i.e. ī. It is, however, not absolutely necessary to correct īa to ī, as M. Senart does. For, the Mahārāṣṭrī īa, which appears for ī in the beginning of a verse or of a sentence, points to the former existence of a vicarious form īa, which might be shortened to īa.

35. The vowel of the penultimate syllable, which is much injured, is doubtful; that of the antepenultimate is clearly ī, not ī, as M. Senart’s transcript makes it.

36. Vyayadhena, not Vyayadhena, is the reading; but the u-strokes of the ya very thick.

37. The final i of vasūṇi is at least probable, and it is certain that there is no Anuvāra after, the na. Possibly yaḥ kahakāḥ to be read.

38. The Anuvāra of saṅgyāḥ is not certain. Both the impressions have clearly apayāś not upayāše.

39. The second syllable of umād stands above the line. The following syllable may have been nāḥ, but the stone is just here very rough. Dēvāḥ, now known as the reading of the Mysore versions, is tolerably distinct with the exception of the last consonant, which is rather faint.
40. Chakyă not chakayă is the real reading. The first sign of kamamihā is half gone. There is no ya after it.

41. Chakyă looks almost like takyi, because the cha has been made triangular and the lower line is fainter than the two others.

42. The Anuvāra of ahid is not certain, the other two signs are faint, but recognizable.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

By Geo. Fr. D’Penia.

No. 17.—A Cinderella Variant.¹

Once upon a time there lived a king with his queen and two children, the elder a daughter of about ten or twelve years of age, and the younger a boy about seven years old. At this time the princess and the prince had the misfortune to lose their mother. The princess supplied her place, in the way of taking care of her brother, and other domestic affairs; and everything went on smoothly, so much so that the king forgot his affliction, and made up his mind not to marry again, for fear his second wife should ill-treat his daughter and son.

Now it happened that there lived close to the palace a widow, who also had a daughter of about the same age as the princess, and so like her that little or no difference could be seen between the two. The princess, after she had finished her domestic duties, was in the habit of visiting this widow and spending some time there. The widow, too, took a great liking to the princess, and every time she was visited by the girl, she would dress her hair, deck her with wreaths of flowers and show her much kindness. While treating the princess in this manner, she would often say:

“My dear princess, are you not tired of your life, cooking and doing all the household work? You must ask your father to marry again, when you will have less work to do, and be more happy.”

But the princess would say:— “I like to do the household work, and my father loves me the more for it. As for his marriage, I cannot tell why he does not marry.”

Things went on like this for several months, and the widow said the same thing every day to the princess. So one day the princess said to her father:

“Father, why don’t you marry another wife?”

The king, however, said:— “My dear child, I do not want to marry for the sake of you and your brother. There is every probability that your step-mother may ill-treat you, and injure you.”

The following day, when the princess visited the widow, she told her what the king said, but the widow said to her:

“Oh, what an idea for your father to have. Do not believe a word of it. Ask him again to marry, and if he says that he is afraid of your being ill-treated, say it will not be so.”

So in the evening, at supper, the princess, again, said to her father:— “Why don’t you marry again?”

And the king repeated the same reason. Upon this the princess said:— “No, no, father, it will not be so. On the contrary, it will be a relief to me in my domestic duties.”

But the king seemed to pay no heed to the princess’s words, and so the widow resorted to other tricks.

One day, as the princess was cooking something, she happened to leave the kitchen for a little while, and the widow came and put in the pot a handful of sand. Another day, she came

¹ [It must be remembered that this is an Indian Christian tale.—Ed.]
In the same way and put in a great quantity of salt. On a third day she put in a lot of earth. And so on for many days. The king used to be surprised to find his food cooked in such a way, and thought that, because he would not marry a second time, the princess was doing it on purpose to vex him and to force him to marry. However, he thought it best to make himself sure as to who was really doing the mischief. So one day he left the house in the presence of the princess, and, returning quietly by another door, hid himself in such a position as to watch everything that was being done in the kitchen. The princess put a pot of rice on the oven to boil, and went to a well close by to fetch water. In the meantime the widow, who had seen the princess going to the well, came in and threw in the pot a lot of sand, and went away. The king, who had seen everything, now came out of his hiding place, and, after the princess came back with the water, he returned to the house, as if he had come from a distance.

In another half hour the dinner was ready, and the princess laid it on the table, and they sat down to partake of it. While they were eating, the king said: —

"My dear daughter, now tell me, who is it that tells you to say to me that I must marry? Is it your own idea, or has any one else suggested it to you?"

The princess replied: — "Father, it is our neighbour, the widow, who tells me to speak to you in that way. And I think it is only reasonable that you should marry."

"But," said the king, "as I told you before, your step-mother may treat you very badly."

And the princess said: — "No, father, it will not be so."

The king then said to her: — "Very well, I will marry again; but should you complain of any ill-treatment at the hands of your step-mother, I will pay no heed to it. In fact, I will not even look at you."

Thus said the king, and it was settled that the king should marry again. And it happened that his choice fell on the widow, who was so kind to the princess.

Preparations were now made for the grand occasion, and on the appointed day the king was married to the widow with all possible toset, and henceforth she must be called the queen. The queen continued to treat the princess with the same kindness as before for a few days, and then, as is usual with step-mothers, began to ill-treat her. She made her own daughter wear all the nice clothes of the princess, and do nothing all day but sit idle and eat sweets and such like things; while the princess had to go in rags and bear the drudgery of the cook-house and other domestic work. The prince, too, was, under ples of being a mischievous child, sent to some school, where he was kept like an orphan.

Day after day the queen took a greater dislike to the princess and ill-treated her horribly. Her hatred went so far that she could not even bear the sight of her, and she, therefore, began to devise means to keep her out of sight, if not altogether, at least during the day. So she one day told the king to buy her a cow. The king, at first, refused to do so, saying they had no business with a cow, but the queen insisted on having a cow, and, at last, the king was persuaded upon to buy one. As soon as the cow was bought and brought home, the princess was ordered by her step-mother, the queen, to take her out to graze every morning, and not to return home till dusk. For her own food during the whole day she was given bread made of btjrt. The poor princess had no alternative but to obey. In fact she was only too glad, for it would keep her away the whole day, and save her the abuse she was wont to receive from her step-mother.

Every day, as soon as she got up in the morning, the princess could be seen with a bundle of btjrt cakes in one hand and with the other leading the cow to the grazing ground some miles distant from the palace. Now it happened that the princess daily fed the cow with the btjrt

Bread made of btjrt is eaten only by the very poor classes.
cakes that were her own food, and the cow, after eating them, deposited bhākārās and tāṇārās, with which the princess fed herself, and thus grew strong and stout. This change in the condition of the princess (for, it must be remarked, she was reduced to almost a skeleton while at home) excited the curiosity of the queen, who wondered what could be the cause of it.

One morning she sent the princess with the bajri cakes, telling her that they were not ready, and that her sister (for so the princess addressed her step-mother's daughter) would bring them to her, when prepared. The object of the queen was, of course, to send her daughter to watch the princess, as to what she did and ate that made her so stout.

Accordingly, an hour or so after the princess had gone, her step-sister followed her with the bajri cakes, which she gave to the princess, and, pretending to return home, hid herself close by, so that she could see everything that the princess did. The princess little suspected that her step-sister had concealed herself, and that she was watching her actions. So, as usual, she untied the bundle of bajri cakes and fed the cow. No sooner had the cow finished the last morsel than she deposited bhākārās and tāṇārās, and with these the princess appeased her hunger and thirst. The queen's daughter, who had seen everything from her hiding place, now went home. Her mother asked her if she and soon what the princess did to make her so stout and strong. The girl said:

"O mother, it is not surprising that the princess is getting so stout and strong. As directed by you, I gave her the bajri cakes, and, pretending to go home, I concealed myself so as to see everything. The princess thought I had gone home, and she untied the bundle of bajri cakes and gave them to the cow; and on eating the cakes the cow deposited bhākārās and tāṇārās. O what sweet a savour they sent forth! In truth, I was half inclined to come out from the place of my concealment and to ask for a share. The princess ate the bhākārās and tāṇārās; and that, I am sure, is the reason why she gets so stout and strong."

"If that be the case," thought the queen to herself, "surely, it is better that I send my own daughter to graze the cow."

Thus it was decided that from the following day the princess should stay at home and that her step-sister should take the cow to graze. So, on the next day, as the princess was about to take the cow to the grazing ground, her step-sister came up to her and said:

"Sister, let me take the cow to graze. You must have been disgusted and tired, going with the cow daily. I wish to relieve you for a few days."

The princess little thought of the true reason of her step-sister's anxiety to take the cow to graze, and so allowed her to go with the cow; while she herself stayed at home, not in the least relieved of any troubles, as her step-sister had said, for she was shown into the kitchen, where she had to work all day.

The queen's daughter, taking the bundle of bajri cakes, led the cow to the grazing-ground. When she reached it, she untied the bundle and fed the cow with the bajri cakes, every moment expecting to see the cow deposit bhākārās and tāṇārās, but to her great annoyance and disgust the cow discharged dung! The girl, however, concealed herself with the thought that, that being her first day, she must not expect bhākārās and tāṇārās. But the same thing continued for many days, and the girl was reduced almost to a skeleton for want of food. So she told her mother how she had been disappointed, and that she was determined not to go again.

This affair was the cause of further hatred on the part of the queen towards the princess, and she made up her mind to somehow or other get rid of her. The queen, therefore, now and again, told the king that the princess was now grown up, and that he must dispose of her in marriage; but the king paid no heed to what the queen said.
About this time it happened that the king of a neighbouring country had an only son, whom the father desired to get married, but the prince said that he wished to select his own wife. For this purpose he told the king to get up a dance and to invite to it all the neighbouring princesses, as well as other big folk. The king, therefore, appointed an evening for the dance, and hundreds of princesses and the daughters of nobles were invited.

Milliners were at once called into requisition, and the girls vied with each other in choosing out dresses and slippers for the occasion. Our queen, too, got a very nice dress for her daughter, also a beautiful pair of slippers. The day appointed for the dance was fast approaching, and all the girls were anxiously waiting to go to it, and were impatient to know who would be selected by the prince for his wife. This was, however, a cause of great misery to our princess, for she thought to herself:—

"All the girls will soon go to the dance, while I must sit at home. Oh that my mother were living! Would she not get me a new dress to enable me to go too? Even, though my mother was dead, my father would have done everything for me; but he takes no notice of me now, and it will be useless for me to speak to him, for has he not warned me that, should anything go wrong, I must not complain, and also that he will pay no heed to what I may say or do? Cursed be the hour when I insisted upon and persuaded my father to marry a second time!"

Thus she thought, and burst into sobs and cries, and from her eyes ran a stream of tears. While the princess was in this mood, her godmother, who had been dead for some years, appeared to her, and asked her what was the matter with her, and what she wanted. The princess told her of her misfortunes since her mother's death, how she was ill-treated by her step-mother, and every thing else that had occurred. She then told her that she wanted a dress and a pair of slippers to go to a dance, which a neighbouring king had got up to enable his son to select a wife.

"Oh! is that all?" said the princess' godmother. "Do not fret about it: make yourself easy. You will have every thing you want in time."

Thus she said and disappeared.

In due time the day of the dance came, and hundreds of girls, each dressed in her best, with bright and variegated coloured slippers, could be seen making their way to the palace of the king who had given the dance. The queen also sent her daughter handsomely dressed, thinking perhaps the prince might take a liking to her. At the appointed time dancing commenced, and the prince was seen dancing with several girls alternately. Our princess, who had seen all the girls going, and not yet having received the dress her godmother had promised, thought the vision was merely a dream, and again burst into tears, when, she immediately saw a very handsome dress and a pair of golden slippers. Having dressed herself hastily she entered the king's palace, and went into the dancing hall, when everybody's attention was at once riveted on her — dancing ceased for a short time, and all admired the very beautiful dress, and the more beautiful features of the new-comer. All were at a loss to know who the stranger was. Even her step-mother and sister did not recognise her. In a little while dancing commenced with renewed vigour, and the prince, who was quite enamoured of the princess, danced with no one save her. The merriment continued till the small hours of the morning, when all the guests left one by one. The princess, whom the prince tried to stop, made her escape and left before everyone, and going home resumed her usual dress, which was not much better than rags.

Soon all the guests were gone and day dawned, and the king asked his son if he had made his choice. The prince said he had, but that unfortunately he could not tell her name, nor did he even know whence she came, and that he was, therefore, very unhappy. The prince now asked the king to give another dance, when, he said, he would take more care in making a
proper choice. The king, who was very fond of him, agreed to do so; and, a month or so after, again sent invitations to different countries, stating the object he had in view in getting up the dance.

The people, that had come for the first dance, now thought that the prince had not made his choice. They, therefore, ordered better dresses and slippers than on the first occasion, thinking that this time at least their daughters might succeed in winning the prince's love. On the appointed day hundreds of ladies with their daughters proceeded to the palace with beautiful dresses, flaunting the best silks and displaying their very best jewellery. A few days before this, the princess, again began to think of her inability to go to the dance, and burst into tears, when her godmother again appeared to her and comforted her, telling her that she would, as on the first occasion, get a dress and slippers in time for the dance. She then asked her what was the result of the first dance, and the princess told her godmother all that had occurred; how she went somewhat late; how dancing ceased for a while, and all the people began to admire her; how she remained unnoticed by any one, particularly by her step-mother and sister; how the prince danced with her alone; and how, when she was going home after the dance, the prince tried to stop her, but she escaped from his grasp and went home before every one, and thus kept her step-mother and others in ignorance about her being at the king's palace. Her godmother, upon this, said:

"My dear child, I am very glad to learn that the prince was enamoured of you, which I gather from his dancing with you alone; but, I think, you did not act rightly in making your escape from him. On this occasion you must behave differently. I am sure that, after dancing is over, the prince will try to keep you, but you must, in making your escape, leave behind one of your slippers, which will be the surest means of the prince's being able to find you. In the meanwhile, compose yourself and be cheerful." Thus spoke the godmother and disappeared.

On the appointed day, when hundreds of guests had already gone to the palace, the princess was seated alone in her father's house, anxiously waiting for the dress and slippers, and began to doubt the sincerity of her godmother. While she was yet thus thinking, she saw before her a very handsome dress, — even more handsome than that she got on the first occasion, — and also a pair of golden slippers, studded with gems of the first water. Thus equipped the princess went in all possible haste to the king's palace, and as she entered the hall wherein the guests were assembled and were already dancing, all the people were struck dumb at the grandeur of the dress and the brilliancy of the slippers, and also at the noble demeanour and the handsome appearance of the new-comer. As on the first occasion dancing ceased for a while, while the people kept admiring the new guest. When dancing was resumed, the prince, who was bewitched by the beauty of the princess, would take no one except her to dance with him. They kept up the dancing till near dawn of day, when the guests began to leave, one after another. This time the prince tried to stop the princess, but she managed to free herself from his grasp, and in the struggle to escape she let one of her slippers come from her foot, and ran away with all speed, so as to be at home before the others. She reached her house and resumed her ragged clothes; and when her step-mother and sister returned home they little dreamt that the fair person they saw and admired so much was the one they had so ill-treated.

The guests all went to their respective houses, but the prince snatched the slipper, and went unobserved and threw himself down in his father's stables, thinking how to find out the owner of the slipper, whom alone he wished to marry. The king and his servants searched the whole palace and then the whole town for the prince, but he was nowhere to be found.

The night passed and in the morning the maid-servants (budhān, sing. budhaṇ) took some grain to feed the horses; but instead of giving the grain to the horses they ate it themselves, throwing the bones to the horses. This the prince saw, and reproached them for...
their deceit. As soon as the voice of the prince fell upon the ears of the maid-servants, they said:

"Oh dear prince, what are you doing here? The king is searching for you all over the country, and, being unable to find you, he has become sick."

But the prince said: - "Away, you humbugs. This is how you do your work: you eat the grain yourselves and give only the husks to the horses. No wonder you are becoming fatter day by day, while the horses are becoming leaner and weaker. Go away now; but take care of yourselves if you say a word about me to any one, at any rate to my father."

The maid-servants went away, but paid very little heed to the prince's threats, and went and stood before the king, saying:

"Rájá Sáheb, Rájá Sáheb, ádhá tē bart gōt hā; Sir King, Sir King, if you will listen, there is a good story (news)."

Upon this the king roared out: - "Kā hā! Tāmīn khā⊥tā hā dīī rartē hā! Kā sāṅgā tē sāṅgā bōgaṁ. What is it? You are always eating and always crying! What you have to say, say quickly."

The maid-servants answered: - "Good news, Rájá Sáheb, our prince is in the stables."

But the prince, however, would not give them credit, and therefore said: - "Oh, get away! You are always telling me lies! Why, don't you say you want something?"

The king, however, would not give them credit, and therefore said: - "Oh, get away! You are always telling me lies! Why, don't you say you want something?"

The maid-servants swore that they did not want anything, and that they were telling him the truth, for they saw the prince with their own eyes.

Thereupon the king went with the maid-servants to his stables, and he saw, as the maid-servants had told him, the prince lying on the floor. The king thus spoke to him:

"Kā hādā tā⊥d? Kāndākoṁ dālēh parlam tā⊥d pā gōt dānāṁ kīd tabiloṁ tabiloṁ? Sāṅg mālaṁ. Kōnīn hā tābiloṁ tā⊥, tā⊥hā hāt jhān; Kōnīn mā tābiloṁ tā⊥, tā⊥hā pātī jhān; Kāndākā tā⊥hā kā⊥nī, tā⊥hā dō⊥d kānī. Oṁ sāṅg, hā pā⊥tī tā⊥d tēt pā⊥dāh kānī. What ails you my son? What trouble has come upon you that you have concealed yourself in the stable? Has any one threatened injury to you? Tell me. If any one has lifted up his hands against you, I shall take (out) his hands; if any one has used his legs to do you harm, say, and I will take (out) his legs; if any one has looked on you with an evil eye, say, I will pull out his eyes. Or, say what you want, and I will see that you get it."

The king then said: - "Is this all that you are so grieved about? Your desire shall be fulfilled at any cost. In the meanwhile, come, leave the stables, and take your meals."

The prince got up and followed his father, resuming his usual mood. The king then sent servants with the slipper the prince had picked up, with instructions to go from house to house through all the town and even to neighbouring countries, and try it on the foot of every girl they saw and whatsoever girl's foot it fitted, that girl was to be asked in marriage for the prince.

Away went the servants from village to village and city to city, and inquired from house to house if there were any girls. Hundreds of girls were shown them, and they tried the slipper on every one of the girls' feet, but it fitted no one. At last they came to the house of our princess, and on inquiry from the servants if there were any girls in the house the queen showed them her daughter. The servants tried the slipper on her feet, but it did not fit her; so they asked if there was another girl, but the queen said there was no other girl besides her daughter. The servants now went and searched the houses over again, but with no success. For
a second time they came to the princess' house and asked to be shewn any girls that there might be in the house. This time, too, the queen produced her daughter, but in vain. The servants again asked if there was no other girl in the house, and the queen again said there was none besides her daughter. The servants were about to go away when, as Providence would have it, they chanced to see the princess in the kitchen, and asked the queen to call her out. But the queen refused to do so, saying she was only a servant in the house, and, therefore, it would not be worth while trying the slipper on her feet. The servants, however, insisted on the girl in the kitchen, whoever she might be, being called out, and the queen was obliged to call her out, which she did with the greatest reluctance. The princess was soon in the presence of the servants, who asked her to wear the slipper which they gave her, and which fitted to her foot exactly; and what wonder, did it not belong to her? The servants next asked for an interview with the king, our princess' father, with whom it was arranged that he should give his daughter in marriage to the prince, the son of their master, the king. The king gave his consent to the marriage, and thus it was decided that the princess should marry the neighbouring king's son, and a day, a few months after, was appointed for the suspicious occasion.

During the interval from this date, which we may call the day of betrothal of the princess and the prince, and the day of their marriage, preparations were being made on the grandest scale imaginable. Rice was ground for making *guldā* and *īrā*, and all sorts of provisions were made ready for the great event. In due time the appointed day came, and the marriage of the princess with the prince was celebrated with great *bolā* and guests were feasted for several days by both parties. This was, of course, an event of great jubilation for the princess, and for two reasons:—firstly, because she had been fortunate in obtaining a prince for her husband, for it must be remembered that, had it not been for the dances that were given by the prince and the timely aid of her godmother, she would never have been married to a prince, as her father never paid the slightest attention to her; secondly, because she had, at length, escaped from the drudgery of the kitchen, and more so from ill-treatment at the hands of her step-mother. On the other hand, it was the greatest mortification to the queen, her step-mother, who was frustrated in her attempts to get her own daughter married to the prince. She could not, however, do anything now, and so she pretended so like what had happened, and show every possible respect for the princess' husband, and treated him and also the princess with apparent kindness.

After spending a few days at his father-in-law's house, the prince taking his wife went and lived at his own house. When several months had passed after their marriage, the princess became *enceinte, and in due time, when nine months had elapsed, she brought forth a beautiful child, a boy.

In the meanwhile the princess' step-mother, who was still bent upon mischief, kept on devising plans to get rid of her, and to get her daughter in her place. With this view, she one day asked her husband, the king, to invite his daughter and son-in-law to spend a few days with them. The king accordingly sent an invitation, which invitation his son-in-law accepted, and came with his wife and child. The queen treated them with great kindness, and pretended love for the princess like her own daughter. When a few days passed the prince asked permission to go home, but the queen asked him to stay a few days longer. The prince, however, said that he could not stay any longer, as he had to attend his father's *darbār*. The queen then said that, if he could not stay, he might at least allow his wife to remain a few days, and asked him also to come again on a certain day, when he could go home with his wife. The prince saw no objection to keeping his wife at her father's house, especially after so much entreaty from the queen, and, little suspecting the mischief she was up to, he allowed his wife to stay...
another week or so, and, promising to come on a certain day to take her home, he went away. When the prince was gone the queen still shewed the same kindness to the princess.

One day, the queen called her daughter and said to her:—"When you go to the well to-day to fetch water, the princess, as is her wont, is sure to come to help you. If she happens to draw water from the well, you peep in and say to her—'oh, how beautiful your reflection is in the water!' Then ask her to let you wear all her jewels, which she will certainly not refuse you to do, and ask her how you appear with all the jewellery. When she again stoops to draw water, hold her by her legs and throw her into the water, and come home sharp.'"

The girl promised to do exactly as her mother said.

During the course of the day the girl took up a vessel and told her mother she was going to the well to fetch water. Upon this the princess also took up another vessel and followed her step-sister to the well. Now, while the girl was rinsing and washing the vessels the princess began to draw out water from the well, upon which the girl also peeped inside and said:

"Oh, sister, how beautifully you reflect in the water! Suppose I put on your jewels, shall I also look as beautiful?"

The princess, who did not, in the least, suspect any foul play, stripped herself of all her jewellery and put it on her step-sister, who then went and looked in the well, saying:—"Oh sister, I do, indeed, look very beautiful with all the jewellery, but, I must confess, your beauty beats mine hollow. Come, remove the jewels from my person and wear them yourself. Who knows, I may lose some, or some of them might drop into the well."

The princess, however, said there was no necessity to be in such a hurry to remove them, but told her to keep them till they went home. The girl was only too glad that the princess was careless about the jewels. The princess now again began to draw water, and as she stooped to draw a bucket from the well, the wretched girl caught her by her legs, and, throwing her in, ran away, carrying the vessels they had brought for water. The poor princess was soon at the bottom of the well and was dead.

A few days passed after this and the prince came to take his wife, the princess, home when the queen ushered in his presence, her own daughter, as his wife. Now, as we said before, this girl was about the same age as the princess, and in appearance, too, there was little or no difference; and even her voice did not betray her. The prince, at first sight, had some misgiving about her, but thought that some circumstance or other might account for the very slight difference he perceived in her. He passed the day at his father-in-law's, and, taking his supposed wife with his child, went home. Before leaving the queen put in the place of her daughter's breasts cocoanut shells, which made them look bigger, and thus deceived the prince thoroughly. When they had reached home the girl behaved to the child exactly as a mother would, that is, she would give, or pretended to give, suck to the child, bathe him, and so on. But the child always kept crying, particularly during the day, for want of milk.

Now it happened that during the night, when all used to go to sleep, the princess, though she was really dead, used to come to her husband's house, and, by some charm, put every person to a sound sleep; and entering the bed-room, she used to give suck to the child, and this kept the child from crying much in the night. After giving milk to her child, the princess would sit on the hikâdi in the outer verandah, and sing:

"Urphâdi chôl, thâni kârâsî, hâsî basi go máêtî bhorâr sôgi?
Urphâdi chôl, thâni kârâsî, hâsî kâsî go máêtî bôtî sôgi?
Urphâdi chôl, thâni kârâsî, hâsî basi go máêtî savî sôgi?
Urphâdi chôl, thâni kârâsî, hâsî kâsî go máêtî sâmâ sôgi?"

6 The hikâdi is a cot suspended by four chains or ropes tied to the four corners, on which people sit and swing about with their feet. It is a favourite article of furniture in the houses of natives, and those of the Bombay East Indians in Salsette. It is generally suspended in the outer verandah.
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my husband?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my babe?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my father-in-law?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my mother-in-law?

After repeating this song several times the princess would disappear. This continued for many days, but no one in the king's palace was aware of it, except an old woman, who lived in a hut close by, and used to hear this song nightly, wondering what it meant, or who the person was that sang it. One day, the old woman saw the prince passing her hut, and stopping him she asked him who it was that sat on the hindīdā in the night and sang.

The prince was surprised to hear that someone sat on the hindīdā and sang when all were asleep. "Who can it be?" he thought to himself. "Everyone in the house goes to sleep as early as possible."

Thus thinking, he told the old woman he could not believe such a thing. The old woman, however, swore that she had heard some one singing every night, "but to make yourself sure," she said to the prince, "don't go to sleep to-night, and keep yourself concealed near the hindīdā, and then you can find out for yourself whether what I tell you is the truth or a lie." The prince agreed to do so, and went away.

In the evening, after taking supper, all the people of the palace went to bed, but the prince kept awake and hid himself close by the hindīdā. About midnight he saw the figure of a young woman come and enter the palace, though the doors were all closed. The woman entered the bed-room, and after giving suck to the child, she came out and sat on the hindīdā and sang:

"Urphānt ekōt, tawāt kardāhīt, hātē kah gō mādhā bhārtārā, sēgā?
Urphānt ekōt, tawāt kardāhīt, hātē kah gō mādhā bālā sēgā?
Urphānt ekōt, tawāt kardāhīt, hātē kah gō mādhā saerā sēgā?
Urphānt ekōt, tawāt kardāhīt, hātē kah gō mādhā sēdā sēgā?"

Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my husband?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my babe?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my father-in-law?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my mother-in-law?"

The prince now believed that what the old woman told him was true. He waited till the princess had repeated the song three or four times, upon which he left his hiding-place and seized the princess by her hand; and asked her who she was, and what her song meant. She then told him that she was his wife, who was drowned in a well by her step-sister, while she had been to her father's house. She next explained how it had all happened.

When the prince heard the whole story of the princess, his oft-recurring suspicions about some fraud being practised on him were now confirmed. He seized the princess by the hand and begged of her not to leave him, but to stay with him, which she did. He next got into a rage and went out the pretended wife into three pieces: two pieces of the trunk he hung up on two rods, and the head (the third piece) he buried with mouth open in a latrine, the meaning being that she should eat human secrets as a punishment.
FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. 19. — Sāryā and Chandra.

Once there was a Rāja, who was very fond of going about his kingdom in disguise, and acquired, by that means, knowledge of a good many things happening in every part of it.

One day, standing under the shade of a tree near a well, he noticed a group of girls in the first flush of womanhood, chattering away and imparting to one another all their little hopes and fears, prospects and designs, as girls of the same age are wont to do when they get together. The Rāja felt interested, and stood quietly listening, as one of them said: “Now, sisters, I propose that, instead of wasting our time in idle talk, we tell one another what special qualification each can boast of! For my part, I can do a good many things that other girls can do likewise, but there is one thing in which I excel all others, and what do you think it is?”

“Why,” replied the others laughing; “pray, tell us what it is that you excel all other girls in?”

“Ah,” said the first speaker, who was, by the way, a betel-nut seller’s daughter, “I can divide one small betel-nut into so many fragments, that after each member of a large assembly — say, the largest wedding party — had one, there would still be some to spare!”

“Ha, ha, what does that signify?” laughed one who was a pan-leaf seller’s daughter, “I can divide one pan-leaf — one small pan-leaf you know — into as many pieces, as you can your betel-nut, and I am sure my friends here will agree that that shows greater skill!”

And so the girls went on, and on, till at last one, who looked not only prettier than the rest, but was also considerably superior by birth and breeding, outdid them all by the very magnitude and nature of her boast!

“I,” said she, when her friends called on her to speak and tell them what special qualification she had, “I am destined to give birth to the Sun and the Moon.”

Her companions were taken aback at this strange declaration, and while some giggled, others laughed at her as a dreamer. But the Rāja, who had watched her with special interest,

[This story is very interesting as being the result of the telling of European tales to Indian children. Cinderella has become naturalized fairly among native Christians; but the European ghost appears in a very strange form. — En.]
was so struck with the force of her strange words, that he was seized with an eager desire to win her in marriage, and thus to share her destiny of bringing the Sun and the Moon in human shape upon earth!

So, when the girl separated from her companions, he followed her up to her house, unnoticed, and found that she belonged to a very respectable Brahman family!

This proved, however, no bar to his wishes, for he sent messengers to her father to ask him, or rather to bid him, give his daughter in marriage to him, and where was a subject that had the courage to refuse what royalty marked for his own! So, despite the difference in their cases, the Brahman lady was married to the Kshatriya Raja amid great pomp and rejoicings on both sides.

Now this Raja had three other wives, but his Brahman bride was placed above them all on account of the strange and interesting destiny she was reputed to be the means of fulfilling. Consequently, the others grew jealous of her, and now and then devised plans for bringing her into disfavour with the Raja, but, for some time, without success.

Things went on like this for some time till it was whispered in the household that the Raja was as before, and soon the news got wind, and there were great rejoicings throughout the kingdom, for the Sun and the Moon were soon to be born upon earth! But the Raja knew how much he had to fear from the jealousy of his other Rajas, and had constantly to be on guard lest they should find means to harm his favoured wife or her expected progeny in some way.

Now, unfortunately, it happened that war broke out with a neighbouring power just when the time of the lady's delivery came near, and the Raja had to go out himself at the head of his large army to fight the enemy. So he cautioned his Brahman wife against the wiles of her co-wives, and giving her a large drum, told her to beat it with all her might as soon as she was seized with the pangs of maternity, assuring her that the sound of that miraculous instrument would reach him wherever he was, and soon bring him back to her!

As soon, however, as the Raja's back was turned, the three crafty and jealous women set to work, and by their wiles and flattery succeeded in inducing the simple Brahman girl to tell them all about the drum, and the wicked Raja lost no time in cutting it right through! When the time came for the poor lady to make use of it, she beat it with all her strength, but it would give out no sound! She was too simple, however, to suspect her co-wives of having tampered with it, for she thought all along that they were her well-wishers, as they kept constantly near her and made much of her! She was moreover indiscreet enough to ask them to be near her when her expected twins were born, — the Sun represented by a divinely handsome boy, the Moon by a bewitchingly lovely girl! And now the crafty women had their opportunity. As soon as the little twins came into the world, they covered up the mother's eyes on some pretext or other, and taking away the dear little babes, deposited them side by side, in a little wooden box, and set it adrift in the sea! In the meantime the midwife, whom they had completely bought over to their interests, put in the twins' place, by the mother's side, a log of wood and a broom, and, then calling in the ladies and the officers of the court, told them to see what the lady had given birth to! The poor lady herself, however, refused to believe the hag's story, and suspected foul play, but had not the courage to speak while the Raja was absent.

The Raja, on his part, had been counting the days as they passed by, and expecting every moment to hear the sound of the drum; but as several days passed and he heard it not, he could no longer control his impatience; so throwing up the chances of war, he at once bent his steps homewards. But what was his surprise on arriving there to see that the courtiers and others who had come forward to meet him, wore long faces, and while some sympathized with him, others laughed at him for being duped by a cunning woman, who had devised that plan of
inveigling him into marrying her! The Raja was beside himself with rage at this, and when he went into the presence of the Raja, and the broom and the log of wood were produced before him, he struck the poor lady in his anger and forthwith ordered her to be cast into prison.

And what a prison her enemies contrived her to be consigned to! It was a dreary little room hemmed in between four massive walls, with just one small window in one of them to let in the air. Some coarse food and water was all that was given to her each day through that small window, and that, too, was barely enough to keep body and soul together; and in this wretched state the poor creature had to pass endless days and nights. Hope, however, sustained her through this trial, for she knew that she was innocent, and that a day would come when those who had brought about her ruin would be exposed.

While these events were taking place, the wooden box which contained the two little babes floated calmly on the surface of the ocean, till at last it was cast on a distant shore just at the feet of a poor devotee of the Sun, who lived by begging, and spent his days and nights on the desolate beach, worshipping the Sun and the Moon by turns. He eagerly picked up the box, and on opening it, was no less surprised than delighted to see what it contained! The cry of hunger, which the dear little things gave just as the box was opened, awakened a feeling of the deepest love and tenderness in his breast, and he wished he were a woman and could suckle them, for he had with him neither milk nor any other kind of food which he could give them. In sheer desperation, therefore, if only to keep them from crying, he put a finger of his into each of the little mouths, when lo! the poor hungry babes began to derive sustenance from them and were soon satisfied. The devotee was delighted at this, and, taking the little ones into his hut, fed them in this strange manner whenever they were hungry, and soon found that they threw beautifully on the nourishment they derived from his fingers.

After a year or so, when the little ones were able to eat solid food, he would put them in some safe place, and, going into the neighbouring town, beg food for them in the name of the Sun and the Moon. The people all reverenced this good man, and cheerfully gave him what they could spare, and he would return to his hut and divide what he thus got with the little ones, just as a loving mother would do. Now the devotee, by means of his occult powers, had found out who his little charges were, and had consequently named the boy Surya and the girl Chandrika. When Surya and Chandrika were about seven or eight years old, the good old man felt that his end was approaching. So, one day he called them to his bedside and gave them two things, a stove in which he had constantly been in the habit of keeping a fire burning, and a stick with a rope attached to it. He told them that if they wanted for anything after he was dead, they had only to burn some incense on the fire in the stove, and they would get it. As for the stick and the rope, he told them that, if ever they wanted to chastise or punish any one, they had only to whisper their instructions to the stick and the rope, and they would immediately set to work and give the culprit as good a thrashing as ever was given to anyone.

Soon after the good old devotee had gone to his rest, the two young people thought of going forth into the world and finding out who their parents were, for they had learnt from their late benefactor how they had been discarded and entrusted to the mercy of the waves.

So, as a first step, they expressed to the stove a wish to have a beautiful garden, and in it a golden palace, such as human hands could never build, in a place they chose for themselves. And soon they found themselves in a gorgeous golden palace, whose walls and roof shone so brightly against the Sun, that they cast a strong reflection on their father's palace which was, as chance would have it, situated at the distance of about ten miles from it! The Raja was surprised at this, and sent forth his men to make inquiries as to the source of that strange light, when he was told that a lustrous palace of pure gold had risen up in the midst of the jungle, and was occupied by a beauteous lady and her brother. At this mention of a beauteous lady, the Raja was seized with an eager desire to see her, and to win her favour, and
offered a large reward to any one who would undertake to persuade her to let him have just a look at her.

Several persons came forward to compete for the reward, but the Rājā selected out of them one, a shrewd old hag with a glib and flattering tongue, and sent her forth on her errand.

By bribing the servants of Chandrā, the fair lady of the golden palace, this old hag succeeded in getting admitted into her presence and soon ingratiated herself into her favour. As poor Chandrā was often left by herself all day long, while her brother was engaged in some outdoor pursuit, she gradually began to like the company of the old hag, who frequently found means to visit her when alone, on some pretence or other. Soon the shrewd woman succeeded in wheedling the innocent young creature into telling her all her strange story, and then set about devising a plan to get rid of Chandrā's brother. So, one day she said to her: "Fair lady, you have got the best garden the eye ever beheld, all the large trees in it are both beautiful and rare, and it is not a pity, therefore, that such a magnificent collection should lack that rarest of all trees, the sandal-wood tree, which is found at bottom of the well of Chandan Parī!"

"Ah!" sighed Chandrā, "I should so like to have it!" and the cunning woman, seeing her opportunity, enlarged so much on the merits and the beauty of the tree, that Chandrā was seized with an eager desire to possess it, and would not let her brother rest, till he promised to go and bring it for her! So one morning Sūrya set out in the direction indicated by the old woman, determined to procure the sandal-wood tree. He travelled on and on for many a day, till one day he perceived a most lovely fairy sitting on the brink of a well in the midst of a very dark and deep jungle. But just as Sūrya's eye fell on her the little sprite hid her face with her hands and dropped swiftly into the well! Sūrya threw himself in after her, and soon found at the bottom a dry path, leading into a large palace situated in the bowels of the earth. He entered it, and the same sweet little fairy again greeted his sight.

She would have run away from him this time also, but he specifically took hold of her hand, quieted her fears, and succeeded in getting her to converse with him. They sat talking, till the time came for the return home of the raksha, whose daughter the pari was, when the pari converted Sūrya into a fly, in which guise he remained sticking to the ceiling right over the lady's head. The rakṣasa soon entered, with a number of dead bodies of men and women slung over his back, and began sniffing about and calling out loudly that he suspected the presence of a human being in or about the palace. But his daughter said: "Do not be so angry, dear father, without cause, for the smell of human beings that perambles this place proceeds only out of the dead bodies you carry on your back!" The rākṣasā, however, continued fretting and foaming, and made things very unpleasant for his poor daughter that evening. When morning came, the giant again went out, and the pari soon restored Sūrya to his original shape. This went on for some time, till the two became fast friends. So one day Sūrya persuaded his fair companion to tell him whether she knew how her father was to come by his death. Now, the pari had learned from her father that there was a pair of doves living in a crevice in the walls of the well, over their heads, one grey and the other milk-white, and that the milk-white dove held his life in its bosom, so that, if it were destroyed, the rākṣasā would fall where he stood, and instantly come by his death. The simple little pari repeated all this to her admirer, and he lost no time in profiting by the information he thus obtained, and one morning as soon as the rakha went out, he went to the well, and pulling the two doves out of the crevice, flung the grey one away into the air, and instantly broke the neck of the milk-white one.

The rākṣasā, who was somewhere about, gave a tremendous yell as he felt his own neck wrung violently, and fell down dead with a heavy thud. Instantly, there sprung up around Sūrya a host of other rakṣasās, fierce, strong, and wild, who would have instantly killed
him for having destroyed their chief, but he forthwith drew out his miraculous stick and ropes, which he always carried with him, and bid them tie up all the rākṣasas and give them as severe a thrashing as they could. The stick and the rope speedily set to work, and the rākṣasas received so severe a thrashing that they all roared out with pain and begged of our hero to have pity upon them, and promised in that event to become his slaves and remain so all their lives.

"Very well, then," said Sūrya; "do as I bid you. Bring the part and the Chandan-tree, that is the boast of her garden, out of this well, and follow me." The rākṣasas were nothing loath, for one of them jumped in and brought out the part, all trembling and disconsolate at the loss of her father, while the others went into the garden, and, cutting out a portion of the ground on which the Chandan-tree grew, followed Sūrya and the part to the palace of gold.

Chandrā was in ecstasies, not only to see her brother alive and well, but also the Chandan-tree she had been longing so much for, and the pretty little Chandan Part as well.

The old hag, however, who had never expected Sūrya to come back alive, was disconcerted at his sudden arrival, as it interfered with her plans regarding his sister. She, however, stifled her disappointment as best she could, and, putting on a pleasant smile, welcomed our hero with every manifestation of regard and admiration, and congratulated him on having attained his object. Sūrya then persuaded Chandan Part to forgive him for having caused her father’s death, and to give him her hand in marriage, and the three lived happily together in that magnificent palace for some time, Chandrā and the part having become fast friends. But the old hag, who was bent upon Sūrya’s destruction, again devised a plan to get rid of him, and one day, while he was talking to his sister and extolling the charms of his fairy wife, the old wretch, who was present, craftily put in, by way of a remark, that he thought his Chandan Part beautiful, only because he had not seen the world-renowned Part of Unchhatra, who lived under the magnificent tree called Unchhatra.

Sūrya at once fell into the trap, and expressed his determination to go in search of this new part at once. Now this part, as the hag well knew, was as cruel as she was beautiful, and all those that went to win her came back no more! She had a magic comb, which she kept constantly with her, and as soon as any one rode near enough to lay hands on her, she turned up her hair with it, and, in the twinkling of an eye, both horse and rider were transformed into stone! Our hero, however, who knew nothing of this, put a pinch of incense over the fire in the magic stove, and wished that he might be provided with a fleet steed, such as would traverse the longest distance in the twinkling of an eye, and lo, there presently stood before him just such a horse!

Sūrya was delighted, and soon taking leave of his part-wife and his beloved sister, he mounted the fiery charger, and galloped away like lightning. The gallant charger seemed to know the abode of the part of Unchhatra, and to be aware also of the use of the comb, for, as soon as he spied her sitting under her favourite tree, he leapt straight right into her lap, and, before she could raise her hand and put the comb to her hair, Sūrya seized her by the wrist, and wrested it away. Unchhatra, finding herself thus suddenly deprived of her magic power, fell down at the feet of her valiant conqueror, and swooned right away. Sūrya promptly dismounti'd, and, raising her head on his lap, tried every means to bring her round. As soon as she was restored to her senses, and was able to speak, she acknowledged Sūrya’s supremacy over her, and promised to be his slave and servant all her life. The only favour, however, which she asked of him, when he had assured her of his forgiveness, was to be allowed to make use of her comb once more, not to do harm to anybody, for that power was now lost to her for ever, but to undo the mischief it had already caused. Our hero consented, and restored the comb to her, and she immediately turned her beautiful golden hair downwards with it, when, in a moment, several large stones, that were lying scattered about here and there, began to assume strange shapes, and soon numberless young men and horses were seen “to rouse and bestir themselves
ere well awake." The pari asked pardon of all the young men for having allowed them to lie there so long, bereft of sense and motion, and they willingly forgave her, and, seeing the coveted place by her side already occupied by one who appeared far above them all, both in looks and bearing, they bowed low their heads to Sūrya and went their different ways.

Our hero then went home with his new pari and her Unchhatura-tree and soon there was another wedding at the golden palace, and both the pari's, being very sensible young ladies, lived harmoniously together as co-wives. But the old bag, who, up to this time, had been doing her best to lure poor Chandrā to destruction, although without success, began now to find the place too hot for her, for the pari of Unchhatura, who was as clever as she was beautiful, saw through the feint veil of friendship under which the wretch had been hiding her black purpose, and persuaded her husband to send her to the right about. So the crafty old woman had to return crestfallen into the presence of the Rājā, who immediately consigned her to the tender mercies of the executionor for having failed to perform the task she had undertaken.

Now the good pari of Unchhatura, who was blessed with the faculty of knowing the past, the present, and the future, one day told Sūrya and Chandrā all the strange history of their birth and parentage, and they were greatly surprised to learn that their father was a Rājā, who lived in a city only about ten kist distant from their palace. The pari then advised them to arrange a grand feast, and invite the Rājā and all his subjects to it. Sūrya and Chandrā did accordingly, and asked of the fire in the magic stove to erect for them a row of mandapas, stretching from the palace almost to the gates of their father's city, provided with every comfort and luxury, and soon there rose up in the jungle as magnificent a line of canvas structures as human eyes ever beheld before! Separate mandapas were set apart for each different caste of people, so that not only were the Brāhmans and the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas provided for, but even the poor down-trodden Śūdras were not forgotten! They, too, had a group of mandapas to themselves, fitted up and decorated in such a sumptuous style that the Rājā, as he came to the feast with his three wives and a gay train of courtiers and followers, was nearly walking into one of them by mistake, and thus polluting himself! What then can we say of the range of mandapas that were set apart for the Rājā himself and his Rājas! The ceiling was formed to resemble the lustrous concave of the sky, and was spangled with the brightest diamonds and sapphires to represent the Sun and the Moon and the Stars! The furniture and fittings also, which were of gold, silver, and diamonds, were in perfect keeping with the magnificent ceiling—in short, there was nothing left to be desired.

Now the object of the pari of Unchhatura in getting her husband to invite the Rājā to the feast with all his subjects, high or low, so that not a dog should be left behind, was, by that means to oblige him to bring also his discarded wife—the mother of his twin children, and therefore his most rightful Rājā. But when she was told that he had the effrontery to come without her, leaving her behind humbled in between the four walls of her prison, when the whole town had turned out to the feast, she instantly ordered that but two seats, or rather vahandas, were to be placed in the midst of the royal mandapa, and stood by watching as the Rājā entered with his three wicked Rājas. Sūrya and Chandrā lovingly escorted him to one of the seats of honour, and, as the elder of the Rājas, who had taken the principal part in bringing about the ruin of the Brāhma lady, and was now high in the Rājā's favour, moved forward to take the seat beside him, Unchhatura pulled her back, and demanded of the Rājā whether it was she who had the right to occupy the seat of honour by his side! The Rājā was nonplussed at this, and said nothing, but, as the pari insisted upon knowing the truth, he had to confess that there was another, who had once a better right to fill that place, but had forfeited it when she was found out to be an impostor. Unchhatura then called upon him to explain what imposture it was that she had practised upon him, and he related how she had inveigled him into marriage with her by boasting that she was destined to be the mother of the Sun and the

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1 About 90 miles.
Mats had twins describe the Sorg-ana city going that the embranced of the then who HINDUSTAN* and the his over being fish asked of Sun but the her his mother Surya side. thereupon good Brifiman looked young the of and the princess said been in bod IN CEOOKB, and how, instead of giving birth to those luminaries, she had brought forth a broom and a log of wood, and how she had been consigned to prison in consequence. But the paré, who, as we said, was cognizant of the whole story, related to the assemblage the trick the elder Rájá had played upon the poor unoffending Brifiman girl, and the way in which they had mercilessly cast adrift her new born babes, and called upon the midwife, who was standing among the crowd around, to testify to the truth of what she said. The midwife, seeing the turn things had taken, made a clean breast of everything, and the whole assemblage thereupon heaped reproaches upon the heads of the offending Rájá for having so sinfully misled their lord and master and encompassed the ruin of the mother of the most illustrious twins ever born!

Unohhatar then introduced Strya and Chandra to their father, and so great was the rage of the Rájá at the treatment they and their mother had experienced at the hands of the wicked co-wives, that he ordered a large pit to be dug near the city gates, and had them buried in it waist deep, and left there to be torn alive by beasts and birds of prey.

Strya and Chandra, in the meantime, had hastened to the city with some of the Rájá’s attendants, and, breaking open the walls of the prison, brought out their poor long suffering mother! Just a spark of life was all that was left in her poor emaciated frame, but by care and attention she was soon brought around, and who can describe her joy, when she learnt that it was her own dear son and daughter, who had been the means of bringing about her deliverance from what had been to her but a living death.

She embraced her dear twins again and again, and forgot all her past misery in the joy of meeting them.

At last, when she was apprised of the fate of her cruel tormentors and was told that the Rájá repented of his conduct towards her, and asked to be forgiven, the good Rájá shed tears, and wished to be united to him once more. There was nothing but joy and rejoicings all over the kingdom, when the news went forth that the Rájá had, after all, had the proud distinction of being the progenitor of the Sun and Moon in human shape upon earth.

FOLKLORE IN HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C. S.

No. 7.—Why the fish laughed. 1

A fisherman was once hawking his fish through the city of Ágrá and came in front of the palace of Akbar Badshah. The princess heard his cries and sent for him into her presence. The moment she looked into the basket, every fish in it began to laugh at her. Now she was her father’s only daughter and much loved by him. So she went to Akbar and said:

"Father, I have seen dead fish laugh to-day. I must know the reason or I shall die."

Akbar replied: "Do not distress yourself. I will discover the meaning."

Akbar sent for Birbal, and told him that he would have him executed, if he did not explain why the fish laughed. Birbal asked for time and went home. There he lay down on his bed in sore distress and would tell no one the cause of his trouble. At last his eldest son induced him to tell what was the matter. He promised his father that he would find out the secret, if his father would give him five thousand rupees for the expenses of his journey.

He got the money and started. On the way he met an old man, who asked him where he was going. He replied that he was going in search of employment. They went on together and at last came to a river. As he was going into the water, young Birbal put on his shoes, and took them off when he reached the other side. Then as they passed under a tree the young

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1 A folktale told by Dwårka Práskd, Páthak Brifiman, of Bithalpur, Pargwa Kariyat Sikhar, Mirzapur.

2 [This story appears in part to have been subjected at some time to Western influence, as the Moon is feminine throughout.—Ed.]
man raised his umbrella over his head. They went on farther and came to a village where there was a fine crop of barley standing in a field.

"I wonder if this barley has been ground or not yet!" the young man said to the villager.

When they came to the old man’s village he invited his companion to put up at his house, and he agreed to do so. When the old man went into his house he said to his daughter:

"Our guest is the greatest fool I ever saw in my life. He goes barefoot on dry land, and puts on his shoes when he walks in water! When he goes under a tree, he holds up his umbrella! When he sees a barley field, he asks if the grain is ground or not!"

"Whoever he may be, he is not such a fool as you think," the girl answered. "He puts on his shoes in water, because he cannot see the thorns as clearly as he can when he walks on land. He holds up his umbrella under a tree, because he is afraid lest a bird should throw down some dirt on his clothes. When he asked if the barley was ground or not, he meant to enquire whether the owner had borrowed the seed or not, and if the crop belonged to him or to the mahâjan. This is a wise man: you must get me married to him."

So they were married, and the young man returned with his bride to Âgṛā. He told her the business on which he had set out, and she said:

"I can explain the riddle!"

When she reached Âgṛā, she wrote a letter to the princess:—

"Be cautious and think over the matter in your mind."

When the princess got this message, she was wrath, and said to her father:

"It is time that Birbal was forced to redeem the riddle or bear the consequences."

When Akbar sent for Birbal, he sent back an answer that his daughter-in-law would explain the matter. So she was called into the zenâna, and Akbar was present. The girl said:

"The box of the princess must be opened before the mystery can be explained."

"My box shall never be opened," the princess screamed.

"Let it be opened at once." shouted Akbar.

And lo and behold! When it was opened out bounced four strapping young men!

"Now you see why the fish laughed!" said the girl. Akbar was confounded and had the princess and her lovers buried in the ground with their heads exposed and shot at with arrows till they died.

NOTES.

This tale is in many ways instructive. A story very similar is recorded from Kâshmîr by Mr. Knowles (Folktales of Kâshmîr, pp. 484-90). The queen of the Kâshmîr story has been localised at Âgṛā, and the whole tale has been brought home into the familiar Akbar-Birbal, cycle. In the Kâshmîr tale, the youth asks the old man to give him a lift, meaning that he should beguile the road by telling stories. They are refused food in a city, and given some in a cemetery. The corn incident is in both, as well as that of the shoes. The youth asks the old man to cut two horses with a knife, meaning sticks, and he enquires if his ridge beam is sound, meaning to ask if he can afford to entertain a guest. The message to the queen is much more mysterious, and a young man disguised as a female slave in the sandhâna, is discovered by all the servants being made to jump over a pit.

Mr. Jacob’s remarks (Indian Fairy Tales, p. 230) may be quoted: "The latter part is the formula of the Clever Lass who guesses riddles. She has been bibliographised by Prof. Child (English and Scotch Ballads, I. 485); see also Bunfey, Xl. Schr. II. 156 sq. The sex test..."

[The ignorance of the rich and great as to agricultural matters is a striking joke among the Indians.—Ed.]

[We are now launched on an interesting set of those stock riddles, which perhaps represent what remains of the oldest form of divination.—Ed.]
The old village Brähman, of Mirzapur, who told the story was certainly ignorant of any European folklore, and the change in the incidents and its localization between Kashmir and the North-West Provinces are most instructive.  

No. 8. — The Princess who loved her Father like Salt.

There was once a king who had three sons and five daughters. One day he called them into his presence and asked each of them how much they loved him. One said that she loved him like sugar, another like sweets, and so on; but the youngest princess, who had lately been married, said that she loved him like salt. He was very angry and said, "Bitter love is no love at all." So he ordered his men to take her and expose her in the jungle.

When she found herself alone she feared the wild beasts, and began to weep, and as she wept she began to scratch the ground with a piece of stick. Immediately she saw a staircase of gold and when she scraped away some more earth she saw a golden tank beneath the ground. She then sent for masons and made them build her a palace all of gold, and there she lived until her son was born.

One day her father dreamed that he was sitting on a platform of silver, beneath a tree of gold whose leaves were made of the tepaz; and among them sat a peacock. In the morning he went to his court and told his courtiers of his dream. "Whoever will show me the thing I have seen in my dream," said he, "to him I will give half my kingdom." Many soldiers tried to perform the task and failed; at last the princes undertook it, and rode away on the quest. By chance they came into the jungle where their sister lived. She was sitting on the balcony and recognised them. She said to her son, "Your uncles are passing by; go and call them." When they came in they were astonished to see such a splendid palace in the jungle. At last they came to think that it must be the abode of Thages, and in fear and trembling they went inside. The boy made them sit down and brought them food; but they feared that it was poisoned and would not eat it, and buried it in the ground. Soon after the boy returned and asked them where they were going. They told him their mission, and he asked them to let him accompany them. They thought to themselves that the boy was a Thage, and wished to join them in order to rob or murder them. So they thought it best to start at once and not to take him with them.

When the boy returned and found that they had started without him, he told his mother what they had said, and then set out in pursuit of them. When he came up to them he said: "Why do you distrust me? If you let me go with you, I will help you in your enterprise." So he went on with them, and after some time they came to a well and they told him to draw water for them. When he looked into the well he saw a gate; and he called out: "I see a gate in the well. I am going in to see what is there. Wait here six months for me." He jumped into the well, passed through the gate, and came into a lovely garden in which was a splendid palace. He went inside and looked about and on a couch in one of the rooms he saw a beautiful fairy; but her head had been cut off and was laid at her feet. He hid
himself close by, and in the evening a Deo arrived. When he came in, he joined the fairy’s head to her body, and gave her a slap on her right cheek, when she revived, and they began to talk and laugh together. Then she got up and brought food for the Deo. When he had eaten, he slept beside her, and in the morning he started off in search of his prey.

When the boy saw that she was alone, he went in and revived her as the Deo had done. She asked him how he had found his way there. “If the Deo finds you here,” said she, “he will eat you.” “As I am here I will stay here,” he said; and as he was very handsome, the fairy allowed him to remain. Towards evening when it became time for the Deo to return she taught him a mantra and said, “I am going to turn you into a bug. When you please you can regain your original shape by repeating this spell.” So he became a bug, and she put him into her own bed. When the Deo arrived he called out, “Khammasam, Khammasam,” that is to say, “Fee fo fim! I smell a man.” But she pacified him and said, “There is no one here but me.” And he lay down and slept till morning, and, as usual, cutting off her head he went abroad. The boy then turned himself back into his original shape and revived the fairy. She asked him why he had left his native land, and he told her the whole story. “We are three sisters,” said she; “my name is Chânâl Parî (Silver Fairy); the second is Sônâ Parî (Gold Fairy); and the third is Zamurâd Parî (Topaz Fairy). We are all in the hands of this Deo. If you go to Sônâ Parî your object will be accomplished.”

So she gave him a letter to Sônâ Parî, and he took it to her. He found her in the same state as Chânâl Parî, and he brought her to life in the same way. When she read her sister’s letter she received him very kindly, and when the Deo came she also turned him into a bug. Next day she gave him a letter and sent him on to Zamurâd Parî, whom he also found in the same condition as her sisters. He began to plot with her how he could manage to release the three sisters. He said, “If you agree to accept my aid, when the Deo comes, tell him that, when he goes away, you are very lonely and frightened here all by yourself, and that it would be a good thing if he would bring your sisters here.” When the Deo came that night he began to boast and said, “The world does not hold the man who can take my life. But, of course, I would dir-if my pigeon were killed.” “Which pigeon do you mean?” she asked. “In Fûlân jungle,” he said, “there is a banyan tree, and on it hangs my pigeon in a cage. If any one were to get my pigeon I am ruined.” She then induced him to bring her sisters to her, and he repeated a mantra and the three came together. After some time the boy asked leave from the fairies to go home, and they said, “All three of us love you, and you shall not go without us.” Further they said, “You must go to Fûlân jungle and find the banyan tree, open the cage kill the pigeon, and then the Deo will die also.”

He did as they told him, and when the Deo was dead, he asked them leave to go home. They gave him three pictures of themselves, and taught him a mantra and said, “Whenever you wish our presence you have only to repeat this spell, and we will come out of our pictures.” Further they said, “If you wish to make a platform of silver and the other things such as your grandfather saw in his dream, you have only to cut off our heads, and anything you desire will appear.”

So the boy dived up the well, and when he was only two cubits from the top he called out to the princes to help him out; but they said, “We will not take you out unless you give us the things which you have brought with you.” He gave them the pictures of the fairies; but when they got them, they would not take him out, and he was obliged to go back and live in the house to which he had gone at the beginning. The princes went home, and as they were passing the place where the boy’s mother lived, she asked them what had become of her son. They answered that he had been with them until a few days before, and had then gone away by himself. She sent men to search for him, and by chance they halted by the same well. Hearing the sound of voices he came up, and when they saw him they pulled him out. When he came to his mother he told her all that had happened, and then he went to see his grand-
father. He found many people collected there, and they were talking about the platform which the king had seen in his dream. He complained to the king that the princes had robbed him of three pictures. The King ordered the pictures to be produced, and when the princes brought them he told them to produce the platform and other things by means of them; but they could not do so as they were ignorant of the spells. The boy then asked the king's leave to try, and permission was given him. He at once produced a platform of silver, a tree of gold with leaves of topaz, and a peacock sitting in the branches. So the king offered him half his kingdom and the hand of his daughter; but he said that he could accept nothing until he took the advice of his mother. The king agreed to go with him, and when they sat down to eat there was no salt in any of the dishes. The king did not like the food, and then the princes sent him a dish seasoned with salt. This he liked, and she then fell at the feet of her father, and told him the whole history. He was much pleased to get her back, and took her to the palace. He put her son on the throne, and they all lived happily.

NOTES.

The story is incomplete, but is exactly as the narrator, a village labourer, told it. The fairies should come in and have their heads cut off before the platform is made, and the wicked fairies should be punished. Khansmandays, = "fee fo fum," in Chamr tales. I suppose it comes from kheda = to eat; manasika = man. The fairies with palaces underground reached through wells, and the Life Index of the Deo are familiar. He is as stupid as these goblins usually are.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KAKATIYA DYNASTY.

The Ekamrakot inscription, edited by Dr. Hultzsch (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 197), furnishes the following list of the Kakatiyas of Orugala:

1. Botmarjha.
2. Prõjarjha.
3. Raudrudhva.
5. Ganapati; S. 1172 = A. D. 1250.

Dr. Hultzsch assumes that the "Rudradha" of this group is identical with the "Rudra" of the Anumako inscription and that he was, consequently, a son of Prõjarjha. This assumption, however, involves a serious chronological difficulty. The Anumako inscription furnishes Rudra with the date S. 1084 = A. D. 1162, and by its evidence he would appear to have begun to reign in A. D. 1160. Ganapati's date, according to the Ekamrakot inscription, is S. 1172 = A. D. 1250, 90 years later. If we accept Dr. Hultzsch's genealogy of the Kakatiyas we have only one king—Mahadaeva—to fill the gap.

Tradition records that Mahadaeva fell in battle in the third year of his reign. But apart from this, in order to bridge the distance, we should have to give Ganapati a much longer reign than we are, under the circumstances, entitled to do.

We know that Ganapati died in A. D. 1357, and local records say he was succeeded by his wife, who survived him either 26 or 38 years. If there is any truth in this, it suggests the inference that Ganapati himself had a short reign. It is impossible, however, to place implicit reliance on this kind of evidence, and in this case the Pratiparotya of Vidyamatha makes his successor his daughter.

In spite of this, however, there is still a difficulty in covering the period between Rudra and Ganapati satisfactorily.

If we give Rudra a 30 years' reign, his father Prõja having probably had a king one, and allow to Mahadaeva the usual 25 years, we should still have to assume a 40 years' reign for Ganapati, for which we have no special justification.

The possibility has been suggested of another Ganapati and another Rudra having intervened between the Rudra of the Anumako inscription and the Mahadaeva of the Ekmrakot group. This is by no means unlikely.

In the first place, to judge from the wording of the Ekamrakot inscription there is nothing to suggest that the Rudra mentioned in it is a son of Prõjarjha. It merely states—"after him," i.e., Prõjarjha, "this race was adorned by Rudradeva." There is nothing in this to necessitate...
the identification of this prince with the "Rudra" of the Anumakond inscription. He may as easily have been a later ruler of the same name.

The similarity of the names might very easily cause confusion and lead to the omission of the other reigns by those who incised the Ekāmranātha inscription.

But the likelihood of the hypothesis receives apparent support from another quarter.

_Anta,_ Vol. XXI. p. 197, Dr. Hultzsch mentions three synchronisms as existing between the Yādavas and the Kākātyyas. That between Mallugi and Rudra, and that between Sīhapa II. and Gaṇapati, he establishes satisfactorily. But when he affirms that Jaitugi the Yādava (A. D. 1181-1200) was also a contemporary of Gaṇapati it seems impossible to follow him.

In the _Vṛatabhāṣaṇḍa_ of Rāmacārī (see Bhandarkar's _Deśas_, p. 82) Jaitugi is represented as slaying "Rudra, lord of the Tailāyās," while the Pāṭṭhī grant of Rāmaśandra states that he established Gaṇapati on his throne. It is natural, at first sight, to identify this Gaṇapati, as Dr. Hultzsch has done, with the prince of that name in the Ekāmranātha inscription. But to do so involves a chronological difficulty of which he has apparently lost sight.

To make Gaṇapati a contemporary of Jaitugi, we must suppose his reign to have begun a year or two at least before A. D. 1200. Jaitugi's final date. As he died in A. D. 1287, that would give him a 50 years' reign; but we have no justification for such an assumption, and the weight of our evidence, such as it is, is all the other way.

The supposition of an earlier Gaṇapati, if it could be proved a fact, would meet the case exactly. The list of the Kākātyyas would then stand somewhat as follows:—

Pṛṣa, Prāḍārāja ... ... ciro. A. D. 1110-1160
Rudra I. ... ... ... 1180-1185
Gaṇapati I. ... ... ... 1185-1220
Rudra II. ... ... ... 1220-1237
Mahaḍvā (traditionally) ... 1227-1240
Gaṇapati II. ... ... ... 1240-1257

Is it not possible that some of the numerous Kākātyya inscriptions might throw light on this point and clear away some of the confusion of names and dates, which at present prevents the formation of any satisfactory and systematic chronology of the dynasty? Perhaps some contributor might be able to direct his attention to this problem.

C. MARSH DUFF.

__INTERCHANGE OF INITIAL K AND P IN BURMESE PLACE-NAMEs._

_Anta_, p. 19, I noted the change of Kāpeng to Pābong (Bassein) and of Kākān to Pakān (Pakāngyi). I now give more instances. Mr. Thirkell White informs me that the modern Puntu, a Kachin village in the Bhamo district, is Kantu of older writings.

Of the reverse process there is an instance at Maulmain. The "Farm" Caves near that town are well known to visitors, as one of the sights. The word "Farm" represents the old Shān Pāram= Burmese Kāyin. Also in Taking the Burmese word Bama, a Burman, becomes Kham; see Huswell's _Peguan Language_, p. 46.

By the way, from an inspection of the Burmese inscriptions preserved at the Mahasami Pagoda at Mandalay I find that the spelling of Kākān (anta, p. 19) is really and invariably Kākān.

R. C. TEMPLE.

__TALAPAY—TALAPON._

Here is a contribution towards the solution of the vexed question of the origin of the extraordinary word talapzin = Buddhist monk, so common until quite lately.

In the Museum of Archaeology at Cambridge there is a figure of Buddha of the usual modern type, with a brass chain round his neck, from which is hung an engraved medallion. On the medallion is cut the inscription given below and the figure of a Buddhist priest or monk. The figure is a very incorrect rendering of the reality, and belongs to the type of figure to be found in Leo Loubère's _Kingdom of Siam_, 1683, and in the Père Jeannes' _Voyage de Siain_, 1686, and other illustrated books and maps of that period. Beyond that the image came from the Fitzwilliam Museum, it has, I believe, no further history. So the date may be taken as about 1700 A. D.

__Inscription._

Talapay i. o. Ruligocii in Pugia Regno effigies II
inventa in Templo ruinoso ad ripam, summus Syrian II.

From this we gather that the old visitor to Burma thought that the image of Buddha was an image of a monk, probably on account of the dress, not that he found it either in a kyawng (monastic building), or in a pagoda, on the banks of the Pugia River near Syrian.

Talapay is an interesting variant of the well known Talapzin.

R. C. TEMPLE.
NOTES ON ANTIQUITIES IN RAMANNADESA

THE TALAIING COUNTRY OF BURMA.

BY MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE.

I. The Caves about Maulmain.

In company with Mr. F. O. Oertel, I made, in April 1892, a short inspection of the caves referred to by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in his "Notes on an Archaeological Tour in Ramaññadesa," ante, Vol. XXI. pp. 377 ff.

Attention was chiefly paid to the cave remains in the neighbourhood of Maulmain1 and Thatôn (Datôn). Those that were visited, and it may be said, that are so far known, were:

1. the 'Farm' Caves, about 10 miles from Maulmain on the At'arârân River;
2. the Dammâbâ Caves, 19 miles from Maulmain on the Jain (Gyaing) River;
3. the Phâgät Caves, on the Salween River, 26 miles from Maulmain;
4. the Râgûn Caves, on the Râgûn Creek, near Phâgât, 28 miles from Maulmain;
5. the Bînjî Caves, on the Dûnâml River, 51 miles from Maulmain and 15 miles from Thatôn.

Maulmain being a great meeting point of navigable rivers, all these places can be visited from it by launches, and, except Bînjî, are within an easy day's journey, there and back. But they are all, except the Farm Caves, out of the regular routes, and are, consequently, but little visited, indeed as regards the travelling public they are quite unknown, owing to the fact that it is necessary to engage a launch especially for the journey, a very expensive form of travelling, and not always available even on payment, except by special agreement.

In addition to those to the Caves, short visits were paid to Thatôn and Martaban, the weather being at the former very unfavourable and fully bearing out the statement in the Kalyâñâ Inscriptions at Pegu concerning "this very rainy country of Ramaññâ."2

It is extraordinarily difficult to obtain any information in Maulmain concerning the antiquities of the surrounding country. From statements made to me it would appear that many caves exist along the At'arârân River and along the upper reaches of the Dûnâml River; but until each story is verified it is most unsafe to rely upon anything stated locally.

The British Burman Gazetteer states, Vol. II., page 37, that there are no less than 28 groups of caves in the Amherst District, each distinguished by its proper name. Among these may be the following, of which tolerably certain information was given me, locally, along the banks of the At'arân. All are said to be filled with images and Mâsâs. (1) In a hill opposite the Tidâm Quarries, 26 miles from Maulmain: (2) in a hill a mile and a half inland from the Quarries; here there is a climb over rough boulders and ladders for 400 ft., a narrow and low entrance, a large hall and deep cavity in the main cave, and several smaller caves in the neighbourhood: (3) at Pâbaung, 36 miles up the river; here is a cave with a hole in the ceiling leading to a chamber filled with books and old ivory, which was visited by Crawford (Embassy to Ava, page 358), and runs right through the rocks, like that at Dammâbâ: (4) at the Hot Springs (At'arârân Yâbhî), 41 miles up the River; where there are said to be more caves.3

Col. Spearman, now Commissioner of the Tenasserim Division and formerly editor of the British Burman Gazetteer, has kindly collected for me, in addition to the information given above,1

1 Called Maulmain or Moulmain by the English, Mâlâyâmyâ by the Burmans, Mâlâmén by the Talaisins, and Râmâpur by historical and epigraphic documents. It seems to have been called Mâlâyâmyâ and Mâlâyâmyâ by the English at first—vide Crawford, Embassy to Ava, published 1829, pp. 322, 355, et passim. In Wilson's Burman War, 1827, the word appears as Maulmain, in a Gazette notification of 1826, quoted at p. 32. Low calls it Mâlâmén in his papers, 1838, As. Res. Vol. xviii. p. 182 n.1 Miscellaneous Papers on Indo-China, Vol. i. p. 179 ff. Mr. Oertel in his Notes on a Tour in Burma in March and April 1892, pp. 155 ff., also mentions the journey herein described.

2 See ante, p. 20.

3 Probably the same as those mentioned below as being off Kyunâdîp Yâbhî. Low in 1838 was up the At'arân and gives a good account of the At'arân Yâbhî (Miscellaneous Papers on Indo-China, Vol. i. p. 196) and also notices (p. 197) the Pâbaung Cave, which he calls Phâbaung.
the following information, from native sources, as to the caves in the Kyaukk'ant or Amherst District.

There are in the Jain-balwin (Gyne-Salween) Sub-division five caves, viz., the K'ayon-S'addan (Farm : see p. 329 ff.) in the K'ayon Hill, and the Ng'at up the At'arun River : the D'ammab'at (see p. 331 ff.) and the S'addan up the Jain River. The first four are situated in the Ta'yang Circle, and the last in the Pamonging Circle. The K'ayon Hill is a mile and a half from the K'ayon Village, and two and a half miles from the Za'ubahin Village (on the At'arun?). The usual routes are, by road to Nyaungbinzek, four miles, thence across the Ferry over the Nyaungbinzek Creek (= At'arun River), and thence by road to the Hill, four miles: or by boat or launch up the At'arun River to Za'ubahin Village (on the At'arun?), 13 miles, and thence by cart to the Hill, 2½ miles. The Ng'at Cave is two and a half miles distant in a separate hill. Only the K'ayon Cave, of the above, has any remains in it. The D'ammab'at Cave is reached by boat or launch up the Jain River, 19 miles, and contains about 1,000 images, of which 100 are in good order, and one chaitiga. The S'addan Cave is two miles from K'as'eban Village, six miles from Nyaungbinzek Village, and 18 miles north of Za'ubahin (on the Jain). The usual routes from Maalmain are by boat or launch up the Jain River to Za'ubahin, 13 miles, and thence by cart 18 miles: or by boat or launch to Pamong Village, 28 miles, and thence by cart, 15 miles. This cave is said to be a mile long, and to contain a chaitiga and three images in bad order (two being broken) at the entrance. It is about 60 feet above ground level, and is reached by 100 masonry steps in practicable repair.

In the K'okkar Sub-division there are eight caves, viz., the S'a, the three P'abok Caves, the P'ahain, the Taungba'we and the Ya'be-Mo'nt'i. The first six are in the Myaping Circle and the last two in the Myawadl, and all are reached from Kyoon'j Village, which is 47 m. by boat or launch on the Jain River. The S'a Cave is in the little P'ahok Hill, ten miles from Kyoon'dj. It contains five or six boxes of old MSS., but no images. These are said to be in good condition. The S'a Cave is 60 ft. above ground level, and is approached through old jungle paths. The three P'abok Caves are in the Great P'ahok Hill and about 200 yards apart, nine miles from Kyoon'dj. Two of the caves contain images and chaitiga in bad repair. The caves are from 30 feet to 60 feet above ground level, and are approached by old jungle paths. The P'ahain Cave is eight miles from Kyoon'dj. It has no contents and is about 60 feet from the ground level. The approach is bad by difficult jungle paths. The Taungba'we Cave is nine miles from Kyoon'dj. It is 23 feet above the ground level, approached by bad jungle paths, and has no images in it. The Ya'be and Mo'nt'i Caves are in the Ting Hill, about fifteen miles from Myawadl Village, which is 46 miles by road from Kyoon'dj. They are about 60 yards apart and 1,000 feet from the ground level. The Ya'be Cave contains chaitiga, images and old MSS. in bad condition. These caves are very difficult of access through thick jungle and are rarely visited, or as the Burmese informant puts it: "— no one has ever been there!"

In the P'agat Sub-division there are five caves, viz., the Kogun, the Ya'bo'yan, the P'agat, the W'obyan, and the Taunggal. The first three are in the P'inghaing Circle and the last two in the Myaingj Circle. To reach the first three, the usual route is by boat or launch up the Salween to P'agat, 27 miles (see p. 33), and thence by road. Each cave is close to a village of the same name, and the first two are each about three miles from P'agat by different cart roads, and about three miles from each other. For detailed descriptions of the P'agat and Kogun Caves, see p. 335 ff. In the Ya'bo'yan Cave are images and chaitiga. The usual route to the W'obyan and Taunggal Caves is by launch to Shwagun Village up the Salween, 78 miles, and thence by boat. W'obyan Village is about six miles beyond Shwagun, and the cave is some two miles inland. It contains chaitiga and images, and is about 50 feet above ground level, but is easily approached by steps lately made to the entrance. The Taunggal Cave is similarly about two miles inland from Myaingj Village, which is three miles beyond Shwagun. This cave is about 700 feet up the hill, approached by a bad road over hill and through jungle. It contains chaitiga and images.

* This local statement is gross error (see p. 33).
In the Thaton Sub-division are two caves, the Minlwin and the Winbön, both in the D'annminwin Circle. The usual route is by launch up the Salween and D'nyinzi Rivers, 70 miles, to (?) D'nyinzi, and thence ten miles back to Winbön Village by boat. The Winbön Cave is a mile from the village, but contains no images. The Minlwin Cave is in about five miles inland and a mile from Māk Village. It is 400 feet above ground level, and contains no images, but above it is a large marble slab (? inscribed), which is an object of fear and reverence. This information from Thaton I look upon with some doubt. The description corresponds generally with that of the Binjî Cave given below at p. 338. It is probable that the Minlwin Cave is the same as the Binjî Cave, and that Winbön is the village I have called later on (p. 338) Bin'laing or Nyaungjau, and noted as being of doubtful nomenclature. If the Minlwin Cave is really the same as the Binjî Cave, it is quite erroneous to suppose that there are no images and chaityas in it.

Near Maulmain there are ten caves in the Kyauktalón Hill, which is situated in the Kinjung Circle, about 14 miles from the town by cart road. Of these, four have images and chaityas, mostly in bad order. They are about a mile from Kyauktalón Village and about 20 to 30 yards apart. They are easily approached from the village.

This information, and that I have independently gathered as to the remains, goes to show that there are at least 40 caves in the Amherst District alone, of which at least 21 contain antiquities of value.

During the time at the disposal of Mr. Oertel and myself for exploration, viz., from the 11th to 15th April 1892, both days included, very little more than ascertaining the localities of the antiquities and the ways and means of reaching them, together with hurried visits, could be accomplished. But enough was seen to establish the archaeological value of these caves, and, as regards materials for tracing the evolution of Buddhistic art in Burma, their extreme importance.

In this paper it is intended chiefly, by describing what was seen, to draw attention to these remarkable remains, in the hope that they may be explored, before it is too late, by some one who has the leisure and is properly equipped for the purpose.

I may mention that Caves obviously of the same class as those herein described are to be found farther East in the Laos States, vide Bock, Temples and Elephants, pp. 288 ff., 301; Colquhoun, Amongst the Shan, p. 240: in Cochín China, vide Crawford, Siam and Cochín-China, p. 236 f.: and in Siam, vide Bowring, Siam, I. p. 187.

2. The 'Farm' Caves.

The 'Farm' Caves, situated about 10 miles from Maulmain, are favorite places for picnics and pleasure parties for the European population, — Burmese, Taisings, and Hindu Natives of the town, — who combine, however, religious worship with their outing. The Chaṭṭis (Madras Hindu money-lending) class of Maulmain have built themselves a rest-house outside one of the Caves, and there is, of course, also a Burmese rest-house or sayāt.

The name 'Farm' appears to be a corruption of the Shan name of the place, P'arum (Pharum). P'arum, as a place-name, is one of the many relics of the old Shan occupation of this part of Burma, the syllable p' (precipitous rock) appearing in several place-names of the same class in the neighbourhood; e. g., P'ak (Bar. P'agāt), P'ān, P'ānayak, Pāli, Pānp', P'in, P'ān, Pān, P'ārā, P'ārāl, P'ātān, P'āuk, etc. However, the name 'Farm Caves' is so firmly established, so far as concerns Europeans, that it may be safely regarded as the proper one. The Burmese name is K'ayūn (spelt K'arun and pronounced K'ayun by the present writer), after the neighbouring village of that name. Another derivation of 'Farm' is from the guano in these caves, which was at first, perhaps is still, farmed out to contractors.

Hindus all over Burma worship at the Buddha's shrines and pagodas. At the great Shwétágon Pagoda at Banguon they may be seen at their devotions in considerable numbers. The pagodas and shrine attendants in Lower Burma are usually also Hindus from India, who have taken the place of the old pagoda slaves.

For interchange of initial p and b in Burmese place-names, see ante, p. 19.
The Farm Caves, like all those mentioned in this paper, are situated in isolated hills of limestone rock, which rise picturesquely and abruptly out of the surrounding alluvial plain, and were evidently excavated by the sea at no remote geological period. They are now full of stalactites and stalagmites, some being of large size.

There are two distinct sets, one of which was formerly used for religious purposes and at one time richly ornamented. The other has always been left as nature made it. The former is the K'ayka Cave proper, the latter, which is about 600 yards distant southwards, is called the Sadda Cave. There is a third unornamented cave called the Nga Cave in a hill about 2½ miles distant.

The first set consists of an entrance hall running parallel with the face of the rock, a long hall running into the rock at the south end, evidently meant for the "Chaitya Hall" of Fergusson's History of Indian Architecture (Chap. V.), and a subsidiary entrance and hall at the north end. This last apparently exists because of the form of the cave, and in front of it is the artificial tank, which invariably accompanies these remains. The following sketch plan will give a general idea of the construction.

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Sketch Plan of the Parum[Kayin] Cave

The straight parallel lines represent brick and plaster platforms erected for images of all sorts; of Gautama Buddha himself and of his worshippers or yuddhas (== rathas = Pali, arahats = Skr. arhanas = arhat). At the circular spots near the south entrance and in the Entrance Hall are small pagodas, and at a similar spot near the north entrance is a raddi (= Pali chatiya) or 48 sq ft (the modern Burmese call it) of interesting construction.  As

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° This word is also preserved in modern Burmese as rathmi, pron. yathha.

* On the platforms of pagodas such structures represent the old top-ornaments or umbrellas ( militias) of the pagodas, which when taken down to make way for new ones are bricked in by small chatiya-like structures, and thus preserved for ever. The word militia has become popularised as tei by Fergusson's History of Indian Architecture, see p. 64. 86.
the point indicated in the plan there is a bamboo ladder leading up into darkness in the roof, most probably into a higher cave in the rock, but this was evidently too much infested with bats to make exploration desirable at short notice during the visit.

The whole of the caves above described were clearly at one time crammed with images of all sizes, materials and ages, just as the Kögum, B'īnī and D'ammaḥa Caves still are. These have nearly all now been destroyed by iconoclasts, probably chiefly Natives of India, from Maulmain. The proximity of that town, its occupation by the British for nearly seventy years, the existence for many years of a large garrison there, and the callousness of the Burmese to this species of desecration, would easily account for the destruction of invaluable remains that has taken place.

There remain, however, several huge recumbent figures of Gautamaś Buddha, one measuring 45 feet in length and others not much less, sitting figures of various sizes, and small figures mostly mutilated. The condition of the wood, of which some of these are made attest their antiquity.10 Some of the stalactites have been ornamented, but this has not been the rule, as it evidently was in some of the other caves, notably that at D'ammaḥa. All over the sides of the cave and its roof there are signs of former ornamentation with small images of plaster painted white and red, and made of terra-cotta stuck on with a cement. The best preserved of these particular remains are high up on the south wall at the deep end of the Chaitya Hall, where a number of plaster yakṣas are kneeling opposite one of the huge Shakyayanaś or recumbent Gautamas, and in the roof near the entrance. Here advantage has been taken of a small natural domo to picture the 'Church' (Bhūdhaś = sathyāśa); i.e., a numerous circle of yakṣas praying round a central figure of Gautama under the Bo (= Bōdhi = Bur. Bōdi) Tree.11 Plate I. which is from a photograph taken from the entrance to the Chaitya Hall, looking along the Entrance Hall northwards, indicates this ornamentation and shows the small pagoda above mentioned.

The best way of visiting the Farm Caves is to take a hackney carriage (these are numerous, cheap and proportionately bad in Maulmain) to the Nyangbinzëk Ferry on the At'arāni River, about four miles, then to cross in the Ferry, and thence proceed by bullock cart to the caves, another four miles or so. There is no difficulty in the journey, as it is constantly made and the people en route consequently quite understand what is wanted. It is advisable, however, to give notice to the bullock drivers of the intended journey. The roads are now good all the way.

3. The D'ammaḥa Cave.

The D'ammaḥa Cave is distant from Maulmain about eighteen miles and is situated near the banks of a side-stream behind an island in the Jum River. There is a village and a small bright gilt pagoda on a high precipitous rock jutting picturesquely,13 as usual, into the River. (See Plate XIX.) Near the pagoda are kṣyavati (monastic buildings) of the ordinary village type. The Cave is in a range of limestone rocks of some height behind the village and distant about quarter of a mile, and there is no difficulty in procuring guides from the village. The peculiarity of this Cave is that it runs right through the rock, and is better lighted than is usually the case.

It contains a great number of stalactites and stalagmites, some very large, and

9 Sr. Gautama = Pāli Gātāma = Burmese Gōdamā and Gātāma (= Anglo-Indian gōtāma, used for any Buddhistic image).
10 Many of the figures are, however, quite modern, having been placed there by worshippers of the present day.
11 This cave is much disfigured by scribbled names of visitors in many languages: English, French, German, Hindustani, Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Burmese and Chinese.
12 This word is of Atharam in Crawford's Ann. 1892, and in Spearman's Gazetteer of Burma, 1890. It is Atharam in Wilson's Burmese War, 1897, p. 181. It is sometimes frequently called the Nyangbinzēk Creek.
13 One of the most striking facts in Burma is the beautiful and picturesque situations of the pagodas and public buildings. They are comparable in this respect to the religious structures of the Lepchas in Sikkim. See Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmīr, Sikkim and Nepal, by Sir E. Temple and E. C. Temple, Vol. II. pp. 205-207. See also foot, p. 361 f.

Sir E. Temple's Oriental Experiments, pp. 78-79. See also foot, p. 361 f.
apparently all were originally ornamented. This may give a clue to the age of the ornamentation on further investigation, by determining whether the unornamented stalactites and stalagmites are posterior to those covered with ornaments, and how long it must have taken them to form. Some of them again are now only partially ornamented, and it is possible that the unornamented parts may have been formed since the ornament was put on.

The accompanying sketch plan gives an idea of this Cave.

![Sketch Plan of the D'ammadâ Cave](image-url)

The general design in the interior seems to have been to build up a pagoda or chaitya at both the east and west entrances, and to fill in the centre of the hall or cave with images and smaller pagodas. These are raised on platforms. Along the sides is a great mass of images on platforms, such as are shown in the sketch plan. A general idea of the style of ornamentation and design can be seen from the interior view of the Bînji Cave given on Plate II.

The ornamentation of the roof, sides and stalactites consists of images of Gautama Buddha and Yahâns, of all sizes, from four inches in height to about life-size. These images are of brick and coloured plaster, chiefly red (vinâpāta), and of terracotta fastened on by a cement. There are also signs of glazed ware having been employed in places, and abundant signs of a general gilding of the figures in days gone by. When new, and brightly colored and gilt, the effect of the ornamentation must have been very fine. (See Plates VI and VII.) Great numbers of small earthen lamps, of the usual Indian chûrih form, are to be found. These must have been used, as now, for illuminating the images on feast days. Much broken pottery also lies about; the remains no doubt of water-pots and of pots for votive flowers, used on similar occasions.

All the platforms, the pagodas, and the large images down the centre of the Cave, are of

14 This word is spelt khañegâla in Skr. 'goose-foot,' and is the name of a mineral (red oxide of mercury) producing the peculiar rich red used in Burma for ornamenting buildings. It is particularly well suited as a ground for gold, black, white or gray ornament.

15 The gilding was not always of good quality, as in many instances the images that remain are now simply covered with verdigris.
brick and plaster, and now very much ruined. There is a general idea among those who have visited this Cave, which is repeated in the British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II. p. 138, that the ruin has been caused by some enemy of the Talaings. However, unless direct historical evidence is forthcoming to support that argument, it may be put forward, as the more likely theory, that the destruction now visible is that which is inevitable in Burma. When a pagoda or image is once built or made, and the hahá (spelt hauá; = Pali hāsaka, a 'good work') or religious merit, gained thereby has accrued, no more interest is taken in its preservation; and as every pagoda contains a treasure chamber of sorts, and as each large image is supposed to have valuables buried somewhere inside it, it are sooner or later dug into in search for treasure. This is sure to happen after any political disturbance, when anarchy, for a time at any rate, always supervenes. Plates IV. and V. shew pagodas thus treated in the Kōgan Cave, and it may be said that, in the Cave remains in Ramannadesa generally, it is the rule for pagodas and large images to have suffered thus. This fact alone is sufficient to account for the ruin observable at Dānagāra.

The Eastern Pagoda is utterly ruined and is now a mere mass of bricks, plaster and broken images, some of which may still possess great archaeological value. Immediately above it there is a hole in the roof, now boarded-over. This leads to an upper chamber or cave, in which are still stored sadasiks, or book-coffers, containing Talaing MSS., no doubt of unique value, if still legible and fit to take to pieces. The British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II., p. 37, suggests that there are such documents to be found in the other caves. It hardly needs argument to shew that they should be removed as soon as possible to places, where they can be preserved until they can be properly utilized.15

Outside the eastern entrance there is a funnel leading upwards in the rock, but whether this ceases abruptly or leads to the boarded-in chamber could not be ascertained on the spot.

There is a very large number of images of all sizes and in all stages of preservation, lying in utter confusion about the floor and the sides of this Cave. Plate II. relating to the Būnjī Cave, gives some idea of the state of the floor at Dānagāra. These images evidently belong to all dates, from that of the first use of the Cave for religious purposes up to quite modern times. They are made of many materials: — wood, alabaster, limestone, plaster and terra-cotta, amongst others. The wooden images are probably the most valuable for antiquarian purposes. They are mostly now coated over with a black preparation which looks like Burmese resin (pron. ḫet; spelt sahakāt = (sah) ḫet, wood, + (chē) āt, oil). It is either the under-coating of former coloring or gilding, or was meant as such and never covered over. This coating has preserved the outer surface as originally designed, whereas the wood under it has utterly decayed in many instances. The state of the wood, which is apparently teak in all cases, combined with the outer form and ornamentation of the images will go a long way, on careful investigation, towards determining when they were deposited; because teak under certain conditions may be assumed to take not less than a certain number of centuries to reach a certain stage of decay. It may further be fairly argued that, when once the caves became established as recognised places for religious ceremonies, the great mass of images now found in them were deposited by successive generations of worshippers and pilgrims.

The images and similar remains are generally of the same character, in all the Caves, and are well worth study, for the reason that they explain the forms of many of the old and small images deposited about the greater Pagodas in Lower Burma still used by the populace as places of worship. (See Plates I., II., VI. and VII.) Exactly similar images are yet to be seen round the Kyaikkhólan and the Kyaiakplá Pagodas at Maukmain, the Myōyōänd Pagoda at Maréshen, the Swēsáy and Mulāk (or Dājảpáyā) Pagodas at Thatón, the great Shwädaghōn itself and the Sālē Pagoda at Rangeon, the Kyakkān

15 The Talaing language, though still spoken to a considerable extent, is ceasing to be a literary medium very rapidly; so much so that it is already extremely difficult to find an educated Talaing able to read even modern documents in his native language, and the epigraphic and old palm-leaf documents in that tongue, which are of supreme value to the history of Lower Burma will even now have to await the labours of the expert student of the future.
Pagoda at Sijriam, and in the far-renowned (in Burma) Kalyantjong (siwa) at Pegu, and round the great Shwemod Pagoda at the same place. Whether these images were originally made for the pagodas, or were taken from the Caves by the devout and there deposited, is a question to be settled hereafter. For it must be remembered that it is still a fortunate thing in Burma for a g'au (image of Gautama Buddha) 'to travel,' as the people put it.

Careful search may unearth inscriptions of value in the Dammabā Cave. Some of the small terra-cotta figures, or, more strictly, tablets impressed with figures, that have become detached, are found to have sometimes, but not commonly, notes painted on the back. The only one, of two or three picked up in this Cave, which is sufficiently complete for reading is that given below, full-size.

Facsimile, full size, of the inscription on the back of a terra-cotta tablet impressed in front with an Image of Gautama Buddha. From the Dammabā Cave.

The characters of the inscription are Talaing and the language is Talaing, and it means: "Nge Leb offered to the pagoda curry stuffs from his ancestral fields, fish, and property." "

Lately there has been printed by the local Government a perfunctory and well-nigh valueless production called List of Objects of Antiquarian and Archaeological Interest in British Burma. It is confined mainly to the names of the principal pagodas in the country and the folk-history thereof. It is useless for any purpose, except to find the names of the pagodas, and is not even then of use, if there is more than one pagoda in a place, as the actual situation of each is never indicated.

It must be borne in mind however, that in the present condition of scholarship as regards the Further Shwesandaw language, every epigraphic reading should properly be regarded as tentative.
December, 1893.] Notes on Antiquities in Ramannadesa. 335

Transcribed the inscription runs thus:— ḫâlaḥ mataw ḫa p'ān ṭalab-skyu(ks). The pronunciation and meaning of each word runs thus: ḫe Leḥ mutō ṭe saṅk ḫa p'ān pale-kyāt.30 — "Nge Leḥ parents’ field curry-stuff fish property offer-(to)-pagoda." In addition to the above, there are traces of another inscription in modern documentary Burmese characters.

These impressed tablets usually represent Gautama Buddha seated on a canopied throne, the canopy forming the back-ground of the tablet. Gautama Buddha is commonly thus represented in Burma in figures of all sizes and of all materials—vide Plates IV., V., VI. and VII. In the D'ammābā Cave a large full-sized seated figure has an inscription, white letters on a black ground, on the canopy, above either shoulder. As it is on plaster which is fast peeling off, no impression can be taken of it, but it should not present any difficulties in reading, if read before it is too far destroyed, as it is in the ordinary square lapidary Burmese character in vogue in the last and the beginning of the present Century (vide the Pàṭṭa daung Inscription near Prome, ante, p. 1 ff).

About two and a half miles distant from the Cave just described there are hot springs and another Cave (so local information on the spot says). The hot springs are well known to the natives of the country, and now also to immigrants from India, who repair to them annually to get rid of skin diseases. There are several such places in the Amherst District, notably the Aṭ'arān Yélū (Hot-waters) on the Aṭ'arān River, the medicinal qualities of which have been attested by Dr. Holfer.31

The way to reach D'ammābā is by special launch from Maulmain, in which case the journey takes about three hours each way, or by ferry launch to Zaätzlichin on the Salween, and thence by country boat to D'ammābā, a slow process. The former method of approach is very expensive.

4. The Pāgāt and Kògun Caves.

The Pāgāt Cave on the Salween32 River is distant from Maulmain 36 miles, and is situated in an isolated limestone rock by the river-bank. It is not now of much interest, as it is very dark, and so offensive, owing to the presence of an enormous number of bats,33 that it is practically not exploriable.

Seated Gautama Buddhas can, however, be made out in the darkness, and no doubt at one time the Cave was decorated and ornamented in the style of its neighbour at Kògun. Wilson-Burma\x20War\x20(1827),\x20quotes,\x20p.\x20lxi.,\x20a\x20Government\x20Gazette\x20notification,\x20dated\x2020th\x20April\x201826,\x20of\x20a\x20journey\x20up\x20the\x20Saluun\x20(Salween),\x20where\x20Pāgāt\x20appears\x20as\x20Sagat,\x20apparently\x20by\x20mistake.\x20At\x20that\x20time\x20the\x20images\x20were\x20distinct\x20and\x20the\x20ornamentation\x20was\x20evidently\x20the\x20same\x20as\x20that\x20of\x20Kògun.\x20The\x20bats\x20are\x20also\x20mentioned.\x20It\x20is\x20further\x20noted\x20that\x20the\x20ornamentation\x20on\x20the\x20rock\x20face,\x20which\x20is\x20in\x20the\x20style\x20of\x20that\x20already\x20mentioned\x20at\x20D'ammābā,\x20looks\x20from\x20the\x20river\x20like\x20the\x20letters\x20of\x20a\x20huge\x20inscription.\x20This\x20accounts\x20for\x20the\x20persistance\x20of\x20a\x20local\x20idea\x20that\x20there\x20is\x20a\x20large\x20prominent\x20inscription\x20on\x20the\x20face\x20of\x20this\x20Cave.

As far as I can make out, the following description from Low’s travels in these parts in 1833 (Asia\x20Res diagnoses, Vol.\x20xviii.\x20p.\x20198\x20ff.;\x20Miscell.\x20Papers\x20on\x20India,-China,\x20Vol.\x20I.\x20p.\x20197)\x20refers\x20to\x20Pāgāt.\x20In\x20rowing\x20up\x20the\x20Sanlīn\x20(=\x20Salween,\x20by\x20misreading\x20the\x20final\x20n\x20for\x20the\x20dental\x20n,\x20instead\x20of\x20the\x20guttural\x20n)\x20or\x20main\x20river,\x20the\x20first\x20objects\x20which\x20attracted\x20my\x20attention\x20were\x20the\x20Krūka\x20kasa\x20rocks,\x20being\x20a\x20continuation\x20of\x20the\x20great\x20line\x20formation.\x20The\x20river\x20at\x20one\x20spot\x20is\x20humbled\x20in\x20betwixt\x20two\x20rocks,\x20and,\x20being\x20thus\x20narrowed,\x20rashes\x20through\x20with\x20considerable\x20impetuosity.\x20The\x20rocks\x20on\x20the\x20north-west\x20bank\x20overhangs\x20its\x20base,\x20the\x20latter\x20being

30 Pale-kyāt is a compound meaning 'to make an offering to a paqoda.'
31 This was not born out, however, as regards the Cave, on further enquiries from local officers.
32 E. B. Gascoigne, Vol. II. p. 88 and note. The only reference, besides those quoted from the Gazetteer, I have yet found to the D'ammābā Cave is in that intelligent little book, Six Months in Burma, p. 41, by Mr. Christopher Winter, who visited it in 1828. It is there called Dhammathat, as it is usually still called by Europeans in Maulmain.
33 This is an instance of striving after a 'meaning', because 'Dhammathat' is a word well-known to most Anglo-Burmese, being the Burmese form of the name of a locally celebrated work, — the Dhammādatta.
35 See ante, Vol. XXI. p. 878; and Malloos, Prome, vol. 61. It is a well established fact that it takes these bats 26 to 30 minutes to fly out of the Cave to their food every evening.
washed by the river. On a sharp, and one should suppose almost inaccessible pinnacle, a small pagoda has been built, producing a pleasing effect to the eye of a distant observer.

"The cliff I conjectured to be 250 feet high. On that front facing the river some niches have been cut in a pyramidal space, and in these stand many painted and gilt alabaster images of Buddha. A narrow opening leads into a magnificent cave, which has been dedicated to Buddha, since many large wooden and alabaster images of that deified mortal were found arranged in rows along the sides of it; the wooden images were mostly decayed through age and had tumbled on the floor. The rock consists of a grey and hard limestone. The cave bears no marks of having been a work of art. The Burman priests, who inhabit a village on the opposite bank, could not afford me any information respecting it. No inscription was discovered on the rock."

P'agšt can be reached by a ferry launch in about four or five hours from Maulmain, but the best way is to visit both P'agšt and Kōgun at the same time by special launch,—an expensive journey as already explained.

By a good fair-weather road from P'agšt, though somewhat unpleasant withal, the Cave and Village of Kōgun can be reached by bullock-cart, if desired. The distance is about two miles. The preferable way of getting there is to stop in a special launch at the mouth of the Kōgun Creek, about a mile short of P'agšt, and thence either reach the Kōgun Village by a country boat, if the tide serves, or by walking through the outskirts of the village for about a mile. The Cave is situated, as usual, in an isolated limestone rock about a quarter of a mile to the west of the village. It runs under an over-hanging ledge of rock for about a hundred feet from South to North and then dips Westwards into this rock for about the same distance at the North end. The following sketch plan gives an idea of it.

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Sketch Plan of the Kōgun Cave

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[Sketch Plan of the Kōgun Cave]
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The general plan of the cave proper is evidently that of the D’ammabà Cave, but advantage has been taken of the over-hanging ledge and the rising ground in front of it to create a profusely ornamented Entrance Hall. In front of this is a large artificial square brick tank kept in good repair, as the Cave is still a place for an annual festival at the Burmese New Year (about 15th April). In front of the tank is the pebbled ground, where Zìt Pùksë is performed on the occasions when people congregate here.

There are the usual image platforms about the sides of both the Cave and the Entrance Hall, and also several down the centre of the Cave, as at D’ammabà.

A goodly number of small brick and plaster pagodas and chaityas are scattered about both Cave and Entrance Hall, and the surroundings of the latter. The largest are noted on the sketch plan. There is also a remarkable ornamented stalagmite, see Plate VII., covered completely over with small terra-cotta images, about four inches high, of Gautama Buddha enthroned in the style already explained, surmounted by a series of standing images in plaster work and much larger. On the top of all is a small pagoda or chaitya of the usual modern form. The corresponding stalactite, not visible in the plate, is profusely ornamented with images of Buddha in every attitude,—standing, seated and recumbent.

The peculiar position of the Entrance Hall under an over-hanging ledge of rock, sheltered from the rain brought by the prevailing south-west wind, has led no doubt to the profuse ornamentation of the surface of the rock to a considerable height, as shown in Plates III., IV., V., VI. and VII.

This ornamentation is the best sample of all of the type already noted as prevailing at D’ammabà and Pàrûn, vis., covering the rock with impressed terra-cotta and plaster tablets of all sizes, from four inches to several feet in height. The impressions are chiefly of Gautama Buddha enthroned, but they are nevertheless in great variety, and the Bùndă or Church is represented in several ways, as also are various scenes from the legendary life of the founder of the religion. On the many small ledges and recesses presented by the uneven surface of the rock are placed images in alabaster and brass. This is a special feature of the wall decoration of this Cave, due to natural conditions.

All about the Entrance Hall and the Cave itself, there is an astonishingly large deposit of figures of Gautama Buddha and yakhsins in every material and in every condition, besides a mass of remains of Buddhist objects generally. Many are quite modern, but some are of a type not now met with in modern Burmese religious art, and are exceedingly interesting from an historical and antiquarian point of view, as connecting Burmese with Indian Buddhism. They are well worth study, and probably from this Cave alone could be procured, with judicious selection, a set of objects which would illustrate the entire history of Buddhism in Lower Burma, if not in Burma generally and the surrounding countries, especially Siam.

The great mass of the images and remains are in a state of complete neglect, but, as the Cave is still in use for purposes of occasional worship, many of the images are well looked after, and some of the larger exposed ones are protected from the weather by rough boarding. The Cave itself appears to wander indefinitely into the rock at the two deep holes marked in the plan, and that near the ruined pagoda is partly filled up with a great mass of mutilated images and broken objects, thrown together in an indescribable confusion. Every pagoda has been broken into for treasure in the manner shown in Plates IV. and V.

26 The word pebd (Anglo-Indian puksa or poup) is Burmese, exactly corresponding to the English word ‘play’ in its various senses. Zìt = Pùksë, used for jàkda, a Buddhist ‘birth-story.’ The Zìt Pùksë is consequently a modified Passion Play.

27 A move in this direction is being made by the Local Government in Burma.
5. The B'njì Cave.

The B'njì Cave is situated in some low hills about 3 miles east of a village called, apparently indifferently, B'inlaing 28 and Nyaunggùn, on the left bank of what is usually known to Europeans as the Donam River, but is really the B'inlaing River. 29 This village is about three miles below Dàyinãk, and about 51 from Maulmain and 11 from Thatón. At the foot of the Cave is the village of B'njì, which is reached by bullock cart across jungle and rice-fields from B'inlaing Village. In front of the Cave is a pool of very hot water from which a stream issues, 30 and over this stream is a single-plank bridge. The Cave itself is not situated at the foot of the hill, and a climb of from 50 to 100 feet is necessary before reaching it. In the rains the country between B'inlaing and B'njì is flooded. B'inlaing can be reached from Maulmain by ferry-launch to Dàyinãk, 52 miles, and thence backwards three miles by country-boat. Bullock carts can, by arrangement, be procured at B'inlaing. A special launch from Maulmain could, of course, be moored at B'inlaing, which is a station for procuring firewood for the ferries. In any case more than one day is necessary for the expedition.

Bad weather prevented the exploration of this Cave, which is much to be regretted, as it is necessarily but little visited. Old and now faded photographs, see Plate II., taken by the late Mr. R. Romanis, the Government Chemical Examiner at Pannaw, in the possession of Mr. George Dawson, the present owner of the ferries along the rivers which join at Maulmain and of the little Railway from Dàyinãk to Thatón, however, fortunately shew that the Cave is of the ordinary Ramahandása type, though not so profusely ornamented as usual as to walls and roof. The plan has been to a series of pagodas or chait logs down the centre and images on platforms along the sides. This Cave has, however, a pagoda just outside it, which is unusual; and it will be observed that this pagoda and those shown in the interior are not of ancient form.

The B'njì Cave is deep and dark, requiring the use of special lights, but at the end of it is a pool of water flush with the floor, and a pagoda, so situated as to be lighted from a hole in the roof, or more correctly in the hill side, 31 after the fashion of the artificial lighting of the Ananda Pagoda at Pagan (spelt Pugum and Pugum = Pâji Pughîma), and of some Jain structures in India. 32 There is a fine reflection of the Cave, both roof and walls, in the pool.


Plate I gives an idea of the great variety of images and objects to be found in the Caves above described. The plate itself is from a photograph taken on the spot at Pagan. The objects shown in it were collected together for reproduction from the immediate neighborhood of the ruined pagoda upon which they are placed. They are mostly of wood, but some are of terra-cotta, plaster and stone.

The modern Burmese seated figures of Gautama Buddha are usually dressed in the garb of a monk, or p'ovâjî, 33 with curly hair drawn up into a knot on the top of the head, and the lobes of the ears touching the shoulder; but sometimes the Buddha is still represented dressed as Vâtâbodes. In these Cave representations there is, however, considerable

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28 This place is locally identified as "the residence of B'inlaing or Binhau, the last Talaing king." The tradition is, however, probably a confused reference to the notable doing in these parts of Bayin Naung (= Port. Branginco [Bajïn] Naungú), Bajin being spelt 'Bwâhû') in 1551—1561 A. D., and of Binhau Dalâ, the last Talaing king, 1755—1757 A. D.
29 The Donam and the Chittseri Rivers join at a few miles above Dâyinãk, and form together the B'inlaing River, which, after running some 80 miles, falls into the Salwrom, some 25 miles above Maulmain.
31 There are several such holes in the 1st Amun Caves giving fine effects of light. There is a cave at Muang Pâg in the Lào States where the same чаньоо effect occurs. See Stock, Temples and Elephants, p. 290.
32 Yale, Mission to Ava, pp. 383-4 and note; Fergusson, History of Indian Architecture, pp. 618 and 314.
33 Spelt B'ovâjî and explained as the great glow (B'wâhû), by the Burmese, but with doubtful accuracy to the mind.
variety. When dressed as Zabubadê, the ear lobes, though much enlarged, do not touch the shoulder, and the large holes in them are filled up with a roll much in the modern Burmese fashion, and from this roll there is occasionally something that hangs down to the shoulders (? a flower). The head-dress is in such cases a multiple crown, with, sometimes, appendages or wings hanging down behind the shoulders. On both arms are large jewels, or perhaps short embroidered sleeves, and the trunk is clothed in an elaborate winged garment reaching apparently to the feet and richly embroidered. All this is much in the modern style. In many of the older figures of the Buddha as a monk, the top-knot, there being, of course, no crown, is much elongated so as to form a sort of crown. In others again the body appears to be bare to the waist. In several the sole of the right foot is not exposed, as in most, but not all, modern figures; vide those in the Shân Tazang at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda; also round the Nyaungdaung and Padaung trees on the platform there. A good many thrones lie about the Kâgûn Cave with two images on them seated side by side, of which one is frequently much larger than the other and much more elaborately clad. Here the Buddha seems to be represented both as Zabubadê and as a monk. Often, however, the two images are identical in every respect, making the explanation more difficult.

Zabubadê requires explanation. There is a story current and very popular in Burma, but not, so far as I know, yet traced to any Jâlaka, according to which Jambupati (= Bur. pron. Zabubadê), Lord of the Earth, was a king exceedingly proud of dress and power. The Buddha, however, one day, to convince him of the valuelessness of his riches, assumed his form and clothing without effort. Thereupon Jambupati became a devoted follower. The figures of the Buddha dressed as Jambupati, and of Jambupati himself kneeling to the Buddha in acknowledgment of his superiority, have for centuries been popular in Burma.

The serpent throne and canopy of Gautama Buddha is to be seen in Plate Ia in two instances, conventionally grotesqued in the style dear to the Burman. The material of most of the figures in the Plate is wood, but the present writer has in his possession a fine plaster head with conventional serpent canopy of much finer workmanship than the specimens in the Plate, and in the Kâlyânî Dâng at Pëgâ24 are stored several specimens in plaster of Gautama lying upon a serpent throne with canopy. Modern figures of the Buddha and serpent combined seem to be rare, but a new one in alabaster was bought lately in Mandalay, which was explained to be a "Sîmasêe Buddha (Yôd'ayâ Pâyâ)." Also, among the treasures found at the palace at Mandalay, after the war in 1885, was a fine and well executed copper image of Buddha seated on a serpent throne, and images of many coils, which was said to have been sent from Ceylon as a present to one of the kings of the Alompra Dynasty.

Images of yâhâna also abound in the caves, always in an attitude of reverence. Those in Plate Ia (see also Plates I, IV., VI. and VII.) are of a type quite unknown in the present day. Female figures seem to be very rarely met with, but there is one of characteristic Burmese type in Plate Ia. It belongs to a fallen impressed terracotta tablet and represents a favorite character of the Burmese sculptor: Mâbûndayâ (= Yasundhara), Protectress of the Earth during the present dispensation.

It is obviously impossible with the materials at present at hand to do more than draw attention to this remarkable field for enquiry, but enough has already been said to shew how rich it is and how well worth study.

7. Bas-reliefs on glazed terra-cotta tablets.

The importance of Thatôn25 as an ancient home of the Taing race is, of course, well-known, and as it is now to be reached with ease from Maulmain by ferry-launch to Ñiblyin-

24 Spelt Pëgû, and pron. Pëgû = Pâli Hadâsâvetâ. Sangermano calls the country Pëgû and the town Pëgû : Reprint, 1888, p. 133 has " Pëgû in Pëgû and p. 179 " Pëgû or Bagû."
25 Spelt Thatô, pron. thatô, = Pâli Suvâppâ-nâgâra and Suvâppâ-bhûmi : also Sâdhammasâgara, Sâdharmâsâvetâ, etc. It is, like Bassein, a case of grâd etymological guess, of which one is to be found in the delightfully notes introduction to Gray's Buddhist Ceylon, p. 14.
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and, 55 miles, and thence by a small Railway, 8 miles, it is to be hoped that its ruins will at last be properly studied. Unfortunately, the time available during the visit now referred to was very short, and the weather wet and unfavorable for exploration. The chief object of interest is the Muluk Pagoda, or Deja'p'ayat, as it is also called, of the usual Sinhalese type, with square terraces, or procession paths, surmounted by a stūpa. Putting aside a discussion of the form of this pagoda for the present, it is worth noting that into panels in the lowest terrace are let, in large numbers, burnt clay tablets impressed with bas-reliefs. As this pagoda was built, like most old Taung structures of the kind, of squared laterite blocks, the unrestored portions are in a state of great decay, and many of the tablets have fallen out, while others are much injured and likely to disappear also. They are, however, for the purposes of the antiquarian of great importance, as exhibiting mediaval manners and costumes. Many are mere grotesques, but others are clearly meant to picture contemporary customs.

These particular bas-reliefs were carefully examined some years ago by Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John, now of Oxford but formerly of the Burma Commission, and the detailed description given below is partly from personal observation and partly from his account.

There is evidence that similar pagodas existed elsewhere in the Taungu Country at one time from the figures on Plates VIII., fig. 1, 1X, 1Xa, X., XI., XII. and XIII., which are from photographs of part of the collection in the Pharyre Museum at Rangoon of glazed tablets found at Pegu and Syria. The Pegu tablets are all said to have been found round the entirely ruined square base of a pagoda, in the Zayetaungiu Quarter, in what is now known as Mr. Jackson's Garden (but see below, p. 353.). That this ruined pagoda was once of great importance is attested by the existence of the remains of an unusually large artificial tank, the sides of which were once faced with laterite blocks. The ruins of the pagoda now resemble a square jungle-covered mound, and glazed ware is still dug out of it and the neighbouring tank walls in considerable quantities. As regards Upper Burma, at Pegu similar tablets abound, and at Amarapura, Yule observed the same style of decoration in sandstone on the basement of the Mahāthalin-tha Kyaungt (Monastery). From Sagaing I have photographs of 21 inscribed green glazed bricks from the ruined procession paths of the old Sisongyi Pagoda there. These exhibit what I take to be scenes from a Jātaka or Jātakas, after the fashion at Bhumat, etc., in India. The inscriptions are illegible enough, but, like so many old Burmese inscriptions, not as yet intelligible. The language is Burmese with much Pali mixed with it. Every brick is numbered, and the high numbers on those that remain show what a large quantity must originally have been set up: e. g. 278, 421, 575, 692.

There is no need to attribute a foreign origin to these tablets, on account of the remarkably good glazing, wherever found. Glazing, especially green glazing, is a very old art in Ṛamāññadësa, as the following interesting facts will show.

There is still a well-known and important manufacture at Tawan, near Rangoon, of what are now called commercially Pegu Jars, but were known, until 1730 A. D., at any rate, by a

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26 Spelt Dēssālik' in, from dēsālik, the dian fruit and t'h, a landing place. It was from this place that the messengers of King Dēsāwāddi (1817-1846 A. D.) used to embark on boats up the Downland and go thence by road to Tawang and Yandam to Amarapura with this fodd fruit, which is as great a delicacy to the Burmese as it is an object of disgust to Europeans. Yule notes this fact, op. cit., p. 101, footnote. Tawang (Tawng) is always Taung in Saungaran; see Reprint, 1886, pp. 186, &c.
28 With the carelessmness characteristic of all inhabitants of Burma those invaluable remains have been deposited without a note to show which are from Pegu and which from Syria. Syria in Burmese is spelt Sān'lājat and pron. Jhālum. It is the Chirion, Sirian, Sorian and Syrian of old writers.
29 I received 21 tablets for the Pharyre Museum quite lately from this place through the kindness of the owner. Both the Pegu and Syrian tablets are of the same type. Those from Syria are from Capey, C. C. Wise's property and were found in the ruined base of an old pagoda outside the S. W. bastion of the old fort. But see post, p. 353.
30 Mission to the Court of Ava, p. 126 and Plate xii.
31 B. B. Gascoigne, I. 615: II. 659. &c.
variety of names based on the word Martaban. The Pegu Jar is a huge vessel of pottery about four feet high, covered with a hard dark glaze, and was formerly much prized as a water jar in sea-going ships and for the storage of water and liquids in many parts of the world. They were exported from Martaban and under the name of that port became famous over the whole of the East and even in Europe. Ibn Batuta mentions them in the 14th century under the name Martabani as famous articles of commerce, and they were largely used in all over India and much prized for storage purposes in the days of Linschoten and Pyrard de Laval (15th and 16th centuries). As early as 1015 we find a Dictionary in Latin stating this: —<i>vasa siglina que valgo Martabania dicuntur per Indian nota sunt.</i> Per Orientem omnis, "quim et Lustusiam, horum est usus." So that we see they early spread to Portugal and were familiar to the Arabs. We find also, in France, Galland, in 1673, and the "1001 Jours," quoting respectively Merdeban and Martabani as "une certaine terre verte" and "porcelaine verte." In 1820 Baillie Fraser found imitations of the Pegu Jar manufactured in Arabia and called Martaban;"44 while, writing so long ago as 1638, De Morga, <i>Philippine Islands</i>, Hak. Ed. p. 285f., gives an obvious reference to the Pegu Jar, when he says: —"In this island of Luzon, particularly in the provinces of Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan, and Ylocos, there are to be found amongst the natives, some large jars of very ancient earthenware, of a dark colour, and not very sightly, some of them of a middle size, and others smaller, with marks and seals, and they can give no account from whence they got them, nor at what period; for now none are brought, nor are they made in the islands. The Japanese seek for them and value them, because they have found out that the root of a herb, which they call cha (tea!), and which is drunk hot, as a great dainty and a medicine, among the kings and lords of Japan, does not keep or last, except in these jars," and so on. The jars, which are known as <i>tubos</i>, and, under the name <i>gusih</i>, were similarly known and valued among the Dayaks of Borneo, as the Editor of De Morga tells us, referring to Boyle's <i>Adventures in Borneo</i>, p. 93.

Whereas, therefore, the Talangs and Burmans got their art of glazing "with lead-oar," as Alexander Hamilton puts it, it is clear that an art that had reached the perfection of the Pegu Jar, and had become famous in trade throughout the civilized world as early as the 14th century, must have flourished vigorously in the country quite early enough to be contemporaneous with the earliest date we can reasonably assign to the existing monuments in which the glazed bricks are found.

As to fixing dates when glazing was actually in use in Burma on a large scale, the following evidence may be useful in addition to that collected by Yule, s. v. Martaban, in <i>Hobson-Jobson</i>. Mr. E. H. Parker in his <i>Burma, Relations with China</i>, p. 12, says, quoting from Chinese Annals, of the king of Piao (Burma), that "the circular wall of his city is built of greenish glazed tiles . . . their house tiles are of lead and zinc . . . they have a hundred monasteries, with bricks of vitreous ware." This quotation, Mr. Parker tells me, is from the <i>Haö History</i>, chapter on the T'an (Burma) State, and refers to the doings of the T'ang (Chinese) Dynasty (A. D. 600-900), and apparently to knowledge acquired in the year 832 A. D. He further kindly gave me the following quotation from Fan Ch'ih-th's <i>work on the Northern Barbarians</i>: "the Piao State (i. e., Capital) is 75 journeys south of Zung-ch'ang, and communications with it were opened by Koh-lo-feng. In this State they use greenish bricks to make the city-wall, which is one day's journey in circuit." The date of Koh-lo-feng is 748-779 A. D.

44 A fine collection of quotations extending from 1300 to 1537 A. D., supporting the above stated facts, is to be found in Yule's <i>Hobson-Jobson</i>, page 428 f. But he is wrong in supposing the words "Pegu Jar" to be obsolete, for the article is still well known in Rangoon and Burma generally to Europeans to this day under that name. See also his <i>Oriental and the Way Thither</i>, Vol. ii. p. 476; and the valuable quotations in Wilson's <i>Documents of the Burmese War</i> (1824), Appx. p. 14v. Low, a very careful observer, in his <i>Geological Observations of Portions of the Malay Peninsula</i>, A. S. ~ (1838) Vol. xvii. pp. 188-189, also makes the mistake of thinking the Pegu Jar obsolete. See also <i>Miscell. Papers on Indo-China</i>, Vol. i. p. 396. He also thought (p. 190) that Martaban was not settled till 1236 A. D., but this was a mistake.

45 Galena and rice water, B. B. Guettéer, L. 419.
The tablets at Thaton are found imbedded in niches in the second terrace about four inches deep and with a little over two square feet superficial area. The representations on some of them are as under, and the description shews them, I think, to be, like the Sagaing tablets and the sculptures in India at topes, representations of Jātakas, or Zātes, as the Burmese say:

1. Four bearded persons, with faces conventionally grotesqued, riding an elephant, are being pelted with stones by two youths on foot with their hunthu tucked up. One of the figures on the elephant has his hair tied into a knot on the forehead in Shan or Karen fashion. The youths have theirs in a knot at the back in the fashion prevailing still further East.

2. A royal figure is riding on a horse and another royal figure is on foot with an attendant. Wavy lines (? the sun) form the background.

3. A royal figure kneeling before a triśūla. A remarkable design in Burma, but common enough in India. See Ferguson, *Hist. of Indian Architecture*, pp. 104, 112: also Cunningham's Māhābodhi, Plate VIII. fig. 2. This picture is comparable with that of the Nīgas worshipping the triśūla at Amaravati, given by Ferguson at p. 46, where there is no doubt that the triśūla is an emblem of Buddha.47

4. A great man, is sitting under umbrellas. A man, kneeling to his right, is smiling and presenting something in a box. Below is a pony tied to a tree and an attendant kneeling. Both kneeling figures have their hair tied in a knot at the side or back, and their loins girt. From this last circumstance — an unusual thing in the presence of a great man — it might perhaps be conjectured that strangers have arrived from a distance in a hurry with a present.48

5. A woman is kneeling before a prince, and in front of them is a man on a four-wheeled cart drawn by a pony.

6. A well-dressed man and woman, in a curious and remarkable cart drawn by a pony, are in front of a potter's house. One man is turning a wheel, another is shaping a pot, and a third is kneeling clay. All the figures wear their hair in a knot behind.

7. A princess is seated among her women, one of whom is hanging a man by a rope through a hole in the floor.49

8. A king on his throne, an attendant on either side; girt about the loins, hair in a knot at the back.

44 Spint phuché, a Burmese cotton or silk garment worn by men. It is a kind of petticoat wound round the waist, and is tucked up between the legs when anything requiring agility or activity has to be done. "Gird up the loins of your mind." (J. Pet. 1: 13), would be a metaphor at once understood in Burmese.

45 The Burmese tie theirs in a knot at the top, as is seen in the modern images of Gautama Buddha. A real Taungkada (see ante, Vol. XXI. p. 370) still wears his hair as in the bas-reliefs, and so do the Annamese and Cambodians. The Tamil and Telugu of South India frequently do the same also. I have in my possession a kneeling figure in Sangoa marble from Amarapura with the hair tied at the back. The Cambodian influence visible in these tablets may help to fix the date of this Peacock as between the 6th and 10th century A.D. See pag 844 f., post.

46 It is very easy, by the way, to mistake the wafra for the triśūla in indistinct sculptures.

47 See ante, Vol. XXI. p. 591, and Cortal's *Tour in Burma*, p. 11. There is a strong tendency in antiquaries in Burma to attribute all Hindu symbols to a pre-Buddhistic Hinduisn. This ignores all Taśtrik influence on Buddhism in Burma, which, however distasteful to the modern Burman, is, I think, a dangerous thing to do. It certainly cannot be done in discussing any Buddhist remains in India, and there are many signs of Taśtrik influence in the ideas of the Burman Buddhist of to-day. Phayre (Jut. Num. Oriental. Vol. III. Part I. p. 38) falls into the "Hinduism" mistake, and so describes what is a conventional Buddhist chālīpya on a "Pagii Medal" as the trident (triśūla) of Śiva, moroselidng accordingly. The latest work on such points, written in Burma, Gray's *Buddhagāṇḍapattī*, 1891, sticks tightly to the Buddhagāṇḍas and pre-Buddhist Hinduisn theories.

But see below No. 8.

48 Mr. St. John has an ingenious explanation of this. In every Taung house there is a room set apart for the girls to sleep in, and this has a hole in the floor. Lovers come under the house and put their hands through this hole. By a sign, or the feel of the hand, the girls know if the right man has come. If the wrong man comes, "We bid him."
(9) A king seated on a throne with people kneeling before him. In the background is a man being "elbowed."

(10) A man in a garden, or forest, has hold of an enormous serpent. A prince is seated on the ground with three princesses kneeling on his left; one behind the other. The head-dresses are all of the well-known, Naga, type in Buddhist (Indian) sculptures. The dress otherwise is Burmese.

(11) A king is seated on a throne, and an attendant kneeling is announcing the arrival of the queen. The queen, gorgeously apparelled and grave of countenance, is carried on a seat on the shoulders of four men. Behind are umbrellas, fans, swishes, &c.

(12) A prince is standing on the back of a man stretched on the ground. A man in front has hold of the victim's hair with one hand and holds a sword in the other. Behind are two kneeling women. Around are elephants, buffaloes, pigs and other animals.

The bas-reliefs at Amarapura are merely humorous grotesques, but those from Pegu (and (?) Syriam) had evidently a more serious meaning. A great number represent, no doubt, what we should call "foreigners," who to the ancient and medieval mind were largely people endowed with terrible faculties, features and forms. An attempt has been made to depict these mythical peoples in detail, and we find them endowed with stout formidable bodies and the heads of every creature known to the artist. They are generally represented as being naked as to the body and legs, and clad only with a cloth round the loins, no doubt in the fashion of the poorer classes of the time. The glazing of all the tablets is good and regular, and the colors prevalent are white, red, green, yellow, black and blue. The blue colour of some of the bodies represents perhaps the dark skin of the supposed foreigner. One of the tablets represents two female figures, naked from the waist upwards, and clad only with a short garment drawn up tightly between the legs after the fashion of the Malay sarung, and of the lower orders of Siamese women, vide Crawford, Embassy to Siam, p. 115, illustration, which confirms the idea that these grotesque figures merely represent the people of a foreign nation.

On some, however, of the Pegu tablets are representations of great personages of the time elaborately clad, crowned and jewelled. (See Plates IX., IXa, Xl., and XIII.) Only one, out of over a hundred found at Pegu, has a legible inscription on it, and this inscription is, so far, largely a puzzle, which is disappointing, as there is no special difficulty in reading the characters, since they are of the square lapidary type common in these parts up till quite lately. Plate IX gives a reproduction of it, and below is a tracing from a photograph, on a scale of 7.

The language may be either Talaiing, Burmese or Shan. Assuming it to be Talaiing,

24 This is a punishment. The person to be punished is made to kneel down and bend forward. He is then struck violently between the shoulders and somewhat lower by the elbow of the punisher. The pain caused is great.

25 On very few is there any sign of a lost inscription. I have, however, signs found a similar tablet in Rangoon, presumably taken from the same site, and having precisely the same inscription as that in the text, but in a more curvilinear form. It is shown in Plate IXa. Low, see Indo-China, Vol. I. p. 1971, makes this, for him, very curious mistake of saying that there are no inscriptions in Lower Burma! The opposite is the fact, and proportionately there are many more historical inscriptions in Burma than in India.
as the characters $\Omega$ and $\Pi$ would lead one to suppose, it is apparently translatable.

Transliterated it seems to run pretty clearly, thus:

\[\text{Kewa p'ran mā pa mat heat.}\]

By exercising considerable license in spelling, and in reading the letters, sense can be made in the languages out of all the words, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Son</th>
<th>prēmū</th>
<th>mā</th>
<th>pāl</th>
<th>māt</th>
<th>lamot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wife or daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in order to get thus far we have to mis-spell kān, which should be, transliterated, kūm and not kewa, and to read the akṣhara $\Theta$ as $\Theta$, and the akṣhara $\omega$ as $\omega$ $\Theta$. This last reading, however, would be allowable. The last word can be variously read in Tai-ing as lid, lamot, la-nōt, or lamit, according as the first akṣhara is read as $\omega$, $\omega$, $\Theta$, or $\Theta$. 28

The meaning of the sentence thus read, which would be good Tai-ing so far as regards grammar, would be: "the wife who is a friend for ever." I am very loth to accept such a reading, as it would be against epigraphic experience.

Assuming the language to be partly Burmese or Shan, and partly Siamese, for reasons given below, we get the following result by transliteration:

- $\text{Kewa p'ran} | \text{Mahāpamād} | \text{heat}$
- $\text{Kewa p'ran} | \text{Mahāpamād} | \text{built}$

There is only one difficulty in this reading, and that is in reading the akṣhara $\Theta$ as p'vā; there being no sign / in Burmese or Shan. The akṣhara $\Theta$ mā on stone is constantly used for mākā. The indistinct akṣhara $\omega$ in the last word would, if the language is Burmese, be read put, and if Shan lōt. Both words mean the same thing, i.e., primarily 'released,' secondarily 'commemorated,' 'dedicated,' 'built in honor of.' But whether the language is Burmese or Shan the first two words would be Siamese titles. Kewa p'ra (pron. khewp'ra) means a nobleman, 29 and such people in Siam often have a Pāṭi name or personal title. The Mahāpamād of the text is a legitimate form for such a name or title, standing for the Pāṭi Mahāpamād, either by shortening in the usual way, or in full. Because the akṣhara $\Theta$ may be legitimately read as t, or as t + Pāṭi suffix, open vowel, d or d or t or u or u.

Siamese nobles did, we know, frequently visit Ramuldūntās on pilgrimages and did erect buildings in consequence. This particular man may have done so and ordered an inscription to be cut in his honor locally, and the lapidary may have used his own language, which, however, at the time that the structures in the neighborhood were built, 26 was not likely to have been Burmese, though it might have been Shan.

But the inscription may be purely Siamese. The character is what Taylor, The Alphabet, Vol. II, p. 346 and elsewhere, calls the "Kinsasa character of Burma," meaning clearly thereby (p. 345) the Burmese word kyawdā (chawdā, lapidary script, epigraph). And although he is altogether wrong in his ideas as to its distribution in Burma, he shows that it was in use about Bangkōk and in Siam generally. Such a sentence as that we have before us is, however, so far as I can ascertain, not found Siamese.

28 To be read 'friend'; the word must be read māt.
29 I am much indebted to the Rev. Dr. Yeo, author of the Shan Dictionary and Grammar, etc., for kindly aid in this difficult text.
30 In Siamese the title kān may be prefixed to any other title of nobility, being the lowest. The titles are, highest downwards, Changkān, Phayā, Pāṭi, Līnām, Māng and Kān. A "royal" titled personage prefix Kān to his other titles.
31 Assuming the neighborhood whence the tablet came to be that of the Kayalkān Pagoda (see text, post, p. 354) the date of the inscription can only at present conjectured to be some time after the Siamese conquest of Cambodia in the 18th century A. D. See post, p. 355.
If then this stone commemorates the visit of a Siamese prince or noble to Pegu, it is of interest and some importance as historical evidence. Until disproved I am inclined to accept the second reading as the correct one. Another possible conjecture as to the nationality of the person commemorated by the stone is that he was a Talasing nobleman with a Siamese title. This is historically reasonable.

On the tablet, already mentioned (ante, p. 343), showing two grotesque female figures is an inscribed monogram, of which he accompanying cut gives a full-sized tracing. The characters of this monogram bear a strong resemblance to the lapidary character of Burma.

The Pegu tablets at the Phyre Museum are then clearly of two types — grotesques and portraits, and, although all are said locally to be from the same place, i.e., Mr. Jackson's Garden, I believe that this is an error, and that the grotesques came from the garden, and the portraits from the neighbourhood of the four colossal figures of Gautama Buddha, about six miles distant, known as the Kyaiok'um Pagoda. If this belief is correct, the inscription would tend to show that the Siamese had a hand in its erection, and for external evidence of such a supposition may be consulted Ferguson's statements and plates in his *History of Indian Architecture*, at page 663 ff., and especially at page 680.56

The grotesques divide themselves into four groups — figures marching armed, figures fighting, figures in flight, and figures in attitudes of supplication. It may be, therefore, guessed that they represent the march, battle and defeat of a foreign army, such as that of Hanumān in the *Rāmdāyan*, the story of which, by the way, is quite well known in Burma as the *Yāmanyadā*, or popularly as the *Yāmaśādi*.57

3. Images and "enamelled" pagodas at Thaton.

Perhaps the most interesting thing yet unearthed at Thaton is a stone image in bas-relief about three feet high, which was found quite lately, at 14 ft. below the surface, in digging a well in a garden near the Shānā Kyaung. The owner has now set it up on a modern Burmese throne, or palist, beside a *pipal* tree on the neighbouring road-side, and has built a *tazawng* (*tawmawng*), a building with terraced roofs and "umbrella" top over it. The image is now entirely gilt, and the throne and *tazawng* ornamented with modern Burmese "glass" and gold decoration. The money for the purpose is being collected from worshippers on the spot, and perhaps the owner will, in the end, make a small living out of it, as does the guardian of the curious *Pāyō* images.58

The image is that of a man standing upright, with long arms, broad shoulders, large-lobed ears, and curly hair. The right arm hangs down straight, but the left is doubled up so that the tips of the fingers touch the top of the shoulder. Under the arm-pit is a representation of a palm-leaf MS., covered over with a cloth, in the style still in use. It bears a striking resemblance to the colossal Digambara Jain figures of Western India shewn; *ante*, Vol. II. p. 353, and in Ferguson's *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 268. It is not, however, naked.59

Bad weather prevented the taking-off of a photograph of this image, but it is well worth reproduction and study.

56 The point is, of course, a present very obscure. See post, p. 354 f., for further arguments as to it.
57 For *kū* see above, note 56. The pictures in Crussw's *Rāmdāyan* of *Talasing Dās* may be usefully compared with these grotesques; see Book VI., Lākkī.
58 See *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 353. He had started a box with a slot in it in April 1892.
59 The statue at Kāricala (*ante*, Vol. II., p. 263) is dated Saka 1253 = A. D. 1493.
There is in the courtyard of the Shwemawdaw Pagoda at Thaton, and again at Martaban, near the point where the Government Telegraph cable crosses the Salween from Moulmein, a so-called enamelled pagoda, locally presumed to be of great age. The 18th, as well as the upper rings of the pagoda spire itself, is covered with glazed ware in several colors. The pagoda at Martaban, which is quite small, has a peculiarly venerable appearance from having been split from the crest downwards by a young nipa tree, which has taken root in the 18th.

The enamelled appearance is produced by nailing on to the brick and plaster work small plates of lead covered over with a silica glass in various colors; brown, grey, yellow, and green. The antiquity of the work may be well doubted, as the plates at Martaban, at any rate, were fastened on with European nails. The Great Kyaukkuak Pagoda near Syriam is similarly "glazed." (B. B. Gazelleer, II. p. 283 f.)


The form of the Mulâ Pagoda at Thaton has been already commented on, being that of a Sâhâsease dâgâba. That is, it consists of three square terraces surmounted by what was a stûpa, and is now, after restoration, a modernized pagoda with the usual conventional form. The style is repeated at Borbudur in Java, but with five procession paths in place of three. That the Thaton sample was not an isolated instance in Râmmâtâdâsâ has been already noted, and that the mere form itself does not argue antiquity can be seen from the Sîbîyâ Pagoda at Myingun, which was built under Boddhiyâ in 1816 A. D., where precisely the same arrangement occurs.

This leads to the reflection that form alone can never be relied on for estimating the age of a pagoda in Burma, because of the tendency to go back to the old types; e. g., the great Kâungmudâ (royal work of merit) Pagoda near Sâyingun, the date of which is known to be about 1550 A. D. and which is a stûpa with stone railing after the Bihâsâ type; e. g., also, the great pagoda of Boddhiyâ (1781 to 1823 A. D.) at Myingun, which, had it been finished, would have been a stûpa raised upon a square base in most approved ancient form, as may be seen from the model still existing at Myingun. In the village of Syriam, on the high road to the Kyaukkuak Pagoda, just facing what must have been the old east gate of the city walls, is a small ruined pagoda of the true stûpa type. It is one of thirteen small pagodas, also mostly in ruins, but not of ancient form. To these I would add the remains of the Mahâkâthâ Pagoda at Pegg, the date of which lies between 1551 A. D., and 1581, and the resemblance of which to a true stûpa is most remarkable.

That the elongated pagoda of Burma at the present day is the linæal descendant of the dagoba of Buddhist India there can be little doubt, but, owing to the recurrence of ancient types in modern times, all that can be predicated of any particular sample from form alone is that the greatly elongated spiral form is not likely to date beyond a century, or so
back. The great sample of the elongated style is the Shwétágoñ in Rangoon, which is historically known to have been continually enlarged (i.e., to consist of a series of pagodas built over smaller ones), from the days of Binyawwar (1446–1450 A.D.) and Queen Shinsätt (1453–1460 A.D.) of Pegu to those of S'ínbyūn (1763–1775 A.D.) of the Alamap'á Dynasty, under which last ruler it finally attained its present shape and height in 1788 A.D.

I hope in due course to return to this important subject later on and to examine the pagoda forms of Burma in detail.

10. The Shwétáyang at Pegu.

The enormous recumbent image of Gautama Buddha, the Shwétáyang, as it is called (see Plate XVII.), in the Zainganaing Quarter of Pegu, has been noted by Mr. Taw Sein Ko (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 384). This evidently was one of the sights in days gone by of a part of the town that was set apart for the priests, for the Kalyáñ Dêngs is not far distant, the forgotten pagoda with its huge tank in Mr. Jackson’s Garden (ante, p. 340) is close by, and the Maháchêtt Pagoda is not far off. It had an enclosure of its own surrounded by a wall. It is now a very prominent object of red brick on a platform of squared laterite blocks, but the restorers have begun on it and plastered the face already, and no doubt the efforts of the pious will, in time, result in the plastering of the whole body. To the antiquarian it is remarkable for having a lost history. It is probably about 400 years old, and yet there is no history at all attached to it! What story there is about it is in fact an example of the utter extinction that at times overtakes an Oriental deltaic town upon conquest. Pegu was taken by Alamgir-ayá in 1757 A.D., and utterly destroyed for a generation. So completely were the inhabitants dispersed that, when the city was repopulated under S'ínbyūn, who conciliated the Talaings, about 20 years after its destruction, all remembrance of this image, 181 ft. long and 46 ft. high at the shoulder, had disappeared! And this, though it was within a mile of the new town and surrounded by monasteries! The place on which it was situated had become dense jungle, and the image itself turned into what appeared to be a jungle-covered hillock, or at best a tree-hidden ruin. In 1891 the Burma State Railway ran past Pegu, within half a mile of the image, and laterite was required for the permanent way. A local contractor, in searching for laterite in the neighbourhood, came across a quantity in the jungle, and on clearing the place uncovered the image, which has ever since been an object of veneration.

A similar complete depopulation seems to have been effected at Bassein about 1760 A.D. by Alamgir-ayá, for the British Burma Gazetteer accounts for the absence of native histories of Bassein by the utter destruction of the town that then took place.

11. Some details of the Plates.

Plate I.

The small figures in part of a circle at the top of the drawing represent the Sāṅgha, or Church, seated round the Buddha, who is not visible in the plate. I have a curious brown glazed brick from Wunbó, which shews four figures seated in a kassuung or sāyét. It is inscribed with the words, in clear Burmese characters, "Tatiya Sânhýândîk haśa," which in Burmese would be read Tatiyâ Dîng'âyandîk haśa, and may be translated, "the picture of the Third Convocation hearing the precepts of the Buddha." Yândîk, to the modern Burman, is one of the early convocations of the Buddhist Church rehearsing the teachings of the Buddha; yandîn is the holding of such a convocation: haśa means "having the appearance of." It is not a verb."

A careful comparison of the figures shown in this Plate with those described in the next will show that the figures of the Farm Cave are identical with those of the Kàgun Cave in point of age and character.

See ante, p. 18. There is a recumbent Buddha at Pechaburi in Siam 146 ft. long; see Bowring’s Siam, I. 167: and one in Bangkok, 165 ft. long, op. cit., I. 418.

This ‘Third Convocation’ is a great landmark in Burmese ecclesiastical history. The Burmese mean by it Asok’s Third Council, which, according to them, was held in the Year of Religion 955-956 = 907 B. C. Also, according to them, it was as a result of this Convocation that they adopted the Buddhist faith. See Bignandet, Life and Legend of Gautama, II. 189; ante, p. 16.
NOTES ON ANTIQUITIES IN RAMANNADESA.

Explanation of Index Plate Ia.

Figures (1) and (2) are two figures on one throne (pâlinâ). Fig. (1) is the Buddha in priestly costume. Fig. (2) is the Buddha as Zabûbadê. In this case the sole of the right foot is not exposed. The material is wood. Fig. (3) is a "Shân Buddha." Priestly costume; the sole of the right foot is not exposed: material, wood. The same is to be said of figs. (4), (9), (11), (12), (13), and (14), all carved in a series of thrones or niches in the same piece of wood; also of figs. (33), (34), (40), (41), (49). Fig. (35) shows the same in stone.

Figures (5) and (6) are priestly disciples in the attitude of adoration: material, wood. So is fig. (7): material, stone.

Figure (10) is very interesting as being a "Cambodian tower" in wood, exhibiting the four Buddhas of this dispensation, Kakusandha, Kôsagamana, Kasapa, Gôtama.

Figure (8) is Zabûbadê in the attitude of submission to the Buddha after his conversion: material, wood.

Figures (15), (16), (17) and (18) show the Buddha seated in the coils of the serpent Ananta, as on a throne. The serpent is three-headed: the three heads being grotesqued and conventionalised in true Burmese fashion. In both these instances the Buddha has both soles exposed: material, wood.

Figures (19) and (23) show what is known in Burma as a "Sâmese Buddha" (Tôdôya P'ayâ). It is winged after the fashion of Indian and Sinhalese Buddhas; material terra-cotta. Fig. (36) exhibits the same in stone.

Figures (20) and (37) show the Buddha as Zabûbadê: material, wood. Fig. (24) exhibits the same in terra-cotta: and fig. (39) in stone. So does fig. (42) in stone. Both soles are exposed, probably, in each case.

Figures (21) and (22) are two figures of the Buddha as Zabûbadê on one throne. In this case the sole of the right foot is not exposed: material, wood.

Figures (25) and (26) exhibit the Buddha in priestly costume, both soles exposed; but the type is antique.

Figure (26) exhibits the head of the Buddha of the Shân type in plaster.

Figure (27) is the background in wood of a throne and had originally an image fixed on to it. It is chiefly interesting as shewing symbols of the sun and moon (f'), one above the other.

Figures (29) and (30) show the janitors of a shrine, much in the fashion common on doorways in Ceylon and in Cambodia. Material, wood. Compare Plates IV. fig. 1, x, fig. 3, XIV, fig. 16, of Forchhammer's Report on the Antiquities of Arakan for similar figures.

Figure (31) is an image of Mabôndayâ in terra-cotta.

Figure (38) shews two images of the "Shân Buddha" seated on the same throne: material, wood.

It will be perceived that the pagoda, at the foot of which the images have been placed, has been broken into for treasure. This pagoda is that shewn again in Plate V.

Plate III.

This plate shews the elevation of the Entrance Hall of the Kôgun Cave, which is alluded to in p. 336, ante, where a sketch plan of it is given. An examination of the plate through a magnifier will show the extent to which the rock has been ornamented by lines of terra-cotta tablets, stuck on by cement and faced for the most with representations of the Buddha seated.
in priestly costume, or as Zabubadā. See Plates XVI. and XVIa, and also ante, p. 334, where a full-sized representation of the back of one of these tablets is given.

Plate IV.

Index Plate of Plate IV.
Explanation of Index Plate IV.

This Plate shews the mural decoration of the Kūgun Cave to consist mainly of terra-cotta tablets, faced with representations of the Buddha, seated as already described. But a few facts are brought prominently to notice in it.

Figure (1) is the recumbent Buddha of not an unusual type.

Figure (2) is a seated image of the type explained below, p. 354, Plate VII.

Figures (3), (6) and (13) are representations of the Buddha preaching, a form which is very rare in modern figures, but which must have been common enough when these caves were decorated. I have photographs of a fine set of very ancient type in wood, now at the Shinbinūjī Pagoda in Talokmyō, which were taken thither from the Ditasān Hill at Lāyging, the ancient Vāpijagūla in the Minbā District, one of the oldest sites in Upper Būmāh. One of these is now set up (restored) at the Sūḻ Pagoda in Bāngōon. Figure (13) has been accidentally cut out of the Plate, but is in the original photograph.

Figure (7) represents the Buddha with his Dābek, or begging bowl.

Figures (8), (9), (10) and (12) are interesting as shewing images of the Buddha (Shān type) with one sole only exposed. Fig. (11) shews him as Zabūbadē with a septuple tiara on his head.

Figure (4) also shows the great hexagonal ornamented stalagmite, which is to be better seen on Plate VII.

Figure (5) exhibits the damage, almost universal in pagodas found in or near the Caves, and done in order to get at the contents of the treasure chamber. See ante, p. 333.

The day when this Cave was visited happened to be that of the annual new year’s feast, and a couple of boys, worn out with the fatigue of the festival, are to be seen asleep in the foreground. The human figures in the photograph are useful to shew the proportions of the various objects shewn.

Figure (14) is an inscription in modern Burmese characters on plaster, which has partly peeled off. The figures 2157 can be made out on the original photograph through a magnifier. Given that this refers to “the Year of Religion,” or Anno Buddhis, it yields the date 1615 A.D. At any rate the inscription is worth looking into, for there should be no difficulty in reading it. Its situation is marked in the sketch plan, ante, p. 336.

Plate V.

This shews a pagoda which has been twice dug into in search for treasure.

Of the mural decoration the objects of chief interest are a prominent figure of the Buddha preaching, and the small alabaster figures placed in hollows and on ledges in the upper part of the rock.

The boys in the foreground are some of those, who had come to be present at the new year festival noted in describing the last plate.

Plate VI.

This plate gives a view, shewing the way into the Main Hall from the Entrance Hall, and shews that the decoration of roof and walls by means of plastering them with terra-cotta tablets extends even to the recesses of the Main Hall. It also shews usefully the extraordinary richness of the remains and the confusion into which they have now fallen.


This is the pagoda which appears in Plate II. Alexander, Travels, 1827, p. 18, says that about Bāngōon a good deal of this kind of damage was due to the European troops in the First War.
The main features of interest in the plate are those noted in the Index Plate.
In many samples in this Plate, notably in figs. (1), (2), (7) and (9), it will be observed that the right sole is not exposed: and this in instances where the figures have obviously been built up of brick and plaster.

Figures (3) and (8) represent devotees in an attitude of prayer, and so does fig. (6), giving the back view of a favorite attitude.

Figure (4) is a sample of a "Yādāyā Pajā."

Figure (7) is especially interesting as being that of the Buddha enthroned in the jaws of a gigantic three-headed serpent, figs. (5), (6), (8). Each head has been conventionalized in the manner already described. I possess a fine example from Amarapura in wood of the Buddha seated on a throne, canopied by a seven-headed serpent, but the example in the Plate is, as far as I am yet aware, unique.

Plate VII., Plate VIII. fig. 2, Plate IX., Plate IXa, Plate XII., Plate XIII., Plate XV. fig. 1.

Plate XV. fig. 1 exhibits what is known as the Kyaikp'un Pagoda, or simply as the Kyaikp'un, Pagoda near Pegu. The remaining plates exhibit glazed bricks found in its neighbourhood, or in Mr. Jackson's Garden in the Zainganaing Quarter of Pegu, or presumed to have come from these two spots.

I think an examination of the Kyaikp'un Pagoda may throw light on the probable origin and date of these peculiar bricks, which I take to be conventional portraits and commemorative of devotees.

Now the Kyaikp'un Pagoda, a huge mass of brick 90 ft. high,74 shows, I think, the influence of the Cambodian style of architecture. That is, it is a solid square brick tower, on each face of which sits a huge figure of one of the four Buddhas of this dispensation, viz., Kakusandha, Koñamam, Kassapa, and Gotama. Compare this plate with those given in Fergusson's Indian Architecture, fig. 376, p. 680, and I hardly think that there can be much doubt about it. I have also a curious series of coarse chromolithographs by M. Jamieson of his visit to Angkor Thom, which confirms this view. The extension of Cambodian, and later of Siamese, power, for a time, as far west as Pegu can, I think, be shown historically.75 The Siamese influence seems to have been strongest in the latter part of the 13th and early part of the 14th centuries: in the 15th century we find the native Talaing Dynasty firmly established. The Cambodians were overthrown by the Siamese in the 14th century, and their influence was not apparently felt in Ramannadesa after the 10th century. So that, if the Cambodians had a hand in the design of this tower, it must date back at least to the 10th century, and to its being a well-known structure in Talaing times in the 15th century we have the testimony of the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions, in which it appears as the Mahābuddharāpa near a ferry over the Yōga, or Pegu, River.76

Plate XIII. goes to further show the influence of Cambodian art in this region. The glazed brick shown here is from the Zainganaing Quarter of Pegu, and the costume of the figures is strongly Cambodian.77

Plates IX. and IXa exhibit two couples of figures of the portrait class, both, I believe, from Zainganaing. They also show two versions of the inscription described ante, p. 348. Plate IX. shows the inscription as described, and Plate IXa shows it in a more cursive form, which is interesting on that account. Apart from the testimony of the inscription the costume

74 See ante, Vol. XXI. p. 383: There is in the Phayre Museum a small stone object (broken) with the four Buddhas seated back to back. It was taken from the neighbourhood of the Kyaikp'un Pagoda, and may well have been a votive model of it. In Buchanan-Hamilton's "Account of the Religion and Literature of the Burmese" in Asiatic Researches, vi. 305, the Four Buddhas turn up as Chuuchasam, Gonag, Gaya, and Godams in Mālcolm, Travels, Vol. ii. p. 324, they are Kanakapā, Guṇag, Kālpaka and Gāndama, and in Siamese, Kākasa, Kanag, Kālap and Godams.
76 But see ante, p. 844 f., as to a possible Siamese origin for these figures.
77 See ante, p. 40.
of the figures is Siamese or Cambodian, as also are the costumes of similar figures in Plates VIII. fig. 2, IX., IXa, and XII from the same place. The figures are not clothed in Burmese fashion.

I would draw attention to the head-dress of these figures, because if compared with that of the "Shin Buddhas" and many non-Burmese figures shown in Plates I, IV. VI. and VII, as found in the caves about Manlmain, it will be seen that they are identical, and give us a clue as to when they must have been deposited.

In Plate VII., at the point indicated in the index plate below, is a remarkable seated figure of the Cambodian type, as shown in Plate XIII.

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Index to Plate VII.

Close to the Kyaikpun Pagoda is a large metal image of the Buddha overgrown now by the roots of a huge peepal tree. In the illustration of this in Plate VIII. fig. 2 are to be seen specimens of glazed bricks, showing precisely the class of portraits above described. The inference is that whatever the date of the Kyaikpun Pagoda itself may be, that is also the date of the bricks seen in the Plate.

The structures in the Zainganning Quarter, whence these figures came, can be most safely attributed to a time before Dhammaññadat (the middle of the 15th century), and if the...

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date of the Kyaikp’uun Pagoda is to be placed earlier than the 13th century, we get a date for these glazed portrait bricks, viz., at the latest the 10th century A.D., and by analogy a similar date for the deposit of similar votive offerings in the caves. Assuming the remains to be of Cambodian origin, then, as the Cambodian power lasted in these parts from the 6th to the 10th centuries, the period between them would be that in which the bulk of the older deposits must have been made.

To sum up the evidence so far available, it may be said that the older cave remains, if Cambodian, date between the 6th and 10th centuries A.D.: if Siamese, the date must be put forward to the 13th or 14th century.

Plate VIII. fig. 1, and Plates X. and XI.

Index to Plate VIII: fig. 1.

Plate VIII. fig. 1 shows selected specimens from the collection of glazed bricks from Pegu (see ante, p. 340) in the Phayre Museum, Rangoon. Some are said to have come from Syriam, but I cannot say which. They are sufficient in number and variety to shew the point of the remark already made that the whole set must have represented the march, battle, flight and defeat of an ogre army. The march of armed ogres is depicted in figs. (13), (14), (16), (17) and (18); the battle in figs. (1), (2), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11) and (12); the flight in figs. (6) and (13); the defeat, as shewn in attitudes of supplication, in (3), (4), (5) and (19).

Plates X. and XI. show some similar figures to those in this instructive Plate in greater detail. In Plate X. two couples of the army marching are shewn, and one, fig. (3), of the flight. Figure (4) represents the prisoners, two women in the tight fitting drawers, or girded skirt, of the lower orders of the Malays and Siamese. The trunk and legs, as amongst these women still, are bare. Plate XI. exhibits the battle in figs. (6), (6) and (7), while fig. (5) represents the flight.
The figures are further extremely instructive in the matter of costume, and how instructive in the matter of arms, the accompanying drawing, taken by Mr. D. M. Gordon of the Burma Secretariat from the original bricks, will show.

The d'ās or knives are shown in figs. (1), (4), (6), (9), (10); an adze in fig. (2); daggers in figs. (5), (8); spears in figs. (3), (7), (11), (13); round embossed shields (? of leather) in figs. (1), (2), (8); fig. (5) has a peculiarly Indian attitude and appearance; (9), (14): square shields (? of bamboo) in figs. (9), (10), (13); a Malay kris in fig. (14); a wooden mallet in fig. (15); an Indian composite bow, with arrow in fig. (12) (the arrow appears to have palm-leaf 'feathers'); a Kachin cross-bow and arrow in fig. (14); and a quoit in fig. (7).
From Plate XI. fig. 8, I extract two more varieties of armament: an axe and a pestle.

The two axes and the drum below are taken by myself from bricks in the Phayre Museum, which are not shewn on the Plates.

Many more forms could, I think, be made out from a careful examination of the whole 110 bricks in the Museum, but enough have been given to shew the value of these bricks historically.

I would, however, warn antiquaries that it is quite possible that these bricks represent the Yāmasūtra, which is the Rāmdgāya in disguise, and that it is not, therefore, to be assumed from them that such foreign articles as the composite bow and the round embossed shield exhibit anything more than what the artists had seen in pictures.

Plates XIIIa, XIV, and XIVA.

These represent sculptured stones from Thaton. One would say that they were unique in Burma, were it not for the description of Pagan in Yule's Ava, p. 54, and in Crawford's Des, p. 69.40 They are primâ facie Hindu, and Vaishnava or Saiva in type, according to the reading of the symbols carved on them.41 But I think Rajendraša Miter's remarks in Buddha Gayâ, p. 133 f., are instructive in this connection, as shewing how much Taevrik Hinduism and Buddhism are mixed up in Buddhist sculpture in Gayâ itself. He also shews that a Burmese inscription was found at the foot of an image of Śiva and Pārbatī (page 227).

The head-dresses of the figures are remarkable, presuming them to precede the figures in the Cave remains. It will be seen that they are practically the same as those attributed to...
Cambodian origin, ante, p. 354, and, for the matter of that, approach very closely to those noted in *Buddha Gayā*, Plates XIII., XXI. and XXV.

Given that these stones represent Buddhist sculptures, they would show that the Tantrik or Northern Buddhism was once prevalent in the neighbourhood of Thaton, a view confirmed by the remarks made *ante* Vol. XXI. p. 381, concerning the “Hindu” nature of the glazed tablets round the Dājāp'ayā, and further by the presence of the image of Maṇḍoyā in the Caves.

Maṇḍayā, represents the Earth Goddess, Vasundhārā, who is the Vasundhārā of Cunningham’s *Mahābhārata* and the *Prthivī Devī* of Rajendraśila Mitra. She is Vajrá-varāhī and Vajra-kālīka, mother of the Buddha, according to the Northern belief. Her image is, at Buddha Gayā, often distinctly Hindu in type, with 4, 6, and even 8 arms. As Maṇḍayā she is to be seen in Burmese sculptures in many places, notably at the Mahāmuni Pagoda of Mandalay, and I am, as at present advised, strongly inclined to hold that the four-armed female (?) figure in Plate XIIa is simply Vasundhārā. It should also be noted that Rajendraśila Mitra points out, at p. 6 of his *Buddha Gayā*, that her cult appeared very early in Buddhism.

The presence of Tantrik Buddhism in Burma is a point of more importance than it would at first appear. The usual belief, based on local tradition, is that the Burmans got their Buddhism through Pāli from Ceylon. This belief does not, however, stand historical criticism as clearly as it should to be undeniably correct, and if it can be shown that the sculptural remains all over the country are of Tantrik origin, the opposite theory, based on criticism, that the Burmans really got their culture and religion overland, or by sea, from the North, will gain overwhelming support.

Here, at any rate, is a pretty bit of evidence of the early presence of Northern Buddhism in Thätón from a native writer of much learning on the points of which he treats, Sarat Chandra Das, in his *Indian Pandita in the Land of Suma*, p. 60 f., gives a short life of Dipaśikara Śrījñana, Athia, and says that he "was born A. D. 960 in the royal family of Gaṅ at Vikramāditya in Bānāś, a country lying to the East of Vajrāśana (Buddha Gayā)." His name was Chandragarbha and he was educated by "the sage Jñātī, an avodhit adept."

"He acquired proficiency in the three pītakas of the four classes of the Iśayāna Śrāvakas, in the Vaiśeṣika philosophy, in the three pītakas of the Mahāyāna doctrine, the high metaphysics of the Mādhyamikas and Yāgācharas, and the four classes of Tantras. Having acquired the reputation of being a great pāṇḍit in the Sāstras of the Tīrthikas, he defeated a learned Brahmān in disputation. Then preferring the practice of religion to the ease and pleasures of this world, he commenced the study of the meditative sciences of the Buddhists, which consists of the śrīhāṣṭi of the three studies — morality, meditation and divine learning —, and for this purpose he went to the vihāra of Kidāpūrī to receive his lessons from Rāhuḷa Gupta. Here he was given the secret name of Iśayājñāna Vajra, and initiated into the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism. At the age of nineteen he took the sacred vows from Śīla Rākṣita, the Mahābājika Āchārya of Odantapuri, who gave him the name of Dipaśikara.

Cunningham, op. cit. p. 55, shows that it had completely gained ascendancy at Buddhā Gayā before the Muslim conquest in 1091 A. D.

Buddha Gayā, p. 189.

For a thoroughly Tantrik conception of Vasundhārā see Forchhammer, *Report on Ant.* in *Arakan*, p. 12, where he translates an inscription:— "May Vasundhārā, whose extent measures 200,000 yojanas, raise as acclama½tions of ‘ādhaµ, śrīdhāµ,’ as a witness to this good work of mine." But I must say that I cannot clearly follow the passage, or the name, in the text given.

Compare Buddha Gayā, *Plaques XII. fig. 2, and XI. fig. 4. Oldfield’s remarks on the Nepalese representations of Dharma, *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. II. p. 190 ff., may be read with much instruction in this connection, and, also, his illustration at Vol. II. p. 157 of the Tīrthikas.

Mr. Taw Soin-ko’s article *Buddhā Gayā* in the Burmese language, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 94 ff., and ante, p. 103 ff. *
Srijñāna. At the age of thirty-one he was ordained in the highest order of Bhikṣu, and also given the vows of a Bodhisattva by Dharmakīrti. He received lessons in metaphysics from several eminent Buddhist philosophers of Magadha. He was in short a typical Northern teacher of the time.

Now Sarat Chandra Das goes on to tell us that Dipanākara "on account of these divers attainments, which moved his mind variously in different directions, resolved to go to Āchārya Chandrakrītī, the High Priest of Suvarṇadvipa. Accordingly, in the company of some merchants, he embarked for Suvarṇadvipa in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious, extending over several months, during which the travellers were overtaken by terrible storms. At this time Suvarṇadvipa was the headquarters of Buddhism in the East, and its High Priest was considered the greatest scholar of his age. Dipanākara resided there for a period of twelve years, in order to completely master the pure teachings of the Buddha, of which the key was possessed by the High Priest alone." On his return he took up his residence at the shrine of the Mahābodhi at Vajrāśana (Buddha Gayā).

Sarat Chandra Das also remarks, and he seems to be right in so doing, that Suvarṇadvipa was Thaton.

Also, I cannot help quoting a note by Dr. Rost to p. 234 of Vol. I. of his edition of Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China in which, after describing Prof. Kern’s work in connection with the Sanskrit inscriptions in the peninsula of Malacca, he says: — "These inscriptions confirm in a remarkable manner the conclusions to which the recent (1886) decipherments by Barth, Bergaigne, Senart and Kern, of the Cambodian inscriptions inevitably tend — viz., that Buddhism came to the peninsula and Cambodia, not from Ceylon, but from regions on the coasts of India, where the so-called Northern type of that religion was current.”

That the great medieval revival of Buddhism in Burma was supported by Southern influence is unquestionable, but it is far from proved as yet that the original Buddhism of the country was not directly Indian in origin, or that medieval Northern Buddhism did not greatly affect the ideas of the people. As regards the educated, Tantrik worship and philosophy would seem to have disappeared, but, under cover of sat-spirit worship, it would seem to still largely survive among the people.

In any case, any such images as those under consideration are worth study, wherever found in order to settle the fundamental point now raised.

To put the matter fairly before the student, it is right to add here the views that a capable Hindu scholar takes of the figures shewn on Plates XIIa, XIVa., and XIVa, and so I give here verbatim an opinion kindly expressed for me by Pāṇḍit Hari Mōhan Vidyābhūṣāna, who has no doubt as to the Vaishṇava nature of the stones. He writes: — "Plates XIV. and XIVa illustrate the Ananta-saśayā of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). i. e., Viṣṇu is represented in human form slumbering on the serpent Śeṣa, and floating on the waters before the creation of the world, or during the periods of temporary annihilation of the universe. The figure at the bottom of the Plates is that of Nārāyaṇa with four arms. He is floating on the waters reclinig on the serpent Śeṣa. In Plate XIVa the hood of the serpent is visible. Two of the most common names of Viṣṇu are Chatur-bhuja (four-armed) and Ananta-saśayā (he who sleeps on the serpent Ananta). From the lotus of his navel spring the three gods of the Hindu triad, — Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahādeva. The three stalks of the lotus are very clear in Plate XIV. The figure on the right of the triad is Brahmā with four heads, whence his names Chatur-rājas (four-faced), Nābhija (navel born), and Abja-yāmi (lotus born). The figure in the middle with four arms represents Viṣṇu, the saśika, or conch, in his hand (in Plate XIV.) being visible. The figure on the left is Mahādeva, the trīśūla in his hand being quite plain in Plate XIV. One of his names is Trisūla."
"Plate XIIIa represents Vishnu with four arms. With one of his left hands he is raising his gadd, or club called kaumâbâla. The figure on his left is not quite clear, but seems to be an attendant."

It will be observed that there are the remains of an inscription on Plate XIIIa by the right arms of the large figure. I tried to make it out on the stone and failed, but from a plaster cast I had taken enough could be seen of it to determine the characters to be Burmese of the Kyauksâ type.

**Plate XV. fig. 2.**

This plate represents the tablet found in Pegu by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko (ante, Vol. XXI p. 385). In the Phayre Museum there are three more such tablets: one from Pegu and two from Pagan. There is a number of such tablets in the British Museum and in the South Kensington Museum, brought thither from Buddha Gayâ itself. They seem to be intended to memorialize in a small space the life of the Buddha, after the fashion, on a much larger scale, of the stone slabs pictured by Oldfield, Sketches from Nipal, Vol. II. p. 58, and quite lately in Part II. of the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.

The inscription on this particular tablet, which is in meditative Northern Indian characters, proves beyond all doubt, irrespective of its general form, that it is a specimen of a distinct class of votive objects found in great numbers at Buddha Gayâ. In Plate XXIV. of his Mahâddhâti, Sir A. Cunningham figures several of the tablets he found and calls them "terra-cotta seals," and I think the best explanation of them is that given ante, in Vol. XXI. p. 385, footnote, viz., that there was a factory of such objects at Gayâ for the pilgrims, who took them thence all over the Buddhist world of the time as keepsakes and reliques, and presented them to their own places of worship on their return home. The tablet figured in the plate is almost identical with the much finer specimen figured by Cunningham as fig. 2, Plate XXIV.

The only special remark I would make about it is that the serpentine objects towards the top of the tablet (see figure below) are not serpent heads, but the leaves of the bodhi tree, known to the Burmese as nyawng-wut.

The institution of formal pilgrimages to Gayâ from Burma is proved by the inscriptions there, dated in the 11th century A. D., and it may be fairly argued, that the presence of these tablets in Pagan and Pegu is due to the pilgrimages made from the former place in the 11th century and from the latter, under the auspices of the great revivalist king Dharmacchâti, in the 15th century. Dharmacchâti is well known to have sent a large pilgrimage to Gayâ.

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8 See also Crawford's Age, p. 66. In Forchheimer's Report on the Kyaukti Temple at Pagan, similar tablets are shown on Plates VII. and VIII. Nos. 15, 16 and 17, but not described. Phayre, Hist. of Burma, p. 16 it, seems to refer to these tablets; and so does Clement Williams, Through Burma to China, p. 57.
Plates XVI. and XVIa.

As the figures in these two Plates have unfortunately not been numbered, it is necessary to give index numbers here, thus:

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<th>Plate XVI</th>
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In Plate XVI, all the figures represent terra-cotta tablets from D'ammabô and Kôgun. Figures (1), (4), (5) and (8) represent the Buddha as Zabûbadê, and Figs. (2), (6) and (7) show him dressed in priestly costume. Figure (7) is interesting as shewing in the original bad gilding, proved by the figure being now covered with verdigris.

Figure (3) shows one of three small tablets found in the Kôgun Cave. I cannot explain it further than by pointing out that it shews a king seated on a throne with a standing female figure on either side of him and three seated Buddhas, or perhaps Buddha, Saïgha and Dharmas, over his head.

In Plate XVIa we have Fig. (1) the Buddha as Zabûbadê and in Fig. (3) Zabûbadê himself kneeling to the Buddha after his defeat. In Fig. (4) we see a specimen of a "Shân Buddha," with the right sole not exposed. All these are from Kôgun. Figure (2) exhibits a fine plaster head of the Buddha canopied by the grotesqued head of Ananta. This is from the Farm Cave.

In Figs. (5) and (6) are compared two images in wood, gilt, of priests or disciples praying to the Buddha. Figure (5) is one of a modern set from Prome of the "eight attitudes of prayer." Figure (6) is from Kôgun and is clearly ancient in form.

Plates XVIII. and XIX.

The fine situations of many pagodas and religious buildings in Burma has been often remarked. The same may be said of many of the cities of the Burmese: — Rangoon, Moulmain, Prome, Pagôn, Mandalay, Sagaing, Aýâ, Amarapura, are all placed in exceptionally fine situations. Even flat Pegu looks well from the river. "The site of the great, but abortive, pagoda at Myingun, opposite Mandalay, is most striking.

Another prominent feature in pagoda building is the habit the Burmese have, owing to the increased merit gained thereby, of erecting them in difficult situations. The greater the difficulty, the greater the merit (kôdô). This is common to all Burma, and it may be said that most difficult and naturally inaccessible hills have pagodas on the top, access to which is often only to be had by climbing rickety bamboo ladders up dangerous precipices and over deep clefts in the rock.  

In Plate XVIII. is given a well-known specimen of one of many similar pagodas in the Shwëgyin District, &c., in the heart of Ramânadêsa. "It is only possible to reach it by means of ladders.

This has been noticed by Clement Williams, Through Burmah to China, p. 64; Malcolm, Travels, 1889, li. 80.
Plate XIX. shews the approach to the D'ammapû Cave on the Jain River. This plate exhibits all the peculiarities above mentioned. It shews the very fine situation of the village of D'ammapû, the small girt pagoda on the summit of the hill overlooking the river, and the monastic buildings around it. The hill in the distance is that in which the great cave is situated and on its difficult summit are situated no less than three small pagodas.

The Original Photographs.

I desire to record fully the origin of the Plates, which has only been partially noted on the Plates themselves.

Mr. P. Klier of Rangoon took Plates I, VI, VII, XVII, XVIII, and XIX. Mr. F. O. Oertel took Plates IX, III, IV, V, VIII. Fig. 1, during the journey herein described. The late Mr. R. Romanis took Plate II many years ago. Messrs. Watts and Skeen of Rangoon took Plates VIII. Fig. 2, XV. Fig. 1, and at my special request Plates IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIXa, XIV, XIVa, XV. Fig. 2, XVI, XVII. Mr. W. Robinson of the Oxford Museum took Plate IXa, also at my special request.

12. — Additional Notes.

The Sculptures from Thaton.

There is a passage in Anderson's Mandalay to Monien, p. 216, which is extremely valuable for the purposes of the present discussions, for it seems to settle the Northern Buddhistic nature of the remains from Thaton. "In the khayung [monastery] which formed our residence [at Monien], there was a figure of Puang-ku [i.e., Pan Ku] the Creator, seated on a bed of leaves resembling those of the sacred padma or lotus. This remarkable four-armed figure was lifesize and naked, save for garlands of leaves round the neck and loins. He was seated cross-legged like Buddha, the two uppermost arms stretched out, forming each a right-angle. The right hand held a white disc and the left a red one. The two lower arms were in the attitude of carving, the right hand holding a mallet and the left a chisel."

Compare this description with Plate XIII, and there can be little doubt that the two representations are meant for the same mythological personage. As to Pan Ku, I gather from Mayer's Chinese Traveler's Handbook, pp. 173 (under Pan Ku), 201 (under Suan-ta Teien), and 376 (Sung Dynasty), that this primordial being of the Chinese was unknown in 85 B. C., and is not heard of before 420 A. D. Now, according to Eitel, Buddhism, p. 226, Buddhistic ideas and images first became popularised in China between 62 and 75 A. D. under the Emperor Ming Ti of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and as once became allied with Taoism, which had at that time already descended to the level of the indigenous and popular animism. Further, Pan Ku would also appear to be the counterpart, representative, or successor in art and sculpture, as well as in association, of the Buddhist Dharma as conceived by the Northern schools.

In this connection, I may as well note here, as a proof of the survival of Tantrik notions among the modern Burmese, that I have been for some time collecting all the vernacular literature I can lay hands on about the "Thirty-seven Nâtes," or chief spirits. I have amongst other documents four complete sets of drawings of the Thirty-seven Nâtes. The drawings do not agree in numbering or nomenclature, but they all agree in giving two of the Nâtes four to six arms each.

I have already had occasion to remark that it is easy to mix up Buddhist and Hindu sculpture, and to mistake the former for the latter. Writing, as I now am, in the hope of...
rousing students in Burma to a deep examination of the splendid antiquities about them, and observing, as indeed one cannot help doing, the unanimity with which they hold that Burmese Buddhism has always been what it is now, and their tendency to refer everything Vaishnav or Saiva in form to a supposed pre-Buddhistic Hinduism, I would draw prominent attention to some remarks made by Brian Hodgson nearly 70 years ago. The caution he inculcates is to my mind as important now as it was in those early days of Buddhist research.

Writing in 1827 and 1828, he says: "It is the purpose of the following paper to furnish to those, who have means and inclination to follow them out, a few hints relative to the extreme resemblance that prevails between many of the symbols of Buddhism and Saivism. Having myself resided some few years in a Bauddha country [Nepal], I have had ample opportunity of noting this resemblance, and a perusal of the works of Crawford, of Raffles, and of the Bombay Literary Society, has satisfied me that this curious similitude is not peculiar to the country wherein I abide. I observe that my countrymen, to whom any degree of identity between faiths, in general so opposite to each other as Saivism and Buddhism, never seems to have occurred, have, in their examination of the monuments of India and its islands, proceeded on an assumption of the absolute incommixture between the types of the two religions, as well as between the things typified. This assumption has puzzled them not a little, so often as the evidence of their examination has forced upon them the observation of images in the closest juxtaposition, which their previous ideas, nevertheless, obliged them to sunder as far apart as Brahmanism and Buddhism.

"When, in this country in which I reside, I observed images the most apparently Saiva placed in the precincts of Saugata [Buddhist] temples, I was at first inclined to consider the circumstance as an incongruity, arising out of ignorant confusion of the two creeds by the people of this country. But, upon multiplying my observations, such a resolution gave me no satisfaction. These images often occupied the very penetralia of a Buddhist temple, and in the sequel I obtained sufficient access to the conversation and books of the Bauddhas to convince me that the cause of the difficulty lay deeper than I had supposed. The best informed of the Bauddhas contemptuously rejected the notion of the images in question being Saiva, and in the books of their own faith they pointed out the Bauddha legends, justifying and explaining their use of such, to me, doubtful symbols. Besides, my access to the European works, of which I have already spoken, exhibited to me the very same apparent anomaly existing in regions the most remote from one another and from that wherein I dwell. Indeed, whencesoever Bauddha monuments, sculptural or architectural, had been drawn by European curiosity, the same dubious symbols were exhibited; nor could my curiosity be at all appeased by the assumption which I found employed to explain them. I showed these monuments to a well informed old Bauddha, and asked him what he thought of them, particularly the famous Trimurti image of the Cave Temple of the west. He recognized it as a genuine Bauddha image! As he did many others, declared by our writers to be Saiva! ......... The purpose of my paper is to show that very many symbols, the most apparently Saiva, are, notwithstanding, strictly and purely Bauddha; and that, therefore, in the examination of the antiquities of India and its islands, we need not vex ourselves, because on the sites of old Saugata temples we find the very genius loci arrayed with many of the apparent attitudes of a Saiva god. Far less need we infer, from the presence, on such sites, of seemingly Saiva images and types, the presence of actual Saivism. ......... Upon the whole, therefore, I deem it certain, as

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84 Q. Crawford, Sketches of the Hindus, 1798, or perhaps J. Crawford, History of the Indian Antiquities. In the former work, Vol. ii. p. 117ff., is an account of the "affinity between the religion of Siam, China, Japan, and Thibet, and that of Hindustan," the author remarking in a footnote to p. 117, "with the religion of Arakan and Pegu we are not much acquainted; but, as far as I had been able to learn, it is almost the same with that of Siam." In 1783, Flouret, the traveller, sent home a long account of the "Religions des Peguans et des Bramas" ('Young Pao, ii. 72.), but it seems to have been official and to have never been published till 1891.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [DECEMBER, 1898.

well that the types of Saivism and Buddhism are very frequently the same, as that the things typified are, always more or less, and generally radically, different."

Pegu Jars.

Anderson, English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century, page 95, gives a reference to the Pegu jar, which is a valuable contribution on the subject, to prove the spread of the article at that time. He quotes "a memorandum of 1664 preserved in the Public Record Office, London, and entitled, 'The Trade of India as 'tis now managed by the English Company of Merchants trading in some parts of it is very invalid in comparison of what is now drove by our neighbour nation the Dutch.'" It states that "many sorts of clothing are sent into Pegu, a Port in $7$ Bay [Bangala] which returns rubies and ready money, the coine or current money of the place, alias Martanans Jarres."

Yule gives the quotation from Pyrard de Laval, already referred to, from the French edition of 1679 (i. 179), thus:—"Des jarres les plus belles, les mieux vernis et les mieux faconnees que j'aye vus ailleurs. Il y en a qui tiennent autant qu'une pippe et plus. Elles se font an Royaume de Martabane, d'on on les apporte, et d'on elles premeta leur nom par toute l'Inde." Commenting on this passage in his edition of Pyrard (i. 259), Gray remarks, "Mr. Bell (Report on the Maldives, 1850) saw some large earthenware jars at Male', some about two feet high, called rumba, and others large and barrel shaped, called martaban. The name seems to survive also on the Madras coast; a.g., we find in Mr. P. Brown's Zillah Dictionary, 1852, 'Martaban, name of a place in Pegu: a black jar in which rice is imported from (sic) thence.'"

In Brown's Dictionary of the Mixed Dialects and Foreign Words used in Telugu, 1854, I find, page 88: "Martaban, a black Pegu jar; so called because imported from Martaban."

Perhaps the nearest unconscious reference of all to the Pegu jar is in Hunter's Account of Pegu, 1785, which tells us (page 65) that "a foreigner may marry one of the natives, on which occasion he pays a stipulated sum to her parents; but, if he leaves the country, he is not permitted to carry his wife along with him. So strict is the law in this particular, and so impossible it is to obtain a dispensation from it, that some men, who have had a great affection for their wives, have been obliged, on their departure, to carry them away secretly in jars, which were supposed to be filled with water."

I may as well summarise here, in tabular form, the history and wanderings of the Pegu Jar from the evidence alluded to above and ante, page 340f., including the statements made in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, &c. v. Martaban.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Parker</td>
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<td>1850</td>
<td>India</td>
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<td>1852</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
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<td>1859</td>
<td>Do</td>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>Philippines and Japan</td>
<td>Tibor</td>
<td>Do Morga</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>Martaban</td>
<td>Pyrard de Laval</td>
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<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Martaban...</td>
<td>Du Jarric.</td>
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Pyrard was wrecked in the Maldivo Islands on the 2nd July 1800, and was a captive there till February 1807, and it was during his captivity that he remarked on the Martaban jars, which he saw in the ships from Mogor (or the coast of Sindh and Gujerat), Arabia, and Persia.
The whole of Eastern Ramâñnâdesa, now comprised in the Moulmein, or Amherst [Kyaikk'ami], District of Burma, having for centuries been the battle ground between Burman, Talaing, Shan, Karen, Taungûa, Siamese, and Cambodian,— the cockpit, in fact, of Lower Burma,— is alive with historic memories and full of old historic sites, which, perhaps patience and careful study, both of the surface of the country, and of the old MS. chronicles and records preserved in many parts of it, may yet recover to the student.

Many of these places are now practically unknown even to the local residents, and certainly so to the world of orientalists in general. But, in one of the wildest pamphlets about Burma that it has been my lot to peruse, Coryton's Letter to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on the prospects of a direct Trade Route to China through Moulmein, 1870, at page 12, is preserved a paragraph from a Forest Report of 1848, which has a notice, worth following up, of some ruined sites along the Taungûin river, forming part of the boundary between Burma and Siam:

"Before the occupation of these Provinces by the Burmeses, the valley of the Thonngyeen was divided into four counties or jurisdictions, extending from Donaw to the Toungnoyo range, and supported a considerable Taliën [Talaing] population. The chief cities, the ruins of which may still be traced, were Meerawadie, Doungnuey (now Wiensaw), Dounggryyeen (now Ekalaik), and Dong Thonngyeen. These were all situated on the now British bank of the Thonngyeen, whilst their rice cultivation lay on the other side of the river, now possessed by the Shans subject to Siam." For these town names read Myawadi, Dûngnuey, Winab, Dôngjiyin, Dôngjaunjin. All appear to be unknown to any fame, except Myawadi, which is mentioned in the British Burma Gazetteer, II. 797, and again at page 428. This time without any kind of mention as to its being a place of ancient historical interest. Mason, Natural Productions of Burma, page iii. of the 1850 Ed., gives a story of another site of similar name, Dông Gin, under the name Dongyang, in his own peculiar romantic style; and this story is partly repeated in the British Burma Gazetteer, II. 141, s.v. Donnung: so difficult is it in the present state of

The author was Recorder of Moulmain; and for astonishing discursiveness and, to the Anglo-Burman, for amusing comments on current local politics, I recommend this production. One gathers that he lived in perpetual heat with the Government, and one does not wonder.
Burmese transliteration to identify place names. Dôngyin appears to be a Karen name according to Mason, who takes the opportunity, as usual, to record the local folk-story thereof as the true one!

The Kōgun Cave.

The American Missionary, Malcom, travelled about the rivers which centre at Pintheindaw, and visited by myself. He says that he went to "the three most remarkable — one on the Taung DÆng and two on the Salween." I gather from his description that these were respectively the DÆmmabá on the Jain and the PÆydæ and Kōgun on the Salween. Of the last he gives an account in his Travels, Vol. II. p. 61f., which is sufficiently graphio to be worth repeating.

"The entrance is at the bottom of a perpendicular, but uneven, face of the mountain, inclosed in a strong brick wall, which forms a large vestibule. The entrance to this enclosure is by a path, winding along the foot of the mountain, and nothing remarkable strikes the eye, till one passes the gate, where the attention is at once powerfully arrested. Not only is the space within the wall filled with images of Gaudama of every size, but the whole face of the mountain, to the height of 80 or 90 (? 50) feet, is covered with them. On every jutting crag stands some marble image covered with gold, and spreading its uncouth proportions to the setting (? rising) sun. Every recess is converted into shrines for others. The smooth surfaces are covered by small flat images of burnt clay and set in stucco. Of these last there are literally thousands. In some places they have fallen off with the plaster in which they were set, and left spots of naked rock, against which bees have built their hives undisturbed. Nowhere in the country have I seen such a display of wealth, ingenuity, and industry. But imposing as is this spectacle, it shrinks to insignificance, compared to the scene which opens on entering the cavern itself. It is of vast size, chiefly in one apartment, which needs no human art to render it sublime. The eye is confused, and the heart appalled, at the prodigious exhibition of intuition and folly (sacr., religious zeal of a different kind to the writer's). Everywhere on the floor, overhead, in the jutting points, and on the stalactite festoons on the roof, are crowded together images of Gaudama, the offerings of successive ages. Some are perfectly gilded, others incrusted with calcareous matter, some fallen, yet sound, others mouldered, others just erected. Some of these are of stupendous size, some not larger than one's finger, and some of all the intermediate sizes; marble, stone, wood, brick, and clay. Some, even of marble, are so time-worn, though sheltered of course from changes of temperature, that the face and fingers are obliterated. In some dark recesses, bats were heard, and seemed numerous, but could not be seen. Here and there are models of temples, kyunyas, &c., some not larger than half a bushel, and some 10 or 15 feet square, absolutely filled with small idols, heaped promiscuously one on the other. As we followed the paths which wound among the group of figures and models, every new aspect of the cave presented new multitudes of images. A ship of 500 tons could not carry away the half of them."
Fig. 1. Bhinji Cave—Entrance.
III.—General View of Entrance Hall, Kogun Cave.
IV.—Mural Ornamentation, Entrance Hall, Kògun Cave.
V.—K'egun Cave, looking towards Entrance of Main Hall.
Fig. 1. Grotesque Figures from Pegu and Syriam.
IX.—Bas-relief on Glazed Terra-cotta Brick. Inscribed Tablet from Pegu.
IXa.—Bas-relief on Glazed Terra-cotta Brick. Inscribed Tablet from Pegu.
XIII.—Bas-relief on Clayed Terra-cotta Bricks from Pegu.
XVI.—Figures and Votive Tablets from the Caves of the Amherst District.
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ERRATA IN VOL. XXII.

p. 171a, line 10, for ando f., read and of.
" 6, line 7, for [Bhavatsa], read Bhiravatsa.
" 6, line 6 from the bottom, for division, read division.

p. 178b, line 33, for Aryavarta, twice, read Aryavarta.

p. 186a, last line, for 'Narmada,' read 'Narmada.'
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