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BOMBAY BRANCH  
OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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JANUARY 1862.

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ART. I.—*On the Sáh, Gupta and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat.* By the Honorable Mr. Justice NEWTON.

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Read 10th September 1863.

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SINCE I had the pleasure of laying before the Society the unique coin of Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá, our interesting province of Guzerat has furnished me with many other novelties, respecting which, in connexion with the several series to which they belong, I avail myself of this opportunity to offer some remarks. I should be glad if a report of so many hitherto undescribed coins, obtained for me during so short an interval by a few coadjutors on the spot, were to stimulate others employed in the northern portions of the presidency to exertions which could not fail to result in further discoveries. With the exception of the Punjab and Sind, where the coinages of the Bactrian monarchs are to be met with, there is no part of India where coins are found so artistic in design and execution as those supplied by Guzerat and Kattiawar. The yields of these districts claim a high interest from the circumstance that they are plainly traceable to Greek originals. They are, moreover, comparatively abundant, and upon us on this side of India devolves in an especial manner the duty of elucidating all that remains to be ascertained respecting them. A fortunate chance may, at any time, afford

the means of connecting the several lines of kings from whose mints they issued, with the successors of Alexander in Parthia or Bactria; and we are indebted exclusively to the evidence which these coins afford, for all our information respecting at least one entire dynasty of kings, who, while ruling over extensive territories in India, were able to avail themselves of the resources of European art. The amount, moreover, of knowledge already obtained, is such as to encourage the hope that further researches in the same direction may yet enable us to determine, with certainty and accuracy, the dates between which the dominion of these lines extended, their connexion and order of succession, the limits of their empires, and such other circumstances as will suffice to restore to us an authentic, though it may be but a scanty, history of Guzerat and the adjoining countries, during three or four centuries hitherto enveloped in obscurity.

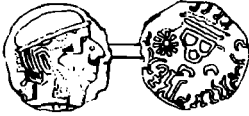
The most interesting coins of the northern part of this presidency are those of the Sáh dynasty, those of the Guptas, and those of a third and nearly connected group hitherto undecyphered. It is scarcely necessary for me to remark that we are indebted to Mr. James Prinsep for the key to the character in which the legends on these coins are written, and for the correct decyphering of many of them.

His first reference to the Sáh coins was made in 1835 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and in 1837 he gave, in the same journal, the legends (with translations) of all the varieties of these coins which, up to that time, had been discovered. These amounted to nine, and supplied the names of eleven kings. In 1838 (*Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, vol. vii. p. 347) he added a tenth coin, the legend on which appears to have been so indistinct as to have misled him as to the patronymic of the king whose name it bore. Dr. Stevenson, in 1847, described and figured the coins of two other kings; and in 1848 Mr. Thomas, of the Bengal Civil Service, read on the same subject, before the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, an able paper, which is printed in vol. xii. of that Society's transactions, but he added no new name to the list.

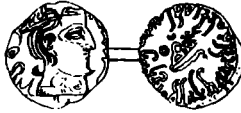
In 1858, when republishing Prinsep's *Essays*, Mr. Thomas gave the legends on the coins of a thirteenth and fourteenth sovereign, and in a paper which I read before this Society in 1861 (*Journal*, vol. vi. p. 15) I was able to make another addition to the series.

I have now the gratification of laying before the Society coins of three hitherto unknown kings of this dynasty; a fourth of a king whose name, indeed, was known, but of whose coins no specimen had pre-

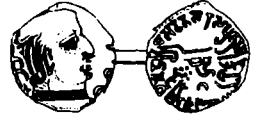
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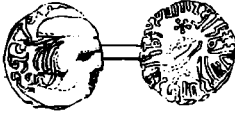
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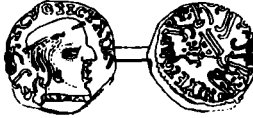
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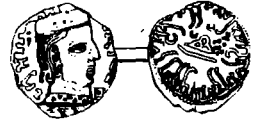
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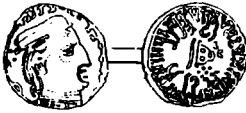
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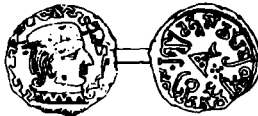
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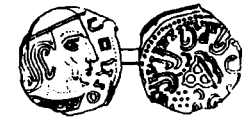
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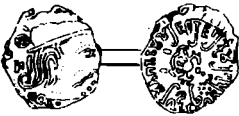
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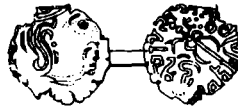
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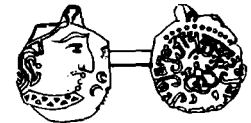
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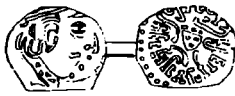
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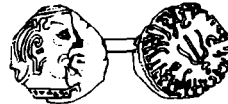
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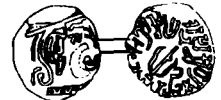
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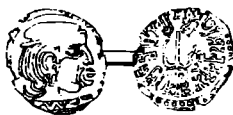
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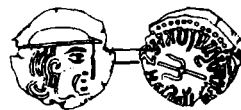
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viously been discovered ; and also some other coins, which add to our knowledge respecting the dynasty, or supply conclusive information on points relating to which we have hitherto been obliged to be content with inferences.

The first coin (fig. 1) is of the highest possible interest in connexion with the Sáh series, as it gives without variation as the name of the sovereign from whose mint it issued " Rájá Mahákshatrpa Rudra Dámá," which is the name of the monarch stated in the Sáh inscription at Girnár to have rebuilt the Palesini bridge. It was obtained for me by Mr. Dhirajál Mathurádás from Junágadh with 61 others, which had evidently been found together ; and, as I have reason to believe, formed a portion of a very large hoard discovered somewhere within the territories of the Nawáb of Junágadh. The coin was much corroded, and the die on both sides had been considerably larger than the disk ; some of the characters are therefore indistinct, and others fall outside the coin. In its present state it may be described as under :—

Weight, grs. 26½.

*Obverse.*—Bust facing to the right, with the usual Sáh helmet. It is more deeply cut and on a larger scale than that on any other Sáh coin which I have seen. Instead of the conventional representation of the eye by lines as seen on the coins of all the Sáh kings, except that of Rudra Sinha described by me in the memorandum referred to, and a few others which will be noticed in this paper, we have here a correct delineation of the eye and eyeball in relief. The lips also appear to have been correctly portrayed, whereas on other Sáh coins they are represented by two dots. The hair behind the ear occupies a much smaller space than on other coins of this dynasty ; and on this coin alone of all that I have met with, or can refer to, there is an artistic and truthful delineation of the curl instead of the double line by which it is represented on others. Immediately behind the lower edge of the helmet are two dots, as on the coin depicted in the last volume of the Society's Journal, and on some others to which I shall hereafter advert. On the whole, the bust, while generally resembling those of other Sáh kings, differs from all in a very marked degree, both as respects the features of the sovereign, and the entire character of the execution. There are inequalities on the extreme margin behind the head, which make it probable that the disproportionately large die was impressed with a date and an encircling Greek legend, as found on other coins of the series, but this cannot be inferred with certainty.

*Reverse.*—A central emblem, consisting of the usual wavy line surmounted by a pyramid, made up of three perfect arcs of circles. The two half moons on the left and above, are large and nearly semi-circular; and there is a large *rayed* star, or sun, on the right. The characters of the legend are large, and in form differ in no appreciable degree from those of the Girnár Sáh inscription. A remarkable circumstance as respects this coin and a few others which will be hereafter described, is that in the legend the cross stroke of the *śh* is found in the double letter *kshu*, as in the cave inscriptions. The only letters of the legend shown entirely on the area of the coin are “Rájno kshatra” and “Rudra dāmāsa.” A careful examination, however, of portions of other letters which fall within the margin, and of the spaces existing between some of the lengthened downstrokes, affords ground for the confident filling in of a portion of the remainder of the legend, and I amplify it without hesitation to the following extent:—

“Rájno kshatrapasa . . . . . putrasa Rájno  
Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Dámāsa.”

The termination “sa,” as the genitive of the name Dámān or Dámá, is incorrect, and is not found elsewhere. The letter is, however, distinct, though I am not assured of the inference to be drawn from its use.

The question now arises whether this coin is one of that Rudra Dámá, whose name is still visible in the inscription at Girnár. That the coin is of an earlier date than any I have yet seen I feel assured. It takes us back to a time when the features were delineated very much as on the Greek originals, from which the Sáh coinage must have been derived. The only other known coins of the series on which the eyeball is shown in its natural form are the unique coin of R. M. K. Rudra Sinha, son of R. M. K. Rudra Dámá, which I have already laid before the Society, the unique coin of Śrī Sáh, and 2 out of 7 coins which I possess of Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha. The first of these coins also, like that now under consideration, has the rayed star, the two dots behind the helmet, the large half moon, the semi-circular curves in the pyramid, and the unchanged, or very slightly changed, rock character. It is evidently connected most closely with the coin of Rudra Dámá, and the dotted lips, and linear representation of the hair, would seem to afford sufficient evidence that it is of a later date. The correspondence of the legends, therefore, completes the proof that the two coins are those of father and son, and the Rudra Dámá of the rock inscription will therefore be the earliest sovereign of the Sáh line of whom any

coin is known to exist, unless we have grounds for supposing that there was another Rájá Mahákshatrpa Rudra Dámá among the members of the Sáh dynasty ; and that he, and not the monarch represented on the coin now described, was the rebuilder of the bridge. Such a supposition is against all probability. Prinsep, unable to find any nearer correspondence of name and title, was willing to identify the Rudra Dámá of the inscription with the *Swám'i* Rudra Dámá, whose name is given on the common coins of his son *Swám'i* Rudra Sáh. Mr. Thomas was unable to concur in this identification, as we do not find the title "*Swám'i*" at one time appropriated, and at another dropped, by the same Satrap. A scrutiny of nearly 30 years has failed until now to discover a single coin with a name, either of the reigning monarch or of his father, corresponding entirely with that exhibited on the Rock at Girnár. All considerations, therefore, are in favour of the identification now argued, unless possibly the final determination of a point to which I think it right to allude, should be unfavourable to it. "*Swám'i* Chastana" or "*Swám'i* Chandana" has hitherto been given on imperfect facsimiles as the name of the father of the Rudra Dámá mentioned in the inscription, while it will be noticed that the patronymic title on the coin is "kshatrpa." It is possible that this word may have been followed by *Swám'i* though I do not think it likely, but even if it were so, the occurrence of the term Kshatrpa would offer a serious objection to the admission of the identity of the two kings. An entirely satisfactory solution of the difficulty appears, however, more probable, as Mr. Bháú Dáji, in ignorance of the question now discussed, stated in a paper read on 15th August 1862 before the Society, that a more reliable transcript of the Girnár inscription, which he has lately obtained, shows *Swám'i* Chastana to have been the grandfather of Rudra Dámá, whose father's name, though originally given, is no longer legible.

The next name (fig. 2) is one which has not yet been met with on the Sáh coins—*Śr'i* Sáh or *Śr'i* Sinha (for the vowel point if borne on the die, has fallen beyond the margin of the coin), son of Rudra Sáh. The name is indistinct, but (with the exception noted) may be read with certainty, the whole legend being—

"Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sahasa putrasa Rájno Kshatrapasa  
(possibly Mahákshatrapasa) Sriya Sahasa" (or Sinhasa ?).

The next novelties are two coins of a king whose name (like the preceding) has not yet been placed in the series. One is in excellent

preservation, but as usual a portion only of the legend has fallen within the area of the coin. The other is much worn away. The former (fig. 3) leaves no doubt respecting any letters except two, which unfortunately are the commencement of the name, and the latter does not supply the deficiency. The legend is—

“Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Dámá Sáhasa putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Yaṣa Dámna.”

The lower portion only of the letters which I confidently read as “Yaṣa” are shown on the coin. The lower line of the “Ya” is however so distinctive, that it can scarcely be mistaken for a portion of any other letter. Enough of the second letter also is visible to make it very improbable that it should be read otherwise than as “ṣa.” It is quite certain that the letters are not “vira;” and we have, therefore, under any circumstances, a fourth son of Dámá Sáh, the relationship being in a remarkable manner evidenced by the incorrect use of the genitive construction before “putrasa” (“Dámá Sáhasa putrasa”), as on the coins of his three brothers. The correctness of the reading “Yaṣa” is confirmed by the discovery which I have lately made, that on a coin which I possess (fig. 4) of the king, whose name was first read by Prinsep as Aga Dámá, and afterwards by Mr. Thomas as Aṣa Dámá (son of Rudra Sáh), the letters are distinctly “Yaṣa Dámna.” On one of the duplicates now under notice, the title is certainly Rájno *Mahákshatrapasa* Yaṣa Dámna. On the other it appears to be Rájno *Kshatrapasa* Yaṣa Dámna. Should subsequent discoveries show this variation to exist, the coins of Viṣva Sinha, and of A'tri Dámá, sons of Rudra Sáh, will furnish similar illustrations of the use and omission at different times by the same Satrap of the title “Mahá.” I noticed on a previous occasion, on a coin given to the Society by General Jacob, the horizontal lengthening of the head line of the letter *da*, in order to represent the long vowel *ā* (ऍ). On the coin under notice we have a second instance of an attempt to mark the same vowel, but it is here shown by a downward extension of the head line in front of the letter (ऎ). This occurs twice on the coin.

The fourth new coin of this dynasty is one of Dámá Jata Śr'i, a son of Rudra Sáh or Sinha (fig. 5). I reserve for consideration in a subsequent portion of this paper, the question whether the father's name should be read as Sáh or Sinha, and consequently the determination of the place in the series which this king should occupy. The upper portion of the word on which the distinctive vowel mark, if there



was one, would have been shown, has fallen beyond the margin of the coin, and the solution must therefore for the present depend on inferences. The legend, of which each letter (the vowel point excepted) may be read with certainty, is as under :—

“Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra S[a]ha putrasa Rájnah Kshatrapasa Dámá Jata Śriyah.”

A Dámá Jata Śr'i has been on our lists since Prinsep's time, but his title was *Mahákshatrapa*, and he was the son of Dámá Sáh.

The two coins to which I next advert, though from the mints of sovereigns whose names have long been known, and of whose coins several specimens have been noticed, are of almost as much interest as they would have been if the kings who struck them had been up to this time unknown. I have already referred to the memorandum which I read before the Society in December 1860. The subject was a unique coin of Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá, and I then stated (*Journal*, vol. vi. p. 15) my assured conclusion, founded on the similarity of type observable in the character and emblems, and the almost identical style of the general execution, that the Rudra *Sinha* of the coin then laid before the Society, was the father of a king whose patronymic had been read by Mr. Thomas, as Rudra *Sáha*. The coin from which that gentleman obtained the reading is figured in vol. xii. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, pl. i. 18, 19, and Professor H. H. Wilson has given another apparently of the same king (*Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xv. fig. 14.) In each instance the lower portion only of the word read as “Sáha” was shown on the coin. I have now received specimens (fig. 6 is one) which give the father's name unequivocally as Rudra *Sinha*, the entire legend being—

“Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sinhasa putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa.”

When I inferred that the patronymic in the case of the sovereign last referred to would be found to be Rudra Sinha, I might have added that the same correction would be found necessary with regard to Dámá Sáh, whom from the similar style and type of his coins, I had previously set down as Rudra Sáh's brother. The correctness of this surmise, also, is now established by the timely discovery of the coin figured as No. 7, which gives the name of Dámá Sáh's father clearly as “Rudra *Sinha*,” the legend being—

“Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sinhasa putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Dámá Sáhasa.”

I ought to mention that Mr. Thomas, who first noticed a coin of Dámá Sáh, does not appear to have seen a specimen. He gives the legend as communicated to him by Dr. Bird. I believe that no coin of this king has up to this time been figured.

In 1847 the late Dr. Stevenson laid before the Society a newly-discovered coin, the notice and figure of which will be found at p. 377, vol. ii. of the Journal. He read the legend as "Rájno Mahákshatrapa Iṣvara Dattasa Bala puthasa," having some doubt as to the word Bala, but making the father a private individual, in consequence of the absence of any title before his supposed name. In a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1848, and printed in the 12th vol. of its Journal, Mr. Thomas, referring to three coins of the same king, corrected the word Bala to Varsha, as the father's name, and noticed that in the word puthasa, which was supposed to represent the putrasa found on all the other Sáh coins, we had the Zend "tha" instead of the Sanskrit "tra." He remarked, also, then, and in 1858 when republishing Prinsep's papers on Indian antiquities, that the exergue of this monarch's coins differs from the others of the series in giving no date, a circumstance which "seemed to indicate that the system of marking the year of issue was not as yet introduced." I have now two coins of this king (one is given as fig. 8), and the obverse of each exhibits clearly a very different reading which, indeed, is to be obtained from Mr. Thomas's figures. The legend is—

"Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Iṣvara Dattasa Varsha prathame."

"In the first year of the king, the great Satrap Iṣvara datta," or, "(a coin) of the king, the great Iṣvara datta, in his first year."

The vowel stroke representing the locative is distinct in Mr. Thomas's plates, and in the coins which I have seen. The "tha" is, of course, also now accounted for. I am not sure whether the mark above the "sha" in Varsha was intended to represent *r* or *e* or both.

This new reading (in which I feel assured that Mr. Thomas will concur) necessarily raises some interesting questions. The father's name is not mentioned, and though a date is given, it is in a manner, and of a kind, altogether different from that exhibited by other coins of the Sáh's. In the place of three figures on the exergue (a smaller number has not yet been met with on other coins) we have here no figures, but an addition of the words "in the first year" to the legend. The character of the letters and the general execution of the coins, show

that a place is to be assigned to them considerably removed from the commencement of the Sáh dynasty ; and no other supposition, therefore, will meet the requirements of the case than that Iṣvara Datta broke in upon the Sáh dynasty against the order of succession, and probably as a usurper. The other kings of the line whose coins have come down to us, were with one exception the sons of kings, and therefore give their fathers' names and titles. Iṣvara Datta, we must infer, obtained the throne for himself in some irregular way, and had therefore no reason for giving his father's name on his coins. We must suppose also that he attempted to change the Sáh era, and as none of his coins have been found of later date than his "first year," it is not unlikely that he soon gave place to the Satrap on whom the sovereignty by right devolved. The coins of Iṣvara Datta bear a striking resemblance to those of Vijaya Sáh, some apparent differences in the character of the legends being accounted for by the circumstance that on Iṣvara Datta's coins the difficulty is to extend the legend over the space allotted to it, but on Vijaya Sáh's, to compress it within that space. I do not doubt that the reigns of the two kings were not separated by any long interval.

Fig. 9 is a coin of Swám'í Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'í Rudra Dámá. It has been added here, as it shows the group of stars to the *left* of the central emblem, and by this peculiarity is connected in a very marked way with the coin of Kumára Gupta, figured as No. 13. The correspondence of the circular full-face eye on other coins of Swám'í Rudra Sáh and Kumára Gupta is equally striking.

I have still to enter on an examination of the evidence which is now available, for determining the serial arrangement of the Sáh dynasty, and fixing the dates within which the nineteen members of it, whose names have now been recovered, exercised their rule. It will be convenient, however, preliminarily to complete the notice of the new coins which have come into my hands, by describing those which add to our information respecting the Guptas, and other ancient rulers of Guzerat, whose coinages show their connexion with the Sáh's.

Mr. Thomas, in his reprint of Prinsep's Essays (vol. ii. p. 94), notices a unique Gupta coin (not figured), bearing on the reverse, above the main device of the peacock, "the Sáh cluster of stars, and a minute half moon seemingly derived from the same source." He and Professor FitzEdward Hall differ as to the reading of the legend, but Mr. Thomas remarks, "if this should eventually prove to be a piece of

Śr'i Gupta's, the founder of the dynasty known by his name, it will establish a claim on our attention altogether apart from its novelty, as the unique representative of the money of that king, in the evidence of the close and direct imitation of the technic art of the Sáh coinages, which it develops in so much more distinct a degree than the local issues of the Gupta family of a later date." I have lately obtained from Kattiawar, through the kind assistance of Rao Bahadur Muggunbhaee Kurrumchund, four coins of Kumára Gupta, the last known monarch but two of the line, showing on the reverse the Sáh cluster of stars above and on the right side of the central device (*i. e.* exactly in the position which they occupy in the Sáh coins); and also below the wavy line under that device the two half moons which in the Sáh coins are found, the one above it, and the other on the left. One of these coins is depicted in fig. 10, and the character will be seen to approach more nearly to that of some of the Sáh coins than the usual Gupta alphabet.

The legend is—

“Parama Bhagavata Mahárájdhirájá Śr'i Kumára Gupta Mahendrasya.”

One of the four coins (that drawn) clearly gives one numeral (90) of the date, and before it a figure, which appears to be a mint mark, commonly found on the coins of the Sáh.

Future researches must show whether the full date was 290, with perhaps some unknown unit. If so our evidence of the immediate succession of Kumára Gupta to the last of the Sáh will be complete, as 290 is the latest date borne on coins of Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Rudra Dama.

Fig. 11 is a unique and equally remarkable coin, connecting the Guptas, not only with the Sáh by the cluster of stars and one of the half moons which it exhibits exactly as the latest coins of the Sáh series, but also with the undeciphered class of coins yet to be referred to, as it bears the central device (a trident of peculiar shape?) hitherto invariably found on those coins and on no others. It bears traces of a date or Greek exergue, and portions sufficient for identification of the following legend:—

“Parama bhagavata [rájádhirája?] Śr'i Kumára Gupta Mahendrasya.”

The bust is identical with that on fig. 10, and the character is distinctively Gupta. The occurrence of the emblems of two other dynasties on the coins of Kumára Gupta is not easily accounted for.

With the four coins of Kumára, above described, I received a new Gupta coin (fig. 12) identical with them in all respects, except that it bears the name of a king not hitherto known—"Bakra Gupta." The discovery of this name is altogether unexpected, and its occurrence can with difficulty be reconciled with the genealogies derived from the Allahabad and Bhitári Lats. There seems, however, to be no place for doubt as to the correctness of the reading, for the power of the letter read as "kra" is determined by the occurrence of the same letter further on in the legend in the word Vikramáditya, and if the letter read as "ba" (which it clearly is) be supposed to have been intended for "va" we have still a king to be added to the Gupta list. The identity of the coin in all respects, except the name, with the four of Kumára Gupta, with which it appears to have been found, and the circumstance that no similar coin of any other king has yet been discovered, make it very difficult to suppose that the reigns of Kumára and Bakra Gupta were separated by that of any other member of the family, while on the other hand, the Lat inscriptions give the name of Kumára Gupta's predecessor as Chandra Gupta, and that of his successor as Skanda. In this perplexity we can but wait for further discoveries.

The legend is—

"Parama [Bhagavata] Mahárájádhirújá Śr'i Bakra Gupta  
Vikramáditya."

I notice that the Rajah Tarangini gives the name Bakra Rájá as that of a king who reigned in Kashmir some centuries B.C.

I have above adverted to the Gupta coins bearing the Sáh stars and half moons, because the unique coin described by Mr. Thomas supplied a starting point. I have now, however, to call attention to a much more remarkable coin, inasmuch as it is the first, other than a Sáh coin, as yet discovered, having for its central emblem the invariable Sáh pyramid. To complete the connexion, it has the group of stars above the pyramid to the *left*, as on one of the last of the Sáh series depicted in fig. 9, and also *one* of the two Sáh half moons as the Sáh coin adverted to. The head on the obverse is identical with that of the Guzerat

Gupta coins, and the character on the reverse resembles that of the inferior Gupta specimens. The title Maharájá, which may be read on it, is one found on the Gupta coinage, but never on the Sáh. The letters are so barbarously cut, and so few of those borne on the die have been impressed upon the coin, that little, unfortunately, can be ascertained from them. The coin is carefully depicted in fig. 13. and the words "Raja," "Maharaja," and "putrasa" (another remarkable connecting link with the Sáh, as it has never been found on the Gupta series) are plainly decypherable. It seems almost certain that the legend (like that of the Sáh coins) gave first the title and name of the father, and then those of the son. Both names appear to be given among the letters preserved, but some are so rudely cut that their value can only be conjectured.

The legend, as far as given, may be read—

?		?	?
"Maharajendra	.. ..	putrasa (ṣ'ri or rá)	.. .. ditya
? ?	[mahá] rájá	{ rudra } { nanda }	.. .."

This coin was found near Karád in the Satara district under circumstances which will be hereafter related.

There is still another class of coins on which recent discoveries enable me to throw some light. Mr. Prinsep, when he succeeded in decyphering the coins of the Gupta and Sáh series, failed entirely with the exceedingly debased variety, of which such large numbers are found throughout Guzerat. At the moment of their publication (Dec. 1835) Mr. Thomas remarks, "he scarcely attempted any decyphering of the certainly very unpromising legends, and was equally at fault with regard to the reverse device, which he described as a symbol in the form of a trident." Mr. Thomas himself subsequently made out the words Rájno Mahákshatrapasa, and from a well-executed coin which he examined, gave in 1858 a transliteration with probable variants, which however did not lead to any advance in the reading beyond the two words previously decyphered. Four coins since found in Kattiawar, and one at Kaira, have enabled me now almost entirely to unravel the mystery.

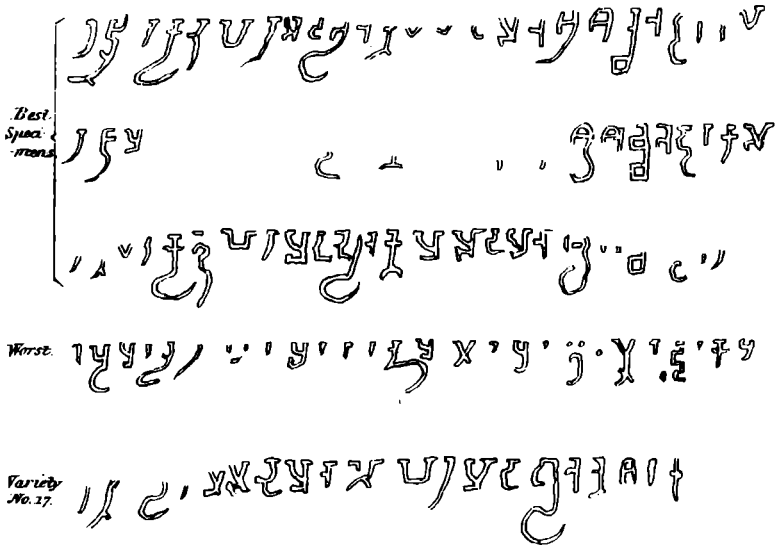
Three of these coins are delineated as figs. 14, 15, and 16, and they furnish the following legend,—the value of all the letters except those

which I have marked as doubtful, being, I think, satisfactorily determined :—

“ Rájno Mahákshatr'i paramádityabhakta masadamabha Śr'i  
?  
Ṣalva bhattarakasa.”

The character is not far removed from that of the Sáh coins ; it is much less nearly connected with that of the Guptas. On the barbarous specimens most commonly found, the character especially resembles that of the Sáh coins ; the backward curve of the two letters representing the word Rájno connecting them in a marked manner with the coins of Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Satya Sáh, on which alone of the Sáh coins I have noticed this peculiarity. The change from Mahákshatrapá (great Preserver of the Kshatris) to Mahákshatri (great Kshatr'i) is remarkable. The introduction of “paramáditya” connects these coins with those of the Guptas, the word being found on coins of Skanda Gupta. I am unable to suggest any satisfactory explanation of “Masadamabha,” respecting the first four letters of which, however, no doubt can be reasonably entertained. That one word ends with the “kta” of “paramáditya-bhakta,” and another commences with the “ma” of “masadama” is demonstrated by the circumstance that on one coin (fig. 17) the two words are separated by others. In the same way it is shown that the “pa” commencing the word “paramaditya-bhakta” is rightly made to form a part of that word, and should not be added to “Mahákshatri” in order to form the Mahakshatrapá of the Sáh coins, since on coin No. 3, the letters “Mahákshatri” are followed immediately by “Masadama.” “Paramaditya-bhakta” must be rendered the Worshipper of the exalted Sun ; and we have evidence in the term of what has been before inferred as to the religion of the period. The last letter of the name preceding the word “Bhattarakasa” cannot yet be determined, but this last word shows that the whole legend is in the genitive, as on the Sáh coins, and now and then on those of the Guptas. The important evidence resulting from the decyphering of the title “bhat-taraka” will be considered subsequently in the proper place.

I annex in juxtaposition the legends found on the best and on inferior specimens of this coinage. The extremity of deterioration seems to have been reached before the issue ceased.



On all the Sáh Coins we have a Greek legend, and on all, except Işvaradattás, date numerals on the obverse ; on many of Kumára Guptas Guzerat coins a Greek legend, on a few a date ; on Skanda Guptas Guzerat coins, and on the 3rd class (Bhattárakas) no Greek letters and no date.

It now remains for me, in accordance with the intention which I expressed in the memorandum read before the Society last year, to consider the materials which exist for a more satisfactory arrangement of the Sáh series, and to endeavour to ascertain how far the additional information obtained up to the present date will enable us to fix the limits of time within which the several dynasties referred to must have had their rise and fall.

As regards the former question, two systems of arrangement have been proposed, the one by Mr. Prinsep, who placed the kings then known in the order of succession which the names of father and son on each coin seemed to indicate ; and the other by Mr. Thomas, who disposed of the series according to the supposed value of some of the date numerals borne on the coins. Mr. Prinsep did not attempt to obtain further evidence in support of the order assumed by him (except in the case of two kings whom he first placed near the commencement and afterwards at the end of his list) than that



deducible from the correspondence of names, and Mr. Thomas probably did not consider his arrangement according to doubtfully-interpreted dates, as more than tentative. He remarks that "we have hitherto been compelled to rely upon patronymics and other indeterminate vouchers;" and adds, that "though it is a question whether our power of defining the values of the date cyphers is sufficiently advanced to authorize our following a serial arrangement based upon their interpretation, we may still profitably test the process with this reservation." It has always seemed to me a decisive objection to this disposition of the series, that it compressed the reigns of 13 kings (and it would now probably compress the reigns of 18 or 19) within the narrow limits of some 80 or 90 years; and further, that it necessitates the supposition that two, and in one case three, of the Sáh princes were reigning at the same time. It seemed also to be a grave objection that it separates, by almost the entire duration of the dynasty, the reigns of Rudra Sáh, the son of Vira Dámá, and Viṣva Sinha, the son of Rudra Sáh, and places the former last, though the correspondence of names, and the nearly identical character of their coins appeared to make it almost certain that these princes stood the one to the other in the relationship of father and son.

I now proceed first to examine the materials which we possess for determining a reliable arrangement of the Sáh princes, and afterwards to arrange them, by applying the principles elicited. With respect to this inquiry, it is to be remembered that we must look to these coins exclusively for the basis of any arrangement, since in their absence all that we should know respecting the existence of such a dynasty would be the name of the single member inscribed on the rock at Giruár.

The sources available for the determination of the order in which the several members of the dynasty should be disposed are the following:—

- 1st.—A consideration of the groups of coins discovered together in particular hoards.
- 2nd.—Changes in execution of the dies indicative of a gradual deterioration of art in the community, or, at least, of numismatic art.
- 3rd.—Modifications in the character in which the legends are written.
- 4th.—Alterations discernible in the emblems, omissions on some coins of marks found on others, and other peculiarities.

I.—The subject of the first heading was brought to the notice of the Society in the memorandum which I laid before it on the 13th February 1862, respecting a hoard of 142 coins obtained from Kutch by General LeGrand Jacob. I then remarked that among these coins there were none of Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Rudra Dámá ; and that the absence of these could not be reasonably explained, except on the supposition that Swám'i Rudra Sáh's reign was subsequent to the date at which the hoard was deposited, since in promiscuous collections his coins are more numerous than those of most of the other kings of this series.

On this ground alone we may with confidence assign to Swám'i Rudra Dámá a lower place in the list than that to be occupied by any of the other sovereigns whose coins formed part of the hoard. It might be further urged that, due allowance being made for considerable inequalities in the lengths of the reigns, the numbers in which the coins of different kings were found in the deposit, might be expected to supply us with a means of approximately determining the order of their succession ; and the figures prefixed to the names and indicating the arrangement which I shall hereafter, on entirely different grounds, propose, will show that such an inference would not greatly mislead. It is remarkable, indeed, that the proposed arrangement (as respects these kings) would be almost exactly arrived at by the consideration of the paucity of the coins of No. 15 in all collections as compared with those of No. 14, and of the still greater relative rarity of the coins of Nos. 16 and 17.

The coins found in the hoard were as under :—

No. 5.—Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha.....	1 coin.
„ 10.—Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh .....	4 coins.
„ 11.—Dámájata Śr'i, son of Dámá Sáh .....	4 do.
„ 17.—Aṣa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh .....	5 do.
„ 16.—Rudra Sinha, son of Svámi Jina Dámá..	11 do.
„ 12.—Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá .....	17 do.
„ 13.—Viṣva Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh .....	20 do.
„ 15.—Viṣva Sáh, son of Átri Dámá .....	21 do.
„ 14.—Átri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh .....	48 do.

During the last twelve or eighteen months coins have, from time to time, been sent to me from the site of an old village on the banks of the Krishna near Karád, in the Satara collectorate, and an examination of these confirms the inference drawn from the Kutch deposit. The

circumstances under which they are found make them as valuable for the purposes of this inquiry as those composing a hoard. They are discovered singly as the soil is washed away by the rains and the neighbouring stream, and in such quantities as to show that they must have formed the currency of the place, and been plentifully in circulation.

The following are all that have reached me. Many more were procured, but lost.

Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh . . . . .	2 coins.
Dámájata Śr'i, son of Dámá Sáh . . . . .	2 do.
Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá . . . . .	7 do.
Viṣva Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh . . . . .	1 do.
A'tri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh . . . . .	8 do.
Viṣva Sáh, son of A'tri Dámá . . . . .	4 do.

Here, again, then we have evidence in the absence of Swám'i Rudra Sáh's coins, that his accession was subsequent to the reigns of all the sovereigns named.

A third similar source of valuable evidence has very lately come to my knowledge. I have already referred to 62 coins obtained for me by Mr. Dhirajlál Mathurádás from Junágadh, and stated my belief that they were a portion of a very large hoard found in, or near, that place. They are a very remarkable collection, and have added to our lists specimens from the mints of three new sovereigns, and several other rarities. The explanation of this, I doubt not, is that they were deposited at an earlier date than any other hoard yet noticed, and consequently supply us in large proportions with coins which in later times fell entirely out of circulation. The number of imperfectly struck coins met with among them (one-twelfth)—the obverse being as usual, and the reverse exhibiting a sunk impression of the bust—led me at first to think it likely that the remains of some old mint (rather than a private hoard) had been discovered. Subsequent instalments, however, of the same collection have exhibited a very small proportion of these failures.

The following is a classified list of the 62 coins :—

Rudra Dámá, son of—— ? (unique) . . . . .	1 coin.
Dámá Jata Śr'i, son of Rudra Sáh (unique) . . . . .	1 do.
Yaṣa Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh (new) . . . . .	2 do.
Vira Dama, son of Dámá Sáh (rare) . . . . .	3 do.
Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha (rare) . . . . .	3 do.

Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha (rare) .....	4 coins.
Viṣva Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh .....	6 do.
Vijaya Sáh son of Dámá Sáh .....	7 do.
Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá .....	30 do.
Imperfect (no reverse) .....	5 do.

Here not only are the usually very numerous coins of Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Rudra Dámá, entirely absent, while a most unusual number of new and rare coins is exhibited, but the ordinarily plentiful coins of A'tri Dámá also, are altogether wanting. This collection alone, therefore, would seem to show conclusively that all the kings named in the list preceded both Swám'i Rudra Sáh and A'tri Dámá. The absence of the common coins of Viṣva Sáh, the son of A'tri Dámá, would also be so unaccountable if the hoard were supposed to have been deposited after his reign, that we have sufficient grounds for placing him, too, with A'tri Dámá and Swám'i Rudra Sáh, later in the series. It is further worthy of notice, that the coins of Rudra Sinha, son of Jina Dámá, and of Aṣa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh, are wanting.

While writing this paper, upwards of 300 more coins—plainly from the same hoard—have reached me, the greater part procured by Mr. Bháú Dáj'i, and very liberally placed by him at my service, and an examination of them has confirmed the conclusion already stated. I give below a classified table, and the non-discovery of a single coin of Aṣa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh, or of Rudra Sinha son of Svám'i Jina Dámá, among so large a number makes the later succession of these two princes as certain as that of A'tri Dámá, Viṣva Sáh son of A'tri Dámá, and Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Rudra Dámá. It will be remarked that two coins of Viṣva Sáh, and one of A'tri Dámá his father, are shown in the list, and their presence may appear to militate against the inferences deduced. I feel assured, however, that these three coins were added by the person who procured them, and who has been for some time engaged in collecting; for I was informed that two obtained from other sources had been added, and the discovery of these three coins only in so large a hoard would be almost as unaccountable as the absolute absence of coins from the mints of the sovereign whom they represent.

No. 2.—Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá .....	3 coins.
„ 3.—Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha .....	4 do.
„ 5.—Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha .....	8 do.
„ 8.—Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh .....	5 do.

No. 9.—Iṣvara Datta .....	2	coins.
„ 10.—Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh,.....	64	do.
„ 11.—Dámájataṣri, son of Dámá Sáh.....	9	do.
„ 12.—Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá .....	193	do.
„ 13.—Viṣva Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh.....	41	do.
„ 14.—A'tri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh.....	1	do.
„ 15.—Viṣva Sáh, son of A'tri Dámá .....	2	do.

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Imperfect .....	3	do.
	<hr/>	do.
	335	do.
	<hr/>	

I am not aware of any additional facts available for this portion of the investigation. Those which have been considered appear to establish that the reigns of—

A'tri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh,  
 Viṣva Sáh, son of A'tri Dámá,  
 Rudra Sinha, son of Svám'i Jina Dámá,  
 Aṣa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh, and  
 Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Rudra Dámá,

are to be placed after those of—

Rudra Dámá, son of —— ?  
 Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá,  
 Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha,  
 Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha,  
 Śr'i Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh  
 Dámájata Śr'i, son of Rudra Sáh,  
 Yaṣa Dama, son of Dámá Sáh,  
 Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh,  
 Iṣvara Datta, son of —— ?  
 Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh,  
 Dámájata Śr'i, son of Dámá Sáh,  
 Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá,  
 Viṣva Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh.

It seems further established that Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Rudra Dámá, is to be placed below *all* the other kings named, and there are grounds for the supposition that Rudra Sinha, son of Jina

Dámá, and Aṣa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh, intervened between A'tri Dámá and Viṣva Sáh, who both preceded, and Swám'i Rudra Sáh, who succeeded them.

II.—I now pass on to the 2nd division of the inquiry—"How far do changes in the execution of the dies, indicative of a gradual deterioration of numismatic art, assist us in determining the order of the series?" It is unquestionable that the Sáh coinages are imitations from Greek originals. Prinsep, when first alluding to them, before their decypherment, remarked that "the very style and beauty of some of the earlier specimens might be enough to convince an artist or sculptor of the fact, for we might in vain seek such accurate delineations of the human features on any genuine Hindoo coin." We should expect therefore to find the highest exhibition of art in the coins of the first princes of the series, while the connexion with Parthia or Bactria was yet recent, and a gradual deterioration in those of their successors as the dynasty had become isolated. The principle thus obtained enables us at once to draw several lines of demarcation between various groups of the coins, and confidently to arrange these groups in their order of sequence. To some extent I have used this principle for years as a basis of arrangement: its correctness has however been strikingly exhibited, and its application much extended by the newly-discovered coins already described.

In the Memorandum on the coin of Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá, before alluded to, I called the attention of the Society to the circumstance that on it alone of all the Sáh coins with which I had met, was to be seen an accurate representation of the eye-ball, and on this ground alone, I should have claimed for it a higher place in the series than that to be assigned to any other coin then discovered. The superiority of execution in all other respects, was in accordance with this view. It was especially marked with respect to the truthful delineation of the features in relief, as contrasted with the style of representation in a greater or less degree by outline engraving, which is visible on other coins. The unique coin of Rudra Dámá, described at the commencement of this paper, though much damaged, still bears on its corroded surface the marks of a yet higher degree of art employed in its design and execution. I have already stated that on it the lips, and the curl behind the ear, as well as the eye-ball, are correctly delineated, and on this evidence I unhesitatingly assign to Rudra Dámá the first place among the satraps as yet known, and to Rudra Sinha the second place, as his son. The general style of

these two coins would, I think, lead any one conversant with the series, thus to connect them, and to place them at the head of the list.

In two also, out of seven coins of Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha, the eye-ball is correctly depicted ; and also in the unique coin of Śr'i Sáh. I place these kings, therefore, as the 3rd and 4th of the series. Passing on from these four coins, we find the eye thenceforward formed by three lines, the central one being always more or less curved, but the representation of the circular full-front eye on a bust in profile is not found, except on some of the coins of A'tri Dámá, and all those of Viṣva Sáh, son of A'tri Dámá, Rudra Sinha, son of Svám'i Jina Dámá, Aṣa Dámá, and the two Swám'i Rudra Sáh's. Here, again, then we have evidence that these six kings reigned consecutively, or at least without the intervention of any other whose coins have yet been discovered, and evidence also corroborative of that on which they have already been placed at the close of the dynasty.

I have adverted to the increasing tendency in the engravers of the Sáh coin dies to resort to a method of representing the bust by linear markings, so that in the latest coins of the series—those of the Swám'i Rudra Sáh's—we have the features little raised above the surface of the coin, the eye expressed by lines, and lips by two dots, a third being sometimes added to represent the ala of the nose. In this progressive deterioration, a marked distinction exists between the inferior coins of—

Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá,  
 Viṣva Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh,  
 A'tri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh,  
 Rudra Sinha, son of Svám'i Jina Dámá,  
 Aṣa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh, and  
 Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Rudra Dámá,

and those of the other kings of the series. The face is well thrown up in relief on the coins of—

Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha,  
 Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha,  
 Śr'i Sáh,  
 Iṣvara Datta,  
 The four sons of Dámá Sáh, and  
 Dámájata Śr'i son of Rudra Sáh.

There is also a well marked resemblance in the busts on the coins mentioned at the close of the last paragraph, while the busts on all other coins are quite distinct. Those on the coins of Rudra Sáh, son

of Vira Dámá, and Viṣva Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh, are identical, and differ from all others except those on a few of the coins of A'tri Dámá. Viṣva Sinha, therefore as well as A'tri, Dámá, is undoubtedly a son of this Rudra Sáh, and I place him and Rudra Sáh immediately above A'tri Dámá. The busts of Rudra Sinha, son of Svám'i Jina Dámá, and of Aṣa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh, are in better relief than the others of this later class, but the style of art exhibited in their execution is on the whole so inferior as to add to the evidence previously adduced as to the late date to be assigned them in the series. Among the coins classed together at the end of the last preceding paragraph, there is a sufficient falling off in relief in those of Vijaya Sáh and Dámájata Śr'i, sons of Dámá Sáh, to justify the assignment to them, even at this stage of the inquiry, of a position below those of the other kings there mentioned.

III. The 3rd division of the subject—the examination of the modifications discernible in the character in which the legends are written—furnishes much corroboration of the inferences already drawn, and the means of carrying forward the arrangement. The few characters visible on the coin of Rudra Dámá appear to be identical with those of the Sáh inscription at Girnar. In a previous paper I made the same remark respecting the then unique coin of his son Rudra Sinha (I have now several coins of this prince), and the remark is nearly as applicable to the coins of “Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha,” who may properly therefore be set down as his son. In the other coins which have not already been placed low down in the series, the gradual effect becomes visible of the endeavour to adapt a square or rounded character to the requirements of a circular legend of very small radius. The lower portion of the letters necessarily became in time much compressed, and we can with facility trace the change until it becomes complete in the coins of Vijaya Sáh, Dámájata Śr'i, and Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá which are brought into close connexion by this point of resemblance. In the coinages of kings later in the series, the angularity of the character is less marked, but it is clear that this is to be accounted for by the falling off of art which they indicate. The first coins on the list show the rock characters unchanged, applied to a novel purpose: those which follow, down to about the middle of the series, exhibit the natural results of artistic efforts (for a considerable degree of art was still displayed) to compress a long legend within the circular margin of a small die; while the coinages of those kings who reigned towards the close of the dynasty are marked by a decay of art, which allowed the



character, while it at times lost somewhat of the pointed form, to degenerate into comparative rudeness.

The double letter ksha 𑀓 as seen in the rock inscriptions exhibits with little change the form of the letters ka and sha, of which it is compounded. On almost all the Sáh coins, however, the cross bar of the sha is absent. It is found on a few, and to these, for this reason, we should be required to assign a position at the head of the series. They are found to be those to which this position has already, on other grounds, been assigned, namely, those of—

Rudra Dámá

Rudra Sinha, his son (2 out of 3 give the 𑀓).

Rudra Sáh, his son (3 out of 8).

Śr'i Sáh (doubtful).

Dámá Sáh, another son of Rudra Sinha (2 out of 7).

I would arrange these five kings in the above order, and we have remaining unarranged but four kings, namely—

Iṣvara Datta,

Yaṣa Dámá,

Dámájata Śr'i, son of Rudra Sáh, and

Vira Dámá,

who must come between the latest of the five before mentioned, and Vijaya Sáh, the son of Dámá Sáh, and whose succession the character of the letters on their coins would lead me to suppose to be as above shown.


As we approach the end of the series a further change occurs in the ksha, which on a few of the coins of Viṣva Sáh, son of A'tri Dámá, and all those of Rudra Sinha, son of Svám'i Jina Dámá is figured as 𑀓 or 𑀔. On the coins of Aṣa Dámá it has the latter form only, and on the coins of Swám'i Rudra Sáh the usual form, but greatly barbarized.

IV.—Under the last head of this inquiry are to be considered alterations in the emblems, omissions from some coins of marks found on others, and other peculiarities.

The same emblems are found on the reverse of all the Sáh coins. These are a central pyramid, two half moons, and either a rayed sun, or a group of stars. The modifications, however, to which each of these is subjected as it passes through the dynasty, are obvious, and viewed by themselves, would suffice to connect several members of the series and even afford some ground for their arrangement.

The rayed sun, or group of stars, may be first noticed. It is now ascertained that the sun with rays was the original device. Following

the arrangement which has already been sufficiently determined, we find on the coins of Rudra Dámá a large sun with ten elongated rays ; on each of his son Rudra Sinha's coins, a smaller sun with eight rays ; on one of his son Rudra Sah's coins a similar sun with eight rays, and on the other coins of this king the rays round the central sun represented by eight, seven, or six dots ; on the coin of Śr'i Sáh, a son of the last, the same sun with six elongated rays. The rays altogether disappear with this king, and on all the other coins of the series are replaced by a varying number of points.

The evidence derivable from the change in the central symbol is of the same character. On Rudra Dámá's coin it is a large pyramid, consisting of three equal and accurately curved segments of circles, two being placed on a straight line and the third surmounting them. On the three next coins in the series (those of the other kings named in the last paragraph), the pyramid is smaller but still exactly the same in form. On the coins of the 5th king, Dámá Sáh, first appears a slight elongation of the upper segment of the pyramid, probably intended to be ornamental, and this characteristic is decided on the coins of all the kings from the 6th to the 12th, becoming usually more marked on the coins of each succeeding one, until the climax is reached on the coins of Viśva Sinha, No. 13, which gives the emblem as  . On the coins of Nos. 14, 15, 16, and 17, though the central segment is less, or not at all, elongated, it is often placed in the same peculiar position, between and not above the two lower segments and on most of the coins of Nos. 18 and 19, the last of the series, though the elongation of the upper segment is slight, this is compensated for by a pointed line projecting above it, and producing nearly the same effect.

Beneath the pyramid, and separated from it on all the coins, is a line usually wavy, but found to exhibit distinctive differences when traced through the series. On No. 1 it consists of three scarcely appreciable curves, the convex faces of which are upwards, the ends of the line being turned slightly down ; on the coins from No. 2 to 9 the change is not great, the curves either being absent, or remaining slight, and the convexities usually looking downwards so that the ends of the line turn up. On Nos. 10 and 11 the increase of the three curvatures is marked, and like the elongation of the pyramid, reaches its maximum on some of the coins of Nos. 12 and 13. Lower down in the series, the ends of the line now and then turn up so much as to embrace the lower part of the pyramid.

The "half moons" (if such they were intended to be) commence on No. 1 as one large and nearly semicircular curve, exactly above the centre of the pyramid, and a second similar one at a lower level, and to the left. These continue the same with a slight diminution of size on all the coins down to No. 11. On Nos. 12, 13, and 14 the curves are less than semicircles, and sometimes scarcely more than mere lines, but still retain their position with relation to the central device. On No. 15 and 16 they are larger, but on some coins both appear for the first time at the left of the pyramid. On Nos. 17, and 18, and 19 this is invariably the case, and on the two last of these the curves have usually degenerated into specks, which are now and then scarcely visible.

Immediately behind the lower border of the helmet, on the coins of Nos. 1 to 7, and No. 10, are two small dots. They are found on most of the coins of Nos. 8, 9, and 11, and on two out of 180 coins of No. 12. I have not met with them subsequently, except on three coins of No. 16, and for their reappearance so low down in the series I am unable to account. This circumstance, however, does not make the assignment of this king's place in the series at all doubtful. The evidence obtained from the half-moon emblems, as stated in the last preceding paragraph, would alone be sufficient to fix these coins at a very low place in the scale, and such a position is indicated by the character of the legend and their general appearance.

There remain two connecting links between certain coins to be noticed.

On the coins of Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and on one coin of No. 10 the genitive (dámna, sinhasa or sáhasa) is used before putrasa: on No. 6 there is no patronymic; and to it, therefore, this test cannot be applied. On all the other coins putrasa is preceded by the uninflected form of the father's name. Possibly the words ending with putrasa were read as a compound.

Lastly, there are certain peculiarities which connect the coins of Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá, his two sons Viṣva Sinha and A'tri Dámá, and Viṣva Sáh, son of the latter, in a very decisive and intimate manner, while they prove beyond reasonable doubt that the order of succession of these four princes was that which has already been inferred. The obverse of Rudra Sáh's coins has a very young face, differing unmistakably from those on preceding coins. Behind the head, the date is generally given as १०३, but a

few show the date (doubtless a later one) as 𑀘𑀓𑀭; the features remaining the same. Now the same face *and date* are found on all the coins that I have seen (unless I should except a doubtful one) of his son Viṣva Sinha, and the same face on eighteen out of the twenty-six coins which I have of the other son A'tri Dámá, who is shown to have reigned subsequently to his brother Viṣva Sinha, by the circumstance that on his remaining eight coins, another and much older face is found, which, remarkably enough, is continued unchanged on all the coins of his son Viṣva Sáh. The faces which I have described as young and old, will be at once distinguished, I believe, by this description; but in any doubtful case, may be recognized by the eye, which on the young face is always formed by two diverging lines, with a third curved line descending from the centre of the upper one, while in the old face, for the first time, as already noticed, appears the circular form of eye, which thenceforward is continued to the close of the series.

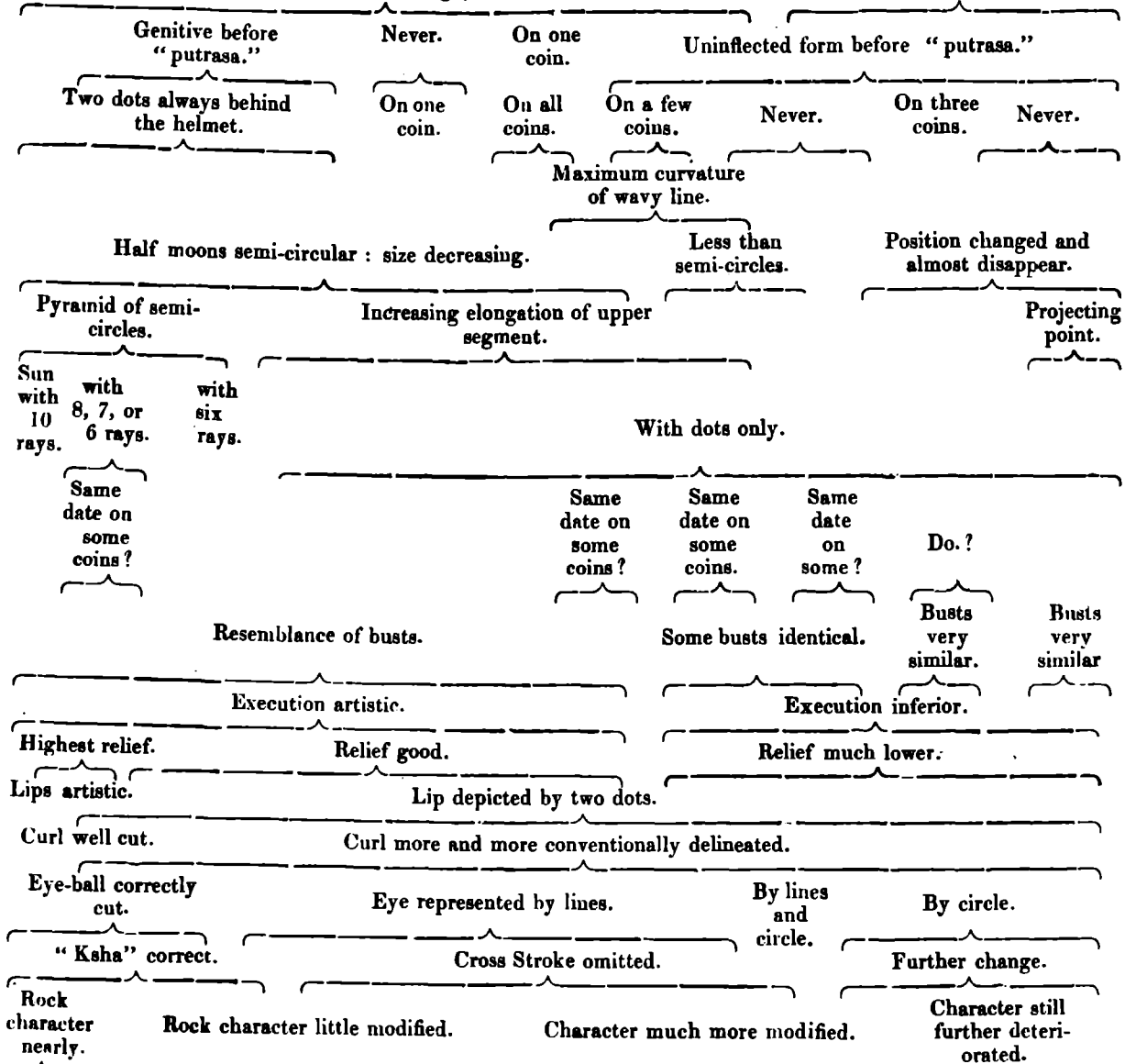
I now arrange the kings in a tabular form, according to the order of their succession, as established by the entire evidence which has been considered, and I have attempted to make visible at a glance, the reasons which have been adduced for connecting together particular groups.

Not found in Kutch hoard.

Not found at village near Kurrar.

Coins found in the Junágarh hoard.

Not in the Junágarh hoard.



1. Rudra Dámá, son of — ?
2. Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá
3. Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha
4. Sr'i Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh
5. Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha
6. Yasa Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh
7. Dámájata Sr'i, son of Rudra Sáh
8. Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh
9. Ishwara Datta
10. Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh
11. Dámájata Sr'i, son of Dámá Sáh
12. Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá
13. Vija Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh
14. A'tri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh
15. Vija Sáh, son of A'tri Dámá
16. Rudra Sinha, son of Svám'i Jiná Dama
17. Aśa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh
18. Svám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Svám'i Rudra Dámá.
19. Svám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Svám'i Satya Sáh.

On the grounds which have now been detailed, I had determined the arrangement of the Sáh coins, and had also written a considerable portion of this paper, when Mr. Bháú Dáj'i communicated to me the discovery as to the distinction between the numerals expressing 100, 200, and 300 respectively, which he subsequently, in his paper read on the 12th December 1862, laid before the Society. On his mentioning the results at which he had arrived, I at once, at his request, examined all available coins of the Sáh dynasty, in order to ascertain how far his conclusions, when applied to the arrangement of the series by the date numerals usually given on the obverse of these coins, would harmonize with the inferences to which I had been led. I found the correspondence complete. On no coin of any of the twelve first kings of the series as now arranged did I find any side stroke affixed to the numeral which, when thus left in its simple form (७), Mr. Bháú Dáj'i had ascertained to be equivalent in the rock inscriptions to 100. All these twelve kings must therefore have reigned before the commencement of the third century of the era used by them. On a few of the coins of the thirteenth king Viṣva Sinha, appears for the first time the same numeral with a single side stroke (७), which we may now with confidence read as 200, and the same initial figure is thenceforward found on all coins distinctly showing the numerals down to the end of the series. We may therefore hold it established that No. 13 reigned at the end of the second and beginning of the third century of the same era, and that Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 followed before the commencement of the fourth century.

Regarding some of the numerals which occupy the second and third places, there is more doubt. I now give the full result of the examination of each monarch's coinage.

No. 1. Rudra Dámá, shows no date, the surface having been corroded.

No. 2. Rudra Sinha, one coin gives clearly ७= (102), and another ७+ (104?) These numerals are preceded by a circle in the place usually occupied by the mint mark.

Another gives ७A

No. 3. Rudra Sáh has distinctly ७x (104?) on one coin; ७A (107?) on several; ७A on one; ७x (107?) on one; and on one, ७J.

No. 4. Śr'i Sáh, indistinctly ७N } (1.. ?)

No. 5. Dámá Sáh, clearly ७J (144?)

No. 6. Yaṣa Dámá, ७J (1.. ?)

- No. 7. Dámá Jata Śr'i (son of Rudra Sáh), 𑀕𑀓𑀢 (1..?)  
 No. 8. Vira Dámá, 𑀕𑀢𑀢, 𑀕𑀢𑀢 & 𑀕𑀢𑀢 (144?)  
 No. 9. Iṣvara Datta, no date.  
 No. 10. Vijaya Sáh, 𑀕𑀢, 𑀕𑀢, 𑀕𑀢𑀢, 𑀕𑀢𑀢 (154? 170?)  
 No. 11. Dámá Jata Śr'i (son of Dámá Sáh), 𑀕𑀢𑀢, 𑀕𑀢𑀢, 𑀕𑀢𑀢 (1..?)  
 No. 12. Rudra Sáh, usually 𑀕𑀓𑀢 (187), a few 𑀕𑀓𑀢 (197), one 𑀕𑀢𑀢.  
 No. 13. Viṣva Sinha, 𑀕𑀓𑀢 (197), 𑀕 (200)  
 No. 14. A'tri Dámá, 𑀕𑀓, 𑀕𑀓 (210), 𑀕𑀓𑀢 (214)  
 No. 15. Viṣva Sáh, 𑀕𑀓𑀢 (214), 𑀕𑀢𑀢 (22?)  
 No. 16. Rudra Sinha (son of Jina Dámá), 𑀕𑀢 (270)  
 No. 17. Aṣa Dámá, 𑀕𑀢, 𑀕𑀢 (270), 𑀕𑀢𑀢, 𑀕𑀢 (271)  
 No. 18. Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Rudra Dámá, 𑀕𑀓𑀢 (28..?)  
 𑀕𑀓𑀢= (292), 𑀕𑀓𑀢 (29..?)

No. 19. Swám'i Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'i Satya Sáh, no date legible.

The correspondence between the arrangement determined on, and that which our present interpretation of the dates would suggest, is so remarkable that any serious error may, on this ground alone, be inferred to be very improbable. With respect to one set of coins only—those of Rudra Sáh, No 3—is there any apparent want of correspondence. Some of these, it will be seen, bear in the decimal place, a number to which we have reasons for assigning the value of 70, while the place which I have assigned to this king in the series requires that the date of his reign should fall at the commencement of the century. Further research will perhaps remove this difficulty. At present it is enough to remark that the evidence of the intimate connexion of this monarch's coins with those of Nos. 1 and 2 of the series, is too conclusive to permit the assignment of any other place to No. 3 than that given.

The arrangement of the last eight kings appears to be so satisfactorily fixed that I do not expect to find any change in the order shown to be necessary as the result of future discoveries, unless possibly with regard to Nos. 18 and 19, the former of whom ought perhaps to follow the latter, though the single coin which I have seen of the latter sovereign does not supply grounds for the inversion. With regard to the kings whose reigns fall within the second century, increased knowledge will probably lead to a different assignment of the reigns of some of the brothers *inter se*, and possibly give a different place to Yaśa Dámá, No. 6; and Iṣvara Datta, No. 9. These, however, are the only points in which I think any modification likely.

It will be noticed that if the symbol ७ is to be read as 100, we have eleven reigns (Nos. 2 to 12) falling within a century. Whatever may be the explanation, this result does not make me doubt the correctness of the interpretation. That many of the reigns were very short, seems certain, as the coins of most of these kings are rare, those of many very rare, and of four, unique. The numerals do not aid us much in the arrangement of this portion of the series, but with the exception already referred to accord (as far they can be relied on) with the sequence proposed. I must not omit to point out the break which appears from the dates to have occurred between the reigns of No. 15 and No. 16. The dissimilarity between the coins of Nos. 16 and 17 on the one hand, and those of No. 12 to 15 (which form a well marked group) on the other, is so evident that I have long been awaiting some filling up of the interval which seemed to have occurred between them. If the dates are to be trusted, we have an interval of nearly 50 years, for the comparative rarity of Viṣva Sáh's coins does not allow us to suppose that his reign was prolonged much beyond the date (220 with some unread unit) borne on some of his coins. The coins of the last two kings in the list, exhibit as marked a contrast with those of the two kings immediately preceding them, but here the dates would show the succession to have been immediate.

The arrangement having been thus discussed and fixed, there remains the determination of the era to which the dates on the Sáh coinage are to be referred. Professor Wilson, in his *Ariana Antiqua*, was able only to state the priority of the Sáh's to the Guptas, but he could not restrict the rule of the latter within smaller limits than "from the 2nd or 3rd to the 7th century of our era." Mr. Thomas, in his article published in 1848, in the 12th vol. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (to which I have been, in many respects, much indebted,) being compelled by the supposition then entertained that the first numerals on all the Sáh coins represented 300, was led to reject eras which would otherwise doubtless have appeared preferable, and to select that of Śrī Harsha, dating 457 B.C., made known to us by Al Burini, as the one which seemed best to meet the apparent requirements of the case. Mr. Prinsep gave a qualified assent to the application of the Buddhist era, commencing B.C. 543. Mr. Thomas thus placed the Sáh dynasty between about 170 and 50 B.C., and Mr. Prinsep placed the last member of the series in 153 B.C. The initial numerals being now read as 100 and 200, the era of Vikramáditya, (commonly



known as the Samvat,) at once suggests itself as the one to be preferred. It is probably the era of the Valabhi copperplates, the numerals on which are identical with those in the exergue of the Sáh coins; and we should expect to find it in use throughout Guzerat and Kattiawar during the 300 years immediately preceding the rise of the Valabhi dynasty. Its application also to the Sáh coins, places the dynasty exactly within those limits of time, which on all grounds it seems most reasonable to infer as the commencement and end of their dominion. To assume the era of Sháliváhana, as that of the coin dates, would throw the Sáh dynasty so far forward that it would be impossible to find room for the Guptas between the fall of the Sáh's and the well-established era of the Valabhi's, which I take to be the date of the commencement of that dynasty; while the application of the Seleucidan era, even if otherwise not negatived by the purely Hindoo names of the series, and by the argument deducible from the use of the same numerals by the Valabhi dynasty, would create a difficulty nearly as great by leaving too long an interval to be filled in between the fall of the Sáh's and the rise of Valabhi. The era of Vikramáditya, therefore, being inferred to be that of the coins, we have for the reign of the nineteen kings of the dynasty, a period commencing with A.D. 30 or 40, and ending with A.D. 240 or 250. That this interval is, as respects all the known historical circumstances of the time a suitable one, I shall now endeavour to show.

I have already assumed the derivation of the Sáh coinage from that of the Greeks. On this point there can be no doubt. But we find little in the Greek or native histories to assist us in determining whether the impulse which resulted in the establishment of the Sáh empire emanated from the Bactrian or the Parthian division of the kingdom of Alexander. The Bactrian king Demetrius, who must have reigned about B.C. 190, is stated by Strabo to have made conquests in India, but we have no evidence that he reached Guzerat and Kattiawar. That Menander, in about 130 B.C., ruled in the north-west of India seems certain. Mr. Prinsep has remarked that the execution of the Sáh coins leads us rather to look to those of the Parthians as the originals from which they were derived, and this connexion, though not certain, may incline us to view Parthia rather than Bactria as the monarchy from which, in some way, the Sáh empire took its rise. We certainly have evidence of a connexion between Persia and Western India at a later period, in the fact that a subsequent deteriorated issue from some mint in Guzerat, now known there as "Gadhia paisa," has

plainly been imitated from the coins of the Sassanides. Bactria had, indeed, been subjugated by the Scythians before the date at which I would place the earliest of the Sáh's, though this circumstance would furnish no decisive argument against the inference that the Sáh's may have been connected with Bactria, since the dynasty expelled from thence may have been forced southwards into India. That the Parthians had power, shortly before the accession of the Sáh's, to extend their territory in the direction of Guzerat is evident, since for the century before, and during the century following, they were the formidable antagonists of Rome. In this state of things, too, we have perhaps an explanation of the rise of a new dynasty, and of its being left free to pursue a career of conquest eastward and southward, as described in the Sáh inscription at Girnár. The Indo-Scythians had probably rendered Bactria unable to interfere, and the Parthians had sufficient occupation in their contests with Scythia and the Romans. Unless, therefore, the Indo-Scythians opposed an obstacle, there appears to have been no hindrance to the rise, about the Christian era, of a native power in Guzerat.

Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Thomas, and Professor Wilson agree that the Sáh's preceded the Guptas, and it seems clear that the Guptas preceded the Valabhi dynasty. If it were supposed that the Valabhi line intervened, it would be very difficult to explain the close resemblance of the Sáh and Gupta coins. But the Valabhi era having been satisfactorily fixed at 319 A.D., there is no known impediment to the easy succession of the Sáh's and Guptas, unless it be proved that the Indo-Scythic rule extended to Guzerat. Those writers who have assumed or inferred that it did, have probably been unaware of the circumstance that coins of the Indo-Scythians are never found within the limits of the Sáh territories. This alone seems to furnish a sufficient reply to the arguments which have been used to prove that Guzerat was included in their empire. Within the countries which yielded to their arms their copper coins are found in large numbers. But I am not aware that a single coin of copper or gold of the Indo-Scythic dynasty has ever been found in Guzerat, Kattiawar, or Kutch, though the discovery of one now and then would not make it less difficult to believe that they ever circulated there. The situation of Guzerat, and the countries to the westward, is such as to make it easily conceivable, even if the evidence of non-occupation by the Indo-Scythians were less conclusive, that a race invading India from the north-west might be drawn aside to the eastward.

and leave those districts unassailed ; or if their favourable position be overlooked it is evidently probable that invading hordes might be prevented from extending their dominion in one direction by resistance demanding all their energies in another. In the case of the Indo-Scythians we have evidence that they met with resistance, and eventually defeat, in Central India, and in this way their failure to penetrate into Guzerat may be accounted for. But, whatever may be the explanation, it seems reasonable to infer that if the Indo-Scythians had ever held possession of Guzerat, their coins would be found there in considerable numbers.

The assumption that the Indo-Scythic empire included the territory of the Sáh's being thus rejected, we have an interval extending from A. D. 30 or 40 to A. D. 319, within which to arrange the two dynasties under consideration. It is admitted that the coinage of the Guptas immediately succeeded that of the Indo-Scythians in Central and Northern India. The Scythians were probably gradually subjugated or expelled during the first and second centuries of our era, and they and the Sáh's would thus have been reigning contemporaneously. The Guptas again must be held to have first invaded the dominions of the Sáh's after the subjugation of the Indo-Scythians, and the consolidation of an empire eastward of Guzerat. This supposition obtains confirmation from the circumstance that the earliest Gupta coins found in Guzerat are those of Kumára Gupta, whom Professor Lassen places about the middle of the third century of our era, the exact time which I should have inferred for this prince, since he seems to have immediately succeeded the last Sáh king, whose coins bear dates corresponding to 235-242 of our era, and whose reign may be inferred to have come to an end shortly after. Skanda Gupta is the only other king of the dynasty whose coins are found in Guzerat. They, as well as Kumára Gupta's, are met with in such numbers, and so generally spread over the country as to leave no doubt that the rule of both kings was well established in that province ; while the remarkable resemblance of the busts on the Guzerat Gupta coins (especially on some of Kumára Gupta's, compare fig. 9 with fig. 12) to those of the last Sáh kings, and the use of identical emblems on their coins, now clearly established, supply weighty evidence of an immediate succession ; a probable explanation of the marked difference between the characters in which the legends on the two classes of coins are written being that the Guptas on the acquisition of Guzerat introduced on their special coinage for that province, the characters

already in use on their Central India currency, though they adopted for the former the size and style of the Sáh currency which it displaced.

The Sáh's then having reigned from the early part of our first century up to about the middle of the third, and been succeeded by at least two monarchs of the Gupta dynasty, we are brought down to the known era of the Valabhi race A.D. 319. All arguments hitherto considered are in a remarkable degree favourable to the arrangement suggested, and we may derive further confirmation of it from Al Burini, who states that the Valabhi line immediately succeeded the Guptas. At the time when this paper was commenced, I saw but one objection to the proposed order of the dynasties, and the opportune receipt of the coins figured as Nos. 14, 15, 16, and 17 has now happily removed that difficulty in a manner which gives me increased confidence in this serial assignment.

The coins (of which those adverted to are unusually well-executed specimens) are, as before stated, very plentiful throughout Guzerat and Kattiawar—more plentiful, perhaps, than those of the Sáh's and Guptas together. They are also, by similarity of type, very closely connected with these two series; and the great falling off in art and mechanical appliances which their execution indicates, together with other peculiarities, such as the disuse of the Greek exergue and date numerals, has always compelled me to assign to them a position subsequent to that of either of the above dynasties. The necessary conclusion has appeared to be that the Gupta currency intervened between that of the Sáh's and the deteriorated coinage under consideration. But between the Guptas and the Valabhi line, no interval could on any admissible determination of the Sáh era be obtained in which to place this dynasty. There were objections, too, to the separation of the rule of the Guptas in Western India and the rise of the Valabhi line by any intervening dynasty, even if the dates would have permitted it. In the presence of this difficulty, the question had occurred to me whether these debased pieces might be the coinage of the powerful dynasty of Valabhi. On many grounds this seemed likely. No coin had hitherto been ascribed to that line of princes though their power, the duration of their sway, and especially the circumstance that they succeeded the Sáh's and Guptas, and consequently on the rise of their sovereignty found a plentiful currency circulating through their dominions, combined to make it most improbable that they should have had no coinage of their own. On the other hand, these previously unread coins are found in such large numbers, and so generally dispersed over the whole of Guzerat and Kattiawar,

that it seemed to me almost an inadmissible supposition that any distinct unknown line—in other words any other line than the Valabhi—could within the interval to which the issue of this coinage must be limited, have maintained its empire during the lengthened period necessary to account for so vast an out-turn from its mints. When to these arguments was added the evidence derivable from the coins themselves, that their issue was subsequent to that of the Sáh's, and to that of the Guptas, and that they followed the latter of these very closely, if not immediately, the inference that this was the currency of the Valabhi kings, seemed almost unavoidable. Whatever was needed to add conclusive force to this reasoning appears now to be supplied. The decyphered legend gives the title on the coins as "Bhattáraka\*" a word known to us as the family title of the line of Valabhi princes from their copperplate grants. As it is adopted by the different members of the dynasty in these grants, so it is found on all the coins of the class referred to, though the numbers discovered, as well as the progressive deterioration exhibited by them sufficiently show that they were issued not by a single sovereign, but by a line of kings. We may confidently, therefore, attribute this hitherto unassigned coinage to the Valabhi mints.

This paper having already extended to too great a length, I bring it to a close with a few words on the extent of territory over which the dynasties referred to exercised authority. The Sáh's must have reigned over the whole of Guzerat and Kattiawar. Their coins are found also in Kutch. In 1846 about 400 were found near Junir in the Poona districts; and as already mentioned, coins of a few members of the dynasty are frequently found on the site of an old town about midway between Satara and Kolhapur. The Junir hoard may prove nothing more than an irruption of the Sáh's; the coins found below Satara, however, show conclusively the existence of a city in which they must have been in common circulation for many years. And both discoveries corroborate the statement in the Girnár inscription that the territories of Satakarni, the king of the south, were successfully invaded by Rudra Dámá, the assumption of the Vikramáditya era, which places Rudra Dámá at about 40 A.D., being also confirmed by Pliny's remark that the Andhras (one of whom must have been

\* Since the proof of this sheet reached me, I have become aware, by a letter printed at p. 72 of the Appendix to the Society's Journal, No. xxi. vol. vi. that I have been anticipated in the reading of the title "Bhattáraka," by Mr. Edward Thomas.

the Satakarni alluded to) were at that time a powerful dynasty. I have throughout this, spoken of the Sáh's as sovereign kings; possibly they may have been tributaries to one of the Greek monarchies, or some of the earlier of the line may have been so. Of this, however, there seems to be no sufficient evidence, while the conquests described in the Girnár inscription, and confirmed to some extent by these discoveries of Sáh coins in the Dekkan, militate against such a supposition.

The coins of the Guptas do not appear to have been found in any part of the Presidency except Guzerat and Kattiwar. The dynasty seems to have established itself in those territories only on this side of India, and that only during the reigns of Kumára and Skanda.

The unique coin No. 13, found in the southern part of the Satara district, and connected in the most intimate manner by the Sáh emblem and the location of the cluster of stars on the *left* of that emblem, with the coins of the last of the Sáh kings, seems to indicate that on the overthrow of the Sáh dynasty in Saurashtra by Kumára Gupta, or more probably at a somewhat earlier date, when the Sáh's were no longer able to maintain their hold on the more distant territories which they had subjugated, an attempt was made by some one distinct from both the Sáh and the Gupta lines, but closely connected with the former, to carry on the Government of the southern provinces which had previously owned allegiance to the Sáh's.

Of the Valabhi dynasty we have as yet found no coins beyond the limits of Saurashtra. Of the dynasty, whose currency is known in Guzerat as the Gadhia, two coins have been discovered amid the débris of the ancient village near Karád. We have evidence perhaps in this of another extension of Saurashtran rule towards the south several centuries after the fall of the Sáh's. The entire coinage from its commencement with the Sáh's, down to the time of the Gadhia kings, would appear from the frequency with which single specimens are found to have been very large, while the numerous hoards of Sáh, Gupta, Valabhi, and Gadhia coins which have been discovered, seem to show that notwithstanding the power and duration of the first and third of these dynasties, internal disquietude, or warfare, or irruptions from without, or the fear of these, must have produced a general sense of insecurity.

Should the conclusions stated in this paper be correct, we have an outline history of the northern part of this Presidency already sketched out from a date not long subsequent to that of Alexander down to the

end of the sixth or seventh century of our era. Passing by Chandra Gupta Maurya, the contemporary of the great Macedonian, and the Bactrian Demetrius, whose invasion of India may be conceded on the testimony of Strabo, we have grounds for admitting the influence, if not the paramount authority in Saurashtra, of Menander, to whom Professor Wilson assigns the date B.C. 126, and whose coins the author of the Periplus states to have been still current in Broach at the end of the first century after Christ. The Sáh's must apparently have risen to power very early in the first century of the Christian era, and the last sovereign of the line appears to have reigned about A.D. 250. Kumára Gupta and Skanda Gupta immediately succeeded them, and these were followed by the Valabhi dynasty, whose era dating from A.D. 319, is generally admitted. Colonel Tod gives A.D. 524 as the date of the sack of Valabhi, and the evidence deducible from the coins of the dynasty may be held to favour the conclusion that their empire continued at least some two centuries. Their downfall was attributed by Colonel Tod to an army of Parthians and Scythians, but Mr. Elphinistone has suggested that the invaders may have been Sassanians, probably under Naushirvan ; and in this event, we have doubtless an explanation of the occurrence of the "Gadhia" coins already alluded to. Barbarized as these are, the attempt to delineate the bust and fire altar of the Sassanides is evident ; and it is certain, therefore, either that the Sassanian monarchy obtained a footing in Guzerat, or, as is more probable, that an off-shoot of the dynasty succeeded in establishing an empire there. The time assigned to the fall of Valabhi was one when such an irruption was probable, and if the number of the debased Gadhias, which from time to time come to light, may be looked on as indicative of a rule extending over a century or two, our researches hitherto will bring us down to the commencement or end of the seventh century of our era, and close with a race of Sassanian origin reigning in Kutch, Kattiawar, and Guzerat.

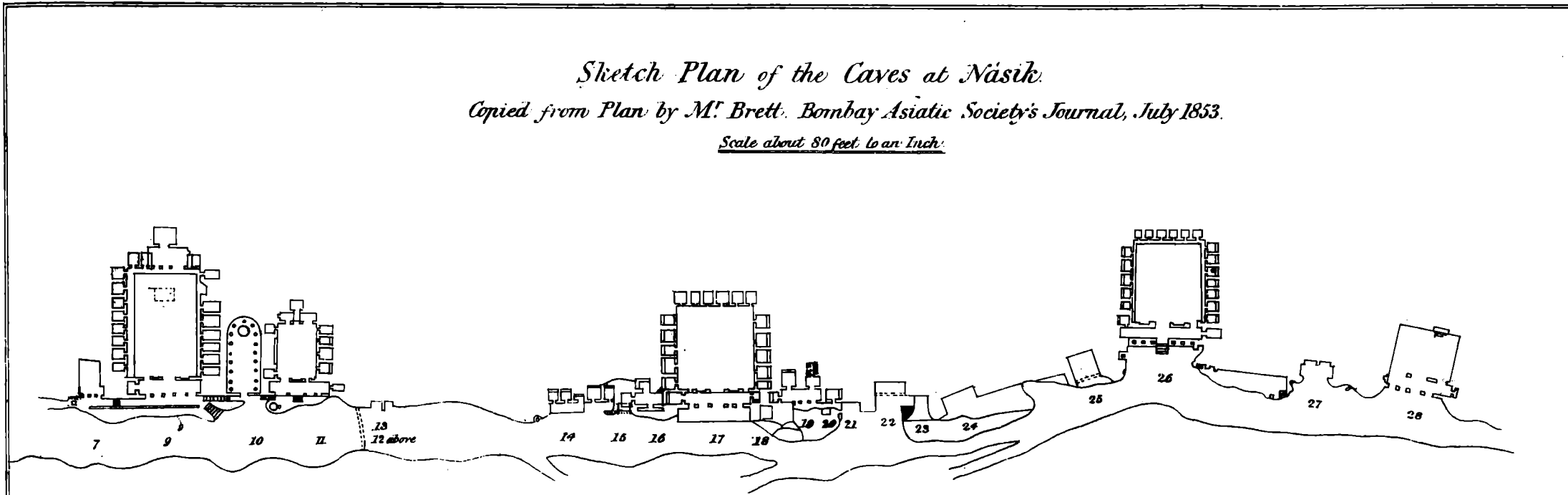
In addition to the coadjutors who have been already named in this paper, I must mention Ráo Sáheb Bholánáth Sárábhái, Sudden Ameen at Kaira, and Mr. Chhotamlál Ulásram, Moonsif at Veerungam, as gentlemen entitled to my acknowledgments for many coins obtained for me through their kind assistance.

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*Sketch Plan of the Caves at Násik.*

*Copied from Plan by M<sup>r</sup>. Brett. Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, July 1853.*

*Scale about 80 feet to an Inch.*



*These Caves face to the Northward*

*No. 1. is about 500 feet distant from No. 7.  
in a S. Easterly direction.*

- No. 1. Small Cave. Lower part cut away.*
- Nos. 2, 3 & 4. Large open Cave, No. 13 in D<sup>r</sup>. Wilson's description, Journal. No XIII of 1850.*
- No. 4. being the principal Cave, Nos. 2 & 3 small chambers adjoining.*
- No. 5. Small decayed chamber.*
- No. 6. Do. unfinished do.*

*Terrace continues for several hundred feet  
curving round to a S. Westerly direction,  
no Caves, but some places scarped out.*



ART. II.—*Násik Cave Inscriptions. With a Plan.* By Messrs.  
EDWARD W. WEST and ARTHUR A. WEST.

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A short description of the Násik caves, by the Rev. J. Wilson, D.D., was published in January 1850, in the 3rd volume of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Dr. Wilson visited these caves in March 1831 and in June 1840.

The following more detailed description includes the whole of the excavations which have been found during several visits to these caves in the years 1861 and 1865. They are numbered from 1 to 28 consecutively, beginning with the most easterly cave, for convenience of reference. The principal excavations are shown on the annexed sketch plan.

The caves are situated on a hill named from them Pándu Lená. It is a detached conical hill, about 750 feet in height, about a quarter of a mile east of the Bombay and Agra road, and nearly five miles on the Bombay side of Násik. About midway to its summit a terrace has been cut horizontally along the north-east face of the hill. The caves are excavated in the rock scarp at the back of this terrace, and face towards the city of Násik.

Long subsequent to the original excavation of the caves an extensive alteration was begun. The terrace appears to have been levelled and extended; the floors of many of the cells cut down six or eight feet below their original level; some cells were probably entirely destroyed, and of others only the roofs and traces of the upper parts are left. Several places were also scarped out, as if for the formation of new caves. It is probable that this alteration was undertaken with the view of excavating larger caves and tanks, but if so the work was suspended, and left in an incomplete state. Of the larger caves the back part of No. 11 and the whole of No. 28 are in an unfinished state.

At a much later date part of the terrace and some of the cells have been damaged by blasting, having been probably found to be a convenient stone quarry.

The terrace is imperfect from No. 1 to No. 10 cave, a length of nearly 200 yards. From this point to No. 28 cave, the last of the series, a length of about 230 yards, it is in most places wide and level, and it extends several hundred feet farther.

As was noticed by Dr. Wilson in 1831, these caves are still occupied to some extent by the Brahmins; several of the ancient sculptures are covered with paint and tinsel; a few rude Brahminical figures are carved on the rocks in places; some Brahmins live in the caves, and the Jātras which are held there are frequented by a large number of people.

#### *Description of the Caves.*

Cave No. 1 has been a verandah with two small chambers at the back; only the top remains, as the lower part has been cut away, and forms a deep tank. Inscription No. 1 is on the front of this cave.

A long hollow, from 2 to 4 feet high, and 10 to 15 feet deep, joins the right-hand side of this cave. Inscription No. 2 is beyond the right end of the verandah front, and was probably over a tank, now broken away. Inscription No. 3 is at the top of a recess about 70 feet further to the right.

Cave No. 2, about 200 feet from No. 1, is a small rude chamber much decayed.

Cave No. 3, close to No. 2, is much decayed, and open in front. It consists of two small chambers, the walls of which are covered with sculpture consisting altogether of six groups, namely, five large sitting Buddhas with attendants, and one standing Buddha.

Cave No. 4 is the same as No. 13 of Dr. Wilson, who suggests that it may have been a place for morning ablutions. It is open in front, of irregular shape, and about 50 feet wide. All the front is undermined with tanks, into which there are six openings, mostly broken. There are two cells at the back, one of them open, and a larger one at the extreme right of the cave, which has had two small ornamental pillars and two pilasters in front, square below, rounded and fluted above, with globular capitals. One of the pilasters is broken away. The wall between cave No. 4 and No. 3 is broken away at the lower part. The walls and the cells are covered with sculpture consisting of sitting,

standing, and reclining Buddhas of various descriptions and sizes, some of them with attendants.

Then follow about 100 feet of rough broken scarp and rocks to No. 5.

Cave No. 5 is a small decayed chamber, half filled with rubbish, the path level with its ceiling.

Then about 20 feet of rough scarp to No. 6. About 15 feet below this scarp are sculptured two large modern figures, *Hanuman* and *Ganesk*, also a small *Yoni*.

Cave No. 6 is a small, plain, unfinished chamber. On the right, outside, is a scarped-out place, with a small modern image, painted red, at the back. From this place a few rudely cut modern steps lead to No. 7, which is shown, with all the following caves, on the plan.

Cave No. 7, about 50 feet from No. 6, has a tank at the left side of its front. Its front has two columns and two pilasters, plain octagons with square bases. The cave is quite plain, and has an unfinished appearance.

Cave No. 8.—This is No. 12 of Dr. Wilson, who describes it as a large collegiate hall. The court in front, which is partly broken away, has had a parapet wall 2 feet high, along its outer edge. The front of the verandah had four slender octagon columns, with globular bases and capitals, and two pilasters of the same shape, which, with one of the columns, are decayed away. There is an ornamental plinth below, and steps lead up into the verandah, the interior of which is quite plain, with a cell at the left end. The end of the verandah to the right is filled with modern staging and cells, built of mud and stones, halfway to the ceiling. The cave, which is large, has a bench  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet high round three of its sides. There are eight cells on the left side, seven others and a recess on the right side; none of these cells have couches. At the back of the cave are three cells without couches, and a large recess, in the front of which are two richly carved square columns, and two pilasters of the same design. There is a large cell at the back of this recess, with a colossal doorkeeper and dwarf on each side of its entrance. On the back wall of this cell is a colossal seated Buddha with a colossal standing attendant holding a mace on each side, male and female cherubim above, with other small figures. On the floor of the principal cave is a platform about 9 feet square and 3 inches in height, upon which are ranged a few rude modern idols belonging to a Brahmin who inhabits the cave, who has also decorated some of the large figures in the dark inner cell with gilding, &c.

Inscription No. 4 is in the verandah of this cave, and No. 5 in the main cave.

Cave No. 9 is nearly buried by the garden in front of No. 8, being at a much lower level, and is therefore liable to be overlooked. It is a chamber about 13 feet by 14 feet, with two cells on each of its three sides, the doorways of which have an ornamental horse-shoe or chaitya arch carved over them. It is filled with earth to within  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet of the ceiling. The verandah of this cave has two slender square columns and two pilasters, buried to within a foot of the top. Inscription No. 6 is in the verandah of this cave.

Cave No. 10, No. 10 of Dr. Wilson, is a small chaitya. It differs from the usual arrangement of the large chaityas in that it has no court and no verandah in front, and has only one entrance door in the centre, above which is the usual semicircular, or rather horse-shoe-shaped, window for throwing the light upon the dagob at the inner end of the cave.

The front elevation of the cave is rather elaborately ornamented with small chaitya heads, trellis-work, and other details carved in low relief. At the left-hand side of the doorway is carved a doorkeeper or *chawari*-bearer with a head-dress of cobras, similar to two or three small figures in the court of Kanheri chaitya. A flight of steps runs up uniformly on each side of the doorway, that on the left to No. 8 cave, about 12 feet above the level of the chaitya floor, that on the right to No. 11 cave, about 6 feet above the same level.

The interior of No. 10 cave is of the usual chaitya shape, but it is small and without any ornament. There are altogether seventeen columns, four of which are much broken. The front pair are rectangular and rebated for fixing woodwork, the next five on each side are plain octagons with globular bases, and the remaining five round the inner end, encircling the dagob, are plain octagons. The dagob is very slightly ornamented. The arched ceiling is quite plain, with a groove running round at the springing of the arch, and one row of sockets below this groove, for fixing the trenails of the timber ribs, all traces of which have now disappeared.

There are four inscriptions in this cave, namely, Nos. 7 and 8 on the front outside, and Nos. 9 and 10 on two of the columns inside.

Cave No. 11, No. 11 of Dr. Wilson.—Its court has been 8 or 10 feet above the level of the terrace, but the outer part is now quarried

away. There is a tank on the left with two steps leading up to it ; this tank is above the level of the ground in front of the chaitya No. 10. The verandah has two columns and two pilasters, octagonal, with globular bases and heads, and elephants, forming the capitals, with small male and female riders. The tusks of the elephants have been fixed in sockets, and have disappeared. There is a plain ribbed cornice above. The inside of the verandah is quite plain, with a cell at its right end. The cave is also plain ; in its left wall there is a small cell at each end, and a recessed seat in the centre. The cell nearest the front is broken into No. 10 cave, the other is unfinished. In the right wall are four cells, two of them with couches. The back of the cave is unfinished ; it has been intended to excavate an inner recess, probably somewhat similar to that in No. 8. Two square columns and two pilasters have been cut, and left in a rough state except the capitals, which are elephants with male and female riders, thus differing very much in character from the columns within No. 8 cave, which seem to be of a more ancient and a purer type. Behind these columns is a rude, unfinished cell, with a rough bench at the back, and a square block left behind the columns, with a *yoni* rudely cut on the top. On the right is a small standing Buddha. Inscription No. 11 is in the verandah of this cave.

Between Nos. 11 and 12 are about 50 feet of rough scarp, which has been quarried by blasting.

Cave No. 12 is a small chamber exactly above No. 13, and only accessible by a ladder. On each of its three walls is a large sitting Buddha, with standing male attendants. These figures are still coarsely painted by the Brahmins as previously noticed by Dr. Wilson.

Cave No. 13, No. 9 of Dr. Wilson, is a small chamber below No. 12, the front is decayed. Its three walls have been covered with sculpture, the principal figure in each of the three groups being a sitting Buddha. Nearly all the right-hand group and some of the left-hand have been broken away.

To the right of No. 13 is a small decayed recess.

There is then a place scarped out as if for excavating a cave.

Cave No. 14 has formerly been two small chambers; the plan shows its arrangement. There is a bench at the right end, and the left division has had a verandah, with carved front at the bottom; one pilaster still remains, upon which is the Buddhist emblem, something

like an hour-glass. There is a tank outside to the left, with a human head carved on its left wall.

Cave No. 15 is a small plain chamber with a couch at the right end. The front is broken away. Inscription No. 12 is in the verandah of this cave.

Cave No. 16, No. 7 of Dr. Wilson, is small, and at a higher level than No. 17. The front has been cut of an unusual shape, a small semicircular piece having been left in each of the upper angles of the rectangular opening. At the left end of the cave is a cell without a couch. At the back is another cell on the left, with a couch, and on the right is a recess cut into a cell of No. 17 cave, with a squared passage much polished by use; this has evidently formed a means of private communication between Nos. 16 and 17 caves. In the centre of the back of No. 16 cave is some sculpture, consisting of a sitting figure and attendants with two lion supporters; to the right of this group a fat female on a tiger with attendants, and a fat male on an elephant. Inscription No. 13 is in the verandah of this cave.

Cave No. 17, No. 6 of Dr. Wilson.—At the left end of the court is a decayed recess, with two large standing snake-hooded figures, one much decayed, and small female attendants; over this recess is No. 14 inscription. Opposite, at the right end of the court, is a decayed recess with a plain frieze and pilaster, over which is No. 15 inscription. The verandah has four columns and two pilasters of similar design, octagonal with globular bases and heads, and capitals of elephants, tigers, and bulls, having male and female riders. These columns are very similar in design to those of the interior of Kārleṅ chaitya, but shorter in proportion, and the human figures more rudely designed. The verandah has a cell at each end. The cave is quite plain; there are five cells on the left side, five on the right, and six at the back, as shown on the plan. In the centre of the back wall is a life-sized male standing figure leaning on a club, with a smaller female attendant or dancing figure on each side. Over these figures, which are covered with red paint, is a canopy of three umbrellas, from which, and from other indications, it is pretty evident that the sculpture has originally been a bas-relief dagob, as in No. 26 cave, and has at some subsequent period been cut away into its present more Brahminical form.

There are seven inscriptions in this cave, namely, Nos. 14 and 15 in the outer court, and Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, in the verandah.

Cave No. 18 is a plain cell partly broken into No. 17.

Between Nos. 18 and 19, and partly under No. 19, is a tank so much decayed that only a few chisel-marks remain on the face.

Cave No. 19 is 4 feet higher in level than No. 20. It has had steps and a carved front to the verandah, which has two octagonal columns with globular tops, and two square pilasters, upon each of which is the Buddhist hour-glass emblem, somewhat similar to that in cave No. 14. The capitals of these columns and pilasters consist of a bull in profile over the left pilaster, a bull capital to the left column, two elephants with female riders over the right column—one of the elephants is lifting a third female with its trunk—and a tiger with a rider over the right pilaster. At the left end of the verandah is a cell with a couch. At the back of the verandah are two cells; that on the left has a couch, that on the right has also a couch, and an inner cell with a large recess at the back.

Cave No. 20 is above the level of No. 22; the verandah is cut away; it had two plain octagon columns and two square pilasters; upon the remains of the right-hand one is the Buddhist hour-glass emblem, as in No. 14, and there is a plain frieze outside. The cave has a couch. Inscriptions Nos. 21 and 22 are in the verandah of this cave.

Cave No. 21 is a plain chamber with a recessed bench on the right-hand side. The floor of this cave has been cut down 6 or 8 feet to the level of the terrace outside. Inscription No. 23 is in the verandah.

Cave No. 22 is on the same level as Nos. 23 and 24, the floor being cut down as in them and in No. 20. The verandah has had two plain octagonal columns and two square pilasters, with a similar ornament or emblem to that in No. 20. The frieze above is similar to that of No. 24, but with a little more detail. At the back of the verandah there have been three cells, and another at the right end cut away into No. 23 cave. Inscription No. 24 is in the verandah of this cave.

Cave No. 23 is a small plain cell cut into by the extension of No. 22, but not down to the level of the terrace.

Cave No. 24 has been about 6 or 8 feet above the level of No. 25, to which level all the floor and lower part have been cut away. Attached to the ceiling are the remains of two small plain octagon columns and square pilasters of the verandah. Upon the pilasters is a similar emblem to that in No. 14. Over the columns is a plain panelled frieze. There have been only two small cells at the back of the verandah.

Between Nos. 24 and 25 is a place scarped out, as if prepared for excavating a cave.

Cave No. 25.—The front is decayed away, and full of water until late in the hot season. The verandah has had two columns and two pilasters, all octagonal, with globular tops, and capitals of elephants with small drivers and female riders, remaining. There is a plain frieze above, similar to that of No. 24. There is an unfinished recess at each end of the verandah, and a plain doorway and two grated windows leading into the cave, which is quite plain. The lower part and some of the decayed front seem to have been trimmed with the chisel at some recent period.

Cave No. 26, No. 3 of Dr. Wilson. The front of this cave has been richly ornamented; it is, however, rude and out of square, and the lower part is rather decayed. The court has a tank on the left, and a decayed recess on the right. Above the latter are two small inaccessible recesses, with three standing female figures above them in a frieze, and an ornamental frieze below, supported by figures of bulls much decayed. The verandah is considerably above the level of the court; the steps leading up to it in the centre are decayed. The front is carved to represent the verandah as upheld on strong beams, the ends of three of which, on each side of the steps, are each supported on the shoulders of a colossal dwarf, the fourth, at each corner of the court, upon a short square pilaster. The outer side of the verandah parapet above these has been carved in panel-work, ornamented with projecting rosettes of lotus-flowers, with a frieze of wreaths above, and another, probably of animals, below; but the details are now all obliterated by decay. There have been six octagonal columns with globular heads, and capitals above of elephants, bulls, tigers, &c., with riders; one of the columns has disappeared, and another is much decayed. The two pilasters are rectangular, but covered with a very elaborate rosette ornament in low relief. Above the columns of the verandah is a frieze somewhat similar to that on the outside of the parapet below.

The verandah has a bench at the left end and along the columns, and a cell with a couch at the right end; there is also a cell with a couch in the back wall near the left end. The centre door leading into the main cave has each side ornamented with six panels of small figures, many of them female; there is also a large rudely carved doorkeeper on each side, and an ornamental bas-relief of circles, brackets, &c., over



the doorway, containing six small standing figures, a tree, a wheel on a column, and a dagob in the centre, all of them small.

The main cave is plain, with a bench round three sides. There are five cells on the left side, seven on the right, and six at the back, as shown on the plan. In the centre at the back is a bas-relief dagob with a female figure on each side, wheel, cherubim, &c., all coloured red by the Brahmins. The sculpture, especially about the doorway, is of very indifferent execution. Inscriptions Nos. 25 and 26 are in the verandah of this cave.

Between Nos. 26 and 27 is a scarped-out place. Close to No. 26 are two small decayed recesses, one of them a tank; and there is a tank with two entrances close to No. 27. Several large blocks of stone have fallen from above.

Cave No. 27, No. 2 of Dr. Wilson.—There is a decayed recess outside on the right. The verandah appears to have had no columns; at the right end is a sitting figure with a standing attendant, and another unfinished one over it. The cave has originally been two chambers cut into one. On the front wall near the left corner is a standing Buddha; on the left and back walls are three groups, consisting each of a sitting Buddha with attendants, varying in details. The right-hand group has a standing Buddha on each side of the sitting figure, and a small *yonî* cut in the floor in front. In the right wall is a hollow begun for sculpture. Inscription No. 27 is in the verandah of this cave.

Cave No. 28 is unfinished. The columns and doorways are left square in the rough. A cell has been begun at each end of the verandah, and a semi-cell at the back of the cave with a rough rounded block of stone covered with red paint. The only carving is an ornamental frieze outside and over the verandah, similar to that of No. 26 cave.

Beyond this cave, as already stated, the terrace extends for several hundred feet, and there are four or five places scarped out as if prepared for excavating caves.

Although no traces now remain, unless in No. 17 cave, there can be but little doubt that all the Násik caves, except those in an evidently unfinished state, have been covered with plaster and ornamented with painting, because that style of work seems to have been universally adopted in all the caves of Western India, and because at Násik the rough chisel-marks left upon the walls, even of the most highly finished

caves, have evidently been intended to form a ground-work for attaching plaster, as at Kanheri and most other places. Besides many of the doors and windows have sockets cut at the angles for the purpose of fixing wooden frames, and plaster has evidently always been used in caves at other places in conjunction with such wood-work. Such plaster, whitewash, and colour as now remain are evidently quite of recent date.

The very unusual absence of all traces of this sort of decoration at Násik may probably be owing in a great measure to the extensive alterations already noticed as begun and left unfinished. The workpeople would soon destroy a plastered surface in carrying out their operations. The principal cause, however, is doubtless owing to the destructive propensities of the numerous visitors, who have been tempted, from their very accessible positions, to examine the caves, since they have been virtually abandoned as a religious establishment. The comparatively good state of preservation of the paintings at Ajantá is no doubt due to the caves being hidden from general observation.

The inscriptions which have been noticed in the Násik caves are 27 in number, and copies of 14 of them, taken from Mr. Brett's fac-similes, have been published, with Dr. Stevenson's translations, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 5, page 39. Copies of 10 of these inscriptions were also published by Dr. Bird in his "Caves of Western India." But neither of these publications contains copies of 10 of the inscriptions, as may be seen from the following table of reference:—

No. of Inscription.	Dr. Stevenson's No.	Dr. Bird's No.	Situation.
1	..		In No. 1 Cave.
2	..	..	" 1 "
3	..	..	" 1 "
4	12	..	" 8 "
5	13	..	" 8 "
6	..	..	" 9 "
7	..	..	" 10 "
8	..	..	" 10 "
9	11	1	" 10 "
10	10	..	" 10 "
11	9	..	" 11 "

No. of Inscription.	Dr. Stevenson's No.	Dr. Bird's No.	Situation.
12	8	..	In No. 15 Cave.
13	..	..	„ 16 „
14	..	9	„ 17 „
15	..	..	„ 17 „
16	6	4	„ 17 „
17	4, first part	3, first part	„ 17 „
18	5	{ 3, last part	„ 17 „
		{ 8	„ 17 „
19	4, last part	{ 3, middle part	„ 17 „
		{ 7	„ 17 „
20	7	2	„ 17 „
21	..	6, first part	„ 20 „
22	..	6, last part	„ 20 „
23	..	..	„ 21 „
24	3	5	„ 22 „
25	2	..	„ 26 „
26	1	..	„ 26 „
27	..	..	„ 27 „

The accompanying copies of the whole of the 27 inscriptions have been made approximately to scale, and are probably correct wherever the letters are tolerably legible.

Inscription No. 1 is on the back wall of the verandah of cave No. 1, close under the ceiling, and between the doors of the two cells. It is distinctly cut on a smooth surface, perfectly legible and complete, excepting two letters at the beginning of the fourth line, where the wall has been broken down, and the 16th and 17th letters of the third line are imperfect from the same cause. There is no difficulty in restoring the missing letters in the fourth line, and completing the sentence *mātāpitaro udisa*, which often occurs in other inscriptions.

Inscription No. 2 is on the back of a recess to the right of cave No. 1, and may have been over a covered tank since destroyed. It is faintly cut on a smooth surface, and is complete and perfectly legible. This inscription contains the same names as the first line of No. 1, and affords examples of the substitution of ऋ for च, च for ऋ, and ष for च.

Inscription No. 3 is on the back of a recess about 70 feet to the right

of cave No. 1. It is deeply cut and distinct in the upper lines, but the middle of the third and the whole of the following lines are much weatherworn, and the number of lines uncertain. This inscription commences with the date (given in figures which are rather doubtful) "on the 4th (?) day in the 4th (?) fortnight in the cold season in the 2nd year of the king Vāsathīputa Sari Pulumái."

Inscription No. 4 is on the back wall of the verandah of cave No. 8, close under the ceiling, and above the left-hand side-door and window. It is distinctly cut, complete, and easily legible. The present copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in 25 of the letters.

Inscription No. 5 is inside cave No. 8, over the right-hand corner of the first cell door on the left-hand side of the cave. It is deeply cut on a smooth surface, complete, and perfectly legible. The present copy does not differ from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile.

Inscription No. 6 is over the right-hand grated window at the back of the verandah of cave No. 9. It is faintly cut on a smooth surface, complete, and easily legible. This inscription was buried under the earth, which nearly fills the cave, until a very recent date.

Inscription No. 7 is on a moulding on the front of the chaitya cave No. 10, to the left of the doorway, and alongside the steps leading up to cave No. 8. It is easily legible where not peeled off or broken, and no letters are wanting at the right-hand end.

Inscription No. 8 is under the horse-shoe arch over the door of the chaitya cave No. 10. It is distinctly legible and complete. This inscription mentions the town of Násik, and its letters are of the oldest form.

Inscription No. 9 is cut vertically on two adjacent faces of the fifth octagonal column from the entrance and on the right hand, inside the chaitya cave No. 10. It is rudely and faintly cut, but distinctly legible and complete. The present copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in four of the letters, and Dr. Stevenson omits two letters of the fac-simile in his transcript.

Inscription No. 10 is cut similarly to No. 9 on the adjacent column, the fourth from the entrance. Both of these inscriptions must have been concealed under the plaster with which the columns were, no doubt, formerly coated, and if they are to be read as one inscription it would appear from their situation that No. 10 should precede No. 9.

The present copy of No. 10 differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in 10 of the letters; that copy also is published with the second line before the first. These deviations no doubt affect the correctness of Dr. Stevenson's translation.

Inscription No. 11 is on the back wall of the verandah of cave No. 11, close under the ceiling, and above the left-hand side door and window. It is very deeply cut, complete, and perfectly legible. The present copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in only four of the letters, but very little attention has been paid by the lithographer to the correct shape of any of the letters in that copy.

Inscription No. 12 is on the back wall of the verandah which has been broken away from cave No. 15, and to the left of the left-hand end of the cave. It is complete, but the right-hand end is weather-worn and rather indistinct, especially in the upper lines. This copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in 15 of the letters. Dr. Stevenson supplied the correct letters missing in the second line, but he was wrong in supposing the last line to be incomplete. The name of the donor appears to be Rovinaka.

Inscription No. 13 is on the back wall of the verandah of cave No. 16, close under the ceiling, and to the right of the door. It is complete and very distinct, having been concealed under a coat of plaster previous to 1861. This inscription appears to record "the religious assignation of the cave of Rámanaka the son of Sivamita the scribe."

Inscription No. 14 is on the left-hand side wall outside the verandah of cave No. 17, and over a recess containing sculpture. The lines are complete at the right-hand end, but are deficient to the left, where some letters are wanting in all the lines, and others are very indistinct, especially towards the bottom. The fragments of four lines, some distance below the others, were not observed at the time this copy was taken, but have been added from an earlier (but otherwise less perfect) copy. This inscription is evidently a record of the doings of Ushavadáta the son-in-law of Nahapána the satrap of king Kshaharáta; it commences with the same word as inscription No. 16, and appears to contain a date of which "the fifteenth of the light half of Chetra" is legible.

Inscription No. 15 is on the right-hand side wall, outside the verandah of cave No. 17, and over a plain recess. It is faintly cut and difficult to read, many letters being doubtful, and only the first second, sixth, and ninth lines being complete. This inscription commences with the names of a king and apparently his son and

grandson, the orthography of which requires confirmation from other sources ; these are followed by a date, which (with some emendation of the copy) may probably be read as "in the ninth year, in the hot season, in the fourth (4th) fortnight, on the thirteenth (13th) day."

Inscription No. 16 is on the left-hand end wall of the verandah of cave No. 17, and over the door of a cell. It is lightly cut upon a smooth surface, distinct and complete. The four lowermost lines are on the same level as the four uppermost lines of inscription No. 18, to which they are contiguous, and the letters are of the same size. This copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in 16 of the letters.

Inscription No. 17 is on the back wall of the verandah of cave No. 17, close under the ceiling, and over the doors and windows, extending the whole length of the verandah. It is very deeply cut, distinct, and complete, except a space for three letters near the end of the third line, the centre of which, however, is probably blank. This copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in 11 of the letters. In the original the letters are unusually regular in form.

Inscription No. 18 is under the left-hand end of No. 17, as shown in the copy, and the letters are smaller, more faintly cut, and less distinct, but none are wanting. This copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in 12 of the letters.

Inscription No. 19 is under the right-hand end of No. 17, as shown in the copy. It is cut similarly to No. 18, and is likewise complete. This copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in 12 of the letters.

Inscription No. 20 is on the right-hand end wall of the verandah of cave No. 17, and over the door of a cell. It is clearly cut on a smooth surface, and complete. This copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in two of the letters.

Inscription No. 21 is on the back wall of the verandah of No. 20 cave, close under the ceiling, and on the left-hand side of the door. It is faintly cut, but distinct and complete. Part of the first line, extending from the 10th to the 26th letter, is evidently the same as the greater portion of the next inscription, the chief difference being in the 17th letter, which should probably be read *ri* instead of *ki*, in accordance with the next inscription and Dr. Bird's copy of this one.

Inscription No. 22 is on the back wall of the verandah of No. 20 cave, close under the ceiling, and on the right-hand side of the door.

which is between this inscription and No. 21. It is distinct and complete. Except the first name, consisting of four letters, this inscription is the same as the abovementioned portion of the first line of inscription No. 21.

Inscription No. 23 is on the front of cave No. 21, and on the left-hand side of the cell door. It is very faintly cut, and the surface is decayed, so as to render it scarcely legible.

Inscription No. 24 is on the back wall of the verandah of cave No. 22, close under the ceiling, and between the doors of the first and second cells. It is deeply cut, complete, and perfectly legible. The present copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in 12 of the letters, and it appears probable that all the names may be read differently from Dr. Stevenson's transcript.

Inscription No. 25 is on the left-hand end wall of the verandah of cave No. 26, close under the ceiling. It is faintly cut and difficult to read in many places, but complete. All the blank spaces which divide this inscription into words are undoubtedly blanks in the original, excepting the second blank in the sixth line, which is doubtful. Owing, probably, to the faintness of the engraved lines, and the imperfect light at the left end of this inscription, the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile is more incorrect than usual, differing from the present copy in 179 of the letters. Several errors may be expected to be found in this or any other copy of this inscription, which has not been compared with the original by a competent translator; and the same remark applies, though in a less degree, to the next inscription.

Inscription No. 26 is on the back wall of the verandah of cave No. 26, close under the ceiling, and over the left-hand side-door and window. It is distinctly cut, and few of the letters are doubtful. All the lines are complete except the last five, which are cut away in one part to form a holdfast in the rock. Nearly all the blank spaces in the copy are undoubtedly blanks in the inscription. The present copy differs from the published copy of Mr. Brett's fac-simile in 240 of the letters, 98 of which corrections occur in the portion translated by Dr. Stevenson. The most important of these emendations is in the name of the king at the commencement of the inscription, which is clearly *Vásithiputa*, and is repeated in the 11th line as *Vápithiputo*, probably by an error of the copyist. The name *Vásithiputa* occurs also in inscriptions No. 3 and 27 at Násik, twice in No. 4 and once in No. 18 at Kárlá, also in

the oldest inscription at Ajantá, and in inscription No. 190 from the Sānchi tope No 1.\* Six times out of these nine occurrences of the name it is followed by the name variously spelt as *Seri Puḍumáyi*, *Siri Puḍumava*, *Sari Pulunái*, *Sara Puḍumaya*, *Sara. . . . . u. . . . .*, and *Sari Pudimáva*; and is connected with a date (probably the year of the king's reign), which in the first two instances is the 19th, and in the other four instances the 2nd, 6th, 7th, and 24th years respectively.†

Inscription No. 27 is on the remaining fragment of the back wall of the verandah of cave No. 27, close under the ceiling, and has been over the left-hand door, and between it and the right-hand door. It is distinct, but probably two letters have been broken away from the latter end, besides those which are imperfect. The legible part of the inscription contains nothing but names and the date, both in writing and figures, as follows: "in the (?) day in the fifth (5) fortnight in the hot season, in the sixth (6) year of the king Vāsathiputa Sara Puḍumaya," &c.

\* Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, page 264.

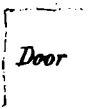
† The various orthographies of the last name of this king seem sufficient to identify him with the successor of Gotamiputra, whose name is variously given in the Purāns as Pulimat, Pulomat, and Purimat. Vāsithiputa may have been his first name, as assumed in the text, or he may have been a son of Vāsithi, and possibly a nephew or grandson of his predecessor, Gotamiputra. The length of Pulimat's reign, having been 28 years, would admit of inscriptions being engraved in his 24th year.



No. 1. - Scale one-tenth.

ceiling.

𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴  
 𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴  
 𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴  
 𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴



broken away

blank

Wall broken away

No. 2. - Scale one-tenth.

𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴  
 𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴

No. 3. - Scale one-tenth.

𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴  
 𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴  
 𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴  
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 𐌸 𐌰 𐌵 𐌶 𐌴 𐌸 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴 𐌶 𐌴

pooled off

NASIK INSCRIPTIONS.

NASIK INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 4. - Scale one-tenth.

Handwritten script in Pictograph, consisting of three lines of characters.

No. 5. Scale one tenth.

Handwritten script in Pictograph, consisting of two lines of characters.

Cell Door



Left side window.

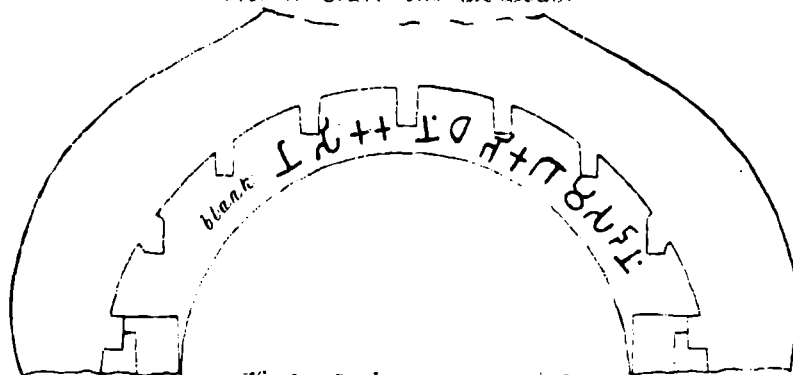
No. 6. - Scale one-tenth.

Handwritten script in Pictograph, arranged in two rows with six shaded rectangular blocks below the second row.

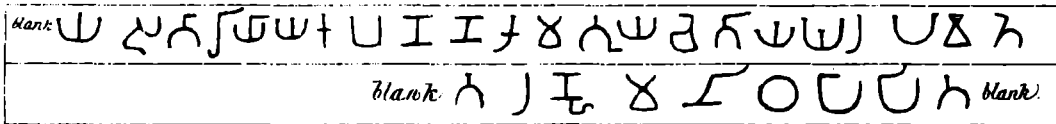
No. 7. - Scale one tenth.

Handwritten script in Pictograph, with annotations 'broken' and 'peeled off' above certain characters.

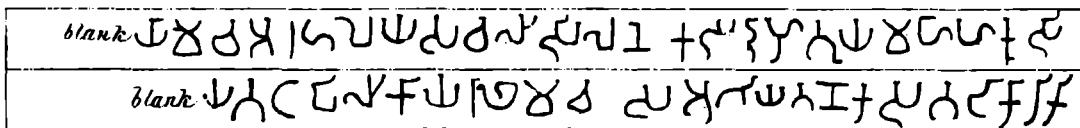
No. 8. - Scale one twentieth.



No. 9. - Scale one - twentieth.



No. 10. - Scale one twentieth.



No. 11. - Scale one-twentieth.

20 2 1/2 1/4 1/8 1/16 1/32 1/64 1/128 1/256 1/512 1/1024 1/2048 1/4096  
 :: 1/2 1/4 1/8 1/16 1/32 1/64 1/128 1/256 1/512 1/1024 1/2048 1/4096  
 1/8 1/16 1/32 1/64 1/128 1/256 1/512 1/1024 1/2048 1/4096  
 1/16 1/32 1/64 1/128 1/256 1/512 1/1024 1/2048 1/4096  
 blank

Left side window.

No. 12. Scale one-tenth.

1 1/10 2/10 3/10 4/10 5/10 6/10 7/10 8/10 9/10  
 blank: 1/10 2/10 3/10 4/10 5/10 6/10 7/10 8/10 9/10  
 blank: 1/10 2/10 3/10 4/10 5/10 6/10 7/10 8/10 9/10

No. 13. Scale one-tenth.

1 1/10 2/10 3/10 4/10 5/10 6/10 7/10 8/10 9/10  
 blank: 1/10 2/10 3/10 4/10 5/10 6/10 7/10 8/10 9/10

NASIK INSCRIPTIONS.

NĀSIK INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 14. - Scale one-tenth.

h n f h p n l u u l n e x  
 n f n l e d e h n l h f n  
 u s s f e p f l n f f h l  
 h q h n x x l e i p n s p  
 n d h q u e i n e h n h n n  
 n d h q u e i n d n n n  
 n h i d l q u e i d i n  
 | s h n p u l n p u f  
 q l n d n h n n p n l l e  
 | u l l l l p o e s p s  
 n d = h o s f a h h n  
 s h blank

away  
broken

Rock

end.  
this  
complete at  
lines

n d h q u e  
 h s p f n p  
 s n p h n  
 l l e

NASIK INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 15. Scale one-tenth.

300 500 700 800 900 1000 1100 1200 1300 1400 1500 1600 1700 1800 1900 2000  
 2100 2200 2300 2400 2500 2600 2700 2800 2900 3000 3100 3200 3300 3400 3500  
 3600 3700 3800 3900 4000 4100 4200 4300 4400 4500 4600 4700 4800 4900 5000  
 5100 5200 5300 5400 5500 5600 5700 5800 5900 6000 6100 6200 6300 6400 6500  
 6600 6700 6800 6900 7000 7100 7200 7300 7400 7500 7600 7700 7800 7900 8000  
 8100 8200 8300 8400 8500 8600 8700 8800 8900 9000 9100 9200 9300 9400 9500  
 9600 9700 9800 9900 10000

blank

blank

blank

Pealed off and illegible

another line illegible

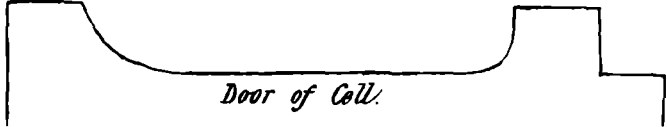
NÁSIK INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 16. - Scale one-tenth.

Front Wall.

ལོ་འཁོར་རྒྱུ་གི་སྐབས་སུ་སྤྲེལ་བཞག་སྐབས་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་  
 འདྲེན་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་སྐབས་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་  
 ལོ་འཁོར་རྒྱུ་གི་སྐབས་སུ་སྤྲེལ་བཞག་སྐབས་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་  
 འདྲེན་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་  
 ལོ་འཁོར་རྒྱུ་གི་སྐབས་སུ་སྤྲེལ་བཞག་སྐབས་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་  
 འདྲེན་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་

Back Wall.



Door of Cell.

No. 20. - Scale one-tenth.

ལོ་འཁོར་རྒྱུ་གི་སྐབས་སུ་སྤྲེལ་བཞག་སྐབས་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་  
 འདྲེན་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་  
 ལོ་འཁོར་རྒྱུ་གི་སྐབས་སུ་སྤྲེལ་བཞག་སྐབས་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་

No. 21 - Scale one-tenth.

Ceiling

ತಣ್ಣಿಲವುಪುಟನು ಉಪಪುಟಂ ಸುಖೇಶುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಕುಮಾರೇಶುಂ  
ಉಪಪುಟನು ಪುಟಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ

Door

No. 22 - Scale one-tenth.

Ceiling

Door

ಉಪಪುಟನು ಉಪಪುಟಂ ಸುಖೇಶುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ

end wall

No. 24 - Scale one-tenth.

Ceiling

No. 23 - Scale one-tenth.

ಕುಮಾರೇಶುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ  
ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ  
ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ  
ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ

there may have been more lines.

broken away

Door of Cell

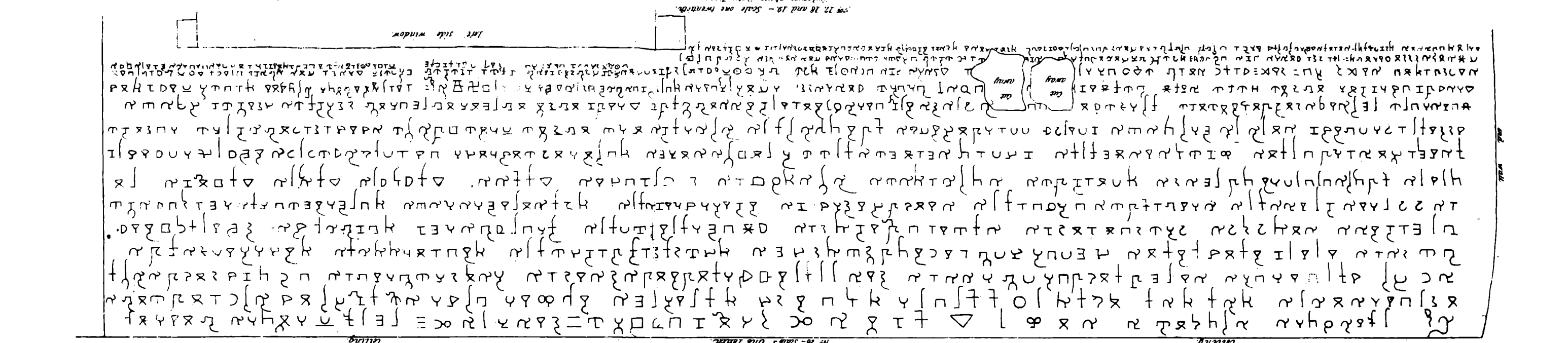
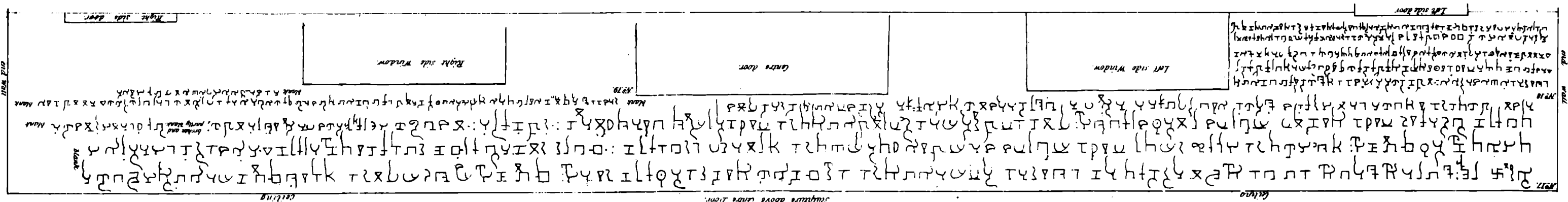
ಕುಮಾರೇಶುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ  
ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ  
ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ  
ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ ಶುಂಕುಡುಂ

Door of Cell

NASIK INSCRIPTIONS.







MASIK INSCRIPTIONS.  
No 26 - Side - One Temple.  
Cephalop  
Narrow

ART. III.—*Ajunta Inscriptions.* By BHAU DAJI, Esq.

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Read 10th July 1863.

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I HAVE very great pleasure in submitting to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society facsimiles, transcripts, and translations of inscriptions from the Caves of Ajunta. As I intend to submit another paper on the caves, their sculptures and beautiful paintings, I shall confine my remarks to the inscriptions and to the historical facts contained in them.

The inscriptions were copied by me during a visit of four days to the caves, which I paid in the company of my distinguished friend Dr. H. Carter, in February last. From morning till sunset, with scarcely any interruption, I was engaged in copying them. The task was by no means easy or pleasant, as some of the inscriptions are at a great height, and look down on giddy precipices. I devoted some hours to taking notes of the caves and the paintings, some of which, as traced and painted by my draftsman, Babul, are now placed on the table.

Notwithstanding great care and diligence I found the time insufficient for thorough revision, and as important facts were expected from the rock inscriptions, which have never before been completely or correctly copied, I sent a young pundit in my employment, who has made considerable progress in the knowledge of the cave characters, to Ajunta with my draftsman in the latter part of May. The doubtful letters in my copies were carefully examined, and fresh copies sent to me, whilst the copyist waited at the caves to receive further remarks and suggestions from me. The copies were again revised on the spot; and after carefully deciphering them I now submit them to the Society.\*

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\* In November 1863 I paid a third visit to the Caves of Ajunta and Ellora with Sir A. Grant, Bart., and Mr. Wordsworth. My first visit was in 1845, in the rains, with the Honorable Sir E. Perry. The inscriptions were again very carefully examined on the spot for three days. The name of Pravarasena was now distinctly visible, and I have been able to confirm my previous readings and to add a few letters,

The inscriptions are twenty-three in number. They are of two kinds, those engraved on rocks, and those painted with a brush under some of the paintings and on the walls.

Of the rock inscriptions three are very long and in Sanskrit, and five are short ones, three in Sanskrit and two in Mágadhí.

Of the long ones one is situated in the Vihára Cave (No. xvi.) on the right side of the porch. Its length is 4 feet 2 inches, and its breadth 3 feet 5 inches. It is about 12 feet from the ground. The cave looks south-west, and is the Zodiac or Shield Cave.

Parts of the inscription have been destroyed by exposure to moisture during the rains. One piece, about 9 inches square, at the lower outer corner, has fallen off.

The second is in the Vihára Cave (No. xvii.) on the right side of the porch. Its length is 4 feet 5 inches and breadth 4 feet. The lowest line is 8 feet 4 inches from the ground. The cave looks south-west.

Portions of the inscription have been destroyed by rain water trickling over it.

The third is in cave No. xxvi. This is a chaitya cave, containing the large image of the dying Buddha. The inscription is situated on the left side of the wall of the antechamber over the top of the left door of the cave leading into the left aisle. Its length is 4 feet 2 inches, its breadth 2 feet 2 inches, and it is 7 feet 9 inches from the ground. The cave looks north-west.

Of the smaller inscriptions the largest one is in cave No. xxv. under the feet of a large image of Buddha, in front of the vault of the Chaitya.

The next is in the same cave on the opposite side, but only a portion is preserved, owing to the rock having broken off.

The third, which is in Mágadhí, is in cave No. xi., under one of the arches in the left side of the Vihára.

The painted inscriptions are seventeen in number.

There is one in the Chaitya Cave (No. viii.), over the head of a painted Buddha over the entrance. One is in No. ix., on the fourth right

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as well as some painted inscriptions, which have been introduced in the copies now published. I have also been under great obligation to Major R. Gill for going round twice with me over all the caves, and minutely examining the paintings, with which his acquaintance extends over eighteen years.

pillar under the foot of a standing painted Buddha. There are three in cave No. XVI., in the central large hall, on the right wall, one under a row of large Buddhas, and two others under a row of painted Buddhas; the others are in caves Nos. I. and VI.

In the cave No. XVII., in the left wall of the hall, near the corner, are the names of Raja S'ibi under two of his images, and close to them the word Indra can be made out under his painted image.

In No. XXI., in the sanctuary, on the left side, under a row of seven Buddhas, are the names of the seven Buddhas, and a long inscription of one line under them.

Mr. J. Prinsep has published the lower part (two lines) of an inscription from the Zodiac or Shield Cave (No. XVII.), and the first line and portions of the succeeding four of the same inscription as "Another from the same cave (supposed) to be more modern," in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. v., p. 554.

"Another inscription taken in facsimile from the stone," published in the same plate, is the complete one under the image of Buddha in cave No. XXV.

"The inscription on the entrance of a chamber containing an image of Buddha in the Caves of Ajunta," vol. v. p. 342, has escaped me, but I have added it from Mr. Prinsep's plate. Dr. Bird has given in his work on the Caves of Western India five lines (incomplete) more than Mr. Prinsep of the inscriptions from the Zodiac Cave, and an exact copy of the five lines from the same cave, evidently from Mr. Prinsep's copy. He has given the two parts of the same inscription as separate inscriptions. He has also published the inscriptions under the image of Buddha in cave No. XXV., and the broken one on the opposite side; and the first nine letters of the long and most important of the Ajunta inscriptions from cave No. XVI. Messrs. Ralph and Grisly, to whom Mr. Prinsep was indebted for copies of the inscriptions, do not seem to have copied this. At all events neither Mr. Prinsep nor any one after him has taken any notice of it.

I was given to understand by Major R. Gill that he has taken no copies of the larger rock inscriptions. He intends taking photographs of them some day.

Mr. Prinsep was evidently misinformed regarding the incompleteness of the inscriptions, so that he remained satisfied with making out a few letters with a view of ascertaining their age by comparison with other

well-known alphabets. Dr. Bird's copies show also that no great effort was made to secure complete copies. The Government of Bombay was liberal enough to employ Lieut. W. F. Brett to copy the cave inscriptions. His copies of the Ajunta inscriptions were sent, I believe, to England; but, judging of their character from two or three duplicates in the possession of our Society, they appear to be carelessly and inaccurately taken. It is, indeed, not possible for any person ignorant of the cave characters to take correct copies of these inscriptions. Many of the letters have been made out from taking advantage of the morning and evening light, and by patient application and study on the spot as well as at home.

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#### AJUNTA INSCRIPTION FROM CAVE No. XVI.

##### *Translation.*

1. Having first saluted (Buddha who is renowned) in this world for the removal of the intense fire of misery of the three worlds (about 9 letters lost), I shall relate the genealogy of the king (or kings).
2. Vindhya's acti (flourished), whose power extended over the great and (brave?)—even by the angry devas (about 10 letters lost), prowess in protection and liberality, the twice-born, illustrious in the world.
3. In prowess comparable to Purandara (Indra) and Upendra (Vishnu), earned by the might of his arm (about 13 letters lost), was the lion of the Vákátaka race.
4. Proud as a lion . . . . . who has eclipsed the sun by the aggregation of (battles?) (about 14 letters lost), has made enemies, and skilful in discussion (about 4 letters lost).
5. Him . . . who conquered enemies, who has performed the duties of men and kings, . . . . . made the greatest effort regarding meritorious deeds. . . . . Vidvatka (about 4 letters lost). His feet, a lotus kissed by the rays of the jewels set in the crowns of kings.
6. Pravarasena . . . (his) son was, as the sun's rays are proper to the expanding fresh lotus . . . . . (about 14 letters lost); whose army was excellent to govern (to punish?)—to him was born a son, who conquered all armies.

ADJUNTA INSCRIPTION,

in Cave No. 16.

Handwritten text in the top left corner, consisting of approximately 10 lines of script.

Handwritten text in the top right corner, consisting of approximately 10 lines of script.

Handwritten text in the middle section, consisting of approximately 10 lines of script.

Handwritten text in the lower middle section, consisting of approximately 10 lines of script.

Handwritten text in the lower section, consisting of approximately 10 lines of script.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, consisting of approximately 10 lines of script.

१	उदीर्णलोकत्रयतापयन्निर्वापना त		विप्रणम्य पूर्वप्रवक्ष्येक्षितिपानु पूर्वा [ न ]
२	महाविमा ( नि! ) प्यभिष्टुद शक्तिकुडत्सरैर ( स्य )		धारणदानशक्तिः दिजः प्रकाशो भुवि विध्यशक्तिः
३	पुरन्दरोपेन्द्र समप्रभावः स्वबाहुवीर्यार्जित		कानाबभूवयाकाटकवङ्गकेस [ री! ]
४	र हर्ष्युद्धतरणजालसंच्छादितार्क [ स्य! ]		रातिकृतावषादप्रवणाश्रकार
५	जितारिम्बरराजकार्यश्रकारपुण्येषु परप्रयत्नं विद्वक्त		नरेन्द्रमौलि विन्यस्तमणिकिरणलीढक्राम्युजः
६	प्रवरसेनः पुत्रो भूहिकसन्नवेन्दीवरक्षमरविमयूरव		शासनप्रवरसेनस्य जितसर्वसेनसूतो भवत्
७	तस्यपुत्रः पार्थिवेन्द्र	धर्मेणमेदिनीमकुन्तल ( न्ब! )	सन्पस्यपुत्रो भूत्ववरोर्जितो दारशासनप्रवर
८		तस्यात्मज	प्रवरसेनस्यराज्यमष्टाब्दकोयः प्रशशाससम्यक्
९	तस्यात्मजोभू	( द्रु ) विदेवसेनः यस्योपभोगैललितैर्विहर्ण	बोप्यस्व भूः पुण्यानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य
१०	राजा	मद्यगुणाधिवासोयशः प्रकाशो भुविहस्तिभोजः प्रश	सः पृथुर्पानवक्षास्सरोरुहाक्षम्क्षपि
११		दिगन्तहस्तिप्रतिमोथभूतः हितोविनीतः प्रणयप्र	मनोनुकूलोनुविधानवर्तीनिरत्यय
१२		कश्यत लोफस्यहिताशयत्वात्सरवेनसम्यक्परिपालना	मातेषसरयेवनित्यप्रियोभिगम्यश्चबभूव
१३		व्यस्वस्थस्समावेदयंसतत्रराजाससर्जभोगेषुयथेष्टचेष्टः अथतस्यसूतोबभू	
१४	य	हर त्त्रिहारिषाणाहरिक्रमप्रतापः सकुन्तलावन्तिकलिंगकोसलत्रिकूटलालान्ध	
१५		पित्वनिर्दोषगुणनिष्ठिप्रथितो भुविहस्तिभोजसन्नुस्त्विवस्तस्यमहीपतेर्द्यभूपसकलक्षिति	
१६		स्थिरधीरचेतास्यागक्षमौदाच्यगुणैरुपेतः धर्मेणधर्मप्रवणः शशासदेशंचशः पुण्यगुणांश	
१७	शह	प्रतिपुण्योपचयंपरंचकारयत् सार्द्धम्	सुनदाधिक चकारकारान्भ्रायुर्बयोवित्तसरयानि
१८		पितराबुदारान्यधीविदादेशमय	रुद्धताग्रभुजगेन्द्राध्युषितेमहीधरेन्द्रे
१९	प	गरानिकुञ्जगवाक्षानि	न्द्रकुप्रमद्यश्च तम्मनोहरस्तम्भविभङ्ग
२०	शीत	तलसन्नीति	महानिधाननागेन्द्रवेश्मादिभिर
२१	रमरणास		किरणा वितसर्वगुप्रथितसुरोपभोगयोगम्
२२	रेन्द्रमन्दिराणांरुचिमन्दरकन्द		यथेप्सित समव्यतिरोचनेगिरोर्बिक
२३	रत्नम क निदेह		यस्यजनननामप्रीतिप्रसादधिकचप्रणयो नवक्रचेताः
२४	लयसुरेन्द्रमौलिप्रभाप		बन्धवशात्सवराहदेव नृदेवसौरव्यान्यनुभूय
२५	शासास्रगतप्रशस्तः सान्द्राम्बुदभुजङ्गभोग		शीलकपिलैर्व्याचक्रैर्भास्वरताबच्छा
२६	सेव्यतामन्तर्मण्डप	लरत्नत्रय	पूषिभयिविधलयनसानुः सेव्यमानो महद्विर्गिरिरय
२७	यजगदपिच समस्तव्यस्तदोषप्रहाणान्विदातुपदमशोकनिर्वरंशान्तमार्थ्य		



7. His son, the chief of kings... (5 letters lost) (adorned?) the earth by Dharma; Kuntala (about 5 letters lost) was the king's son, excellent (pravara), powerful, liberal, and skilful in governing (pravara).
8. (About 4 letters lost)... His son... (about 14 letters lost) reign of Pravarasena... who when eight years old governed the kingdom well.
9. His son (was?) (4 letters lost) Deva Sena, in this world, whose beautiful enjoyments (about 3 letters lost) Bápya (about 6 letters lost) earth, for the king's power of merit.
10. Rájá... (about 7 letters lost)... the resort of good qualities... illustrious in the world (was) Hasti Bhoja... prasá... he... whose breast was large and powerful, and (to him?) whose eyes are like the lotus... kshapi.
11. (About 19 letters lost)... afterwards, he who resembled the elephants (at the eight quarters), benefactor, humble... a favourite (of the king?)... imitator of the conduct, indestructible.
12. (19 letters lost) Kaschata... (one letter lost), who, possessing a mind inclined to the well-being of the people, for the happy and excellent protection of... (4 letters lost)... ever kind as a mother, and easily accessible as a friend, flourished.
- 13 (About 21 letters lost)... by a... (4 letters lost) the king, being at peace, entrusted his affairs (to his minister?) and, although accustomed to act without restraint, abandoned all enjoyments. Then succeeded his son (about 14 letters lost)... hara... (4 letters lost)... vihára isháná... whose prowess and glory were like those of Hari; he Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kos'ala, Trikúta, Látá, A'ndhra (conquered?).
14. (About 19 letters lost)... by his faultless qualities.
15. (About 9 letters lost)... by his faultless qualities, the son of Hasti Bhoja, celebrated in this world, became the minister of that king—the whole earth.
16. (About 20 letters lost) whose mind was firm, courageous, who was endowed with liberality, mercy, charity,—was devoted to religion and governed the country with justice... (was surrounded with) the rays of glory, mercy, and good qualities.

17. (About 6 letters lost) *Shaha* (about 11 letters lost) made the greatest increase of merit (about 3 letters not made out clearly) (about 6 letters lost)—he—at the time more. . . . (works?) made prisons—life, age, wealth, and happiness.
18. (Words altogether of 17 letters not well made out, but evidently meaning) for the benefit of mother and father, established the house (cave?) (about 12 letters lost). . . *rudhatá* . . . in the great hill occupied by *Bhujagendra*.
19. (About 6 letters lost)—*pa*—(about 10 letters lost) the spot covered with creepers, &c.—windows (three letters lost)—*Vithivedika* (2 letters lost) *draknupramadyascha*. . . the arrangement of pleasing pillars.
20. (About 7 letters lost) cold (12 letters lost) *Talasannuti* about 6 letters lost) delightful—(about 7 letters lost) (containing?) the great place of rest, *nágendra* palace, &c.
21. (About 5 letters lost) *ramanása* (about 15 letters lost)—rays (about 3 letters lost) where there is an opportunity of enjoying extreme happiness.
22. (About 3 letters lost) the magnificence of kings' palaces. . . the cave of *Mandara* (about 20 letters lost)—as wished—(about 4 letters lost). . . on the most beautiful mountain.
23. (About 4 letters lost) by me made? *Videha* (about 16 letters lost)—whose birth-name was, whose humility was expanded by pleasing favours, and whose mind was not crooked.
24. (About 3 letters lost) *Laya* (absorption) the glory of the crowns of chiefs of gods (about 18 letters lost). . . . by circumstances was, *Varáha Deva*, having enjoyed the pleasures of kings.
25. (About 4 letters lost) the good *Sugata*, the well-stored cloud, body of snake (about 6 letters lost) disposition—as long as by the bright rays, so long ought inner hall to be used.
26. (About 10 letters lost)—the three jewels (1 letter lost) (3 letters not well made out)—the mountain resorted to by the great, and whose top is occupied by caves of various kinds.
27. (About 10 letters lost) (may) the world also—enter, from the destruction of collective and individual evils, the painless, fearless, peaceful and excellent abode.



# ADJUNTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK.

in Cave N<sup>o</sup> XVII, (Transcript)

- १ प्रम (स) च (स्य?) विद्यात्रयपरेशामुनिम् विहारदा अ (क्त) त्यदातकर्मणागुणाभिधानोपनयम्करिष्यते  
 २ लब्धात्मनो वष्य (स्या?) नराधिपस्य धृतातपत्रस्य बभूवपुत्रस्तितातपत्रो धृतराष्ट्रसंज्ञः  
 ३ स्थराज्ञो हरिसाम्बोम्बुरुहेन्दुकान्तवक्रः नृपतेस्तनयो बभूवतस्याप्यमलश्रीः क्षितिपालशौरिसाम्बः  
 ४ पृथुकीर्तिर्कतिमानुपेन्द्रगुप्तः समभूदभवत्कृतो धतस्यक्षितिपस्काच इति प्रकाशनामा  
 ५ भुयिकीर्तिन्यसनाथ वसाप्रथितो भुविनिलपसनामानुपतिस्तस्यकृतो नराधिपस्य  
 ६ प्रथितस्काच इति प्रदीप्तकीर्तिः नृपतेरथतस्य कृष्णदासः कुलवंशकतिवर्दनो बभूव  
 ७ स्तनयाचन्द्रकरावदातवेशा अभवत्परिपूर्णचन्द्रवक्राविनयान्धारिभूषणामचन्द्रा  
 ८ न्विकलो घतकारिमवापतस्यचेतस्याम्बुरुहायता (क्षा) चीकरकान्त रूपौ  
 ९ म्प्रसाम्बप्रतिमौ कुमारौ धराधिपत्ये प्रथमो (य) तारं दध्रे हितो रयिसाम्बसंज्ञाम्  
 १० मश्मक (क्त) तरताभ्यामतिभूय भूयसारराजपुत्रश्चन्द्रदिवाकराविव  
 ११ हनिव विवृष्टसौहार्दः प्रनयोस्तेदानुकुल्येन सरवंविजन्हतोः  
 १२ रप्यनिसख (त्य!) शासनः पुराकृतो द्वाविनवीमधीमः कनीयसिप्रेत्यचनित्यताज्ञानिः  
 १३ धैर्य्यद याधिराजः अनित्यसंज्ञासचिवस्ततः परंव्यवी वृधत्पुण्यमहामहीरुहम्  
 १४ न् श पान् भूयश्भुतत्यागदया प्रमोदमैत्रीक्षमावीर्य्यधियस्तिषेवे  
 १५ नरेन्द्रान् प्रशस्तवृत्तात्कृत्विशहृदवृत्ते कृतेन सम्यक्कभितो नुचक्रे  
 १६ कारअन्यार्थिकस्यार्थिजनस्तथैव कीर्तिकृतार्थः प्रथयाम्बभूव  
 १७ यताक्षान् असूमुच्यद्वित्तविसर्गशक्त्या पुनाधिचेष्टान्करुणाभिमृष्टः  
 १८ पनपुत्रवत् अनूयिसंसोपिहियस्य हृद्गतं (वि!) यवृदध्याशयशुद्धिसम्पदम्  
 १९ करणिसद्यः (ः) सर्वज्ञभावप्रणिधानसिद्धिः सत्याभिधानानिभवादपेयुः  
 २० म्भारचयाधियोगः यशोम्बुभिश्चन्द्रमरीचिशभ्रैः जगत्समग्रं समलं चकार  
 २१ चन्द्रे परिपालयति क्षितीन्द्रचन्द्रे हरि (षेणे) हितकारिणिप्रजानाम्  
 २२ त्वद्भुतपुण्यराशिः भुवस्तूपविहारभूषादानोदयोन्द्रिजनप्रमोदम्  
 २३ नाकुलनादवद्विः शरयामहद्भिर (द्विरि!) य मधिसखपादे  
 २४ गाम्भीर्य्यगुणैरुपेतं निवेशितान्तर्मुनिराजचैत्यमेकाश्मकं मण्डपपरत्नमेतत्  
 २५ विपुलाविसृज्यअचीकरचैत्यमिहानकल्पमल्यात्मभिः कल्पनयाप्यशक्यम्  
 २६ शेनयताभिरामम् ह्यभीविशदस्वादुलघुप्रसन्नशीतप्रकामाम्बुमहानिधानम्  
 २७ मनोभिरामम् अंत्यागदेशस्यदिविप्रतीच्यामचीकरद्गधकुटीमुदाराम्  
 २८ द्वितायो घतसर्वकर्मणामुनीन्द्रनाथप्रणिधानसिद्धये भयन्वभीष्टाभुविसर्वसम्पदः  
 २९ नसप्रणयेनमण्डपः करोतु तापत्कुशालोदधंसर्ताविहन्तिवावद्विबिरंशभित्तमः॥

## AJUNTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK IN CAVE No. xvii.

*Translation.*

1. (2 letters lost) Obeisance to the Muni, the great lord of the three Vidyás (Bauddha collections) whose most charitable act is the gift of Viháras, their qualities and names are described. The king who has obtained life and by (2 letters lost) the umbrella is held, had a son named Dhritaráshttra, who had the white umbrella.

2. (2 letters lost) This king's son, whose countenance was beautiful like the lotus and the moon, was Hari Sámiba—his son of spotless wealth was Kshitipála Sáuri Sámiba.

3. (4 letters lost) was Upendragupta, very famous and illustrious. Afterwards, his son, well known as Skácha.

4. (6 letters lost) for securing fame in the world (2 letters lost) vasá—the king's son celebrated in the world, was king Nila-pasa.

5. (About 5 letters lost) Of illustrious fame was the celebrated Skácha. After him, the increaser of the brightness of the king's family and race was Krishna dása.

6 (About 6 letters lost) (the king's) daughter named A'mbichandrá, whose dress was white as the rays of the moon, with countenance like the full moon, and whose peculiar ornaments were humility and piety, was (his wife ?)

7. (About 7 letters lost) (the succeeding words not well made out) (one letter lost). In his heart expanded like the lotus (about 5 letters lost) (three syllables) of beautiful form.

8. Comparable to (Pradyumna) a (Cupid) and Sámiba (were) the two sons—the first was destined to rule the earth, the second (had) the name Ravi Sámiba.

9. (About 12 letters lost) As'maka\* (one letter lost) sá (one letter lost) appeared beautiful like the sun and moon.

10. (About 11 letters lost) hanivá—(about 4 letters lost) particularly cultivated the friendship (one letter lost) pranayo—always conducted themselves with unanimity and happiness (the two brothers).

11. (About 11 letters lost) (3 syllables) whose punishment was (severe?) produced from former actions. Víma Símah (?) regarding the

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\* Very likely Amburaháyutákshána, "whose eyes were elongated like the lotus."

younger (brother ?) (about 3 syllables not well made out) who has praised (Buddha ?)

12. (About 10 letters lost) courage, mercy (2 letters lost) the (chief) king, the minister with the appellation Anitya, afterwards nurtured the great tree of merit.

13. (About 10 letters lost) dri—(about 2 letters lost) sá (some letters lost) pána (1 letter lost) attained great learning and exercised charity, mercy, happiness, friendship, forgiveness, bravery, and wisdom.

14. (About 12 letters lost) He well copied the pure conduct of (former) kings, with still purer actions.

15. (12 letters lost) (Cha) kára (4 letters not well made out) in the same way the brotherhood of mendicants was found increased.

16. (About 11 letters lost) ya (1 letter lost) (tákhán ?) Loving (the mendicants ?) as his sons, full of compassion, by means of gifts of money left.

17. (About 12 letters lost) makers. . . . . instantaneously. . . . attainment of the love and meditation of Sarvadnya (Buddha), and realities disappeared from the world ?

18. (About 11 letters lost) mba (7 not well deciphered) by the water of glory, white as the rays of the moon, he beautified the whole world.

19. (About 16 letters lost) moon (2 letters lost) Hari (shena), a moon among great kings, the benefactor of his subjects; whilst protecting the earth.

20. (About 11 letters lost)—wonderful accumulation of merit (2 letters lost), from whom the dawn of ornamental gifts of the earth of Stúpas and Viháras—to the delight of the mountaineers.

21. (About 11 letters lost) (3 syllables not well made out) the sounding (about 6 letters lost) (3 syllables) by the great—(4 letters lost) at the (insufferable) foot of the Sahya (mountain).

22. (About 11 letters lost) The stupendous Chaitya of Munirája (Buddha), this monolithic temple-jewel.

23. (About 10 letters lost) having given plenty, constructed a Chaitya here, difficult even to be imagined by little minds (3 letters not well made out).

24. (About 12 letters lost)—Sé—conveyer of beautiful (a place) sweet, light, clear, cold, and plentiful water, \* a magnificent place of rest.

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\* This evidently alludes to the beautiful waterfall and the collection of water below, at the extremity of the valley in which the caves are situated.



AJUNTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK.

in Cave No. XXV. (Transcript.)

- १ जयति लोकहिता वहितोद्यकहितसुरवार्थकरः परमावधिः त्रिविधनिश्चलसर्वगुणोदयो मुनि (पति) (भि) करुणामलचन्द्रिकः  
 २ पुनरपि मरणादियेन सम्यगिवमजरा मरधर्मताचलव्याशिवमभयमनालयं गतोपि प्रशमपुरंजगतां करोति चार्थं  
 ३ ततो नमस्कारगुणाभिधानं भवत्यवन्ध्यं विपुलं महार्थं प्रदत्तमेकं कुसुमं च यत्र स्वर्गापवर्गारव्यफलस्य हेतुः  
 ४ अतद्दृष्टिदुषातथा गतेषु प्रथितगुणाधिकलोकवत्सलेषु कृतमनुसरताजनेन कार्याद्वयकरुणादृश्येष्वती  
 ५ यभक्तिः देवानिरस्तविजयास्तविपत्तिक्त्वाच्छापेन शंभुरपिकातरलोचनो भू (त्) कृष्णो वशोपिवशमापितो न्तकस्य तस्माज्जयंति  
 ६ स्रगताभयधिप्रमुक्ताः स्थविराचलेन मुनिना शासनमुद्रावयं कृतज्ञेन कृतकृत्येनापिसताश्रीलगृहंकारितं शास्तुः  
 ७ प्रागेयबोधिसत्त्वेर्भवसुरवकामेश्वमोक्षकामेश्वसंविद्यमानविभवैः कथं न कार्या भवेत्कीर्तिः यावत्कीर्तिलोके तावत्सर्वे  
 ८ शुभोदतिचदेहीचन्द्रार्ककालफल्पाकार्याकीर्तिर्महीधेषु भनेकजन्मान्तरबहूसौत्तरं स्थिरं कृतज्ञं स्रधियं विपश्चितम्  
 ९ सुरासुराचार्यमतेषु कोविदं महानुभाषाश्मकराजमन्त्रिणम् ॥ लोकज्ञमेकान्तसमन्तभद्रसर्वार्थिनामर्थकरं स्रवाचंगुणोन्नतं प्रश्रय  
 १० नम्रमूर्तिरघ्यातिंगतंसं चरितैः पृथिग्यां ॥ दण्डसाध्यानि कार्याणि व्याचामैकरसान्यपियस्ताधयतिसाम्नेवनृपतेर्मन्त्रिपुङ्गवः इत्थं  
 ११ भूतोस्यपुत्रोपि देवराजो धुरंधरः पितर्युपरतेयेन पदमुन्नापितंगुणैः ॥ तं भद्रि राजमुद्दिश्य मातापितरमेव च भिक्षुणा बुद्धभद्रेण  
 १२ कारितः स्रगतालयं ॥ आगम्य धर्मदत्तं श्वभिक्षुसन्निष्ठप्यमेव च भद्रबन्धुमिदं वेदमताभ्यानिष्पादितं च मे ॥ यदत्र पुण्यततेषां  
 १३ जगतांच भवत्विदं सर्वमलगुणारव्यातमहाबोधिफलाप्तये ॥ यो बुद्धशासनगतिं समबुध्यजातो भिक्षुर्धरस्य भिनवेभिज नोपपन्नः  
 १४ बहुव्रतः शीलविशुद्धचेता लोकस्य मोक्षाय कृताधिकारः ॥ न स सारान्तश्च भमपि स्रभिरिषु भकरं विषाको दिव्य  
 १५ च यमा लोकार्थाय प्रसूतम पुण्यमहताविपाक राणा भवति ररुव  
 १६ नजगताम् वीणानान्दो जवात्ततो लाङ्गुलनिनाद पूरितदरे प्राग्भारवि  
 १७ योगीश्वराध्यासिते वेदमेद जनकभूत्यै प्रतिष्ठापिता पूर्वापिचय (म्) नवद्विव्याचार्येणासौ गतिलोकचि (र) सादाय च



25. (About 14 letters lost) delightful in every way, at the extremity of the hill, towards the west, constructed the great Gandha-kuti (cave).

26. (About 11 letters lost) whose actions are directed towards good ; for the attainment of the meditation of Munendranátha (Buddh) in this world may all wished-for wealth be.

27. (About 14 letters lost) na—humble by him (may) the Mandapa (temple) so long as the sun destroys darkness by its rays lead to the dawn of good of the virtuous.

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AJUNTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK IN CAVE No. xxv.

*Translation.*

1. (Anxious for and) intent upon the good of the world. . . . . (4 letters lost). . . . a doer of good and happiness, the most excellent—the lord of Munis—who is unaffected by the three states—who is the source of all qualities—whose pure moonlight (halo or glory) is that of intense compassion.\*

2. He who was relieved from the round of deaths (transmigration) obtained the state of freedom from decay and of immortality, and being of fearless mind obtained the state of eternal happiness and excellence which still makes of the worlds a city of peace.

3. To him who is fruitful, plentiful, and substantial, obeisance and praise are becoming ; to him the offer of a single flower leads to the attainment of the fruit known as heaven and moksha (beatitude).

4. For this reason, in this world, the reasonable being intent on doing good ought to pay intense devotion to the Tatháguas, who are distinguished for praiseworthy attributes, who show great compassion to mankind, and whose heart is full of tender mercy.

5. The gods, being liable to misery, are not glorious ; † Sámhbu, by a curse, had his eyes agitated by fright ; Krishna also, being subject to another, fell a prey to death. Therefore the Sugatas, relieved eminently from fear, are glorious.

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\* I am not sure whether I have rightly understood the whole of this line.

† Literally, "have their triumph intensely set."

6. Even the grateful and good Muni, who was the chief of the elders, who propounded the institutes, and who meritoriously discharged the several duties of human life, caused to be constructed a mountain-abode of the Lord.

7. It is becoming in Bodhisatvas, who have great opulence, and who are anxious both for worldly and for final and eternal happiness (moksha), that they should first perform glorious deeds.

8. (It is said that) as long as its fame lasts in this world so long does the spirit enjoy delight in heaven, therefore glorious works, calculated to last as long as the sun and the moon, should be constructed in mountains.

10. } For the spiritual benefit of Bhavvirāja, the minister of the  
 11. } very glorious As'makarāja whose goodheartedness has existed  
 12. } in various lives; who is firm, grateful, of good intellect, learned, eminently learned in the doctrines of the Acháryas and of the Suras and Asuras;\* who knows people thoroughly; who is the patron of the zealous followers of the very compassionate Samantabhadra (Buddha); who is of good speech and great by qualities; who is the image of humility; who is renowned in the world for good acts:— this great minister of the king, who gets works of immense labour, which may be exacted by force, performed by mild measures, whom resembled his son, the clever Devarāja, who, after his father's death, did credit to his dignity by his good qualities; also for the good of his own mother and father did Buddha-bhadra cause this Sugatas abode to be constructed (by Devarāja), having first called the good disciples and Bhikshus, Dharmadatta, and Bhadra-bandhu, who completed my house.

13. May the merits of this be to them and to the worlds for the attainment of the great Bodhi fruit, renowned for all the pure qualities.

14. He who, surrounded by his family in his youth, after learning the Bauddha institutes, became a mendicant, whose vows are many, whose heart is pure from good disposition, and who qualified himself as a guide for the eternal happiness (moksha) of the people† . . . . . (about 20 syllables not well made out.)

15. (6 letters lost)—cha . . . (one letter lost) . . . yamá (3 letters lost) . . . . . for the sake of the people . . . produced (or much) . . . . .

\* This refers probably to Ausánasanti and Bárhaspatya-níti.

† This, no doubt, refers to Buddha-bhadra.

AJUNTA INSCRIPTIONS.

Rock-Inscription in Cave No. I. on the front Arch.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Rock-Inscription in Cave No. VII. under one of the Arches.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Rock-Ins. in Cave No. XIX. on a broken Column.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Rock-Ins. in Cave No. XXV. under a sculptured image of Buddha. on the right side of the cave.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Painted In. scription in Cave No. X.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Painted Ins. in Cave No. IX.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Painted Ins. in Cave No. XVI.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Rock-Ins. in Cave No. XXIV. under a sculptured image of Buddha. on the left side of the cave.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Painted Ins. in Cave No. XVII.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Painted Inscription in Cave No. XIII. under Painted Images of Buddha.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Painted Inscription in Cave No. XVI.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Painted Inscription in Cave No. XVI.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Painted Inscriptions in Caves Nos I II and X.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

# AJUNTA INSCRIPTIONS.

## TRANSCRIPT.

### *Painted inscription in Cave No. IX.*

(ध) मौर्य शा (क्यभिक्षो)

अयमी

माता

उट

### *Painted inscription in Cave No. X.*

विपश्यीसम्यक्संबुद्धःचेतिकदरिक्कु

### *Rock inscription in Cave No. X. on the front arch.*

वासिदिपुतसकटहादीनो धरमुखदान

### *Rock inscription in Cave No. XII., under one of the arches.*

धानकदेयधम

धनाहदडसवानिज

सपवन्वरेकसउप

### *Painted inscription in Cave No. XVI.*

देयधमौर्यं शाक्यभिक्षोर्भदन्तधर्मदत्तस्य यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवतु मातापित्रो  
स्सर्वसत्वानां नुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तये

### *Another painted inscription in Cave No. XVI.*

देयधमौर्यं शाक्यभिक्षोर्भदन्तधर्मदत्तस्य यदत्र वतु तापित्रो स्सर्व-  
सत्वानामनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तये

### *Third painted inscription in Cave No. XVI.*

देयधमौर्यं शाक्यभिक्षोर्भदन्तबुद्धकस्य

यदत्र न्यतद्भवतु मातापित्रो स्सर्वसत्वाना

मनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तये

### *Painted inscription in Cave No. XVII.*

शिविराजा इंद्र शिविराजा इंद्र

### *Painted inscriptions in Cave Nos. I., II., and X.*

देयधमौर्यंशाक्यभिक्षोर्वृद्धि (क) स्य (आ) करुणत्रपः

देयधर्मउपासकचसकिएय

देयधमौर्यं शाक्य

भिक्षोर्भदन्तमौढ

धर्मस्य

आचार्य सदेवस्य

देयधमौर्यदत्रपुण्यं तद्भवतु सर्व

त्वानां दु मोचा

विस्य सजा माकारा

मुपासकमुनीद्रस्यम

देयधर्मभ सस्य मण

देयधमौर्यं शाक्यभिक्षोर्भदन्तभद्रस्य

श्रीभमाणमातवलोक

शिवदेवविदुशरणम्

तात्राचिदे क्षा क्षान्तिचिरचिन्तनस्याप्रक्ष मह

पुतिसण्यनमहतानत त्यनादेहा

### *Rock inscription in Cave No. XXV., under a large sculptured image of Buddha.*

देयधमौर्यं शाक्यभिक्षोर्भदन्तगुणाकरस्य यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवतु मातापितर  
पूर्वाङ्गमकित्वा—

सर्वसत्वेभ्य अनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तये

### *Rock inscription in Cave No. XXV., under a sculptured image of Buddha, opposite side.*

देयधमौर्य

यदत्रपु

सर्वसत्वाना

### *Painted inscription in Cave No. XXI., under painted images of Buddha.*

विपश्यी शिखी विश्वभू कनकमुनि काश्यपः शाक्यमुनि मैत्रे(य)

देयधमौर्यं शाक्यभिक्षोमपरश्री नियस्यमातापित्रो

चण्ड सर्वसत्वानामनुत्तर नावाप्तये सौरूप्यसौभाग्यगुणोपपन्न-

गुणेन्द्रियोभास्वरदीप्तयेषु भवन्ति य नाभिराम

(3 letters lost). . . . . greatly merit by him vipāka (3 letters lost) RÁná —happiness arises.

16. Not to the worlds—(6 letters lost) (some words not well made out). . . . . top of hill.

17. The house occupied by the Chief of Yogis (Buddha) (4 letters lost). . . . . established for the glory of his father.\* The former one was . . . . . (established) (by Navadribdháchárya) for the prolonged happiness of the Saugatas (followers of Sugata or Buddha).

*Painted inscription in Cave No. ix.*

Some letters too disconnected for decipherment.

*Painted inscription in Cave No. x.*

“In the Cave (?) of the Chaitya, the most intelligent Vīṣas'yí.”

*Rock inscriptions in Cave No. xi.*

1. On the front rock—

“The charitable assignation of the place by Ghanavha Bania of . . . ?”

2. Under one of the arches—

“The gift of Griha Mukha (house-door) by Vāsithiputra.”

*Painted inscription in Cave No. xvi.*

“The charitable assignation—”

“The charitable assignation of the Sákya mendicant Bhadanta Dhar-madatta. May the merit of this be the cause of attainment of supreme knowledge to mother and father and to all beings.”

*Another painted inscription in Cave No. xvi.*

(The same as above.)

*Third painted inscription in Cave No. xvii.*

“The charitable assignation of Bhadanta Buddhaka. May the merit of this be the cause of attainment of supreme knowledge to mother and father and to all beings.”

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\* As the cave is for the merit of Devarájá's father, I presume his mother was living at the time of the inscription.

*Painted inscription in Cave No. xvii.*

“ S’ibi Rájá, Indra. S’ibi Rájá, Indra.”

*Painted inscriptions in Caves No. I., II., and x.*

“ The charitable gift of Vridhika ?”

“ The charitable gift of the Upásaka. . . . ”

“ The charitable gift of Bhadanta Práudha Dharma.”

“ Of Achárya Sudeva.”

“ Charitable assignation. May the merit of this be to all beings, for the release from misery. . . . . of Upásaka Muníndra. . . . ”

“ The charitable assignation. . . . ”

“ The charitable assignation of S’ákya, mendicant Bhadanta Bhadra.”

“ Śr’i. . . . . ?”

“ The abode of Sívadeva Vidu.”

*Rock inscription in Cave No. xxv., under a large sculptured image of Buddha.*

“ The charitable assignation of the S’ákya, mendicant Bhadanta Gunákara. May the merit of this be to father and mother (and other members of the family ?) and to all beings for supreme knowledge.”

*Rock inscription in Cave No. xxv., under a sculptured image of Buddha on the opposite side.*

“ The charitable assignation. . . . . ”

“ May the merit of this . . . . . ”

“ To all beings. . . . . ”

*Painted inscriptions in Cave No. xxi., under painted images of Buddhas.*

“ Vipasyí, S’ikhí? Vis’vabhú. . . . . Kanaka Muní, Kás’yapa, S’ákya Muní, Maitre (ya)”

“ The charitable assignation of S’ákya-Bhikshu . . . . . May the merit of this. . . . . be to father and mother and to all beings. . . . . Endowed with beauty and good fortune, good qualities and organs, the bright. . . . . protectors of light. . . . . thus become pleasing to the eye.”

## REMARKS.

The most important of the inscriptions is undoubtedly the one from the Zodiac or Shield Cave (No. xvi). It contained the names of seven or eight kings of the Vákátaka dynasty; but only that of Vindhyaś'acti, the oldest and most eminent, is preserved intact. By a strange fatality the inscription has been obliterated wherever a royal name existed, so that one is tempted to suppose that the destruction was intentional. But the destructive influence of the rainy weather is sufficient to account for the gaps. The inscription in its present imperfect condition would have almost failed to give us any valuable information: but taken in connection with the contents of the Seoni copper-plate grants, deciphered and published by Mr. Prinsep in the 5th volume of his *Journal*, and with certain passages in the Puránas, I am enabled to point out a dynasty of Yavanas or Greeks in Central India, taking the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices, as well as executing the most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism. The Seoni copper grants mention a dynasty of kings of the Vákátaka race or Vákátaka country. I append Mr. Prinsep's translation of this remarkable document. In his remarks Mr. Prinsep observed "neither the country nor the boundary villages mentioned, nor any of the said Rája's family, can be recognized! The dynasties of Cuttack, the nearest resembling Vákátaka in sound, exhibit no such names as Pravarasena, Rudra Sena, Prithivi Sena, Rudra Sena, and, again, Pravarasena, who successively ruled over this unknown province." (p. 729 vol. v.)

The name of Vindhyaś'acti is not given in the Seoni copper plates, as the poet commences his account from Pravarasena; but Vindhyaś'acti is stated in the Vishnu and some of the other Puránas to have been the chief of the Kailakila Yavanas. The passages in the Vishnu, Váyu, Matsya, and Bhágavata Puránas are too corrupt to be annexed.

The Váyu Purána makes Pravarasena the son of Vindhyaś'acti, and describes the performance of the same sacrifices by Pravarasena as are noticed in the Seoni plates. The inscription clearly describes the king Vindhyaś'acti as belonging to the Vákátaka race, whilst the Seoni grants mention Pravarasena as the ornament of that race. We are, therefore, fully justified in assuming that Vindhyaś'acti was the father of Pravarasena of the Vákátaka dynasty. With this guide it is not difficult to discover him in the inscription itself. The words Pravara and Pravarasena occur in the inscription shortly after the praises of Vindhyaś'acti. Mostly the word is used as an adjective, but in one place, 6th line.

Pravarasena the king is no doubt meant.\* The poet plays upon the adjective "Pravara" to show his own skill and scholarship, which are not profound. Rudrasena it is not easy to make out; but there is the word *vas* or *vi* preceding the word *en* in line 9, from which we may well assume that the name is Prithivi Sena. (This at my last visit proved to be Deva Sena, the son, I presume, of Pravarasena.) In the Seoni plates we have the following genealogy:—

Pravarasena.  
Rudra Sena.  
Prithivi Sena.  
Rudra Sena.  
Pravarasena.

In the inscription I recognize, in addition to Vindhya's acti, the 1st and 2nd Pravarasena, and his son Deva Sena, the three intervening names being lost, viz., Rudra Sena, Prithivi Sena, and Rudra Sena.

Hasti Bhoja and his son do not belong to a royal dynasty. In the 15th line the son, whose name is lost, is said to have become the minister of "that king," by which I presume one of the Vákátaka dynasty is intended. The exact position of Varáha Deva it is impossible to fix, on account of the extensive obliterations. Is he the Varánga Deva of the Vishnu Purána? There is a Dharani Varáha noticed by Mr. Prinsep in the Journ. Beng. As. Soc., vol. vii., p. 636, but he appears to me to have been one of the early Chálukyas.

The Vákátaka kings seem to have had something to do with Kuntala, Avantí, Kalinga, Kos'ala, Trikúta Látá, and A'ndhra. And as the verse speaks of Hari Vikramapratápa, very likely the countries were invaded or conquered by one of the kings.

The situation of Vákátaka and its boundaries we have no means of finding. Mr. E. Thomas, in noticing an inscription close to the temple of Rudra Deva at Warangal, states that the dominions of Rudra Deva of Cuttack, in the 12th century, extended as far west as Bákataka. (Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, vol. ii., p. 267.) This agrees with the situation of our Vákátaka, in which, according to our inscription, was the city of Kánchanapurí, which was also in all likelihood the capital. A village of Vákátaka is mentioned in the Seoni plates.

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\* Since these remarks were made their correctness has been fully confirmed by the discovery of the word Pravarasenasya in the eighth line, in my last visit to the caves.



What is the meaning of Kailakila or Kolakila? Sir W. Jones's pandit thought that there was a country of this name in the south of India, and the name of a fort called Kil-kil-Durga in a copper-plate grant was supposed to be confirmatory of the pandit's guess.

Whether there was a country so named in Southern India or not, the resemblance of the word to Ghúlghúleh, an ancient city near Bámíán, is striking. Mr. Masson, in an interesting paper on the Antiquities of Bámíán (Beng. As. Soc., vol. v., p. 708), alludes to the remains of the city and citadel of Ghúlghúleh. The evidences of Ghúlghúleh are, he says, "numerous and extensive, proving that it must have been an important city." If Vindhyaśacti was a Yavana, or only the chief of the Kailakila Yavanas, it is not too much to suppose that they came from Ghúlghúleh, and brought with them the art of excavating caves, and also of adorning them with sculptures and paintings.

The magnificence of the palaces of Bactria has been noticed both by Fahian and Hiouen Tshang.

If Kailakila be supposed to be a Sanskrit adaptation of Ghúlghúleh, is it not probable that Vákátaka is an adaptation of Bactria? I am aware that Bactria is best known as Balkh, and its people as Bálhikas, or, more correctly, Válhikas. We have, indeed, in some of the Puránas, the statement that three Bálhikas succeeded the dynasty of Vindhyaśacti.

Those who have examined the paintings at the caves of Ajunta have arrived at the opinion that they are the handiwork of Bactrian Greeks. Some have supposed the paintings to be the work of Egyptian artists, and others of Italians. I reserve my remarks on the subject for another paper.

Fahian, speaking of the palaces of As'oka, says "the palaces of the king within the town have walls the stones of which were put together by the genii. The sculpture and the carved work which adorn the windows are such as cannot be equalled by the present age; they still exist."\*

As'oka had a Greek governor over Suráshtra, and the Rudra Dámá inscription tells us that this officer ornamented the bridge over the Palás'ini.

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\* Laidley's translation, p. 253.

The beautiful sculptures at Bhilsa are undoubtedly the work of Greek artists; but a short passage from Hiouen Thsang shows that, long before his time, even the princes of Southern India adorned their palaces in imitation of those of Bactriana. In speaking of the convent of Avaras'ilá Samgháráma of Dhanakatcheka (Dhenuka Kata or Mahá A'ndhra)\* he observes, "An ancient king of this realm had built it to the honour of Buddha, and had displayed in it all the magnificence of the palaces of Tahia (Bactriana)." One would almost think that Hiouen Thsang was describing the Caves of Ajunta in the succeeding remarks: "From thence to the south he made one thousand li, and arrived in the kingdom of *T'o-na-kie-tse-kia* (Dhanakatcheka?). † East of the capital the convent *Fo-po-chi-lo-kia-lan* (Purvaçilá Samgháráma) has been built upon a mountain west of the town; on the opposite side of the mountain the convent *O-fa-lo-shi-lo-kia-lan* (*Avaras'ilá Samgháráma*) has been constructed. An ancient king of this realm had built it to the honour of Buddha, and had displayed in it all the magnificence of the palaces of *Ta-hia* (of *Baktriana*). The thick woods by which it was surrounded, and a multitude of bubbling fountains, made it a charming abode. This convent was protected by the spirits of heaven, and the sages and saints loved to walk about it and to inhabit it. During the space of a thousand years which have followed the Nirvána of Buddha, thousands of lay people and of monks were seen, who came together to spend there the time of the retreat during the rainy season. When the latter terminated, all of them obtained the rank of *Arhan*, and departed flying through the sky. One thousand years after (the *Nirvána*) people of the world and sages went there to live together. But during the last century the spirits of the mountains have changed their feelings, and unceasingly show their violence and their wrath. Travellers are justly afraid, and dare no longer to go to that convent; on this account it is completely deserted in these days, and neither monks nor novices are to be seen there any longer.

"At a small distance, to the south of the town, there is an enormous rock. There *Pó-pi-wei-kia* (*Bhávaviveka*), the master of the *S'ástras*, dwelt in the place of the *O-su-lo* (*Asúras*) waiting for the *T's'e-shi-*

\* This, the name of a province which occurs several times in the cave inscriptions, has been erroneously supposed to be the name of a Greek architect of the caves (*Xenocrates* and *Theogonus*).—The correct rendering of the Chinese equivalent for the convent is, I venture to suggest, *Aparas'ilá*, and not *Avaras'ilá*.

† Southern India.

*pu-sa (Maitrēya bodhisattva)* to become *Buddha* and to dissipate his doubts."\*

Although we have long praises of the kings and ministers who caused the caves to be constructed, not a word is to be found either in the rock or painted inscriptions respecting the architects or limners. The names of the eminent Buddhist monks Buddha-Bhadra, Bhadra-Bandhu Dharmadatta, Gunákara, Buddhaka, Navadribdháchúrya, and Praudha Dharma, I have not been able to trace in works relating to Buddhism.

In the inscription in cave No. xvii. we have the following dynasty :—

Dhritaráshtra.

Hari Sámba.

Sáuri Sámba.

Ravi Sámba.

Upendragupta, Skácha, Nilapasa, Skácha, and Krishnadása, appear to belong to another dynasty. The daughter of Krishnadása (*A'machandrá*) was the wife of Sáuri Sámba. These are all new names, but the Rájás appear not to have been very powerful. The name of the founder of the first dynasty is lost. The name of a minister (probably of Ravi Sámba) is given, and it would appear to be Anitya. There is no clue to the exact site of their kingdoms or capitals.

In the inscription in the Cave No. xxv. we have only the name *As'maka-rája*, whose minister was *Bhavvi-rája*, whose son was *Dévarája*. *As'maka* is the name of a country, and hence its ruler is styled *As'maka-rája*. In the *Varáha Sanhitá*, chap. xi., v. 11, *As'maka* is classed with *Dravida*, *Videha*, *A'ndhra*, *Dámápura*, *Konkana*, *Máhhiska*, *Kuntala*, *Kerala*, *Dandaka* and *Kántipura*, whose *Swámi* or lord, says *Varáha*, is *Mangala* (*Mars*). *Pánini* also tells us that the king of *As'maka*, as well as his son, ought to be called *As'makí*.

The inscription offers a good insight into some of the peculiar doctrines of Buddhism, but on this and on the age of the caves and inscriptions I must take another opportunity of writing. I may here mention, however, that the paintings are not older than the sixth or seventh century of the Christian era.

The painted inscriptions require little notice. The names of the seven Buddhas agree with Mr. Prinsep's list. The verse regarding merit to mother and father, and to all living beings, I have met with engraved on the *Kuden* caves.

\* *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, par Stanislas Julien, Paris, 1853, p. 168.

The names of Rāja S'ibi and Indra over two figures representing him and his queen and Indra are fitly introduced in the illustrations of the Buddhist Pantheon.—The story of the Rāja is interesting, and I append a translation from the Mahābhārata.

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APPENDICES.

SEONI COPPERPLATE GRANTS.

(From the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. v., p. 729.)

*Translation.*

*Of the Seal.*—The irresistible edict (sāsanam) of the illustrious prince of hereditary lineage, the ornament of Vākātaka, Rājā Pravara Sena.

*Of the Copperplates.*—Drishtamasi nama.\* The illustrious Mahārāja Pravara Sena of the race of Vishnurudra,† the rishi, performer of the several sacrifices of Āgnishtoma, Aptoryamekta, Shorasyatirātra Vājapè, Vrishpati, Sadyaskra, and the Chaturasvamèdha, ruled over the entire (province of) Vākātaka. In his place‡ (succeeded) the superlative lord, devoted to Bhairavā—happy in being the vehicle of the moon-like§ Sivalinga,—the great king of Vākātaka, Sr'i Rudra Sena, grandson of Gotamī, the daughter of the great king Bhavanāga, || who was descended from a race of conquerors entitled to be inaugurated with the unsullied water of Bhagirathī (the Ganges), and who had bathed in the sanctified water of the Dāsasvamèdha sacrifice,—the Bharasiva race. To him succeeded the diligent worshipper of Mahesvara,¶ the just, upright, benevolent, brave, heroic, moral, humble, highminded, strict in religious observances, victorious through faith, of a soul free from blemish, endowed with all these virtues;—(who was) blessed with a century's store of treasures, of the benefits of civil polity, of warlike armament, of children and grandchildren,—who was as celebrated as Yudhisthira, the great prince of

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\* This might possibly be an invocation in the usual form, but no divinity of the name of Drishtamasi, of which the letters are quite distinct, is known.

† [This should be read Vishnu Vridha.]—B. D.

‡ This is distinctly [His son was].—B. D.

§ Whits. The epithet signifies a devoted worshipper of Siva.

|| Or Bhavanātha (?)

¶ Siva.

Vákāṭaka, Śrī Prithivi Sena. To whom succeeded the protected of the discus-holding divinity,\*—the most opulent Mahārāja of Vákāṭaka, Śrī Rudra Sena;—who was followed by the son of Prabhavati Gupta, the daughter of the conformer to ancestral customs—the upright conqueror of his enemies—the great king of kings Śrī Deva Gupta,—the protected of Siva—possessing the firmness of the Rájās of the Satya-yuga,—surpassing all of the race of Vákāṭaka princes, Mahārāja Śrī Pravara Sena, whose edict is (as follows):—

Erna Káryaratáge, † in the 18th year of his reign, ‡ on the 12th day of the light half of the month of Phalguna, to Deva Sarmáchárya, chanter of the Sáma Vēda of the Modgala tribe, and the Taitriya sect, is granted with the ceremonies of sprinkling Ganges water, Kérata (?), and distribution of 100 pans,—the village of Brahmapura, situated to the north of Vatapura, to the west of Kinauhi-vátak to the south of Paravarajja-vátak, and to the east of Kollapur; demarked by these several boundaries, and seated on the banks of Karanja rivulet (?)

Be it known to all our subjects, our functionaries, and agents, to all obedient ryots now and hereafter, soldiery, spies§—That with the usual intent of such grants for the increase of our virtue, life, power, wealth, and prosperity, here and hereafter, as well as for the divine favour, in the holy district recently conquered by us (the said village is bestowed) free from military-billeting || (?)—where the Rája's deer and cattle shall not graze ¶—not subject to provide flowers and milk. \*\* where shall be neither spy, nor royal-chair, nor magazine †† . . . ‡‡ ? in which the inhabitants shall not be liable to begár or forced labour; along with its buried treasures and such like;—and with all its stock and the like;—as long as the sun and moon shall endure, to be enjoyed by him, his sons and descendants. Let none prevent or oppose,

\* Vishnu.

† The sense of this passage is obscure—one pandit, by alteration to सूख्येपिरागे, would make it express “at a solar eclipse,” a common period for dating similar documents.

‡ Prvarddhamán-rajya Samvat (?)

§ Bhartas chhánrása.

|| Avatacchatraprāvēsya—all the succeeding epithets laudatory of the jagir are equally far-fetched and obscure.

¶ Apáramparagobalivarddah.

\*\* Apashpakshírasandoha.

†† Achúrásanavarmangara (for ágára). It was customary with Rájās to keep an Asan or throne, a spy and armour, at each village.

‡‡ Alivanathinvakreudhanatra (?) Sarvavishtiparibara parihrita(?)

but defend (his possession)—and let him enjoy all increase by cultivation. Whoever shall disobey this order, or make encroachment or abstraction, by himself or through others, shall be liable to fine or punishment before the judicial authorities.

Written by the pandit of the general Bappa Deva in this court of justice (Dharmadhikaranè). Whatever pious fame has accrued to princes of yore from similar acts should be remembered, and those who come hereafter should uphold them (?). The holy Vyas has the following two verses to this effect:—

“He who bestoweth land on Brahmans shall enjoy 60,000 years’ happiness in heaven; and he who resumeth it shall abide an equal term in hell. If he take away either by himself or by others, his sin is equal to that of the slaughter of a hundred thousand cows.”

*Wilson’s Vishnu Purana*, p. 474.

“After these, various races will reign, as seven A’bhíras,\* ten Garddhabas, sixteen S’akas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusháras, thirteen Mundas, eleven Maunas, altogether seventy-nine princes, who will be sovereigns of the earth for one thousand three hundred and ninety years; and then eleven Pauras will be kings for three hundred years. When they are destroyed, the Kailakala Yavanas will be kings; the chief of whom will be Vindhya’sakti; his son will be Puranjaya; his son will be Rámachandra: his son will be Adharma, from whom will be Varánga, Kritanandana, S’udhinandi, Nandiyasas, S’is’uka, and Pravíra; these will rule for a hundred and six years. From them will proceed thirteen sons; then three Báhlíkas, and Pushpamitra, and Pátumitra, and others, to the number of thirteen, will rule over Mekalá. There will be nine kings in the seven Kos’alas, and there will be as many Naishadha princes.

In Magadhá a sovereign named Vis’wasphátika will establish other tribes; he will extirpate the Kshatriya or martial race, and elevate fishermen, barbarians, and Brahmans, and other castes, to power. The nine Nágas will reign in Padmávati, Kántipuri, and Mathurá; and the Guptas of Magadhá along the Ganges to Prayága. A prince named Devarakshita will reign, in a city on the sea-shore, over the Kosálas O’dras, Pundras, and Támraliptas. The Guhas will possess Kúlinga, Máhihaka, and the mountains of Mahendra. The race of Mánidhanu

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\* I have found the name of this dynasty, and of some of the kings, in the cave inscriptions, and the latter also in coins.

will occupy the countries of the Nishádas, Naimishikas and Kálatoyas. The people called Kanakas will possess the Amazon country, and that called Múshika. Men of the three tribes, but degraded, and Abhíras and Súdras will occupy Sauráshtra, Avanti, S'úra, Arbuda, and Marubhúmi; and Súdras, outcastes, and barbarians, will be masters of the banks of the Indus, Dárvika, the Chandrabhágá, and Káshmir.'

*Legend of Sibi or King Us'inara, from chapters 130 and 131 of Agniparva of the Múhábhárata.*

The gods Agni and Indra entered the court of king Uşinara to try the piety of the king. Indra transformed himself into the bird Siyéna (the hawk), and Agni into a Capota (pigeon), and then both entered the sacrificial chambers. The pigeon being afraid of the hawk, and being anxious to save its life, took refuge on the king's lap. Upon this the hawk observed: "O king, all the princes look upon you as eminently pious, and I do not understand why you should be induced to commit an act wholly opposed to all kinds of duty. O king, I am starving with hunger, and therefore have every right to take this prey; do not therefore prevent me from doing it from false motives of your duty. You will not be doing your duty in this." The king replies, "O great bird, this bird pigeon being afraid of you, and being desirous of saving itself, and of escaping from your annoyance, has come to me. Do you not see that I should be acting quite contrary to my duty if I were to betray him and give him over to you, since he came here in the full expectation of finding succour. O Siyena, I see that this Capota is frightened and trembling. He has come to me for his life. To refuse him assistance would therefore be meanness on my part, and I aver that those who kill either a Brahmána or a cow (who is the mother of the people), or refuse shelter to one who seeks it in humble submission, deserve the same punishment." *Siyena*.—"O king, food is the cause of the whole creation, and it is its supporter when created. It is that which enables animals to assume life. One may live without anything else which is looked upon as indispensable, but not without food. O king, my life which is now kept away from my prey, will soon leave for a path which is free from all danger. O pious king, my death will cause the ruin of my wife, children, &c. In preserving the Capota you do not preserve the lives of many. The duty which opposes duty is no duty,—it is sin. Duty is that which never conflicts with duty. Pray, therefore, consider the proper path of duty.

*King.*—"O great bird, your speech is very excellent. Are you the eagle, who is the king of birds? You are undoubtedly aware of what duty consists in. Your conversation is therefore certainly full of the knowledge of one's duty. It appears to me that there are very few things which you do not understand. I am therefore astonished how you counsel betrayal of a refugee. O bird, you are doing all this for getting food, but you can get it better in some other way; you can satisfy your hunger either on a bull, or a pig, or a deer, or a buffalo. These are all within your reach,—you can have anything else here that you may desire." *Siyena.*—"O king, I do eat neither pigs nor bulls, nor deer. Nothing else will do for me. O great Kshatriya! God has appointed this Capota for my prey, and I therefore pray you to deliver it to me. The Siyenas have from time immemorial been in the habit of eating Capotas. O king, if you want the support of a stout trunk, do not go for assistance to a delicate plantain stem." *King.*—"I make over to you the rich territories of Sivi, and am also ready to give you anything except this bird which seeks shelter from me. O great bird, say what you would desire me to do that you may be induced to leave it. I shall do anything but give up this bird." *Siyena.*—"O king Us'inara! if you desire to save the life of this bird, give me so much of your own flesh as would suffice to balance its weight. That will satisfy me." "I am thankful to you," replied the king, "for what you ask, and shall be glad to weigh out to you flesh from my own body during the course of the day." The king thereupon taking out a portion of the flesh of his body began to balance it with the Capota, but the bird would always weigh heavier than the flesh, although the king went on making additions from his flesh. When Us'inara had exhausted all his flesh, he placed his whole body in the scales to balance the bird. Siyena then declared that he was Indra, and that the Capota was Agni, and they came there to the Raja's sacrificial chambers to know Dharma. "You are an embodiment of Dharma itself. The fact of your having cut off flesh from your body would spread your fame throughout the world. As long as your name is remembered, you will be known as righteous, and enjoying the several states of happiness promised us hereafter." So saying Siyena returned to the heavens. The pious king, too, after filling the world with his piety, followed it.

The story is also related briefly in the Kathà Sarita Sārāga Lumbak Tarānga, 7.



ART. IV.—*Himyaritic Inscriptions.* By Lieut. Col.  
R. L. PLAYFAIR.

Presented August 1862.

The Himyaritic language is still one of the greatest philological puzzles of the day. For some time past I have been engaged in making photographs of all the inscriptions in the language to which I could obtain access, but as it is tedious to reproduce these by means of photography, and as I have no means of getting them lithographed under my own eye, I have rendered them into the Arabic character, and had them printed in this form.

I forward copies of the entire series for publication in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, should the Society deem them of sufficient interest. It is only by giving them the widest publicity amongst Oriental scholars that we can hope to arrive at a knowledge of their meaning.

Some of the words can be translated by means of Arabic, others have a very un-Semitic appearance, although I doubt not that a knowledge of some of the older Arian dialects would throw much light upon them. Take for example the first inscription; the commencement is evidently *Raibam and his brother, the sons of Murthad, and their tribe.*

The terminals م and ن appear to be equivalent to the flexional *tanwin* in Arabic, and هو is the Ethiopic form of the Arabic suffix هم, in poetry هم, *their.*

The next word is ذعمرن. This may be ذو عمران, *the lord of 'Amrán* (where the tablet was found), or *belonging to 'Amrán*, or it may be merely the name of the tribe, *Dhu 'Amrán*, as we have at the present day *Dhu Muhammad, Dhu Husein, &c.*

Of what follows I can make nothing till nearly the end, when a series of proper names occur: 'Am Karib son of Samah Karib the son of Hatfarim.

In almost all the inscriptions the same phrase, sometimes with slight variations, occurs—it is هقنيو المقه ذهرن دن مزندن. In one (No. 22), where the inscription relates to a female, *Dhrutin, daughter of the son of Dain*, the first word has the feminine form, هقنييت.

Probably the verb هقني may have a precative signification; المقه may be the general name for *the Deity*, as الله in Arabic, and مزندن ذهرن ذن مزندن may be the name of the particular god or goddess invoked. As ذ and ز appear to be interchangeable in Himyaritic, perhaps ذهرة may be the same as زهرة, *Venus*.

I think these inscriptions should be published, and philologists invited to communicate their ideas regarding them. When I can get leisure I hope to be able to send you a guess at the translation of each, though I am by no means sanguine that my labours will be worth recording.

In order that there may be no doubt that these inscriptions are correctly rendered, I enclose an alphabet which I drew out and photographed; the letters in dark shade are those which I have observed in my own collection of inscriptions, the others are given on the authority of M. Fresnel, as, indeed, are the former also, for I have made use of his alphabet.

Should any one in Bombay feel an interest in this subject, and should your Society desire it, I shall be glad to forward for exhibition my volume of photographs, which will set at rest all doubts as to the correctness or otherwise of my renderings.

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## HIMYARITIC ALPHABET.

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NOTE.—Since the above letter was written by Lieut. Colonel Playfair the tablets and slabs have been presented to the British Museum, and facsimiles of them have been published by order of the Trustees.

## No. 1.

*Bronze Tablet found at Anran, in Yemen, formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 17½ inches by 11 inches.

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 Rendering in Arabic Characters.

ريدم | واخيهم | بنو | مر  
 ندم | وشعبهم | | ذعمرن  
 | هقنيو | شيمهمو | الهة  
 ه | زهرن | مزندن | هل | ذت  
 | وتهمو | بسما لم | | بد  
 ت | هو فيهمو | الهقه | |  
 صرب | شفتهمو | ذبهو | كو  
 ه | ميرن | ثمن | برم | ذذهب  
 ن | ببلطتم | رضيم | بخرف  
 | عمكرب | بن | صمكرب |  
 بن | حنقرم | ذنثورم | |

**No. 2.**

*Fragment of a Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen,  
formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the  
British Museum.*

Size 14 inches by 11 inches.

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Rendering in Arabic Characters.

هن |

لبنى | ن

**No. 3.**

*Fragment of a Bronze Tablet from Amran, in Yemen, formerly  
with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 31 inches by 13 inches.

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Rendering in Arabic Characters.

المقه | ذهون | ذن | ضف  
م | و قلهو | و شعبهيو

To the left there is a monogram composed of the letters م ر و

## No. 4.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 11 inches.

## Rendering in Arabic Characters.

سعدله   وبنيو   بنو   مرثدم	وا   بنيو   عدي   ارهقم   ول   يذ
هقنيو   المقه   ذهرن   مزندن	بحو   بن   مشنهن   عتتر   وشه
حلن   وقههمو   بماله   الم	سم   وذنجم   بهرن   وجتننن
قه   بعل   اوم   ذعرن   الو   فوة	لهمت   اسررن   بن   مرثدم   فا
ي?   بني   مرثدم   لشيم   فليت?   ا	وا   ذيقهن   وب   صكرم   المقه   ذ
سررهمو   ذارهقم   ب * * * المقه	حروت?   قل   يهرفين   حج   علم   *
ه   ذهرن   ووقههمو * * *   ذ	يو   تعلم   سعدله   علم   را   بعه
هرن   بمالهو   لي * * *   قعد	رم   المقه   ذنعمن   والمقه   ذه
م   وينا   وشعبن   بمثو   ظرب	رن   فظري   همت   اسررن   ذار
درم   درم   بحرفم   ول   ي (بل?)   ثور	هقم   بن   بردم   وبنكل   قلثتم

## No. 5.

*Fragment of a Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen,  
formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the  
British Museum.*

Size  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 8 inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

\* \* \* ن | مزندن | حلن or حجن | وقههمو | المقه | بمـ

\* \* \* | المقه | | ظد قهمو | | وهونينهمو

\* \* \* | امراهمو | بنى | مرثدم | ول | خلا

\* \* \* | نعمت | وتنعمن | لبني | يهفرع



## No. 6.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 10 inches by 5½ inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

انمرم | ا(ص?)لم | بن | ه  
 وفعت | ذنحسن | هقذ  
 ى | الهقه | ذهرون | مز  
 ندن | بذت | سعدهو | ه  
 ر(ل or ج) صهر(ل or ج) | ظدقم | ب  
 ن | شعبن | نبشم | ول | ا  
 وتا | الهقه | سعد | ا  
 نمرم | بري | اذنم | و  
 مقم | وذت | نعمت | و  
 تنعن | لبني | ذنحسن

## No. 7.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 10 inches by 6 inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

انرم | بن | شموت | حقنى | المقه  
 ذهرن | ذن | مزندن | حلن | وتفه  
 و | بماله | لقبل | ذت | هونيه  
 و | بحضرهو | ذمعلطن | وبذت | سع  
 دهو | المقه | هيهرن | بثورهو | ول |  
 ذت | هعن | ومنعن | المقه | عبدهو | اذ  
 مرم | بن | نخنت | تخن | بموطنن | بقس  
 حاسدن | ولداتا | المقه | شوف | وم  
 تمن | عبدهو | انرم | بن | ماستم | ونك  
 يتطعنسيم؟ | دل | سعدهو | رضو | امراهمو  
 بني؟ | مرثدم | بيت؟ | نعمت | وتنعمن | با

## No. 8.

*Copper Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 13 inches by 7 inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

ربيم | ياتم | بن | اخرف | هقني  
المقه | ذهرن | ذن | مزندن | لقب  
ل | ذت | سالهو | المقه | بمسال  
هو | ولقبل | ذهوفيهو | بحضرهو  
ضمعلظن | ولقبل | ذسعدهو | المقه  
ه | صهرجت | واحلل | واسبي | ظدق  
م | بكل | امرث | شوع | صراهمو | يف  
وع | بن | مرثدم | ولقبل | ذفوق | عبد  
دهو | ربيم | بنقدم | قدم | بعم | ه  
رين | يخاف | منهتم | ول | سعدهو | ر  
ضو | صراهو | يفرع | وبري | اذنم | وم  
قمم | ولذت | نعمت | وننعمن | لبني | اخرف

## No. 9.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 11 inches by 7 inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

هينيت | واخيهمو | وبنيه  
 مو | صو | ارفط | هقنيو  
 المقه | ذهرن | ذن | مزد  
 دن | حلن | وقههمو | بمه  
 اله | لوفيههمو | ول | سه  
 عدهمو | ائمرم | هنام  
 عدي | ارضهمو | ومشييه  
 تهمو | ولذت | نعمت | و  
 تنعمن | لبني | ارفط |  
 ول | سعدهمو | رضو | امه  
 راهمو | بني | مرثدم

## No. 10.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

عبد | شمس | بن | حد (ك?) م | هقني | المقة  
 ذهرن | مزندن | ذشفتهو | وو\* ذ  
 لهو | ثورم | بكن? | م\* همو | بن | عو  
 س | ذكون | بارضن | بخرف | سهكرب  
 بن | تبعرب | بن | فضحم | وهاخر  
 و | هوفين | موكلن | ونكر | بعليه  
 مو | ذيفتن | بيتهمو | ويهدلن  
 قنيهمو | مشكن | عدي | ظنقن | وه  
 ثب | لالمقه | تامنم | ول | سعدهمو  
 اثموم | واولدم | اذكوم | ورب |  
 امراهمو | بني | مرثدم |

## No. 11.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

واخ		واميدم		ثورم
بنو		وبنهمو		يهمو
مرث		بن		ارقط
ذ		المقه		دم
لوفيه		مزندن		هرن
ا		سعدهمو		مو
عدي		اثرم		لمقه
ومشيه				ارضهمو
ام		ورضو		تهمو
مر		بني		راهمو
ونبيهم		ول		ثدم

## No. 12.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly, with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

---

 Rendering in Arabic Characters.

شمر | يكب | بن | وشكم | هقد  
 ي | المقه | ذهرن | ذن | مز  
 ندن | بذت | هوفيهو | به  
 سالهر | وبذت | يتان | ه  
 وفينهو | بمسال | يستا  
 لن | بعمهو | وبذت | معد  
 هو | مهرج | ظدقم | بن | شعب  
 ن | بنشم | ول | وزفهو | بر  
 ي | اذنم | ومقمم | ورضي | م  
 راهو | يشعم | بن | مرندم |

## No. 13.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 11 inches by 7½ inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

شمر | بن | قرينم | هقني المقه | ذه  
 رن | مزندن | حلن | وقههو | المقه |  
 بعل | اوم | بمسالهو | بكن | تسال |  
 بعمهو | شمر | بعد | حدثت | حدثت | ب  
 بيت | بن | قرينم | وبذت | متع | عبده  
 و | شمر | بن | هيت | حدثتن | والمقه  
 فشعت | شمر | بمسالهو | ظريتم | ا  
 احررهمو | واحررتهمو | وال\* \* |  
 عدي | اوم | ذعون | ذا. | و | ثورم | \* \*  
 \* لم | بكن | يفتلن | اربعي | اقدرم  
 وبنه? | للعل | وكون | ذن | مسالن  
 وظريتن | بخرف | وددال | ب  
 ن | يقهملك | كبر | خلل



## No. 14.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 10 inches by 7½ inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

ونرم		بن		مرثدم		هقني
المقه		ذهرن		ذن		مز
ندن		ذتبا		مشه		
رم		بين		خرنهن		
بخرف		سمهكرب				د
ن		تبعكوب		بن		حدي
مت		لذت		نعمت		وتذ
عمن		لبنى		مرثدم		

وشعبهمو

## No. 15.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 5 inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

اب	•	•	•	لك		ذ	ت		مرئدم	
بخت		عندن		هقنيت		الم				
قه		ذهرن		ذن		مژندن		ذ		
شغنتهو						لوفيهمو				
وبذت		نعت		وتذ						
من		لبنى		مرئدم						

## No. 16.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

يشف | واخيهمو | وبنيهمو  
 بنو | كئيم | ادم | بن | مرث  
 دم | هقنيو | الهقه | زهرن | م  
 زندن | حجن | وقههمو | الهقه  
 ه | بمساله | كيفعن | انس | فچ  
 ر | بينهمو | وحيدو | مقم | اله  
 قه | بذت | هوفيهمو | بكل | املا  
 ا | ستملاو | ويستملانن | بعهم  
 و | ول | سعدهمو | نعمتم | ووفيد  
 م | ورضو | امراهمو | بني | مريد

## No. 17.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

اسعد		فوقين		عبد		بن	
مرثدم		هقني		المقه		ذ	
هرن		مزندن		حجن		كوقه	
هو		بساله				لوفيهو	
ول		وزفهمو		اولدم		ا	
ذكروم		هنام		ول		ولوزفه	
مو		اثرم		وافقلم		وو	
في		ابعل		بيتهو		ول	
جهو		بن		حري		ولسن	
ع(ض?)و		وهرم		وسضر		كل	
انسم		ذيشطين				بهه	
و		:(بل?)ير		ظدقم			

## No. 18.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

حيعثت (?) | وبنيهو | ثوبال | وا  
 خيهو | وبنيهو | بنو | و\*  
 م\* | بسي | مرثدم | هقني  
 \*اهرن | حجن | وقههمو | بمساله  
 و | ذن | مزندن | لقبلي | اظس? | بعد  
 رن | فرعبل? بل? لم | يلدن | ووقهه  
 و | المقيوبل? | وتمزن | بن? | و!  
 مس | المقه و | سعدهمو | اذكرم  
 م\* | ول | وزى? | لربتهمو | ول  
 ?سينجهو | بن | هضج | و\*ظي | ?شنام |  
 \* \* ت | نعمت | وتنعمن | لبني | \* \* \*

## No. 19.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 6 inches by 3½ inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

و هبم | واخهر | ؛  
 نو | كلبت | هقنيو  
 المقه | ذهرن | ذ  
 ن | مزندن | حجن  
 وقههه | بسا  
 هو | لونييهو | و  
 ل | سعد هو | نعمتم |

## No. 20.

*Fragment (lower half) of a Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, now in the British Museum.*

Size 8½ inches by 7 inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

وفيهو | \* \* \* \* \* اول عدي | حچرن | عمرن | لشو  
 عن | ورثهيو | قشيت | ذت | مرثدم | وبن | ذت |  
 اقنين | لآخر | ول | و\* | المقهيو | ذه  
 رن | خر | عبدهو | مرددم | وزبيربهو | و  
 د(ه?) ي | ورضو | اورثهيو | بني | مرثدم | وشعبه  
 مو | بكم | ريعن | ذعمرن | ول | خرين | عبده  
 و | مرددم | بن | نضع | وشصي | شنام | ذرح  
 ق | وقرب | ولذت | نعمت | وتنعمن | راحهيو  
 بني | اشيب | بهتم | وخيل | المقهيو | ذهرن

## No. 21.

*Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

علهن | بن | مرثدم  
 | هقني | المقه | ذه  
 رن | مزندن | حچن  
 | المقه | | وقههرو  
 | | | بمساله  
 | | | سعدهرو  
 | | | [قه]



## o. 22.

*Fragments of Bronze Tablets found at Amran, in Yemen, formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 6 inches by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

حلكم | ذت | بني | عبدم |  
 ذروتن | بنت | بن | داین | ه  
 قنیت | الرقه | ذهرن | مزند  
 ن | حجن | ش\*\*\*\*\*ع

## No. 23.

Size 6 inches by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

قل؟ | عبدهو | مطعدم | باملک | \* \* \*  
 لا | بعهمو | بعلطن | ول | وتا؟ - ا  
 لمقهو | هوقين | عبدهو | مسعد  
 م | بكل | املا | يستلان | بعمه  
 و | ولذت | نعمت | وتنعمن | لبني |  
 طبام | بالرقه | ذهرن |

## No. 24.

*Upper Fragment of a Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen,  
formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the  
British Museum.*

---

## Rendering in Arabic Characters.

هديم		بن		شلم		هقني		المقه
ذهرن		مزنذن		حجن		وقههو		
المقه		بمساله		بذت		ه		

## No. 25.

*Lower Fragment of a Bronze Tablet found at Amran, in Yemen,  
formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the  
British Museum.*

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

\*\*\*\*\* شهر

\*\*\* و | حجن

\*\*\*\* بـ | مسم

وو | لوفيهمو

ذة | ائنيهمو | ني

| ويقنينن | نيو

## No. 26.

*Longitudinal Fragment of a Bronze Tablet found at Anran, in Yemen, formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

---

 Rendering in Arabic Characters.

* * * *		اوكم
* * * *		بنو
* * * *		هقنيو
* * * *		عذيم
* * * *		بعلي او
* * * *		اوسم
* * *		وحم
* * * *		المق
* * * *		ميقظ
* * *		بن
* * *		بن

## No. 27.

*Bronze Tablet from Amran, in Yemen, formerly with Lieut. Col.  
R. L. Playfair, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 9 inches by 5½ inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

سرعم | معنين | هقني | المقه  
ه | ذهرن | ذن | مزندن | زشف  
تهو | بكن | هاخذ | سباين  
واسد | هاخذو | لقطه  
و | بيت | بن | ظوفن | وسد  
ملا | بعهو | بعوت | عطر  
ن | وهوفيهو | بمسالهو | و  
هثب | لخييل | المقه | تامنم  
ول | يتان | المقهو | ظدق | عبده  
و | سرعم | باملا | يستملان | بعهو

## No. 28.

*Red Sandstone Slab from the neighbourhood of Ta'ez, in Yemen,  
formerly with Lieut. Col. R. L. Playfair, and now in the  
British Museum.*

Size 11 inches by 9 inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

\* • • \* واذ

• • ويرعا

| عنبر | دم

\* عفا | ولدس

\* • \* • \* • \*

## No. 20.

*Photograph of a rubbing of a Bronze Tablet formerly with  
Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 20½ inches by 7¼ inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

صدقذكر | برن اذن | قني | ملك | حدرمت | بن | ال  
شرح | سقني | سين | ذالم | سقنيت | ذهبين | ذمذ  
لوث | حلفم | ذهبم | قيعم | وق(ص?)اٹ | ذت | شفت | سين  
كمو | كئا | هس | بمالس | وتبا | صدقذكر | باذن |  
سين | ذالم | وئتر | ايس | والهتي | محرمس | الم |  
والهي | والهتي | حجرهن | شبتوت | نفس | واذنس | وو  
لدس | وقذيس | وصيحت | عينسوو | وذكربس | مرثد

## No. 30.

*Inscription on front and two ends of a Himyarite Altar formerly with Sir W. M. Coghlan, and now in the British Museum.*

*This Altar, which is of white Marble, was found at Abien, near Aden.*

*The inscription is in the style called Boustrephedon.*

Length 2 feet 2 inches, breadth 11 inches, height 5 inches.

---

 Rendering in Arabic Characters.

A جمعنت | بن | و (ظ?) بن | عبد | سوع | هقنى | عند B

C ر | مسلمين | وكل | ول D

E دهو | يوم | تقدم | م F

G بيع | لبرونهن • | ومبيع | قبلتن | هقنيت | ذ H

I بهر | بعشتر J

K وبالمة L

• or ضرونهن



## No. 31.

*Marble Slab from Mareb, formerly with the Rev. Dr. Wilson,  
Bombay, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 20½ inches by 13 inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

Upper line illegible.

ني | شمسو | تنفذ | علت | بمرن | اربعتن | وعشرنه  
اصح | لوفيهو | ووفى | بيتن | سلحن | وابعلهو  
وملسكهو | ول | سعدهو | ? بري | ااذنم | وصقيتم | ول  
وضع | وثبر | ومنع | واخرن | كل | ضرههو | وشناههو  
(عد) نر | والبقه | وبشمهه | تنف | بعات | بلضرن

## No. 32.

*Marble Slab from Mareb, formerly with the Rev. Dr. Wilson,  
Bombay, and now in the British Museum.*

The characters are in high relief.

Size 22 inches by 9½ inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

بنيهمو | عتتم | وتيدلت | وسعد

وئرن | وهشقرن | بينهمو | يقض

بن | وهبال | بخت | ملك | سبا

دتم | وب | الههمو | ذسمري | وري

## No. 33.

*Marble Slab from Mareb, formerly with the Rev. Dr. Wilson,  
Bombay, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 11 inches by 7 inches.

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

سعد | يس | بن | يهن | هة

ني | ذسوي | صثن | لوفيهو | بع

ثتر | وهويس | وب | المقه | وذت

حيم | وذت | بعدنم | وذسوي

## No. 34.

*Marble Slab from Mareb, formerly with the Rev. Dr. Wilson,  
Bombay, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $15\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

اختامهرو | و

شغارم | بعلد

ي | ختن | بخلف | ها

رن | مريب | شمئي | وڈ

نن | لالمقه | بعلد

وم | حلن | وقهبي | به

سالهو | لوقيههو

## No. 35.

*Marble Slab from Mareb, formerly with the Rev. Dr. Wilson,  
Bombay, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 25 inches by 9 inches.

---

Rendering in Arabic Characters.

با | وذريدن | بني | فرعم | ينجب | ملك | سبا | خري | وهنقصن | واخرن |  
 وود • دهمو | وذاعد رهمو | اكبرواقينم | اقول | شعبن | بكلم | وبن |  
 علي | شعبهمو | بكلم بلنن | اكبرواقينم | وشعبهمو | بكلم | لامراهمو |  
 وملكن | ولذبن | اسبان | • د | ولام | وعدرا | عذرم | ليسنوفينن | بدن |  
 اتفن | بنو | كبرواقينم | وشعبوايهمو | الشرح | يحضب | واخيهر | ياتل |  
 بين | ملكي | سبا | وذريدن | بني | فرعم | تقفم | ومصدم |  
 خمرنم | ونحلمم | وذلبنانم | وكل | سطري • • برم | فاو | سبرم

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(Six lines in the original.)

## No. 36.

*Marble Slab from Mareb, formerly with the Rev. Dr. Wilson,  
Bombay, and now in the British Museum.*

Size 9 inches by 12 inches.

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Rendering in Arabic Characters.

وم | ذوترم | انم | ملكن  
 ذسموي (or ذسمعوي) | الهاصرم | بعل  
 لمن | ذستوكلهو | لوفى  
 بحمال | ذوترم | ول | ونى  
 فى | ابعل | بيتهمو | ول | سع  
 | سموي | اولدم | هنان | ول  
 • يهمو | باصلا | ستملا  
 • • • ليتان | بلت | ميدعت

## No. 37.

*Fragment of a Marble Slab from Abien, near Aden, formerly with  
Lieut. Col. R. L. Playfair, and now in the British Museum.*

Size  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $11\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

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Rendering in Arabic Characters.

Upper line illegible.

ا | ذهبن . | ذاربوت

شظم | نفس | وا .

نبطال | ذراكف

بني | شمين | وب | و

و | ورثد | الهي

This stone is unbroken on the top, bottom, and right side.

ART. V.—*Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of the “Sah” or Rudra Dámá Inscription on a Rock at Junagur ; also of one of Skandagupta on the northern face of the Rock ; with some brief Remarks on the Sah, Gupta, and Valabhi Dynasties.*—By Mr. BHA'U' DA'JI'.

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Read 14th August 1862.

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The “Sah” inscription, the revised facsimile and translation of which have this day been submitted to the Society, was deciphered and published by Prinsep in the seventh volume of the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, p. 334. Mr. E. Thomas has republished the same in his admirable edition of Prinsep, and has added a revised translation of the record by Professor H. H. Wilson, based on an independent transcript of the original which Mr. Thomas had prepared with much care from the improved facsimile of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob, published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April 1842.

Professor Wilson's translation is anything but an improvement. Having secured the services of a young Brahman who possessed a moderate knowledge of Sanskrit and of the cave-character, I induced him to study the character well, and employed him last year to take copies, leisurely and carefully, of the three large inscriptions on the Junagur rock, the third being the celebrated edicts of Asoka. The copies were brought to Bombay and carefully gone over, but, not being quite satisfied, the young Pundit was again sent to Junagur, where he and another person copied the inscriptions, but independent of each other, and afterwards took facsimiles on paper and on cloth. The copies made by the hand in small letters were sent to me in Bombay, whilst the copyists remained at Junagur to receive suggestions, &c., from me. All possible variations having thus been carefully considered with my learned Pundit Pandurung Gopála Pádhyè, the mature result is now presented to the Society. I found the copies of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob very useful as guides, but insufficient for the purpose of decipherment.



The translation of the so-called Sah inscription differs in many important particulars from that of Mr. Prinsep. The name of the lake Sudars'ana occurs at the very commencement, but is not recognized by him. Mr. Prinsep's Aridáma is only a mislection of Rudra Dámá from the imperfect facsimile.

An historical fact of great importance in my translation is, that Rudra Dámá appears to have been a grandson of Swámi Chashtan, and not his son. The inscription contained the father's name, but that part of it is, unfortunately, completely lost. The names of the countries, as I read them, over which Rudra Dámá ruled, are also somewhat different. The names A'kara and Avantí occur in Padumávi's inscription in one of the Násik caves; the others need not detain us here.

The name of the actual builder of the bridge is not the Pahlava Máva or contractor, as rendered by Mr. Prinsep, but the Pahlava minister of Rudra Dámá, named Suvis'ákha, a Sanskrit adaptation, I think, of the Persian name S'íávaksha. His father's name, as I make it out, is Kulaipa, and S'íávaksha appears to have been the governor of A'narta and Suráshtra.

This inscription offers materials for many observations, but I must, reluctantly, postpone making any to another opportunity.

In the second inscription we have the names of Skandagupta and of Parnadatta and his son Chakrapálita.

Skandagupta is undoubtedly the monarch whose name has been discovered in coins, on the Bhitári Lát, and on the Kuaon pillar. To-day I have fulfilled the promise I made in my paper on Kálidása (Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., vol. vi., p. 207,) of furnishing a translation of the remaining Junagur inscription. Mr. Thomas has remarked that "up to this time no more satisfactory account of its purpose and contents can be given than is to be found in the brief notice published by Prinsep in April 1838 (Prinsep's Indian Antiquities by Thomas, vol. i., p. 247)." All that Mr. Prinsep found was "an allusion to Skandagupta, one of the Gupta family," &c. It appears that Parnadatta was appointed governor of Suráshtra by Skandagupta, and the son of Parnadatta named Chakrapálita with two sons were in office in the same province. The Sudars'ana lake appears to have given way in the 130th year of the Gupta Kála, or Gupta era; it was repaired seven years after, in the 137th year of the Gupta Kála, by Chakrapálita,

who also erected a temple to Vishnu on the top of the Jayanta hill, or the hill of Girnar, in the 138th year of the same era.\*

In my essay on Kálidása I remarked in a foot-note (p. 207) that the Kuhaon pillar inscription is dated "in the 141st year of the Gupta dynasty, in the reign of Skandagupta, and not after his decease, as deciphered by Prinsep." The present inscription leaves no doubt of the correctness of my interpretation, and will enable us to fix the chronology of the Gupta and Valabhi monarchs with some certainty.

The position of Skandagupta in relation to the Gupta era being now placed beyond doubt, the other dates of Chandragupta, Samudragupta, and Budhagupta, as made out from inscriptions, must now be granted to commence from the Gupta era.

The dates obtained are, Chandragupta Vikramáditya 82 (Udayagiri inscription) and 93 (Sanchi inscription), Skandagupta 141 in the Kuhaon pillar inscription, and Budhagupta 161 in the Eran pillar inscription. Colonel Cunningham is mistaken in supposing that the Kuhaon pillar inscription has the date 133, and that it refers to Skandagupta's death (Bhilsa Topes, p. 114).

At the next meeting I shall produce proofs to show that the Valabhi plates are dated in the S'aka Nripa Kála, and that the symbol which has been hitherto read 300 represents the fourth century of the Christian era, and is different from those on the coins.

As the Valabhi era is found in Colonel Tod's Somnath inscription to have commenced in A.D. 381, Skandagupta must be placed in A.D. 448-459, with a margin of five or ten years on each side.

The Valabhi plates bear dates, in my opinion, from 310 to 365 S'aka Kála, *i. e.* from A.D. 388 to A.D. 443. The Valabhi dynasty, of which Bhatárka Senápati was the founder, dates its rise, therefore, shortly before Skandagupta, a fact borne out by a comparison of the alphabetical characters of the monumental records of the Gupta dynasty and of the copper-plate grants of Valabhi. I may here remark, that Dr. Mill's interpretation of the Bhitári Lát is most defective; and the genealogy of the Valabhi dynasty has not yet been correctly given.

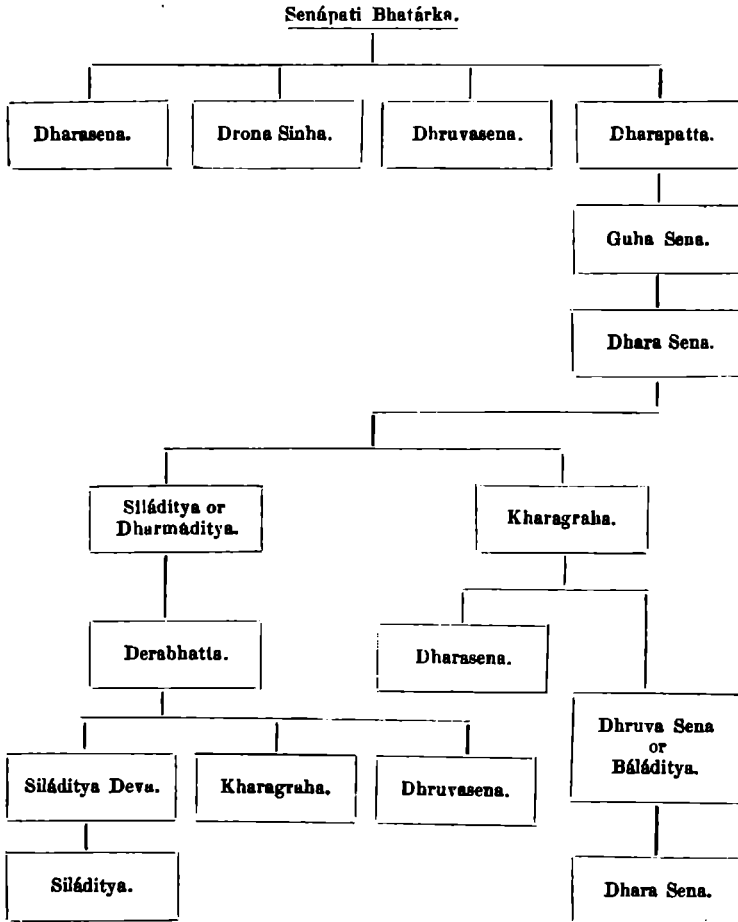
I should be thankful to any lover of antiquities for procuring for me a fresh facsimile of the Bhitári Lát inscription. I may now warn writers

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\* In the present inscription the hill is called Urjayata. Hemáchárya, in his NÁma-Málá, calls it Ujjayanta and Rnivata.

on Indian antiquities against implicitly receiving as correct the names given by Dr. Mill of the female connections of the Guptas, namely, Líchchavi and Kumáradevi, or of Mahadaitya and Mahendragupta, which in my humble judgment are not to be found in the inscription.

The correct genealogy of the Valabhi dynasty is, I think, as under :—



Colonel Cunningham is right in placing the Gupta era in A.D. 318, but in admitting the Guptas noticed by Hiouen-Tsang amongst the successors of Skandagupta he committed a grave error, which has been correctly and fully exposed by Mr. Thomas, who is, however,

I think, himself wrong again in placing the Sáh's of the coins as early as the second and first century before Christ; and to a brief consideration of this point I shall now proceed.

On comparing the alphabetical characters of the inscriptions in the reign of Padumávi, the A'ndhra king, at Násik, Karlen, and Kánherí, with those of the Rudra Dámá or Sáh inscription, no doubt the Padumávi inscriptions will appear to be the older of the two.

This Padumávi or Puloman was pronounced long ago by Wilford to be identical with Siri Pulomai of Baithan, or Paithan, on the Godavery, mentioned by Ptolemy Claudius. Professor Lassen has also pointed out the identity. I have found a new inscription of Padumávi on a tank on the Nana Ghát; there is no reason to doubt that Padumávi, the A'ndhra king, was a contemporary of Ptolemy, and that he flourished about A.D. 120. Ptolemy in noticing Ozene or Ujjayiní mentions it as the royal residence of another king, whom he calls Tiastanus. This Tiastanus is, in my opinion, no other than Swámi Chashtana of the Rudra Dámá inscription. If we grant that Chashtana was a contemporary of Padumávi and Ptolemy, we can well allow that Chashtana's grandson Rudra Dámá twice conquered S'átakarní, lord of Dakshinápátha, who was in all likelihood Gautami-putra, the son of Padumávi.

Within fifty years of Padumávi's death the A'ndhra dynasty ends, a misfortune no doubt brought about by the rising power and personal qualities of Rudra Dámá. I have already stated that a comparison of the alphabetical character of the inscription shows that Rudra Dámá flourished shortly after Padumávi; I have also assumed that we must place the rise of the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 318; and as there are cogent reasons for believing that the Guptas succeeded the "Sahs," the date of about A.D. 200 for Rudra Dámá appears not incompatible. I may here remark that the most distinguished monarch of the S'átakarni or A'ndhra dynasty was Gotamiputra, the son of Padumávi. He appears to have extended his conquests over As'waka (?), Asmaka, Mudaka, Suráshtra, Kukura, Aparánta, Anupa Vidarbha, and Akáravati (or A'kara and Avanti?), and all those provinces over which a Kshatrap or satrap of the Parthian dynasty (Phrahates?) ruled immediately before. This I make out from the inscriptions. Gautamiputra boasts of having established the glory of the S'ataváhana family, of having defeated Sakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, and of exterminating the descendants of Khagaráta (Páli), Kshaharúta (Sanskrit), (Phrahates?)

The countries which are recorded at Násika as having been conquered by Gautamiputra are the very ones over which Rudra Dámá appears from the Junágur inscription to have established his sway, with, in addition, Sauvira, Nishadha, and A'narta.

The Parthian king Nahapána, the exploits of whose son-in-law Ushavadáta are recorded at Násika, clearly flourished before Chashtana and Padumávi. The success with which Ushavadáta conducted his expedition to Malaya or Malabar from the north through the Deccan, shows that the princes of Paithan and of Mahá-A'ndhra could not have been very powerful. I was strongly inclined to look upon Gautamiputra as the founder of the S'aliváhana era, but the claims of Nahapána appear to be much more probable.

I cannot help pointing out the great similarity of the titles Zathou korano and Zathou vahano to S'atakarui and S'ataváhana respectively. I am inclined to look upon Kadphises as Sipraka or Sikrapa, the founder of the so-called A'ndhra dynasty, Krishna his brother as Kanerki, and Su-hermæus, the predecessor of Kadphises, as Susarman the Kánwa. If further analogies be required, I may point out the similarity of Athro to A'ndhra, and of Ado to A'dha, also of Athro Pharo to A'ndhrabhrít, the former class of words occurring on the coins of Kadphises and Kanerki, the latter in the Puránas and inscriptions. The titles Rao Nana Rao on the coins of Kanerki are more common in the Deccan, the former seat of the A'ndhras, than in any other part of India. I am also strongly inclined to look upon the name of Nánú Ghát as coming from Nanaia. It contained in a cave or recess, at its top, images of the founder of the S'ataváhana dynasty, also of the chief of the Maráthas, of Kumára S'ataváhana and Kumáro Hakusiri, and of another Kumára whose name is lost but begins with Bhá. The word Kumáro also occurs in some of the Indo-Scythic coins. The above remarks regarding the founders of the A'ndhra dynasty I offer rather as speculations, with the object of directing attention and inviting discussion, than as the mature results of deep research.

“SAII” OR RUDRA DA'MA' INSCRIPTION, JUNAGUR.

*Translation.*

To the Perfect One. This Sudars'ana lake, being from Garangaar (Girinagar)... . to the foot... . (about 13 syllables lost)... . constructed in its length, breadth, and height, of unbroken masonry, and strong in all places, so as to rival the hill-region itself....

RUDRA DĀMĀ'S INSCRIPTION

at Joonagur in Surāshtra.

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥  
... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥  
... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

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... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

... ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय ॥

(4 syllables not well made out)... (4 syllables lost)... (2 syllables)... (about 16 syllables lost)... having been... constructed... with the causeway and with the nicely reconstructed cornices and parapets... (9 syllables not well made out)... (about 25 syllables lost)... and other means... is in an excellent condition.

This work gave way in the 72nd year, Mārgashīrsha month, and dark half of the moon, of Rājā Mahā Kshatrapa Rudra Damān, whose name is oft repeated by the great, the grandson of Mahākshatrapa Chashtana of well-accepted (propitious) name... (about 25 syllables lost)... the son of... (name lost, with some adjectives)... on account of the rain having poured down heavy showers everywhere, converting the surface of the earth into an ocean, and by the powerful current of the gold-sand\* river Palas'ini and other rivers of the Urjayata hill, the embankment... was carried away... (about 18 syllables lost)... (3 syllables not well made out)... whilst employing proper devices... the waters, agitated by a hurricane, destroying the hill-top trees, walls, towers, collection of houses with stories and doors, and whose terrible force was fierce as the deluge, washed down, fallen and dismantled... (16 syllables lost) stones, shrubs, networks of creepers... (gave way) down to the bottom of the river.

Through a broken passage of 420 cubits' length, and of the same breadth, and 75 cubits deep, the whole of the water escaped, and converted (the lake) as it were into the (arid) country of Marwar.

Afterwards ? by... (6 syllables not well made out)... (22 syllables lost)... for it (or this lake)... the Maurya Rājā Chandragupta... (4 syllables lost)... his (governor ?)... S'yena Pushpagupta of Surāshtra† caused to be made... and by the celebrated Yavana Raja of As'oka Maurya named Tushaspa having been repaired, he ornamented it with cornice and parapet. By him (Tushaspa) the work was made worthy of the king. Seeing the cornice in the hiatus... the extensive bridge... (12 syllables lost)... uninterrupted royal prosperity from his childbirth... (3 syllables lost, 4 syllables not well made out)... who was wooed by all classes approaching for protection as their king, who except in war had taken the true vow

\* This adjective is applicable to the other rivers by a different grammatical construction.

† "Rāstiriya" only is visible, "su" it is believed is lost. In dramatic phraseology "Rāstiriya" may mean brother-in-law.

never in his life to kill a human being\* . . . the killing of an equal and opposing enemy and liberality . . . . . (9 syllables not decipherable . . . about 13 syllables lost) . . . who has shown mercy to those people who were themselves at his feet . . . protected by him . . . city never afflicted by thieves, serpents, wild animals, and diseases . . . . . the lord of the countries of eastern and western A'karāvati (or A'kāra and Avanti), Anupades'a, A'nartta, Suráshtra, Asva Kutcha (or Bharukacha ?), Sáuvira, Kukura, Aparánta, Nishadha, † &c., conquered by his own might, and the people of which are well affected ; who rooted out the Yaudehyas, ‡ who became slaves to jealousy at the renown of his title of hero ; who, without treachery, after twice thoroughly conquering S'átakarni, lord of Dakshinápátha, did not completely destroy him, on account of their near connection, and thus obtained glory . . . (one syllable) . . . (about 8 syllables lost) of great exploits, by the re-establishment of deposed kings, by properly raising his hand (*i. e.*, by gifts,) has repeatedly earned the love of Dharma ; who has secured great renown by his complete study of the theory and practice of the great sciences of grammar, polity, singing, philosophy, &c. ; who was skilled in the sciences of (managing) the horse, the elephant, the chariot, the sword, the shield, close fight, &c. (about 9 syllables lost) ; whose attacks on his enemies' army are impetuous and effective ; who is always of a charitable, courteous, and obliging disposition ; who is munificent ; whose treasury overflows with abundance of gold, silver, diamonds, lapis-lazuli (Vardurya), and jewels, acquired by just and proper taxes and duties and tribute ; whose speech is graced by clear, simple, sweet, admirable, and beautiful sentences in prose and poetry (13 syllables lost) ; whose beautiful form has the best marks and qualifications in gait, height, voice, walk, colour, vigour, strength, &c. ; who himself acquired the title of Mahákshatrapa (protector of warriors), who won numerous garlands of flowers in the Swayamvara ceremony of the daughters of kings ; by this Mahákshatrapa Rudra Dámán (some syllables not well made out) (for) cows and Brahmans . . . (15 syllables lost) . . . and for the increase of his merit and fame, by gentle means, exacted taxes and forced labour from the people of the city and country, and by a liberal amount of money from his own treasury, in no great length of time,

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\* Or any living being.

† In the original it is called Nishada.

‡ The Yaudheyas are an old warlike tribe noticed by Pániuf, and in all likelihood were the ancestors of the Jadeja Rájputs.



SKANDAGUPTA'S INSCRIPTION

at Jomagur in Surashtra.

Handwritten inscription in Devanagari script, containing multiple lines of text in various orientations and sizes, including a large central block and smaller fragments.

constructed the bridge of three times the length and breadth... (6 syllables lost) (3 syllables) (10 syllables lost)... caused the most delightful lake (Sudar'sanataram) to be made.

On account of the largeness of the gap, the undertaking was forbidden by the king's advisers and executive officers, although possessed of all the qualifications of ministers, and not disinclined to encourage enterprize. The people, losing all hopes of the construction of the bridge, raised woeful cries, when the work was executed by the Palhava minister Suvis'ákha, the son of Kulaipa, appointed by the king to look after the welfare of the people of towns and districts, and for the protection of the whole of A'narta and Suráshtra... who (Suvis'ákha) by the proper dispensation of justice in temporal and spiritual matters secured the love of the people; who was powerful, patient, active, free from pride, great, unconquerable, the establisher of religious fame, and the increaser of the glories of his master.

#### SKANDAGUPTA'S INSCRIPTION ON THE NORTHERN FACE OF THE JUNAGUR ROCK.

##### *Translation.*

To the Perfect One. Vishnu, who snatched from Bali for the happiness of Indra that wealth (S'rí) which is worthy of enjoyment by his beloved (devotees), and which was carried off for a long time, who conquered misery, and who is the constant asylum (or light) of that Luxmi whose residence is the lotus, and who is ever victorious, may he be glorious!

Afterwards he... and who by his own arms obtained glory (parákrama), and who is the most distinguished king of kings, the destroyer of the poison by means of Garuda (king of birds).. contempt, of the pride of kings (kingly serpents) buoyed up (with holding up the hoods of) chivalry and pride... The asylum of kingly qualities, of great wealth, who, on his father attaining the friendship of Devas (*i. e.*, on his father's death), humbled his enemies by his might, and possessed himself of the earth, which contains the (gems) of the four oceans, and which is skirted by rich countries; May he, Skandagupta, be glorious... by whose ever-increasing success his enemies in Mlechcha countries, whose pride has been destroyed from the root, were, as it were, conquered, and were ashamed to show their faces.

4. Luxmi, having with a firm mind well considered the causes of good and bad qualities, rejected, one after another, sons of kings, and at last married him herself.

5. Whilst this king was governing the earth no one amongst his subjects departed from the path of duty (dharma), or suffered, or was poor, vicious, miserly, guilty of punishment, or suffering from extreme misery.

6. Having conquered all the world and humbled the pride of his enemies, and having established (rakshakas) protecting officers in all the countries, he began to think intently.

7. What person is there who is at once respectable and far-seeing, humble, and with faith, full of wisdom and memory ; who is endowed with truth, straightforwardness, liberality, moral worth, sweetness, talent, and glory ; who is devoted and attached, manly, and with intellect clear on all religious doctrines ; who is full of gratitude, and devoted to the good of mankind ; and who by righteous means is able to earn wealth, to preserve and increase it, and to spend it on proper objects ?

Who is there qualified best to govern all the districts of Suráshtra amongst all my servants ? Yes, I know surely, only Parnadatta is competent to bear the burden.

In this way this king of kings meditated for successive days and nights, and with firm resolve and earnest entreaty appointed (him) for the good government of the country of Suráshtra.

The Devas obtained rest after appointing Varuna to the west, so the king by appointing Parnadatta to the west felt secure.

His (Parnadatta's) son, full of filial duty, was, as it were, the victorious Parnadatta, divided into a second selfsame spirit, who was brought up as his own (dear) self, whose mind\* was serene, whose form was beautiful as that of Cupid,..... in keeping with the form, beautiful and variegated\* ..... whose acts were ever truthful. .... and whose face resembled a lotus in the hand of awakened Luxmi ; who was generous to those who submitted to him, and he who was distinguished by the name of Chakrapálita flourished in this world ; popular, who made his father greater by his (good) qualities ; in whom ever dwelt power tempered by mercy, humility, morality, bravery that boasts not, charity, cheerfulness, talent, freedom from debt, restless energy, beauty, contempt of the mean, freedom from pride, courage and generosity.

\* The poet plays upon the word *atma*, which is repeatedly introduced.

These various qualities in an eminent degree resided in him without interruption. There is no one in this world to be compared to him in (good) qualities.

He being endowed with all (good) qualities became worthy of example to mankind.

The father (Parnadatta), having recognized these and other greater qualities, himself appointed him (Chakrapálita). He then protected the city better than his predecessors.

He availed himself of the bravery of his two arms, did not depend on others, nor did he cause distress to any from pride, but punished the wicked in the town.

The people placed implicit confidence, and studying the character of the people he pleases them as if they were his children, with cheerfulness, sweet conversation, civility, liberality, by the familiarity of social intercourse. . . . . by devotion to Brahmanism, powerful, pure, charitable according to the rules (paths), he enjoyed such pleasures as he could without transgressing wisdom, religion, and prosperity.

\* \* \* \* \* ; what wonder that he (who was descended) from Parnadatta should be virtuous? Is warmth ever caused from the moon, which is cool as a collection of pearls and aquatic lotuses?

Afterwards, when in the course of nature the rainy season arrived after the hot season, it rained copiously and continuously for a long time, by which (the lake) Sudars'ana burst (its embankments?)—When a century of years *plus* thirty passed, in the sixth day of Bhádrapada, at night, counting from the era of Gupta (Guptasya Kála) . . . . . and the rivers of the sea (wives), arising from the Raivata (mountain), and pent up for a long time, and also the Palás'ini, shining with its (golden) sands, again as usual proceeded (rolled) towards their lord (the sea), the friendly Urjayat, observing the flow of love on the part of the ocean, and spread, as it were, his river-hands?

All the people, frightened and crying to one another what to do and how to do, were all night (or morning and evening) thrown into still greater consternation.

The Sudars'ana (good-looking) lake in this world instantly became ill-looking (was destroyed). Would the Sudars'ana, whose appearance was like that of the sea, be ever filled with water? . . . (letters lost) . . . . . he being greatly devoted to his father. . . . having put forward

Dharma (which is always) of beneficial sequence to its observers.... for the benefit of the king and of the city, in a century of Samvatsaras (years) *plus* thirty *plus* seven (having passed).... Chaitra (month Chaitra)..... and whose might is known..... Having pleased the gods by ghee and obeisances, and the twice-born by gold, and similarly the people of the city by entertaining them with proper civility, and also servants and respectable friends by gifts..... On the first day of the first demilunation of the (first) month of the Grishma season (latter half of summer), in two months, in the best manner, he with great courtesy, and by expending immense wealth, constructed with great effort..... whose total length is 100 cubits, and breadth 68 cubits, height (7?) persons (men's height).....

(200 cubits?)..... with well-set stones..... the Sudars'ana lake (destined?) to last till the deluge, and also..... and whose bund (setú) is ornamented..... and in which the chakrawáka (heron) and the geese..... beautiful water..... as long as the sun and moon..... May the city be prosperous and populous!

May its sins be removed by hundreds of Brahmins singing the Vedas..... century of years, also (may they be saved from) all kinds of evils, and from famine..... the arrangement of the description of the construction of the Sudars'ana lake is finished.

The destroyer of the pride of haughty enemies of great fortune, a banner of his race, the lord of the whole earth..... (10 syllables lost)..... (4 syllables not well made out)..... (14 syllables lost).... the protector of the Dwipa. . the lord of the great. . . . (4 syllables not well made out) . . . for the suppression of enemies..... his son endowed with his own qualities, who (son) has offered his soul to the feet of Govinda (Vishnu), by him. . (about 14 syllables lost) . . and having been to the lotus-feet of Vishnu..... whom the people of the city have submitted on account of his exploits, by him, with a great expenditure of money and time, who by his prowess has had in submission the people of the city. . the holder of the discus. . . enemy. . . who is independent, and who for the sake of Brahmadeva became a man (?) to this discus-holding Vishnu, a temple was constructed by Chakrapálita. . . and..... From the (Kála) era of the Guptas. . . . a century of years *plus* 38 (having passed).... (about 12 syllables lost) . . (7 doubtful syllables) . . on the top of the Jayanta mountain, appears as if ruling .. and secondly on the top.....

*Rudra Dámá's Inscription at Junágur, in Suráshtra.*

(Devanagari Transcript.)

- १ सिद्धम् इदं तटाकं सुदर्शनं गरनगरादापादरम . . . . .  
 . . . . . कोपलविस्तारायामोछूयनिः सन्निबद्धदृढसर्व्वपदीभूत्वोत्सर्व्वत
- २ पदप्रतिस्पर्द्धिसुश्लिपदा . . . . . तरं . . . . .  
 जातानां कृत्रिमेण सेतुबन्धनोपपन्नसुप्रतिविहितप्रनाडीपरिखाह
- ३ मिढविधारणचत्रिस्क . . . . .  
 नादिभिरनुग्रहैर्महत्सुपचये वर्त्तते तदिदं राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य सुगृही
- ४ तनान्नःस्वामिचष्टनस्य पौत्र . . . . .  
 पुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्तनान्नो रुद्रदान्नोवषैद्वासप्ततितमे
- ५ मार्गशीर्षबहुलप . . . . .  
 परिवृष्टवृष्टिना पर्ज्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरुर्जयतः सुवर्ण  
 सिकता
- ६ पलाशिनीप्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्भूतैर्व्वैः सेतु . . . . .  
 . . . . . यमणानुरूपप्रतीकारमपि गिरिशिखरतरुतटा  
 टालकोपतल्पद्वारशरणोछूयविध्वंसिना युगनिधनसदृशपरमघोरवेगेन वायुना प्रम-  
 थितसलिलविक्षिप्तञ्जरीकृताव . . . . .  
 . . . . . स्मवृक्षगुल्मलताप्रतानं आनदीतलमित्युद्घाटित  
 मासीत् चत्वारि हस्तशतानि विशदुत्तराण्यायतेन एतावंत्येव विस्तीर्णैः
- ७ पंचसप्ततिहस्तानवगाटेन भेदेन निस्सृतसर्व्वतोयं मरुधन्वकल्पमतिभृश-  
 द्दुद . . . . . स्वार्थे मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चंद्रगुप्त  
 . . . . . राष्ट्रियेण श्येनपुष्पगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य भार्यस्य ते (न) यवनराजे  
 न तुषस्येनाधिष्टाय.

८ मनाडीभिरलंकृतं तत्कारितया च राजानुरूपकृतविधानया तस्मिन्  
भेदे दृष्टया मनाड्याविस्तृतसेतु . . . . .  
नो आगर्भात्प्रभृत्याविहतसमुद राजलक्ष्मी . . . . . नागुणतसर्व्वर्णैरभिगम्य रक्ष-  
णार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन आप्राणोच्छ्वासात्युरुषवधानिवृत्तिकृत

९ सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्यत्रसंग्रामेष्वभिमुखागतसदृशशत्रुप्रहरणावितरणत्व  
विगुणरि . . . . . (कृ) . . . . . तकारुण्येन स्वयमभिगत-  
जनपदप्रणिपत्ति . . . . . (ष) शरणदेन दस्युव्याडमृगरोगादिभिरनुपसृष्टपूर्व्वनगर  
निगम(परि)

१० जनपदानां स्वकीर्य्यजितानामनुरक्तसर्व्वप्रकृतीनां पूर्वापराकरावन्यनूपनीवृ  
दानर्तसुराशूद्रभरुकछसीवीरकुकरापरांतनिषदादीनां समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्य . . .  
. . . . . कामविषयाणां पतिना सर्व्वक्षत्राविष्कृतवीरशब्दज्ञातोस्सेका  
विधेयानां योधेयानां प्रसङ्घोत्सादकेन दक्षिणापथपतेस्सातकर्णैर्दिरपि निर्व्याजम-  
वजित्यावजित्य संबंधावदूरया अनुत्सादनात्प्राप्तयशसामा . . . . .  
. . . . . प्रविजयेन भ्रष्टराज्यप्रतिष्ठापनेन यथार्थहस्तो

११ ह्ययाजितार्जितधर्मानुरागेण शब्दार्थगांधर्व्वन्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महती-  
नां पारणधारणविज्ञानप्रयोगावाप्तविपुलकीर्त्तिनातुरगगजरथचर्य्यासिचर्मनियुद्धाद्या  
. . . . . परबललाघवसौष्ठवक्रियेण अहरहर्दानमानान

१२ वमानशीलेन स्थूललक्षेण यथावत्प्राप्तैर्बलिशुल्कभगिः कनकरजत  
वज्रवैडूर्यरत्नोपचयविष्णन्दमानकेशेन स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारा-  
लंकृतगद्यपद्य . . . . .  
नप्रमाणमानोन्मानस्वरगातिवर्णसारसत्वादिभिः

१३ परमलक्षणाव्यंजनैरुपेतकान्तमूर्त्तिना स्वयमभिगतप्रहाक्षत्रपनाम्ना नरेन्द्र-  
कन्यास्वयंवराणेकामत्यप्राप्तदाम्ना महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वेषसहस्राय गोब्राह्म-  
. . . . . र्थधर्मकीर्तिवृष्यर्थं च अपि दापिताकरत्रिष्टि

१४ प्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशान्महता धनीषेण अन-  
तिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुणदृढतरविस्तारायामं सेतुं विधाय . . . . . वित्तग  
. . . . . रदर्शनतरंकारितामिति यस्मिन्नर्थे

१५ महाक्षत्रपस्य मतिसचिवकर्मसचिविरमात्यगुणसमुद्युक्तैरप्यतिमहत्वा-  
द्भेदस्यानुत्साहविमुखमतिभिः प्रत्याख्यातारंभं

१६ पुनःसेतुबन्धनैराश्याद्वाहाभूतासु मजासु इहाधिष्ठानेपौरजानपदजनानुग्र-  
हार्थं पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नानामानर्त्तसुराष्ट्राणां पालनार्थं नियुक्तेन पल्हवेन कुलैपपुत्रेणाभा-  
त्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थधर्मव्यवहारदर्शनैरनुरागमभिवर्धयता शक्तेन दातेन  
चपलेनाविस्मितेनार्येणाहाय्येण स्वधितिष्ठताधर्मकीर्ति यथासि भर्तुरभिवर्ध-  
यतानुष्ठितमिति.



*Skanda Gupta's Inscription on Northern Face of Rock  
at Junágur in Suráshtra.*

(Devanagari Transcript.)

१ सिद्धम् श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां त्रिदशपतिसुखार्थं योबले-  
राजहार कमलनिलयनायाः शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः

२ स जयति विजितार्तिर्विष्णुरत्यन्तजिष्णुः तदनु जयति शश्वत् श्रीपरिक्षिप्त-  
वक्षाः स्वभुजजनितवीर्योराजराजाधिराजः नरपति

३ भुजगानां मानदर्पोत्कणानां प्रतिकृतिगरुडाज्ञा निर्विषिश्वावकर्ता नृपति-  
गुणनिकेतः स्कन्दगुप्तः पृथुश्रीः चतुरुदधिजरत्नां स्फीतपर्यन्तदेशाम्

४ अवनिमवनतारि र्यं श्वकारात्मसंस्थां पितरि सुरसखित्वं प्राप्तवत्यात्म-  
शक्त्या अपि च जितमिव तेन प्रथयति यशसि यस्य रिपवोऽपि आमूलभम्-  
दर्पानिश्च वदने भ्रूच्छदेशेषु

५ क्रमेण बुध्या निपुणं प्रधार्य ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नान्गुणदोषहेतुन् व्यपेत्य  
सर्वान्मनुजेन्द्रपुत्रांलक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयांचकार तस्मिन्नृपे ज्ञासति नैव कश्चिद्द-  
र्मादपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु

६ आर्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो दण्डयो न वा यो भृशपीडितः स्यात् एवं  
स जित्वा पृथिवीं समग्रां भ्रमाग्रदर्पान्द्विषतश्च कृत्वा सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्तृन्  
संचिन्तयामास बहुप्रकारम् स्यात्कोनुरूपो

७ मतिमान्विनीतो मेधास्मृतिभ्यामनपेतभावः सत्याजर्ज्वीदार्यनयोपपन्नमा-  
धुर्यदाक्षिण्ययशोन्वितश्च भक्तो नुरक्तो नृविशेषयुक्तः सर्वोपधाभिश्च विशुद्धबुद्धिः  
आनृत्यभावोपगतान्तरात्मा सर्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रवृत्तः

८ न्यायार्जनेर्यस्त्र च कः समर्थः स्यादजितस्याप्यथ रक्षणे च गोपा-  
यितस्यापि च वृद्धिहेतो वृद्धस्य पात्रप्रतिपादनाय सर्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु यो मे  
प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान्सुराष्ट्रान् आज्ञातमेकः खलुपर्णदत्तो भरस्य तस्योद्वहने समर्थः

९ एवं विनिश्चित्य नृपाधिपेन नैकानहोरात्रगणान्स्वमत्या यः संनियुक्तो-  
र्थनया कथंचित् सम्यक्सुराष्ट्रावनिपालनाय नियुज्य देवावरुणं प्रतिच्यां स्वस्था-  
यथावन्मनसो बभूवुः पूर्वैतरस्यां दिशि पर्णदत्तं नियुज्य राजाधृतिमांस्तथाभूत्.

१० तस्यात्मजोद्घात्मजभावयुक्तो द्विधेव चात्मात्मवशेन नीतः सर्वात्मना-  
त्मेवच रक्षणीयो नित्यात्मवानात्मजकान्तरूपः रूपानुरूपैर्लीलैर्विचित्रै नित्यप्र-  
मो(दा)न्वितसर्वभावः प्रबुद्धपद्माकरपद्मवल्को नृणां शरण्यः शरणागतानाम्.

११ अभवद्भुवि चक्रपालितोसाविति नाम्ना प्रथितः प्रियो जनस्य स्वगुणै-  
रनुपस्कृतैरुदात्तः पि(त)रं यश्च विशेषयांचकार क्षमा प्रभुत्वं विनयो नयश्च  
शौर्यं विनाशौर्यमकृ ? नं च . . . मादानमदीनता च दाक्षिण्यमानुष्यमशून्यता  
च सौंदर्यमार्यैतरनिग्रहश्च अविस्मयोधैर्यमुदीर्णता च

१२ इत्येवमेतेतिशयेन यस्मिन्नविप्रवासेन गुणावसन्ति न विद्यतेसौ  
सकलेपि लोके यत्रोपमातस्य गुणैः क्रियेत स एव कात्स्न्येन गुणान्वितत्वात्  
बभूव नृणामुपमानभूतः इत्येवमेतानधिकानतोऽन्यान्गुणान्परीक्ष्य स्वयमेव पित्रा  
यसंसंनियुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां विशेष्यपूर्वाभ्रचकार सम्यक्

१३ आश्रित्य वीर्यं स्वभुज्जहयस्य स्वस्यैव नान्यस्य नरस्य दर्पे नोद्देजयामास  
च कंचिदेवमस्मिन्पुरेचैव शशास दुष्टा(न्) विस्त्रभमल्पन्नशशाम यस्मिन् काले  
स लोकस्य च नागरेषु यो लालयामास पौरवर्गान् . . पुत्रान्स परीक्ष्य दोषान्  
संरंजयांच प्रकृती बभूव पूर्वं स्मिता भाषणमानदनिः

१४ निर्यत्रणान्योन्यग्रहप्रवेशैः संवर्द्धितप्रीतिगृहोपचारैः ब्रह्मण्यभावेन  
परेण युक्तः शक्तः शुचिर्दानपरोयथावत् प्राप्यान्सकाले विषयान्तिषेवे धर्मार्थ-  
योश्चाप्यविरोधनेन (जवननीतेवकृ)पर्णदत्तात्सन्त्यायवानन्नकिमस्ति चित्रम् मुक्ता  
कलापाम्बुजपद्मशीताच्छंद्राकिमुष्णं भविता कदाचित्

१५ अथक्रमेणाश्वदकालआगते निदाघकालं प्रवियटा(तोयदे)ववर्ष तोयं बहु  
संततं चिरं सुदर्शनं येन विभेदचात्वरत् संवत्सराणामधिकेशते तु त्रिंशद्द्विरन्यै-  
रपि ताद्दि (षड्भि) रेव रात्रौ दिने प्रोष्ठपदस्य षष्ठे गुप्तस्य कालागणनां विधाय

१६ इमाश्वयारैवतकादिनिर्गता पलाशिनीयं सिकताविलासिनी समुद्र-  
क्रान्ताः श्विरबन्धनोषिता द्रवुः पतिं ताश्च यथोचितं ययुः अवेक्ष्य वर्षान्तमजं मदो  
द्रमं महोदधेरुर्जयताप्रियेप्सुना अनेकवीरान्तजपुष्पशोभिता

१७ नदीमयोहस्त इव प्रसारितः वर्षीद (मानाः खलु सर्वलो) काः कथं-  
कथंकार्यमिति प्रवादिनः मिथोहि पूर्वापररात्रमुत्थिता विचिन्तयाचापि बभूवुरुत्सु-  
काः अपीहलोके सकले सुदर्शनं पुमांहि दुर्दर्शनतां गतं क्षणात्

१८ भवेन्न साम्भो निधितुन्यदर्शनं सुदर्शनं. . . . वणगसभूत्वा पितुः परोभ-  
क्तिमपि प्रदत्तं धर्मं पुरोधाय शुभानुबंधं राज्ञोहितार्थं नगरस्य चैव संवत्सरा-  
गामधिके शतेतु

१९ त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि सप्तभिश्च प्र. . . . . स्थचैत्र. . . . . श्रा-  
(श्वा)प्यनुज्ञातमहाप्रभावः आज्यप्रणामैर्विबुधानयेष्टा धनैर्दिजातीनपि तर्पयित्वा  
पौरास्तथाभ्यर्च्यथार्हमनिः भृत्यांश्च पूज्यान् सुहृदश्च दानैः

२० त्रैप्सस्य मासस्य तु पूर्वप. . . . . प्रथमेहि सभ्यक् मासद्वयेना-  
दरवान्सभूत्वा धनस्य कृत्वा व्ययमप्रमेयम् आयामतोहस्तशतं समग्रं विस्तारतः  
षष्टिरथापि चाष्टौ

२१ रुत्सेधकोन्यतुरुषानिस . . . . . स्तशतद्वयस्य बबंध यलान्महता(नृदे-  
वान्)सुसम्यग्घटितोपलेन . . . . . सुजातिदुष्टात्प्रथितं तटाकं सुदर्शनं शाश्व-  
तकल्पकालम्.

२२ अपि च सुदृढसेतुमान्तनिन्यस्तशोभरथचरणसमाह्वक्रौंचहंसं स  
धूतं विमलसलिल . . . . . भुवित . . . . . बदकः शशिम

२३ नगरमपि च भूयाद्दृढिमत्पौरजुष्टं द्विजबहुशतगीतब्रह्मनिर्नष्टपापं  
शतमपि च समानामीतिदुर्भिक्ष . . . . .  
दर्शनतटाकसंस्कारग्रंथारचना समाप्ता.

२४ द्रसारिदर्पप्रणुदः पृथुश्रियः स्ववंशकेतोः सकलावनीपतेः . . . . .  
ज्यद्भूतपुण्य . . . . . द्वीपस्य गोपा महतां च नेता दण्डान्विना

- २५ द्विषतां दमायत्तस्यात्मजेनात्मगुणान्वितेन गोविन्दपादार्षितजीविते . .  
 . . नविष्णोश्च पादकमले समवाप्य तत्र अर्थव्ययेन
- २६ महता महता च कालेनात्मप्रभावनतपौरजनेन तेन चक्रं विभर्ति रिपु  
 . . . . . विषे . . . . . तस्य स्वतंत्रविधिकारणमानुषस्य
- २७ कारितमवक्रामति चक्रभृतः चक्रपालितेन गृहं वर्षशतेष्टत्रिंशो गुप्ता  
 नां काल (तोव्यतीते) . . . . . र्थं . . स्थितनवोजयताचलस्य
- २८ कुर्वन्मभुत्वमिव भाति परस्य मूर्ध्नि . . . . . अन्यच्च मूर्धनि अ . .

# APPENDIX.

*Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for the Years*  
1861-62, 1862-63.

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<b>PHOTOGRAPH of the Shield presented in London to Lieut. General Sir James Outram, Bt., G. C. B.</b>	[W.B.Tristram. Thro' the Hon'ble
<b>RA'Ō Sahēb Vishvanāth Nārāyan Mundlik.—History of India; the Hindoo and Mahomedan Periods; by the Honorable M. Elphinstone. Translated into Guzerati, from his Marathi version, by .....</b>	The Translator.
<b>RAVERTY (Capt. H. G.)—Selections from the Poetry of the Afghans from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, literally translated from the original by .....</b>	Govt. of Bombay.
<b>RE'MY (Jules).—Histoire de l'Archipel Havaiien. 8vo .....</b>	The Author.
<b>REPORT (Annual) of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Western India for the year 1862 .....</b>	Dr. Birdwood.

## DONORS.

<b>REPORT</b> of the Geological Survey of India, and of the Museum of Geology, for the year 1862-63. . . . .	Govt. of Bombay.
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——— of the Director of Public Instruction for the year 1861-62. . . . .	Govt. of Bombay.
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——— of the School of Sir Jamssetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution for the year 1862.	The Directors.
——— on Vaccination throughout the Bombay Presidency and Sindh for the year 1862 . . . . .	[Genl. Med. Dep. Principal Insp.
<b>RIGG</b> (Jonathan).—A Dictionary of the Sunda Language of Java. 8vo. . . . .	Java Society.
<b>SARS</b> (Dr. M.) Beskrivelse over Lophogaster Typicus, with five plates, two charts, and four illustrations . . . . .	[Christiania. University of
<b>SCHUBELER</b> (D. F. G.)—Synopsis of the Vegetable Products of Norway. Translated from the MS. by the Revd. M. R. Barnard. (2 copies.)	—————
<b>SECCHI</b> (P.)—De la Connexion entre les Phénomènes Météorologiques et les Variations du Magnetisme Terrestre remarqués de M. Brown l'occasion d'une Note du. . . . .	The Author.
<b>SELECTIONS</b> from the Records of Government :—	
<b>PAPERS</b> relating to Canal Irrigation in Sind, with suggestions for its improvement, with seven plans in a separate case. . . . .	Govt. of Bombay.
——— relating to the Disturbances in the Cassyah and Jynteeth Hills. . . . .	Govt. of India.
——— relating to the Introduction of the Revised Rates of Assessment in the Dhoolia and Challsaum Talookas of the Khandeish Collectorate . . . . .	Govt. of Bombay.



DONORS.

<b>SELECTIONS</b> from the Records of Govt. ( <i>contd.</i> ):—	
REPORT relating to the Introduction of the Revised Rates of Assessment into the Mahim Talooka of the Tanna Collectorate . . . . .	Govt. of Bombay.
—relating to the Introduction of the Revised Rates of Assessment into the Malwa Talooka of the Sattara Collectorate. . . . .	_____
—relating to the introduction of the Revised Rates of Assessment into the Mawul Talooka of the Poona Collectorate . . . . .	_____
—relating to the Introduction of the Revised Rates of Assessment into the Rajapooree Talooka of the Colaba Sub-Collectorate. . . . .	_____
—on the Cotton Gin Factory in the Dharwar Collectorate for the half-year ending May 31st, 1862 . . . . .	_____
—on the Project for reclaiming Land between Bombay and Trombay, by Lieut. W. M. Ducat, with memorandum and three plans by Colonel A. DeLisle . . . . .	_____
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SIVA-Prakasha Kattalai : or the Elements of the Saiva Philosophy. Translated from the Tamil by the Revd. Thos. Foulkes . . . . .	The Translator.
SOCIETY, Bengal Asiatic, Journal of, Nos. 4 and 5 for 1862 and No. 2 for 1863. . . . .	The Society.
—Bombay Geographical, Transactions of, from June 1860 to December 1862. Vol. XVI.	_____
—British and Foreign Bible, Fifty-ninth Report of, for 1863, with an Appendix and a List of Subscribers and Benefactors . . . . .	_____
—Medical and Physical, Transactions of, No. 8.	Govt. of Bombay.
—Royal Astronomical, Monthly Notices of, Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8, of Vol. XXIII. for 1863.	The Society.

DONORS.

SOCIETY, Royal Geographical, of London, Proceedings of, No. 5 of Vol. VI., Nos. 3 and 5 of Vol. VII., and Nos. 4 and 5 of Vol. VIII. for 1862.	The Society.
———Royal, Proceedings of, No. 56 of Vol. XII.	—————
———Students' Literary and Scientific, Proceedings of, and the Vernacular Branch Report for 1862-63. . . . .	The Society.
THESIGER (Lieut. Col. the Hon. F. A.)—Strategy. A Lecture delivered at the United Service Institution of Western India, Poona, December 1862. . . . .	[Inst. United Service
TIJDSCHRIFT voor Indische-Taal-land-en Volkenkunde, Nos. 1 to 5 of Vol. XI. for 1861, Nos. 2 to 6 of Vol. XII. for 1862, and No. 1 of Vol. XIII. . . . .	The Institution.
WATSON (J. Forbes).—International Exhibition of 1862, A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department of the. . . . .	Govt. of Bombay.

FOR THE MUSEUM.

FROM 12TH DECEMBER 1861 TO 24TH NOVEMBER 1862.

ANTELOPE, Heads of, from the South-East Coast of Arabia. . . . .	H. J. Carter, Esq.
APOPHYLLITE, Transparent, specimen of, in small perfect crystals on trap, and one on mammillated calcedony and scalizite on trap, from the Bhoze Ghât Railway Cutting. . . . .	[Frere. The Hon. W. E.
BOATS (10), large and small, models of, in date-wood, from Zanzibar . . . . .	—————
BRICKS (3), square, with cuneiform characters on them. . . . .	[Wilson. The Revd. Dr.
COINS, Silver (2), received with Government letter No. 454 dated 14th March 1862. Both of Rudra Sah son of Jeena Dama, one peculiar for the place in the margin from which the legend commences, and the other remarkable for the date being 380 instead of 387, which is the usual one on these coins. The locality from which the coins came is not mentioned. . . . .	Govt. of Bombay.

DONORS.

COINS, Copper (12), from some bags of the same in the Indore Treasury . . . . .	Major Keatinge.
FOSSILS, Eocene, from Sindh, specimens of. . . . .	Dr. Leith.
——European, a specimen of Limestone from Gibraltar, Shale from Malabar Hill and Love Grove bearing remains of Frogs, Sulphur from the vicinity of a volcano in Java. . . . .	Dr. Leith.
HINDOO Goddess (A), Figure of, carved in stone, which was dug up in some Government land on the 10th May 1862 . . . . .	[Esq. E. P. Robertson,
HORNS, Sambre (one pair). . . . .	Dr. White.
MANTIS, specimen of, Bombay. . . . .	The Hon. Sir H.
MEDALLION Plaster (large) Cast, in gilt frame, of J. Gould, F.R.S., the ornithologist . . . . .	[B. E. Frere. H. J. Carter, Esq.
SPECIMEN of a highly plastic greasy, grey clay, from Turkeysur, near Surat . . . . .	A. Rogers, Esq.
SPECIMENS of Porphyrite Trap from the hill sta- tion of Poorundhur. . . . .	Dr. Shepherd.
——of Rocks, Tertiary, Fossil, and Recent Shells from Zanzibar. . . . .	[Frere. The Hon. W. E.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

FROM 12TH DECEMBER 1861 TO 24TH NOVEMBER 1862.

COMMUNICATED BY

BHA'U' DA'JI'.—Ajantá Cave Inscriptions, with Facsimiles, Transcripts, and Translations . . . . .	The Author.
——Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation, of the Inscription on the northern face of the Girnar Rock, with Remarks . . . . .	_____
——On the Sah Gupta and Valabhi Dynasties. . . . .	_____
——Revised Facsimile, Transcript, and Trans- lation, of the Sah Inscriptions on the Girnar Rock, in the Surashtra, with Remarks . . . . .	_____
BIRDWOOD (G. C. M.)—Note on the Olibanum Trees of Africa and Arabia. . . . .	_____
——On the Bombay Inlaid Work. . . . .	_____
——On the Leaf of the Boswellia which produces the Luban Maitee . . . . .	_____

## PRESENTED BY

NEWTON (H.)—Memorandum upon 142 Sah Coins submitted to him by the Society for examination and report thereon.....	The Author.
PLAYFAIR (Capt.)—Letter on the Himyaritic In- scriptions of Aden . . . . .	_____
WEST (Arthur A.)—Násik Cave Inscriptions. . . . .	_____

## FOR THE MUSEUM.

FROM 11TH DECEMBER 1862 TO 30TH NOVEMBER 1863.

## DONORS.

MARBLE, a piece of, bearing Himyaritic Inscrip- tions, from Jebel.....	Dr. Davison,
STONE Slab (large) bearing Canarese Inscriptions, from Honore, North Canara . . . . .	[thro' Dr. Coles. Dr. Ross, through [Capt. E. Grant.

## ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

## COMMUNICATED BY

BHA'U' DA'JI'.—On the Ancient Sanskrit Nume- rals . . . . .	The Author.
BIRDWOOD (G. C. M.)—On Recent Discovery in Eastern Africa, and the Adventures of Captain Singleton (DeFoe) . . . . .	_____
BUHLER (Dr. George).—Early Marriages of the Hindus. . . . .	_____
MITCHELL (The Revd. Murray).—Specimens of Marathi Poetry. Translated. . . . .	The Translator.
NEWTON (The Hon. Mr. Justice).—On the Sáh Gupta and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat. Parts 1 and 2 . . . . .	The Author.

PROCEEDINGS, OFFICIAL, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC,  
FROM THE 12<sup>TH</sup> DEC. 1861 TO THE 24<sup>TH</sup> NOV. 1862.

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At the Monthly Meeting of the 9th January 1862 the following paper was read by Dr. Birdwood:—

*The Inlaid Work of Bombay.*

**HISTORY.**—This work is stated to have been carried on in Bombay for about sixty years, and to have been introduced here from Hydrabad in Sindh. It is stated to have been introduced into Sindh about twenty years previously from Persia, and all the workmen I have consulted in Bombay agree that its native seat is Shiraz. It would be interesting to make inquiries there. From Bombay the work has been carried to Surat.

**MATERIALS.**—The following materials are used in the work:—

*Mineral.*—*Tin* in the form of wire, used in the ornamental veneer.

*Vegetable.*—*Sandalwood*, from Malabar, generally used as the framework, and sometimes in the ornamental veneering. Sometimes deal, blackwood, or other woods, are used as framework, the apparent framework being simply veneered over it.

*Ebony*, from Malabar, Ceylon, or the Caffre Coast, used in the ornamental veneering, and of late years also for the framework.

*Puttung*, “Sappan wood,” the wood of *Cæsalpinia Sappan*, from Singapore (*i.e.*, Siam, Pegu, the Philippines), (and Malabar ?), used in the ornamental veneering.

*Animal.*—*Ivory*, used in the ornamental veneering, and, rarely, as framework.

*Stagshorn* (*Sawur sing*), used in the same.

*Glue*, used for binding the frame and veneer work. It is said that Ahmedabad glue is preferred to all others.

**TOOLS.**—“*Katt*,” a wheel for drawing the tin wire into the different shapes required for the preparation of the ornamental patterns.

*Saws*, one large for sawing sandalwood, a smaller for ebony, another for ivory, and another for the prepared fasciculi of pattern.

*Files*, one coarse for the samber-horn, and a finer for the ivory work.

*Chisels*.

*Drills* for piercing sockets for certain portions of the ornamental veneer.

*Planes*.

*T square*.

**PROCESS.**—The only mystery is about the portion of the work which appears inlaid, but which is not true inlaid work in the conventional sense of the word. It is simply a veneering, which may be laid over any pattern presenting flat or but slightly rounded surfaces. This ornamental veneer is prepared by binding thin ivory, tin, puttung, ebony, and dyed samber-horn rods of different shapes together. These rods are usually three-sided, sometimes round, and frequently obliquely four-sided.

They are arranged so as when cut across to exhibit a definite pattern, and in the mass present the appearance of rods of varying diameter and shape, or of thin boards, the latter being intended for bordering. The compound rods are some cylindrical, others three-sided, and others obliquely four-sided. These when consolidated may again be bound together into various more complex rods.

The patterns commonly found in Bombay finally prepared for use:—

“Chukur,” or round, the smaller being the size of a four-anna bit, and larger of half-a-rupee; “Kutkee,” hexagonal, being composed of obliquely four-sided rods of ivory, or sandalwood, and of ebony, tin wire, puttung, and stained samber-horn, mixed.

“Teenkoonia gool,” three-sided, being compounded of tin wire, ebony, ivory, puttung, and stained samber-horn.

“Gool,” four-sided obliquely, and compounded as last.

These are for central ornaments.

“Teekee,” round, and varying in size from a twopenny bit to a granny-pin’s head, is used both for central ornaments, and when sections are set side by side for borders.

The following are only used for borders, and before being sliced down all have the form of boards two or three feet long, a foot or two in depth, and from one-eighth to half an inch in breadth:—

“Gundeerio,” (plump-full), compounded of all the ornamental materials.

“Ekdana,” having the appearance of a single row of tin beads set in a ground of ebony.

“Poree Lehur,” “Sankro Hansio,” and “Poro Hansio.”

These patterns are set in sockets of ivory, ebony, or sandalwood, constituting the framework of the box or other article ordered, or veneered over a framework of some commoner material.

The following are the manufacturers established in Bombay, with the number of their sons or workmen, and the place of their residence, and other information :—

*Mombadevee.*

		Shop established.
Jamsetjee Heerjeebhoy .....	2 servants.	36 yrs.
Govind Ruttonjee .....	2 servants.	46 yrs.

*Ramwadee.*

Ambaram Manekchand .....	1 brother.	
Framjee Heerjeebhoy .....	3 brothers.	30 yrs.
Kulliandass Doolubdass .....	2 brothers.	46 yrs.
Amritram Thawurdass .....	3 brothers.	45 yrs.
Dyaram Nundram .....	1 brother.	30 yrs.

(has a shop also opposite Fort Police Office)

Nowrojee Cooverjee .....	1 servant.	25 yrs.
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*Bende Basar.*

Pranjeewan Jugjeewan .....	2 servants, 3 sons.	45 yrs.
Hemraj Vuljee .....	1 servant.	
Nana Vuljee .....	1 servant.	
Narayan Thobun .....	1 servant.	
Bhowaneekur .....	2 servants.	
Premjee Dewjee.		

*Kalbadavie.*

Atmaram Wulleram .....	1 brother.	60 yrs.
Purshotum Chilaram .....	1 son.	60 yrs.
Hurreewulubh Nundram .....	2 sons, 1 servant.	45 yrs.
Jamsetjee Shapoorjee .....	4 servants.	
Soonderjee Valjee .....	4 servants.	
Khimjee Nanjee .....	brother and son.	
Cowasjee Nusserwanjee .....	4 servants.	
Jamsetjee Shorabjee .....	1 servant.	
Cowasjee Eduljee .....	2 servants.	

*Chunneewadee.*

Khursetjee . . . . .	2	servants.
Merwanjee . . . . .	1	servant.
Hormusjee Shapoorjee. . . . .	No	servant.

*Nuveewadee.*

Dosabhoy Kanjeebhoy . . . . .	3	servants.
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*Market.*

Hormusjee Byramjee . . . . .	1	servant.
Ookerjee Cursetjee . . . . .	1	servant.
Tulsee Meghjee . . . . .	2	servants.

*Barbhoy's Moolla.*

Doolubh Nuthoo . . . . .	2	servants.
Pitamber Kessowjee . . . . .	1	servant.
Kessowjee Kummulsee . . . . .	2	servants.
Heerjee Gopaljee. . . . .	3	servants.
Munjee. . . . .	1	servant.

*Chukla, Khalaseepoora.*

Shamjee and Brother . . . . .	1	servant.
Vussunjee Lowjee . . . . .	1	servant.
Madhowjee Lowjee. . . . .	1	servant.
Dya Gopaljee . . . . .	No	servant.

*Khetwadee.*

Framjee Dorabjee . . . . .	2	servants.
Ardaseer . . . . .	2	servants.
Sorabjee Merwanjee. . . . .	1	servant.

*Girgaum Road.*

Dorabjee Dossabhoy . . . . .	2	servants.
Dadabhoy . . . . .	1	servant.

*Vittalwadee.*

Gopaljee Nundram . . . . .	No	servant.
Damodhur Jetha. . . . .	1	servant.

*Fort.*

Dorabjee and Jeejeebhoy Manockjee. . . . .	1	servant.
Hormusjee.		

*Panjrapple.*

Morarjee Gowa . . . . .	3	servants.
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*Near Framjee Cowasjee Tank.*

Byramjee . . . . . 1 servant.

These men also import carved ivory from China, to set in Bombay inlay or other materials.

## PRICE CURRENT.

Chess Tables . . . . .	Rs.	250 to 300
Chess Boards . . . . .	„	40
Large Writing Desk . . . . .	„	65
Small do. do. . . . .	„	30
Solitaire Game Board. . . . .	„	35 to 40
Inkstand . . . . .	„	20
Card Basket. . . . .	„	12
Portfolio . . . . .	„	18
Envelope Box . . . . .	„	22
Glove Boxes. . . . .	„	15
Book Stand . . . . .	„	17
Paper Stand . . . . .	„	8
Pin Cushions, Hexagonal Boxes. . . . .	„	5
Round Boxes . . . . .	„	4
Wafer Boxes and Card Cases . . . . .	„	2½
Paper Cutters . . . . .	„	1

The manufacturers of inlaid work also deal largely in carved sandalwood boxes from Canara, Surat, and Ahmedabad, and in carved ebony work from Ahmedabad. They also employ carvers in wood themselves.

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*Note, December 5th, 1865.*—Colonel Lewis Pelly has just sent to me, for the Nagpore Exhibition, two inlaid articles brought by him from Persia. The work is identical with that of Bombay, the very patterns are the same, only brass is used in them instead of tin wire.—G. B.

At the same Meeting the following paper was read by Dr. Birdwood on the leaf of the tree which yields *Luban Maitee* :—

The botanical source or sources of olibanum, and the situation of the libanophorous region, excited the liveliest interest from the earliest times, and it is only within a recent date, comparatively, that these questions have received something like satisfactory answer. Linnæus referred olibanum to an unascertained juniper. Bruce and others searched for the tree, but in vain. In 1807 Colebrooke proved that Indian olibanum (*Cundur, Salai, Sajiwan*), was the product of *Boswellia serrata* Rox., since named *Boswellia thurifera* (see Asiatic Researches, Vol. 9, and Linnæan Transactions, Vol. 15). On this it was concluded that the olibanum of commerce was an Indian, not an Arabian or African, product, an error adopted even by Pereira, and the more remarkable considering the positive evidence of Pliny regarding Arabia, and the mention by Dioscorides of Indian as well as Arabian olibanum. The fact is that no olibanum the product of India is exported from India, and that the whole of that of general commerce is Arabian, but this being imported into Europe through Bombay has probably led to its being thought Indian. Endlicher referred olibanum to his *Plosslea floribunda*, Hochstetter afterwards to *Boswellia papyrifera*, which proved to be one with Endlicher's plant. It is a native of Arabia and the Soumali country, and is now acknowledged to be the source of the olibanum of commerce.

But the question suggests itself,—has the olibanum of Arabia and Africa more than one source? and it has been asked for years whether *Luban Maitee* (from Bunder *Mait*) is or is not from the same plant as common olibanum. As I was in a favorable position to attempt to answer the question, I applied last year to Captain Playfair, at Aden, to obtain for me samples of all the varieties of olibanum obtained in Africa and Arabia, with cuttings attached of the plants yielding them. These cuttings were planted, and two of them have taken, neither being *B. papyrifera*, and one fortunately the cutting labelled as the source of *Luban Maitee*. Its leaf corresponds with that of no species of *Boswellia* described, for besides Hochstetter's plant we have only Colebrooke's, *Boswellia glabra* and *B. hirsuta* of Roxburgh being spurious *Boswellias*, and referred now to the genus *Pimela* (see DeC. Prod. 1825, and Walper's Journals). The leaves are in clusters characteristic of *Boswellias*, imparipinnate, presenting from six to seven leaflets, increasing in size from

base to apex of the leaf, and they are smooth, shining, and crumpled. They very much resemble those of *B. papyrifera* in size and shape, but are of a livelier green, more translucent, and feel crisp instead of soft. There can be little doubt from this that the source of *Luban Maitee* is a distinct species from any *Boswellia* yet described, but of course until the flower has bloomed nothing can be properly determined.

I hope, however, the Society will not therefore think me premature in bringing the plant to their notice. Its life here is very precarious, and if it perishes it may be years before another plant may be observed; and as the source of *Luban Maitee* is to this day a standing question in the scientific world I thought it my duty to take the first opportunity of answering it, however imperfectly. Clearly we have before us in the plant said to yield *Luban Maitee*, and received from Bunder Mait, a plant distinct from *B. papyrifera*. The other cutting, which has stuck, proves, too, that there is a third species, or at least very strongly marked variety, of *Boswellia* (?), yielding the olibanum of commerce. The leaves here, too, are in the characteristic clusters, about five inches long, imparipinnate, seventeen leaflets on each, the leaflets being serrated, soft, and increasing from the first pair to the fifth, and then diminishing to the odd leaflet at top. This resembles those of *B. thurifera* in miniature.

Dr. Birdwood exhibited also some examples of *Luban Maitee*, received from Captain Playfair.

Dr. Carter did not recognise No. 1 sample of olibanum as *Luban Maitee*, but stated that the exudation from the plant on the table was identical in smell and taste with *Luban Maitee*, and that from that alone he at once recognised the young tree when on a visit to it at the Sewree Gardens lately.

Dr. Birdwood observed that he was only concerned to have it on record that the tree received from Bunder Mait, and stated to be the source of *Luban Maitee* by Captain Playfair, and recognised as such by Dr. Carter, was distinct from *Boswellia papyrifera*. Whether No. 1 was or was not a sample of *Luban Maitee* was another point. No. 3 Dr. Carter recognised as *Luban Maitee*, and this Captain Playfair, who had taken the greatest trouble in getting authentic samples and accurate information, states to be the *Yegaar* of the Soumalis, and to be highly prized in the Hurrur market. It resembled *Luban Maitee* in its sweet, lemon-like odour, but was more grateful, and very different in appearance. The second plant he also wished to have recorded was

distinct from *B. papyrifera*. It was from the neighbourhood of *Mait*, but its exudation resembles ordinary olibanum, judging from its nature at present.\*

At the same Meeting General LeGrand Jacob placed a bag of Sah Coins belonging to H. H. the Rao of Cutch on the table, and stated that he had done so in the hope that the Society would get one of its members to select from them specimens of all that might not be in the Society's cabinet, as he was not well enough to do this himself; he added that he had left specimens with the Home Society, and had then parcelled them out into little bags, in which they would now be found.

General Jacob also hoped that the Society would not lose sight of keeping up communication with Mr. Friederich of Batavia with a view, among other things, to obtaining a copy of the Brahamánda Purána of Báli from him, which he (General Jacob) had laboured preliminarily to obtain for the Society before he went home. The Honorable the President stated that no one was so competent to undertake the

\* *Note, November 5th, 1865.*—The sample labelled *Yegaar* is the true *Luban Maitee*, *Yegaar* being the Soumali name of the tree. Sample No. 1 is either the coarser portion of the exudation, or the exudation of another tree. I have now in Victoria Gardens four species or varieties of olibanum trees, none of which have flowered. They are

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

*Boswellia papyrifera*, or *Mohr Madow*.

? or *Mohr Add*.

or *Yegaar*.

or Dr. Carter's plant.

The first three I received from Colonel (then Captain) Playfair, who obtained them in the Soumali Country. Dr. Carter obtained his plant in Arabia, and described and figured it in vol. ii of this Journal as *Boswellia thurifera*. Dr. Stocks afterwards labelled the plant, then in Sewrie Gardens, as *Boswellia papyrifera*, and under that name I received charge of it when appointed Honorary Secretary of the Agri-Horticultural Society. But it is not *B. papyrifera*, the latter being the *Mohr Madow* of the Soumalis. *Mohr Madow* and *Mohr Add* yield the *Luban Sheheri* of the Arabs, "perhaps (wrote Captain Playfair) because it is principally taken to the Shehr and Makulla market from the African coast." It would almost seem, therefore, that the olibanum of commerce is no more an Arabian than an Indian product, but an African product. Dr. Carter obtained his plant (not yet named or recognized in botanical works) in Africa, but it may almost be doubted if it supplies commerce with any olibaum.—G. B.

selection of Sah coins for the Society as Mr. Newton, to whom the collection was therefore handed over for this purpose.

And the Secretary added that, in order that General Jacob's preliminary and valuable labours to obtain a copy of the Báli Purána might not be lost, all his correspondence with Mr. Friederich and the Society had been inserted in the Abstract of the Proceedings in the 21st Number of the Society's Journal, which had been just published.

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At the Monthly Meeting of the 13th February 1862, the Managing Committee having submitted their proposition for sale of a portion of the Novels belonging to the Society,

It was carried by a majority of 4, 9 have been for and 5 against.

The propositions for the appropriation of the balance of the "Kennedy Memorial Fund" for new Book-cases was also submitted for the consideration of the meeting, and was unanimously carried.

At the same Meeting Mr. H. Newton read the following memorandum on 142 Sah Coins:—

"As requested by the *President*, I have examined the 142 Sah Coins laid before the Society by General Jacob at the last monthly meeting, with a view to ascertaining how far a selection might with advantage be made from them for the Society's Museum.

After re-arranging them, and assigning 29 of the 30 undeciphered ones, I find that they are as under:—

	Coins.
1. Atri Dama son of Rudra Sah.....	48
2. Vishva Sah son of Atri Dama.....	21
3. Vishva Sinha son of Rudra Sah.....	20
4. Rudra Sah son of Vira Dama.....	17
5. Rudra Sah son of Svami Jina Dama .....	11
6. Asa Dama son of Rudra Sah.....	5
7. Dama Jata Shri son of Dama Sah.....	4
8. Vijaya Sah son of Dama Sah.....	4
9. Dama Sah son of Rudra Sah .....	1
10. Atri Dama or Vishva Sah son of Rudra Sah.....	10
11. No legend.....	1

**The only very rare coin among these is that of *Dama Sah son of Rudra Sah*. I have taken it for the Society, as there is only one—the only one that I have ever seen—in its collection. . . . .** 1

***Vijaya Sah*.—The Society has eight of these not very common coins, but none shows the vowel point. Of those now offered to the Society three show it. I have selected two of them. . . . .** 2

***Dama Jata Shri*.—Neither of the Society's two coins shows more than a trace of the name; two of the four in this collection from Kutch give the name clearly. I have taken one. . . . .** 1

***Asa Dama*.—The name of this satrap was first read by Prinsep as Aga Dama. The Society has two coins, and they might be so read. There are five among those now laid before the Society, four of which give the distinctive mark of *s*. I have selected two . . . . .** 2

***Rudra Sinha son of Svami Jina Dama*.—The Society has no specimen of this satrap's coin, though they are not very uncommon. There are eleven in this Kutch hoard, of which I have taken three. All tend to show that the name is Jina, and not Jiva as given by Mr. Thomas. . . . .** 3

***The Great Rudra Sah*.—The Society has four coins of this king, one a good one. I have added four which give the legend distinctly. . . . .** 4

***Vishva Sah son of Atri Dama*. .—The Society has six. I have added one . . . . .** 1

***Vishva Sinha son of Rudra Sah*.—I have taken three, two of which show that the name is Sinha, not Sah: the distinctive vowel is wanting on each of the three coins hitherto possessed by the Society. . . . .** 3

***Atri Dama*.—The Society has eight of these. The present collection has again enabled me to select two which give the vowel mark over the *w*. One is a remarkable coin, as it has also the long *a* attached to the *d* in Dama (ꣳ). I have never before seen any attempt to indicate this vowel in the Sah coin legends, though it is generally distinct in the cave-temple inscriptions. I have taken altogether five of the coins of this king, two of which give different dates with unusual distinctness . . . . .** 5

I have given at the commencement of this memorandum a list of the kings whose coins were found in this hoard, with the number of coins belonging to each, because I have long been of opinion that information of this kind may hereafter lead to interesting results, and that the Society should therefore retain notes of such particulars. The present case illustrates, as well as a single instance can, the special object for which I have been desirous that these details should be preserved. It will be noticed that this hoard does not contain a coin of Svami Rudra Sah son of Svami Rudra Dama, although that satrap's coins are more numerous in the Society's collection, and I believe in some other collections, than those of any other member of the Sah dynasty. The most probable inference (and one which I had on entirely different grounds arrived at before I was aware of this) is that a later date is to be assigned to the reign of Svami Rudra Sah than to that of any satrap represented by the coins in this hoard (M. K. Rudra Sah son of Vira Dama being among the number), or in other words that Svami Rudra Sah's coins did not come into circulation until after the date at which this collection was deposited in its place of concealment. As we have such weighty grounds for distrusting the present serial arrangement of the Sah satraps, deduced from the supposed value of figures found on their coins (a subject on which I hope at no distant time to lay a few remarks before the Society), indications of the kind now mentioned cannot fail, when such facts have sufficiently accumulated, to lead to valuable conclusions."

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At the Monthly Meeting of the 13th March 1862 the following addition to Rule XI., proposed by Sir A. Grant and printed in the "circular" calling the meeting, was read, viz :—

"In the event of any office-bearer leaving Bombay permanently, or going on furlough or sick leave to Europe, his place is to be filled up at the ordinary meeting next following his departure. This proposition in no way to modify Rule X."

The Honorable the President, seconded by H. Newton, Esq., C.S., then moved an amendment, viz., "that Sir A. Grant's addition is unnecessary, as the course is for any member to move that members be elected to supply vacancies when they occur."

The amendment and original motion having successively been submitted to the meeting the latter was carried.

Colonel H. B. Turner,  
Dr. Stovell,  
H. Newton, Esq., C.S.,

were then elected to supply the vacancies in the Vice-Presidents caused by the departure of

The Honorable H. W. Reeves,  
Colonel G. Pope, C.B.,  
Dr. Leith,

and to supply the vacancies in the Committee

Dr. Peet,  
Professor Hughlings,  
W. Loudon, Esq.

The following "propositions" by Dr. Birdwood, which were also printed in the circular calling the meeting, were submitted and *not* carried, viz:—

1st—"That the Resolution of the 23rd November 1848 regarding periodicals be rescinded."

2nd—"That all the newspapers now taken in by the Society be discontinued, excepting the English and French illustrated ones."

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At the Monthly Meeting of the 10th April 1862 two silver coins were presented by Government with their letter No. 454, dated 14th March 1862. "Both of Rudra Sah, son of Jina Dama. One peculiar for the place in the margin from which the legend commences, and the other remarkable for the date being 380 instead of 387, which is the usual one on these coins. The locality from which the coins came is not mentioned."

Twelve copper coins were also presented by Major Keatinge, from some bags of the same in the Indore Treasury. Of these the Honorable the President stated as follows:—

"They are Gudhya Pica. (*See* Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 413, pl. XV., figs. 21-22.)

"In p. 410 he mixes them with other coins which have a horse or ass upon them and Sanskrit letters, a much less degenerate coin than these, which I believe are nothing but Gupta and Sah coins copied so often that the figure and letters are lost, and these marks only remain.



“ These coins are common in Malwa and Guzerat, and well known to all coin-collectors.”

Dr. Leith's letter intimating his having seen in the newspapers that his place among the Vice-Presidents was about to be filled up, and explaining why he had left Bombay without tendering his resignation, was read, and the Secretary requested to forward the reply to it, which will be found in the Letter-Book.

The Secretary (Dr. Carter) with reference to the Minutes of a Meeting of the Museum Committee held on the 14th November last, and printed in the last Number (XXI.) of the Society's Journal, Appendix, p.xcviii., laid the *Museum Catalogue* before the meeting, in which he stated that all the loose letters and documents which he had found about the Museum when he took charge of it in 1847 had been for many years past entered. That all descriptive lists of specimens which had been since received had also been from time to time entered in this book, and that he had just now added to it a list of all the drawers and their contents generally and respectively, together with “ memoranda ” of everything that occurred to him since he had taken charge of the Museum likely to be useful in completing the classification and catalogue of its contents.

Lastly, that he had no time to write or dictate a descriptive account of the specimens individually, as this would entail almost as much trouble and time as that of making a catalogue of the books in the Library, and that therefore this must be left to whoever might hereafter undertake the final arrangements of the Museum.

Dr. Birdwood observed that the Honorary Secretary had gone over all the contents of the drawers and those of the Museum with him personally, and that at the Secretary's dictation he had written down as much of their description as (with the knowledge he had thus obtained of them) would be sufficient for him at some future time to classify the Museum and write a complete catalogue of its contents.

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At the Monthly Meeting of the 8th May 1862 a letter was read from M. de Tassy, dated Paris, 16th March 1862, in which he thanks the Society for its copy of No. XXI. of the Society's Journal, and states that M. E. De Quatremère died in 1857, and that he is almost sure that Chr. Cæsar Morcau is dead.

M. Garcin de Tassy also expresses his wish for a copy of Janárdan Rámchanderjee's Biographical Sketches of Eminent Indian Authors, and to be put in communication with Janárdan Rámchanderjee himself.

The Secretary was requested to attend to M. Garcin de Tassy's wishes in this respect as early as possible.

The following letter from General LeGrand Jacob was read, and ordered to be entered in the minutes of the meeting, that the objects might not be lost sight of :—

“ *Bombay, 23rd April 1862.*”

To the SECRETARY Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,  
Bombay.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have left at the Society's rooms the following Puránas :—

Matsya,\*  
Markandya,\*  
Varana,  
Narsingha,  
Padma, Uttara Khunda Singa ;

of these the two marked with an asterisk are duplicate, and should be returned to Dr. Bháú Dájí, and the remaining five kept for Mr. Friederich, Secretary to the Java Society of Arts, Sciences, and Literature.

You are aware that this gentleman has promised to procure for us a copy of the sole Purána known to the Hindus of Bálí, with the Brahamanda, a translation, and that in return I have endeavoured to secure for him copies of the whole of the eighteen Puránas of India.

Three were sent to him before he left Java, viz., Bhagawat, Brahamanda, Vishnu.

The following six I left for him with the parent Society in London, viz :—

Matsya,  
Markandya,  
Waijii,  
Waráhu,  
Kurm,

this making altogether fourteen Puránas obtained.

Only four, therefore remain unsupplied, viz.—

Siwa,  
Bhawishya,  
Brahmwaiwunt,  
Garur.

Total eighteen.

Our zealous colleague, to whose kind help and that of my friend Rıo Saheb Vishwanáth Náráyan Mandlik I am indebted for the copies sent to Java and those left with you, will probably be able to exchange the two duplicates, and obtain copies of the others, if the Society will give what little aid for the purpose may be needful.

Mr. Friederich, who when he last wrote me was at home on account of very bad health, hoped to return to Java about the middle of this year. Should he come this way, you will have an opportunity of arranging matters with him. Should he be prevented by continued ill health from returning to the East, it might be as well to ascertain whether the Java Society were willing to supply his place, and obtain for us what we want in exchange for our Puránas.

It might further the common object if our branch would put itself *en rapport* with the Society at home on this subject; they have, as above mentioned, some of the Puránas to give Mr. F. We could offer to send them a copy of the Bılı Purána when obtained, &c., or send them Mr. Friederich's after taking our own. If it be found different from the Indian Brahamanda, and worth the cost, we might offer conjointly to print it.

I now write all this because I leave India by next mail, and shall have no future opportunity of doing anything more myself to further the case in view except perhaps with the parent Society.

Believe me faithfully yours,  
(Signed) L. JACOB.

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At the Monthly Meeting of the 12th June 1862 the following Report of the Committee of Management on Mr. Carter's resignation of the Secretaryship was read:—

#### REPORT.

It is with great and unfeigned regret that the Committee of Management have to announce the resignation by Mr. Carter of the office of

Secretary to the Society, which he has filled for upwards of fifteen years with so much benefit to the Society and honour to himself.

It is unnecessary that the Committee of Management should dilate to the members of the Society upon the advantages they have derived from Mr. Carter's services, for though it is generally believed that he is better known and appreciated by his varied discoveries in France, Italy, and Germany, than he is here in Bombay, still he is well known and fully appreciated by all members of this Society, for in their company he laid aside that retiring modesty which, much to their loss, prevented his being fully valued by those with whom he was not intimate.

The Society need not be told of his eminent discoveries. The last number of our journal contains a list of the papers which he has read to us, amounting to some 67, a number which would make us ashamed of ourselves but that none of us hope to vie with Mr. Carter. The Society will, however, bear with the Committee of Management if they give a short *résumé* of Mr. Carter's labours.

His first geological observations were on the alluvium of the Indus, and the eocene formation of the neighbourhood of Hydrabad in Sind. Driven from that country by ague, after a short residence at Mahableswur he joined the Honorable Company's Brig *Palinurus* in October 1844, then ordered on the survey of the coast of Arabia between Muscat and Aden. In the course of this expedition he clearly laid down the grand geological features of Eastern Arabia,—eocene strata resting on cretaceous, and invaded by granite and serpentine rocks, the whole again disturbed by later trappean irruptions. On his return to Bombay he published his remarks on the littoral deposits of the Arabian Sea, in which the suggestion was made of the identity of the mineral resin found on the shores of Malabar with the copal of Zanzibar and the Caffre coast.

He next turned his attention to that interesting class of fossils named foraminifera, to which the well-known nummulites of the nummulitic limestone (the stone chiefly used in the construction of the pyramids) belongs. In his papers on this subject much new information of a highly important nature was given, and by them Mr. Carter's reputation in Europe was at once firmly established.

His next paper was on the geology of the island of Bombay, a problem of unusual intricacy, to which he gave masterly solution. Amongst

other results, he fixed the situation, between the basalt of Malabar Hill and the underlying trap, of that freshwater formation in which Dr. Leith found so many organic remains.

In 1854 Mr. Carter gave us his "Summary of the Geology of India," which, although partly conjectural in character, has since proved to be of great value, for by bringing together the scattered facts of Indian geology, and subjecting them even to a provisional classification, it has afforded a starting-point for fresh discoveries. It was by the suggestions contained in this "Summary" that Major Keatinge was led to the examination of the neighbourhood of Bagh, by which unmistakable proof was obtained of the presence of cretaceous strata on the Nerbudda. The same work had also a direct influence in stimulating the Geological Survey of India. The theory which it contains of the oolitic series, worked out under the three leading members, the Tara and Punna sandstones and the intermediate Katra shales, although offered by Mr. Carter as merely tentative, must always be regarded as one of the most decisive indications of his scientific sagacity.

The "Summary" was afterwards expanded into a thick royal octavo volume entitled "Geological Papers on Western India," and containing a republication of all the more important papers connected with this particular subject.

Since then Mr. Carter has in geology favoured the Society with occasional reports on specimens of rocks brought from the Persian Gulf by Commander Constable, H. M.'s I. N., with a Summary of the valuable observations made by Assistant Surgeon Cook in the valley of Khelat, with remarks on the island of Salsette, and with his paper entitled "Further Observations on the Structure of the Foraminifera."

Mr. Carter's contributions to zoology, physiology, and botany are very numerous, and their value has been acknowledged in Europe by all the recognized authorities on these subjects. Each paper is the record of a discovery.

The first was on the tapetum of the mammalia, in which he proved that the rainbow hues of that organ are due, not to colouring matter, but to the structural arrangement of the fibre. His paper on the mosquito for the first time accurately described the anatomy of that insect.

His descriptions of the fresh-water sponges of Bombay excited the admiration of naturalists throughout Europe, by whom Mr. Carter has ever since been acknowledged as an authority on the organization and

vital phenomena of the lower forms of creation both in the vegetable and animal kingdoms.

In other papers he described the curious class of fungi which invade the cells of Algæ, one genus of which has been called Pythium by Pringsheim, the conjugations of Diatomacea, and fecundation of the lower Algæ, the structure of infusorial Protozoa, in which he demonstrated a distinct muscular system, and the whole evolution of the Lac insect (*Coccus Lacca*), the mode of genesis and development of which had only been before obscurely noticed by Roxburgh.

In botany the same felicity of discovery attended him, for in Arabia he had the good fortune to find the true frankincense tree of the ancients, for which Niebuhr had in vain sought, and which, although fully described by Mr. Carter in 1847, has not yet been entered in the systematic catalogues of botanists. Mr. Carter also communicated many separate papers to the Society on the geography, ethnology, and antiquities of Southern Arabia. We trust that there is now some chance of his reproducing those papers, together with other results of his Arabian researches in geology and botany, under the form of a connected narrative of the expedition to which he was attached.

For these labours the Royal Society of London made him one of their Fellows, showing that they were well able to appreciate his discoveries and reward his merit. We have no such rewards to bestow. But it has occurred to the Committee of Management that by presenting Mr. Carter with the best microscope procurable they will enable him yet further to prosecute those studies in which he delights, and if he is thereby enabled to make further discoveries he will not, the Committee of Management hope, think the time he has passed with us either ill spent or unrequited. The Committee therefore propose that a microscope which will cost Rs. 1,000 be procured by subscription amongst the members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and that it be presented with an appropriate inscription on it as a parting gift from the Society to their late Secretary, Mr. Carter.

The Committee have already canvassed the members, and their application has been favorably received, but from a mistake in the circular the Committee are not able to declare that they feel sure the subscriptions will amount to the sum they require, though they have every confidence that, with the concurrence of the present meeting, they will be able to obtain the object proposed.

The Honorable Jugonnath Sunkersett then moved "That the Society feel great and unfeigned regret at the resignation by Mr. Carter of the office of Secretary to the Society, which he has filled for so many years with so much benefit to the Society and honour to himself."

"That subscriptions be entered into to raise the sum of Rs. 1,000 to be presented to Mr. Carter with a request that he will obtain the best microscope procurable for that sum, and accept it as a mark of the regard and esteem in which he is held by the members of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society," and

"That a copy of the above resolutions and of the Committee's Report be presented to Mr. Carter with the money subscribed."

Dr. Knapp had great pleasure in seconding the resolutions. He had known Mr. Carter intimately for a long period, they having been fellow-students at the London University from 1835 to 1837. Mr. Carter was even then universally recognized as a young man of great promise, and the Report just read proved this early promise to have been amply fulfilled.

The resolutions were unanimously carried.

The Honorable President then moved that Mr. Carter be elected an Honorary Member of the Society. The proposition would meet with the unanimous approval of the Society, for no one could more deserve being made an Honorary Member than Mr. Carter, but the rules required that it should be formally supported by two other members before being put to the vote. The proposition, being seconded by Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., and Mr. Alexander Kinloch Forbes, was unanimously carried.

It was then moved by Mr. Newton and Dr. Birdwood, and seconded by Dr. Peet and Mr. Bháú Dájí, and unanimously carried, that A. K. Forbes, Esq., and Col. Dickinson, be elected Vice-Presidents *vice* Dr. Harkness and Colonel Turner, proceeded to Europe.

Mr. Newton then moved, seconded by Dhanjibháí Frámjí, Esq., that Dr. Birdwood be elected Honorary Secretary to the Society, *vice* Mr. Carter, resigned on his departure to Europe.

The proposition having been carried, the following gentlemen were elected Members of the Committee of Management by ballot, *vice* Dr. Coles, proceeded to Europe, and Mr. Forbes elected Vice-President, and Dr. Birdwood elected Secretary, viz :—

Major Dunsterville,  
J. A. Baumbach, Esq.,  
G. Scott, Esq., C. S.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 11th September 1862 the Secretary read the following letter :—

MY DEAR DR. BIRDWOOD,

In reply to your extracts from the Proceedings of the monthly meeting of the Bombay Branch Asiatic Society held on the 2nd June last, kindly detailing, with reference to my retirement from the Secretaryship, the circumstances of my career in connection with the Society during the time I had the honour and good fortune to hold this appointment, will you kindly inform the Society that I am deeply sensible of the sincerity of all the kind expressions contained therein, and that my only wish now is that I had done more to deserve them.

With reference to their generous intention of presenting me with a microscope of the costly price mentioned in the "proceedings" as a parting token of their friendship and appreciation, I can only state that the instrument will always recall to my mind a delightful remembrance of the members individually, as well as the time I have passed with the Society at large ; while I trust my health may enable me, as kindly anticipated by the Society, to turn it to advantage in making further discoveries, and thus render the Society's friendly gift in the end subservient to the advancement of their grand object of scientific and useful research.

Lastly, the gift of honorary membership. Of this I wish I could state more than that, at the close of my career, to have had this conferred on me by individual members who are dear to me from friendship and esteem, as well as by the Society at large, whose object it has been for so many years my constant endeavour to cherish and fulfil—this has crowned me with a wreath, which, brightening as age advances, will only fade when in the course of nature all that is dear must pass away from the hand of poor mortality.

I remain,  
My dear Dr. Birdwood,  
Yours very sincerely,  
(Signed) H. J. CARTER.

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ANNIVERSARY MEETING,  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 24TH, 1862.

The Secretary, at the direction of the Honorable the President, then read the following Report of the Committee of Management for the year 1861-62 :—



## ANNUAL REPORT.

*Members.*—During the past year 16 resident members and 1 non-resident member have been elected, that is, 1 less than in the year 1860-61. 4 members have permanently left India, 23 are temporarily absent in Europe, and 1 has died during the year. There are at present 97 members on the register, namely, 77 resident and 20 non-resident, against 78 and 20 respectively at the corresponding date last year.

*Library.*—To the Library 147 works in 212 volumes have been added by purchase, against 264 works in 330 volumes bought the previous year, 67 works in 154 volumes have been rebound, and 127 works in 99 volumes and 69 pamphlets have been presented to the Society. The same periodicals have been subscribed for this year as last.

*Catalogue.*—Last year a Committee consisting of Sir Alex. Grant, Bart., Professor Hughlings, J. Gibbs, Esq., and Dr. Birdwood, was appointed to draw up an alphabetical catalogue of the Library. The Committee employed a number of Purvoes under Mr. Dadoba Pandoorung to prepare the MS., which was made over to the Bombay Education Society's Press complete on the 1st of September last. It has been printed so far as the letter F under the immediate supervision of Sir Alexander Grant, and will be ready for distribution by the New Year's Day. The Sub-Committee considered it inexpedient to include the medical works in the general catalogue, and these have been published in a separate list. A separate list has also been printed of the novels, and the question will be submitted to the Committee of Management whether it should be bound up with the general catalogue or not.

*Alteration of Books.*—The same Committee was also appointed to draw up a list of works they would recommend to be removed from the shelves of the Library, and, having submitted their list, a large number of works were removed by the Society from the Library.

*The Library Rooms.*—During the year several book-cases have been added to the Library Rooms, and the books have all been newly arranged in accordance with the new catalogue.

*Circulation of Books.*—The Committee have paid great attention to the circulation of books, and they trust that when the catalogue is in the hands of the members every facility for the use of the Library will have been provided.

*Book Agent.*—The Society in April last transferred its book agency from Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co., to Mr. Mudie. The Committee regret that the books sent by Mr. Mudie have been less in number than had previously been supplied by Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co., for corresponding months, and that they are defective in condition, carelessly selected, and, like the periodicals, have not been despatched with punctuality.

Mr. Mudie also has been inattentive to the letters written to him by the Secretary. The Committee of Management have now other arrangements under consideration, which they trust will ensure a full and satisfactory supply of books for the future.

*Museum.*—The Society's Museum has been removed from the north to the south room. There have been seven donations to it during the year of coins and geological specimens. On the completion of the Library catalogue the catalogue of the Museum will be commenced.

*Original Communications.*—There have been seven original communications read before the Society during the year, the MSS. of which are in the custody of the Society.

*Change of Office-Bearers.—Vice-Presidents.*—During the past year the Society have lost the services, as Vice-Presidents, of Dr. Harkness and Colonel Pope, on retiring from the service, and of Dr. Leith on his appointment as Deputy Inspector General S. D. A.

*Secretary.*—Mr. Carter also, after serving the Society for fifteen years as their Secretary, resigned the appointment in May last, on taking sick leave to England. The Society on his departure voted him an address, and presented him with a microscope of the value of Rs. 1,000, in testimony of their sense of his long services as their Secretary, and of his distinguished labours as a naturalist.

*Finance.*—From the statement laid on the table it will be seen that the financial state of the Society is satisfactory.

Proposed by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, and seconded by R. T. Reid, Esq., LL.D., and carried unanimously, "That the Report be adopted with the best thanks of the Society to the Honorable President, Vice-Presidents, and Office-bearers, for their valuable services during the past year."

The meeting then proceeded to the election of members of the Committee of Management for the year 1862-63, and the following is the list of Office-bearers for the year:—

*President.*—The Honorable W. E. Frere, C.S.

*Vice-Presidents.*—M. Stovell, Esq., M.D., the Honorable H. Newton, C.S., the Honorable A. K. Forbes, C.S., and Colonel W. R. Dickinson.

*Committee of Management.*—Bháú Dájí, Esq., Sir A. Grant, Bart., J. P. Hughlings, Esq., Major J. B. Dunsterville, J. A. Forbes, Esq., J. A. Baumbach, Esq., J. Peet, Esq., M.D., W. Loudon, Esq., W. R. Cassels, Esq., and the Rev. J. D. Gibson.

*Revision of the Periodicals.*—Moved by Sir Alexander Grant, and seconded by Dr. Birdwood, that *Galignani's Messenger*, *Times of India*, *Bombay Gazette*, *Friend of India*, *Madras Times*, *Poona Observer*, *Hurkaru*, and all other Indian papers, be discontinued. Dr. Birdwood said he seconded the motion on grounds of economy; out of Rs. 3,000 a year spent by the Society on books and periodicals, Rs. 869 went to newspapers and periodicals, exclusive of scientific periodicals and magazines of a literary character.

Mr. Maclean moved as an amendment that all the words of Sir Alexander Grant's motion after *Galignani's Messenger* be left out. The discontinuance of the newspapers was proposed as a matter of economy, but in trying to save money regard should be had to the tastes of the members of the Society, the majority of whom belong to that large class who read newspapers, and not to the very small class whose attention is only occasionally called to them. *Galignani* might very well be dispensed with, but a great public library in Bombay ought not to be without files of the Indian newspapers. As to the local papers, it was not of much consequence whether they were taken in or not, as files could always be seen at the printing offices; and, besides, every member of the Society either is a subscriber to them already, or ought to become one as soon as possible. But, speaking generally, it might be said that newspapers, which give a complete and accurate history of our own times, should be included in every library of reference, for it is most inconvenient for a private individual to carry cumbersome newspaper files about with him. If the object were to save money, that might be effected in another and better way, by putting an end to the present practice of allowing some London agent to send out any books he pleases to the library. Of course, a few London publishers would always prefer to send out books which won't sell rather than books which will sell. The proper plan would be for a selection to be made in Bombay, by competent men, of books announced in the publishers' circulars, which always give the names of books months before they arc

published, and if lists thus prepared were regularly sent home, really good books might be obtained, as soon as they appeared, at much less expense than at present.

The Honorable President suggested that, in order to meet every one's views, the names of the newspapers proposed to be discontinued should be voted on one by one.

This was accordingly done, and *Galignani's Messenger*, the *Poona Observer*, *Lahore Chronicle*, and *Delhi Gazette*, were voted to be discontinued, the rest of the Indian papers to be continued. The *Westminster Review* was voted to be added to the list of periodicals.

Mr. Walter Cassels then moved the following proposition :—

“ That a committee of three gentlemen be annually appointed to select and arrange for the purchase of books suitable for the Library, and that subscribers generally be invited to propose such new works as they desire for the consideration of the committee.”

In supporting his motion Mr. Cassels spoke as follows :—

Ever since I have been a member of the Asiatic Society I have myself felt, and I have heard others generally express, much dissatisfaction with our Library arrangements. The subscription paid is higher than that to any similar institution in the world, but the advantages given in return, I am sorry to say, are in precisely the opposite ratio. Instead of receiving regular and liberal supplies of the best English and foreign literature of the day, we are put off with a scanty and indifferent selection of English books, and German and French are altogether ignored. Now it is unnecessary to urge that without a judicious admixture of foreign literature no library can be considered complete, and the members cannot keep up with the progress of European thought. At one time during the past year we were, by some mismanagement, for many weeks, indeed I may say months, altogether without new books, periodicals, and newspapers, and in fact we have for a long period been running about from one agent to another, entreating them to take trouble for us in the selection of books, which we ought to have taken for ourselves. Mr. Mudie was the last new broom who was expected to sweep clean, but he, like the rest, has disappointed our fond expectations, and has sent us merely the refuse of his library. We have now thoroughly tried the system of allowing an agent to select our books, and it has proved a complete failure. I trust, therefore, that we may henceforth take the matter into our own hands. I believe that there is a book, in some corner of the library, in which members may amuse

themselves by writing the names of any books they desire to be purchased, but it is generally consigned to the spiders and white ants, and the idea that any attention is paid to our recommendations is a mere delusion. Then, with regard to the terms upon which we obtain our books, I understand that we are only allowed fifteen per cent. discount upon the published price; but any one who is in the habit of purchasing books is aware that some of the largest booksellers in London freely deduct twenty per cent. for cash, and we ought at least to have the benefit of this rate. I fear that the Society has adhered too long to ancient traditions, and is in need of a little reform.

Dr. Wilson recommended that Mr. Cassels' resolution should be left to the Managing Committee for disposal.

Mr. Maclean hoped Mr. Cassels would not withdraw his motion. For years the Society had been put off with promises of amendment, and told that if they only left the work of reform to the Committee all would be right. This last year there had been a new Secretary, a new Agent, and a new Committee, yet the result was that the library as regards books was in a worse condition than ever at the end of the year. This was not the fault of the Secretary or of the Committee, but the system was bad, and could only be improved by some such measure as now proposed. The motion was then put and carried.

Mr. Cassels in bringing forward a second resolution said—I beg to direct your attention to the catalogue of novels and romances in the Library which has just been printed. I am happy to learn from the Report which has just been read that the Committee do not propose to add it to the general catalogue, because it seems to me a very discreditable production, both in matter and manner. If Sir Alexander Grant has had anything to do with its compilation, as the Report somewhat implies, I am quite sure that he thought the collection of novels so utterly contemptible that he considered their catalogue unworthy of his notice, and left it altogether to the native Purvoes. It appears intended to be alphabetical both for authors and subjects, but in both respects it is ridiculously incorrect. For instance, under the head "Bulwer" there is only one entry, "Pelham, or the Adventures of a Gentleman," in the edition of 1835, and on turning to the more modern surname "Lytton" I again find only one entry, "The Caxtons," but throughout the list I observe four or five more of Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's works without any author's name, the best of his writings not being in the Library at all. Then one generally finds the name of

Sir Walter Scott in every respectable catalogue of novels, but the Asiatic Society's is, shall I say, a dishonourable exception. The reason of this is pretty obvious. We only possess the original three-volume edition, upon the titlepages of which no author's name appears, and as the compiler was in grave doubt as to the authorship of Waverly and the long series of our great novelist's works he took the precaution of making them anonymous. I need not multiply instances, for a glance at the catalogue will show you that throughout there is a total want of system and intelligence; as the general catalogue is in Sir Alexander Grant's hands, however, I am quite sure that it will be all that we could desire. The collection of novels in the library, however, is still more discreditable than their catalogue, and it would be more for the honour of the Society not to have any novels at all than to possess so contemptible a selection. The greater novelists are most imperfectly represented, their best works are wanting, and the editions which exist are generally old and worm-eaten. The rest of the collection consists of wretched trash, published throughout the last half-century, which nobody reads, which nobody would buy, and which the Society had better have the strength of mind at once to present to the trunk-maker. I myself desire to see the whole collection disposed of, and replaced by complete modern editions of the best standard authors, which may now be bought very cheaply. At any rate, you will all agree with me that the present stock requires rigorous weeding. I should like to see the same process extended to every other class of books in the Library. We are now much pinched for room, and, instead of buying more book-cases we may secure a double advantage in making way for new works by a good riddance of bad rubbish. For the present, however, I confine my attack to the novels, and have the honour of proposing "That a Committee be appointed to examine the novels and romances now in the Library, with power to dispose of any or all of them according to their judgment."

The Secretary (Dr. Birdwood) stated he alone, and not Sir Alexander Grant, or any one else than himself, was responsible for the catalogue of novels.

Mr. D. J. Kennelly seconded the motion, and it was carried, and the following gentlemen were nominated to both Committees :—

Sir Alexander Grant,  
The Revd. Dr. Wilson,  
W. R. Cassels, Esq.

The Honorable the President (Mr. W. E. Frere) being compelled to leave the meeting at an early hour, the Honorable H. Newton occupied the chair at the time the above resolution was carried.

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FROM THE 11TH DECEMBER 1862 TO THE 30TH NOVEMBER 1863.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 9th April 1863 Dr. Murray Mitchell read his paper entitled "Specimens of Maráthí Poetry, translated." Dr. Mitchell began by expressing his regret that, as he was about to visit Europe, he would be compelled to crush into one paper the remarks which he meant to extend into three or four papers. The subject of Maráthí poetry was one of no small interest, but exceedingly little had yet been published in English bearing upon it. Burnouf had justly remarked in his preface to the Bhagavat Purána that the time for dissertations on Sanskrit literature had not yet come, the great necessity at present being to provide the original texts and accurate versions of them to serve as a firm basis of criticism and comment. This remark applied still more forcibly to Maráthí than to Sanskrit literature. Dr. Mitchell said he would therefore in his present paper give a great deal of translated text, and comparatively little of commentary. And instead of supplying extracts from a large number of Maráthí writers, or even from the ten or twelve who might be called really distinguished, he would quote as largely as possible from the two who undoubtedly were the greatest of the poets of Maháráshtra. He had also brought specimens of the unpublished songs of the Maráthá people.

He would commence with Dnyáneshwar, or Dnyánobá, who lived nearly 600 years ago. Judging from the form of the language used by him, he is the oldest of the Maráthá poets, although popular belief points to Mukundráj, the author of a pantheistic work called Viveka Sindhu, as about three centuries earlier. Dnyánobá's great work, commonly called the Dnyáneshwarí, is an elaborate commentary on the celebrated Bhagavad Gita. It is written in Ovinetre, which, however, is little more than a kind of rhyming and balanced prose. It runs in stanzas of four lines each, the first three lines rhyming. Philologically the work is most interesting, from its archaic forms, as these help us to see how the Prákrit has gradually passed into the modern vernacular. Of the history of the writer we know next to nothing; as given by the professed biographer Mahipati it is wholly mythical. Evidently,

however, Dnyánobá was a man of great learning. He has the still higher credit of boldly vindicating the honour of what he calls "the national Múrháti speech," and of well exemplifying its great capabilities. His commentary on the Gita is sometimes little more than a translation, but more frequently it is a very copious exposition. Dnyánobá was not only a scholar and (after the Hindu type) philosopher; he was also a true, though not a great, poet; and scattered throughout his work are passages which we need not scruple to call beautiful. Dr. Mitchell here read pretty long extracts illustrating Dnyánobá's ordinary style. Among these was the introduction of the work, containing an ingenious but somewhat fantastic parallel which the poet draws between the various parts of the adorned image of Ganesh and the entire body of Sanskrit literature. He next quoted some of Dnyánobá's expressions of admiration for the Maráthí language, which, in fact, he might be said to have fixed, in the sense in which Dante fixed Italian, and Luther, German. As a specimen of Dnyánobá's purer and higher style the description of the retirement of the Yogi (or ascetic) might be quoted. Little beauty would be seen in an almost literal version like the following, but in the original even the somewhat untunable Maráthí seemed to melt into soft music as the soul of the poet lingered amid scenes of placid beauty and repose. Certainly Dnyánobá possessed one of the higher qualifications of a genuine poet—a true, deep sense of melody.

Where, through the delight of its pleasantness,  
Sitting down, one hardly wills to rise again;  
The feeling of unworldliness grows doubly strong  
When it is once beheld:

A spot prepared by holy men,  
Helpful to calm delight,  
Exhilarating to the heart,

And reassuring:

There studious thought leads on to studious thought,  
Experience doth wed the heart,—  
Such the exceeding power of its delightfulness

Perpetually:

When he lights upon it, O son of Pritha,  
The desire and hope of devotion  
Even in the heart of the profane

Deep-rooted grows:



When going on in his own way,  
 If unexpectedly he comes upon it,  
 Back from it even the sensual man  
     Forgets to go :  
 It detains him who would fain not be detained,  
 The restless it compelleth to sit down,  
 Its soothing power arouses  
     Unworldly thoughts :  
 " A kingdom might be left for this,  
 That one might here in quietness repose :"  
 So would even the voluptuary feel  
     On his first glance :  
 Even thus is it exquisite,  
 And thus is it pure exceedingly,—  
 There is the Supreme Principle revealed  
     Even to the eye :  
 Yet one thing more be noted,—  
 Be it the dwelling place of holy men,  
 But by the feet of the common throng  
     Be it all unstained !  
 And there, like the drink of the Immortals,  
 Sweet, sweet from the very root,  
 Are the trees, thickly set,  
     Fruit-bearing ever :  
 There rivulets at every step,  
 Pure exceedingly, even apart from the rain-season ;  
 And, especially, fountains of water  
     Easy to find :  
 There tempered is the sultry heat,  
 A feeling of coolness dwells ;  
 The breeze is very gentle,  
     Calmly moving :  
 Seldom a sound is heard ;  
 The thick recess the beast entereth not,  
 No parrot or insect even  
     Disturbeth there :  
 But the water-loving *hansas*,  
*Sárasas*, two or four,  
 And there may now and then  
     The *kokil* sit :

Not dwelling always there,  
 But passingly, now and then,  
 Should the peacock come,

So let it be!

But, passing from the learned and Brahmanical Dnyánobá, the poet Tukárám might now be attended to. He was one of the common people, a Wani or shopkeeper of Dehu, near Poona. He lived little more than 200 years ago, yet his history had already run strangely into mythology. He wrote chiefly lyric poems, measure called *abhang*, in which the couplets vary from four or so to twelve, twenty, or upwards. His *abhangs* are said to amount to millions, but after a good deal of inquiry among the descendants of the poet, the conclusion had been arrived at that they might be from four to five thousand in number. One very frequent form of the metre used by Tukárám might be called (using the nomenclature applied to Greek and Roman metres) a Trochaic dimeter, but always rhymed. A more remarkable form of verse, of which Tukárám was exceedingly fond, might be imitated in the following lines:—

Art thou then forsaking Him the greatly gracious,  
 Who the world so spacious  
 Sole sustaineth?

Or, to give an idea of an entire *abhang*, the following version (in the same metre) of one of the shorter poems might suffice—

If when God thou seekest thou a hindrance fearest  
 In thy best and dearest,

Cast them from thee;

If to child or riches thy fond spirit clingeth,  
 Lo! to thee it bringeth

Nought but sorrow.

Pralháḍ even a father, Bibhishan a brother,  
 Bharat realm and mother,

Disregarded.

At the feet of Hari all religion dwelleth:  
 Nothing else availeth:

Thus spoke Tuká.

(The feeble rhyme in the last stanza must not be laid at the translator's door; the rhyme is often feeble in the original.) It was much

to be desired that some one should attempt to classify, and if possible arrange chronologically, the poems of Tukárám. There was clearly a diversity in the sentiment. Very often the poet appeared wholly devoted to Vithobá, the god of Pandharpur, and the poem was an extravagant outpouring of the feeling of devotion to the idol; at other times there was a deep tone of sadness in the poet's strain, as if he were seeking a peace he could not find; and, again, in some cases there was a clear expression of pantheistic sentiments. The history of the poet, could it be correctly traced, would be a deeply interesting and probably affecting study. At all events, every one who sought to enter into the inner mind of the Maráthí people ought to read the poems of Tukárám. He was exceedingly popular and influential. (Dr. Mitchell here read copious extracts from this poet.)

Dr. Mitchell then proceeded to give specimens of the popular songs of Maháráshtra. Of these there was an immense number. There were many *powáde* or heroic songs, a still greater number of *lávanyá* or love songs (generally very exceptionable), and devotional poetry absolutely without end. Almost every man and woman in Maháráshtra could improvise poetry; the husbandman often did so at his plough, the mother at her cradle, and the housewife at her mill. These popular songs ought certainly to be collected, and many of them should be published. Dr. Mitchell here read a lullaby, a cradle-song—another piece, sung at the important operation of cleaning or cow-dunging the floor—a marriage song—and one or two that might be called political squibs. The following he said was more pointed than most of them:—

Palkees and stables—

Stables, chariots, and elephants,—

Instead of these we have now but a wick in a glass:

It is the doing of the red faces; for the time of their power  
has come,—

And our long coats are cut down to jackets.

In the cutcherry there sits a raja—

But a raja bareheaded, with bristling hair—

Oh! our long coats are cut down to jackets.

It was somewhat remarkable that there were hardly any such allusions in the writings of the greater Maráthí authors. Tukárám was a contemporary of Shivájí, and must have sympathised with him in his efforts to shake off the yoke of the Musalmans, yet it was

exceedingly difficult to trace in his writings any reference to the great political movements of his day. The remark might be extended to the other writers.

Some conversation here took place as to the desirableness of collecting the popular songs both of Mahārāshtra and Gujarat. Dr. Mitchell said he would venture to promise that in regard to Gujarat the Society would receive hearty and able assistance from Dr. Glasgow and his colleagues in the Irish Mission.

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At the Monthly Meeting of the 11th June 1863 the following Resolution of the Committee of Management was submitted:—

“That, in modification of Rule XVII., the Society’s meetings be annually adjourned from the second Thursday in May to the second Thursday in September,” but was not carried.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 13th August 1863 the Secretary read the following extract from Dr. Cook’s letter dated August 10th, 1863:—

“I have discovered, about ten or twelve miles from here, near Ootaru, on the Waie road, a fossil tusk belonging either to the mammoth or mastodon or allied species of extinct elephant. The tusk is not perfect, being only a fragment of about 5 feet in length; it is, however, of the largest size, measuring in circumference, even in its present worn state, 26½ inches.

“No remains of mammoth have, so far as I am aware, been discovered in any part of the Dekkan. I think the Sewalik hills and the island of Perim are the only spots in this Presidency where such have been found. The interest, therefore, that attaches to the present discovery is great, as giving the only indication we possess of the character and history of (this part of) the Dekkan since the irruption of the trap. The fossil was lying in a stratum of exceedingly hard gravel, immediately over trap, and overlaid by successive strata of sand, gravel, and diluvial delicta, some twenty-five feet in thickness. In consequence of the late heavy rains, the bank of a very deep nulla had been cut away, and the fossil partially uncovered. I am anxious to know whether Government would grant a small sum (say Rs. 100) in order to enable me to undertake further excavation. I am not indeed very sanguine that other remains would be found in any close proximity, as the fossil is a good deal water-worn, but I think it is worthy of trial.”

Dr. Birdwood then read the following paper :—

*On Recent Discovery in Eastern Africa and the Adventures of  
Captain Singleton (DeFoe).*

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Non contigit ulli  
Hoc vidiſſe caput.

WRITERS on the Nile never fail to tell us how Sesostris, Alexander, the Cæſars, Napoleon, deſired to know its ſources. Lucan makes great Julius Cæſar ſay that he would give up the civil war if he might but ſee the fountains of the Nile; and this problem which the kings and chief captains of the world vainly tried has at laſt yielded to two intrepid officers of our Indian army.

It is only natural to be almoſt envious of ſo much glory, and already Dr. Beke in his pamphlet “Who diſcovered the ſources of the Nile?” answers that he diſcovered the ſources of the Nile, becauſe ſome years ago he ſaid and printed where they would be found. Sir Roderick Murchiſon has received ſeveral communications on the claims of various authors to be conſidered as theoretical diſcoverers of the Nile, and, to do full juſtice to all theſe critical geographers, the Council of the Royal Geographical Society have requeſted them to furniſh the Society with a ſummary (limited to one page) of thoſe concluſions or hypotheſes as to the nature and poſition of the ſources of the Nile that they had published before the reſult of Speke and Grant’s expedition became known. When Speke diſcovered the Victoria Nyanza in 1858 he at once felt certain that it was the head of the Nile. But this was doubted by many, and in a paper read before our Geographical Society in February 1859, while partially ſupporting his hypotheſis, I ſought to prove that Bruce had indicated the nature and poſition of the true *Caput Nili*. And now I am anxious to draw attention to certain remarkable paſſages in “The Adventures of Captain Singleton,” by Daniel DeFoe—paſſages which, ſo far as I can learn, have not been noticed in connection with recent diſcovery in Eaſtern Africa. The better to appreciate the extracts I have made, it is neceſſary to look back over the progreſs of our knowlege of Central Africa.

We all know what the ancients knew of the Nile. Homer ſings of  
“Egypt’s *heaven-deſcended* ſpring,”  
in the ſenſe, perhaps, of the Arab inſcription on the Nilometer at Roda,  
“The water ſcut by God from heaven.”

ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS,

Some thought that the river rose in Western Africa, that after flowing eastward across the continent it turned to the north and reached the Mediterranean. Others thought that it rose in India. Herodotus, for his part, can only say that it came from the south, and he ridicules the opinion that it flowed from the ocean, although it may have rested on some vague knowledge of the Victoria Lake. The centurions sent by Nero Cæsar to investigate the *Caput Nili* reported that in tracking the river upwards it was at last lost in immense marshes. They said that they saw two rocks from which the stream gushed with great force. It will be remembered that the Secretary of Minerva in the city of Sais told Herodotus something like this. His story was:—"Between Syrene, a city of the Thebais, and Elephantine, there are two hills with sharp conical tops; the name of the one is Crophi,\* and of the other Mophi. Midway between them are the fountains of the Nile, fountains which it is impossible to fathom. Half the water runs northward into Egypt, half to the south towards Ethiopia."

Ptolemy says that it rises in certain Mountains of the Moon from two lakes lying east and west of each other about the equator. As to the inundation, some supposed it caused by the Etesian winds, others by the river having its source in the ocean, others by snows melting on the Mountains of the Moon—suppositions all ridiculed by Herodotus. He and Pliny in different ways explain it as due to evaporation following the sun's course, and Strabo to summer rains in the south. Lucretius has a beautiful and truly philosophic passage on the swelling of the Nile in summer time—

“..... pride of Egypt's plains;  
Sole stream on earth its bound'ries that o'erflows  
In summer, and scatters plenty. When the year  
Now glows with perfect summer leaps its tide  
Broad o'er the champaign, for the north wind now,  
The Etesian breeze, against its mouth direct  
Blows with perpetual winnow.

\* \* \* \* \*

And towards its fountains ampler rains, perchance,  
Fall, as the Etesian fans, now wide unfurl'd,

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\* Speke places a negro nation of the name of Chopi between the Karuma Falls on the Nile and Lake Nzige. Mophi is formed on Crophi in the manner of "namby-pamby."

Ply the big clouds perpetual from the north  
 Far o'er the red equator, where condens'd,  
 Pond'rous and low, against the hills they strike,  
 And shed their treasures o'er the rising flood,  
 Or from the Ethiop mountains, the bright sun,  
 Now full matured, with deep-dissolving ray,  
 May melt the agglomerate snows, and down the plains  
 Drive them."

Eastern writers have placed the sources of the Nile in equatorial lakes, and some make it and the Niger issue from the same lake. They were in the way of getting better information than the Greeks and Romans, but they probably follow Ptolemy. According to Wilford the ancient books of the Hindoos place the source of the White Nile near the equator, in the *Padmawan* or Sacred Lily Lake. Wilford's papers cannot be trusted, but it is a strange coincidence that Speke\* should have found the Victoria Nyanza so covered with water-lilies that one might walk on their leaves.

Our next authorities are the Portuguese. They had their factories on both sides of Africa early in the 16th century, and went to and fro between them. They always brought accounts of a great midland sea lying across their way, but little beyond this became generally known, the most valuable records of these expeditions across Africa having remained unused in the hands of the Government of Portugal until the Royal Geographical Society, under Sir Roderick Murchison, drew attention to them. Such Portuguese authorities as were then accessible were summarised by the learned Cooley, in 1845, in his paper on "*The Geography of Nyassi*," and all my quotations are from it. "Already in 1518 we" (writes Cooley) "find it stated," (*Fernandez de Enciso, Suma de Geographia*) "as a fact learned from the natives of Congo, that the river Zaire rises in a lake in the interior, from which issues in the opposite direction another great river, presumed at that time to be the Nile." In his *Decades* (1552-63) De Barros "tells us of a great lake in the centre of Africa," whence issue the Nile, the Zaire, and the great river, the branches of which encompass Benomotapa, besides many others that are nameless. It is a sea of such magnitude as to be capable of being navigated by many sail, and among the

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\* Speke places a nation of the name of Amara on the north-east of the Nyanza,—this is the Sanscrit name of the Lake of the Immortals Wilford identifies with the Nyassi. *Vide infra*, Le Père Léon on the Amara.

islands in it there is one capable of sending forth an army of 30,000 men." \* \* "According to the accounts received from Congo and Sofalah the lake must be one hundred leagues in length." With respect to the great river encompassing Benomotapa, he explains to us that "one branch of it is the Espiritu Santo, the other the Cuama, which is called in the interior Zembere. The practice here exemplified of deriving several rivers from a common source remained long in vogue with geographers."

Lopez (*Relatione del Reame di Congo*) was edited by Pigafetta in 1599. He "had heard of a lake called Achelunda (in the language of Angola *the sea*), from which the Quanza and other rivers were said to take their rise, the Zaire also flowing through it. But besides this lake, which was of minor importance, Pigafetta places two great lakes further east, in which, according to him, are the sources of the Nile, Zaire, &c. It is evident that in placing two lakes he sought to maintain some agreement with Ptolemy, from whose authority, nevertheless, he ventured to dissent respecting the position of the lakes. His words are as follows:—

"It remains for us to speak of the Nile, which does not rise in the country of Bel Gian (the Emperor of Abyssinia), nor yet in the Mountains of the Moon, as Ptolemy writes, from two lakes east and west of each other, and 450 miles asunder. \* \* \* Now Odoardo (Lopez) affirms that *there is but one lake in this region*, on the confines of Angola and Monomotapa. It is 195 miles in diameter, and information, as given respecting it, is furnished by the people of Angola and by those of Monomotapa and Sofalah, who give us a full account of this, while they make no mention of any other lake; so that we may conclude that there is no other in those latitudes. \* \* \* It is true that there are two lakes, not, however, lying east and west, but north and south, of each other, and about 400 miles asunder. The first is in 12 deg. south. The Nile, issuing from it, does not, according to Odoardo, sink in the earth, but after flowing northward it enters the second lake, which is 220 miles in extent, and is called by the natives *a sea*. Respecting this lake very positive information is given us by the Auzichi near Congo. They say that on the lake there are people in great ships, who can write, have weights and measures, build houses with stone and lime, and may be compared with the Portuguese, whence it is to be inferred that Prete Gian is not far off." From this it would not appear that he sought to



maintain some agreement with Ptolemy, but that he had some knowledge of the Nyassi and Tanganyenka. The former extends beyond 12 deg. south and 400 miles further north, close to 5 deg. south, or the middle of the Tanganyenka. From the news lately sent by Le Père Léon of Amara, it would seem that Pigafetta must have even heard of the Victoria Nyanza, and that he confused it with the Tanganyenka lake. But while after recent discovery in Eastern Africa it is easy to explain Pigafetta in this way it was impossible for Cooley to do so with the authorities before him in 1845, and in the map accompanying his paper he places but one lake, Nyassi or *the sea*, in Central Africa, extending from 7 deg. to 12 deg. south, with a town called Tanganyica on its *western* shore. DeFoe could have had no better book than Pigafetta. In Dapper's "Beschryving van Afrika" (1671) he writes of the kingdom of Monemugi. At the extremity of this country, as the blacks tell the Portuguese, is a lake, which they call *a sea*, containing many inhabited islands, and from which flow many rivers. On the eastern side of the lake is a land where they hear the ringing of bells, and see buildings like churches, a people with smooth hair, dark, but not black, come from the East to trade with the islanders on the lake. They are more polished in manners and better attired than other natives." Here again the Tanganyenka and Victoria lakes would seem to be confused, and Cooley considers the passage but a paraphrase of Pigafetta. Dos Santos (*circa* 1597) writes: "The Caffres say they have heard that this river rises in a great lake in the centre of Ethiopia, from which issue also some other great rivers flowing off with different names and in various directions, and in the middle of the lake are many islands, well peopled, rich, and abounding in provisions."

DeCouto the historian, about the same period, often alludes to "the famous lake in the middle of Africa," and relates that "in 1570 there issued from the heart of Ethiopia, from the shores of that great lake whence flow the Cuama, the Zaire, the Rapta, and the Nile, hordes of barbarians like locusts." This is the sum of the labours of the Portuguese given to the world prior to the publication of the *Adventures of Captain Singleton* in 1720. Luigi Mariano, in his *Lettere Annue d' Ethiopia, Malabar, Brazil, e Goa*, published at Rome in 1627, describes the lake of Hemosura, 97 days distant from Tete, evidently the Nyassi. In 1796 a Portuguese expedition, under

Manoel Caetano Pereira, visited Cazembi, and an account of this journey was given in Lucerdas' despatches, from which Bowdich compiled his work on the discoveries of the Portuguese. They were not published in full until 1830. The accounts of later Portuguese journeys are only now appearing from time to time in the periodicals of Lisbon.

But for the work of real discovery in Central Africa we must turn to men who were not Portuguese.

Bruce visited Abyssinia in 1769, and discovered the source of the Blue Nile. In 1827 Linant reached 13 deg. 30 min. on the White Nile. In 1835 the Rev. C. W. Isenberg, and in 1837 the Rev. Dr. Krapf, visited Abyssinia, and being driven from that country in 1839 explored the Soumali Horn from Tajura to Shoa. Dr. Beke and the expedition under Major Harris followed them over the same ground in 1840.

In 1841 the second Egyptian expedition under D'Arnauld and Sabatier explored the White Nile to 4 deg. 42 min. north, and the venerable Jomard published his account of Limmov and the river Habaiiah.

In 1845 Cooley published his learned paper on the Geography of the Nyassi, and in 1847 Dr. Beke published his elaborate paper on the Nile and its tributaries. Dr. Beke's chief object would appear to be to discredit M. D'Abbadie's opinion that the Nile had its sources about Narea and Caffa, while he contends that they should be sought in the country of the Mono-Moezi, in 2 deg. south, and between 29 deg. and 34 deg. east—about the position of the Nyanza, in fact. Dr. Beke is now proved to have divined the truth, and it may be the whole truth; but it is still probable that M. D'Abbadie may have divined the truth also. Bruce at least learnt that the White Nile rises in the country south of Narea, and that thence the Zeebe and many other rivers run south into the inner Ethiopia, and, as he "*heard from the natives of that country, empty themselves into a lake, as those on the north of the line do into the Lake Tzana.*" Relying on Bruce indeed, while supporting Speke's hypothesis that the Nile flowed from the Victoria Nyanza, I argued in my paper of 1859 that the head of the Nile must be in these rivers of Narea and Caffa, which I lumped, and I fear very erroneously, under the common name of the Habaiiah of Jomard. In 1849 Mr. Rebman discovered the mountains of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, which he was informed were snow-capped. In 1852

Sir Roderick Murchison stated his theory of the structure of Africa before the Royal Geographical Society. The same year Colonel Sykes recommended an expedition from Mombas in search of the *Caput Nili*, giving it as his opinion that the discovery of Kenia and Kilimanjaro limited its area between 2 deg. and 4 deg. south, and 32 deg. and 36 deg. east, almost the exact area of the Victoria Nyanza. In 1854 Brun Rollet established the ivory station of Belenia, on the White Nile, 5 deg. north.

In 1856 Macqueen published his critical "Notes on the Geography of Central Africa," and in the map accompanying divided the Nyassi from Lake Tanganyenka. With the latter he evidently, as it now appears, confused the Victoria Nyanza. After an analysis of conflicting accounts, he concludes that the *Great Lake* (Tanganyenka) has its most northern part in 3 deg. 45 min. south, and its centre in 29 deg. east—exactly true of the Tanganyenka, and then continues: "Mount Kenia, the snow-covered mountain seen by Dr. Krapf, lies exactly under the equator, and in 35 deg. east long. From thence a range of very high hills, rising above the range of perpetual congelation, and some of them volcanic, are to the westward, and their spurs approach within a short distance of the great lake in question. Immediately to the north of Mount Kenia rises the most southern source of the Bahr-el-Abiad, the real Egyptian Nile. Of this the information I have collected leaves no doubt." "It was well known to the early Portuguese. \* \* They \* \* placed it too much to the east, covering, as may be seen in *DeLisle* from old Portuguese maps, a great portion of Africa to the northward and westward of Kilimanjaro." Immediately northward and westward of Kilimanjaro is the Victoria Nyanza, and while Macqueen placed the Tanganyenka lake correctly the old Portuguese maps evidently placed the Victoria Nyanza correctly. In the same year (1856) Krapf and Rebman published their missionary map of Eastern Africa, compiled from oral accounts, and in this Nyassi and the Tanganyenka and Victoria lakes are run into a great slug from the equator to 15 deg. south. This remarkable map made quite a sensation, and it was the cause of Speke and Burton being sent into Eastern Africa in 1858. In the spring of that year they reached the Tanganyenka, and on the 2nd of August after, Speke discovered the Victoria Nyanza. Macqueen doubted its connection with the White Nile, and Speke's second adventure was made to refute Macqueen. I now come to my extracts from DeFoe's *Adventures of Captain Singleton*,

published in 1720. The edition is that of Edinburgh, 1810. My attention was first directed to this work, in connection with recent discoveries in Eastern Africa, by His Excellency the Governor about twelve months ago.

## Page 78.

And, to add to the exclamation I am making on the nature of the place, it was here that we took one of the rashest and wildest and most desperate resolution that ever was taken by man, or any number of men, in the world—this was to travel over land through the heart of the country, from the coast of Mozambique, on the east ocean, to the coast of Angola or Guinea, on the Western or Atlantic Ocean, a continent of land of at least 1800 miles, in which journey we had excessive heats to support, impassable deserts to go over, no carriages, camels, or beasts of any kind, to carry our baggage, innumerable numbers of wild and ravenous beasts to encounter with, such as lions, leopards, tigers, lizards, and elephants ; we had the equinoctial line to pass under, and, consequently, were in the very centre of the torrid zone ; we had nations of savages to encounter with, barbarous and brutish to the last degree, hunger and thirst to struggle with, and, in one word, terrors enough to have daunted the stoutest hearts that ever were placed in cases of flesh and blood.

## Page 82.

Our aim was for the coast of Angola, which, by the charts we had, lying very near the same latitude we were then in, our course thither was due west ; and as we were assured we should meet with rivers we doubted not but that by their help we might ease our journey, especially if we could find means to cross the great lake or inland of the sea, which the natives call Coalmucoa, out of which it is said the river Nile has its source or beginning ; but we reckoned without our host, as you will see in the sequel of our story.

## Page 107.

In this manner the river carried us up, by our computation, near 200 miles, and then it narrowed apace, and was not above as broad as the Thames is at Windsor, or thereabouts ; and after another day we came to a great waterfall or cataract, enough to frighten us, for I believe the whole body of water fell at once perpendicularly down a precipice above sixty feet high, which made noise enough to deprive men of their hearing, and we heard it above ten miles before we came to it.

## Page 118.

Our negroes towing our canoes, we travelled at a considerable rate, and by our own account could not go less than 20 or 25 English miles a day, and the river continuing to be much at the same breadth, and very deep all the way, till on the tenth day we came to another cataract; for, a ridge of high hills crossing the whole channel of the river, the water came tumbling down the rocks, from one stage to another, in a strange manner; so that it was a continued link of cataracts from one to another in the manner of a cascade, only that the falls were sometimes a quarter of a mile from one another, and the noise confused and frightful.

We thought our voyaging was at a full stop now; but three of us, with a couple of our negroes, mounting the hills another way, to view the course of the river, we found a fair channel again after about half a mile's march, and that it was like to hold us a good way further. So we set all hands to work, unloaded our cargo, and hauled our canoes on shore, to see if we could carry them.

## Page 120.

We now set forward wholly by land, and without any expectation of more water-carriage. All our concern for more water was, to be sure, to have a supply for our drinking; and therefore upon every hill that we came near we clambered up to the highest part, to see the country before us, and to make the best judgment we could which way to go, to keep the lowest grounds, and as near some stream of water as we could.

The country held verdant, well grown with trees, and spread with rivers and brooks, and tolerably well with inhabitants, for about thirty days' march after our leaving the canoes, during which time things went pretty well with us; we did not tie ourselves down when to march and when to halt, but ordered those things as our convenience, and the health and ease of our people, as well as our servants and ourselves, required.

## Page 129.

From this part of the country we went on for about 15 days, and then found ourselves obliged to march up a high ridge of mountains, frightful to behold, and the first of the kind that we met with, and having no guide but our little pocket compass we had no advantage of information as to which was the best or the worst way, but were obliged to choose by what we saw, and shift as well as we could.

## Page 141.

It was the ninth day of our travel in this wilderness when we came to the view of a great lake of water.

## Page 142.

The next day, which was the tenth from our setting out, we came to the edge of this lake, and, happily for us, we came to it at the south point of it, for to the north we could see no end of it; so we passed by it, and travelled three days by the side of it, which was a great comfort to us, because it lightened our burthen, there being no need to carry water when we had it in view. And yet, though here was so much water, we found but very little alteration in the desert, no trees, no grass or herbage, except that thistle, as I called it, and two or three more plants, which we did not understand, of which the desert began to be pretty full.

But as we were refreshed with the neighbourhood of this lake of water, so we were now gotten among a prodigious number of ravenous inhabitants, the like whereof, it is most certain, the eye of man never saw. For as I firmly believe that never man, nor any body of men, passed this desert since the flood, so I believed there is not the like collection of fierce, ravenous, and devouring creatures in the world—I mean not in any particular place.

For a day's journey before we came to this lake, and all the three days we were passing by it, and for six or seven days' march after it, the ground was scattered with elephants' teeth, in such a number as is incredible; and as some of them may have lain there for some hundreds of years, so, seeing the substance of them scarce ever decays, they may lie there, for aught I know, to the end of time.

## Page 150.

However, we began to be weary of such company, and to get rid of them we set forward again two days sooner than we intended. We found now that though the desert did not end, nor could we see any appearance of it, yet that the earth was pretty full of green stuff, of one sort or another, so that our cattle had no want; and, secondly, that there were several little rivers which ran into the lake, and so long as the country continued low we found water sufficient, which eased us very much in our carriage, and we went on still sixteen days more without yet coming to any appearance of better soil: after this we found the country rise a little, and by that we perceived that the water would fail us,

so, for fear of the worst, we filled our bladder bottles with water. We found the country rising gradually thus for three days continually, when on the sudden we perceived that though we had mounted up insensibly yet that we were on the top of a very high ridge of hills, though not such as at first.

When we came to look down on the other side of the hills we saw, to the great joy of all our hearts, that the desert was at an end, that the country was clothed with green, abundance of trees, and a large river; and we made no doubt but that we should find people and cattle also: and here, by our gunner's account, who kept our computations, we had marched about 400 miles over this dismal place of horror, having been four and thirty days a doing of it, and consequently were come about 1,100 miles of our journey.

In three days' march we came to a river, which we saw from the hills, and which we called the Golden River, and we found it ran northward, which was the first stream we had met with that did so. It ran with a very rapid current, and our gunner, pulling out his map, assured me that this was either the river Nile, or ran into the great lake out of which the river Nile was said to take its beginning; and he brought out his charts and maps, which by his instruction, I began to understand very well, and told me he would convince me of it, and indeed he seemed to make it so plain to me that I was of the same opinion.\*

Page 170.

It was the 12th of October or thereabouts that we began to set forward, and having an easy country to travel in, as well as to supply us with provisions, though still without inhabitants, we made more despatch, travelling sometimes, as we calculated it, 20 or 25 miles a day; nor did we halt anywhere in eleven days' march, one day excepted, which was to make a raft to carry us over a small river, which, having been swelled with the rains, was not yet quite down. When we were past this river, which, by the way, ran to the northward too, we found a great row of hills in our way. We saw indeed the country open to the right at a great distance, but as we kept true to our course due west we were not willing to go a great way out of our way only to shun a few hills, so we advanced; but we were surprised, when, being not quite come to the top, one of our company, who, with two negroes, was got up before

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\* The ancient Ophir has been identified by some with the gold fields of Manica and the Mushinga hills, but no diggings that are productive now are likely to have been the Ophir of the Jews.

us, cried out, "The sea! the sea!" and fell a dancing and jumping as signs of joy. The gunner and I were most surprised at it, because we had but that morning been calculating that we were then above 1,000 miles from the sea-side, and that we could not expect to reach it till another rainy season would be upon us, so that when our man cried out "The sea" the gunner was angry, and said he was mad. But we were both in the greatest surprise imaginable, when, coming to the top of the hill, and, though it was very high, we saw nothing but water, either before us, or to the right hand or the left, being a vast sea, without any bound but the horizon. He went down the hill full of confusion of thought, not being able to conceive whereabouts we were, or what it must be, seeing by all our charts the sea was yet a vast way off.

It was not above three miles from the hills before we came to the shore, or water-edge of this sea, and there, to our further surprise, we found the water fresh and pleasant to drink, so that, in short, we knew not what course to take. The sea, as we thought it to be, put a full stop to our journey (I mean westward), for it lay just in the way. Our next question was which hand to turn to—to the right or the left; but this was soon resolved; for, as we knew not the extent of it, we considered that our way, if it had been the sea really, must be to the north, and therefore if we went to the south now it must be just so much out of our way at last; so, having spent a good part of the day in our surprise at the thing, and consulting what to do, we set forward to the north.

We travelled upon the shore of this sea full 23 days before we could come to any resolution about what it was, at the end of which, early one morning, one of our seamen cried out, "Land!" and it was no false alarm, for we saw plainly the tops of some hills at a very great distance, on the further side of the water, due west; but though this satisfied us that it was not the ocean, but an inland sea or lake, yet we saw no land to the northward, that is to say, no end of it, but were obliged to travel eight days more, and near 100 miles further, before we came to the end of it, and then we found this lake or sea ended in a very great river, which ran N. or N. by E., as the other river had done, which I mentioned before. My friend the gunner, upon examining, said that he believed that he was mistaken before, and that this was the river Nile, but was still of the mind that we were of before, that we should not think of a voyage into Egypt that way; so we resolved upon crossing this river, which, however, was not so easy as before, the river being very rapid, and the channel very broad.



## Page 173.

In the last three days of our travel we met with some inhabitants, but we found they lived upon the little hills, and not by the water-side ; nor were we a little put to it for food in this march, having killed nothing for four or five days but some fish we caught out of the lake, and that not in such plenty as we found before. But, to make us some amends, we had no disturbance upon all the shore of this lake from any wild beasts ; the only inconveniency of that kind was that we met an ugly, venomous, deformed kind of a snake or serpent in the wet grounds near the lake, that several times pursued us, as if it would attack us, and if we struck or threw anything at it it would raise itself up and hiss so loud that it might be heard a great way off ; it had a hellish, ugly, deformed look and voice, and our men would not be persuaded but it was the devil, only that we did not know what business Satan could have there, where there were no people.

It was very remarkable that we had now travelled 1,000 miles without meeting with any people in the heart of the whole continent of Africa, where, to be sure, never man set his foot since the sons of Noah spread themselves over the face of the whole earth. Here also our gunner took an observation with his forestaff, to determine our latitude, and he found now that, having marched about 33 days northward, we were in 6 degrees 22 minutes south latitude.

## Page 176.

Through all that inhospitable country we saw continually lions, tigers, leopards, civet cats, and abundance of kinds of creatures that we did not understand ; we saw no elephants, but every now and then we met with an elephant's tooth lying on the ground, and some of them lying, as it were, half buried by the length of time that they had lain there.

## Page 178.

On the further bank of this river we saw some sign of inhabitants, but met with none for the first day, but the next day we came into an inhabited country, the people all negroes, and stark naked, without shame, both men and women.

## Page 179.

At last we began to inquire our way, pointing to the west. They made us understand easily that we could not go that way, but they pointed to us that we might go north-west, so that we presently

understood that there was another lake in our way, which proved to be true ; for in two days more we saw it plain, and it held us till we passed the equinoctial line, lying all the way on our left hand, though at a great distance.

Page 181.

Upon these considerations he advised us that as soon as we had passed this lake we should proceed W.S.W., that is to say, a little inclining to the south, and that in time we should meet with the great river Congo, from whence the coast is called Congo, being a little north of Angola, where we intended at first to go.

Page 183.

But we had not marched above twelve days more, eight whereof was taken up in rounding the lake, and four more south-west, in order to make for the river Congo, but we were put to another full stop, by entering a country so desolate, so frightful, and so wild, that we knew not what to think or do, for, besides that it appeared as a terrible and boundless desert, having neither woods, trees, rivers, nor inhabitants, so even the place where we were was desolate of inhabitants, nor had we any way to gather in a stock of provisions for the passing of this desert, as we did before at our entering the first, unless we had marched back four days to the place where we turned the head of the lake. Well, notwithstanding this, we ventured ; for, to men that had passed such wild places as we had done, nothing could seem too desperate to undertake. We ventured, I say, and the rather because we saw very high mountains in our way at a great distance, and we imagined wherever there were mountains there would be springs and rivers, where rivers there would be trees and grass, where trees and grass there would be cattle, and where cattle some kind of inhabitants.

At last, in consequence of this speculative philosophy, we entered this waste, having a great heap of roots and plants for our bread, such as the Indians gave us, a very little flesh or salt, and but a little water. We travelled two days towards those hills, and still they seemed as far off as they did at first, and it was the fifth day before we got to them ; indeed, we travelled safely, for it was excessively hot, and we were much about the very equinoctial line—we hardly knew whether to the south or the north of it. As we had concluded that where there were hills there would be springs, so it happened ; but we were not only surprised, but really frightened, to find the first spring we came to, and which looked admirably clear and beautiful, to be salt as brine.

## Page 186.

The next day we mounted the tops of the hills, where the prospect was indeed astonishing, for as far as the eye could look, south or west or north-west, there was nothing to be seen but a vast howling wilderness, with neither tree or river, or any green thing. The surface we found, as the part we passed the day before, had a kind of thick moss upon it, of a blackish dead colour, but nothing in it that looked like food either for man or beast.

## Page 187.

Upon this terrible prospect I renewed my motion of turning northward, and making towards the River Niger or Rio Grand, then to turn west towards the English settlements on the Gold Coast, to which every one most readily consented, only our gunner, who was indeed our best guide, though he happened to be mistaken at this time.

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And at length they reached the Gold Coast.

It would be unreasonable to insist on the details of this adventure. All I would draw attention to is that Captain Singleton's party went into Africa about 12 deg. south, and got out of it on the Gold Coast, and that they describe three great lakes on the road. A line drawn between 12 deg. south and the Gold Coast passes by Nyassi, through the Tanganyenka lake, and south of the position on the maps of the great lake of the river Congo or Zaire.

Either DeFoe's story may be founded on popular knowledge of Central Africa in 1720, or it may be a strange coincidence, or an actual adventure. Each critic must judge for himself.

I believe the story of this African journey must have been taken from one who had made it.

In conclusion—Has the head of the Nile been found? No great river begins in a lake, and we must look beyond the Nyanza for the springs of the Nile, and I believe they will be found in the position indicated by Bruce, D'Abbadie, and Macqueen.

And does the Nyanza after all empty into the Nile? It is unfortunate that Speke and Grant could not track the river which falls out of the lake to the Nile, but there can be no doubt of the Victoria Nyanza being the great reservoir of the Nile, the river of Egypt. Macqueen doubted their connection in 1859. In that year Le Père Leon gave

some very curious information regarding the Amara. He states that there is a frequented road from Brava, on the sea-coast, to Caffa, the journey occupying 24 days; twelve days' journey south of Caffa dwell a people called Amara,\* nearly white. They have written books, and build houses and villages, and cultivate the ground, and are conjectured to be the remains of a Christian nation; four days' journey from the Amara there is a lake from which an affluent of the Nile is said to flow. Le Père Leon supposes it to be the Seboth, but Macqueen thought it more probable that it is the main stream of the Nile. But the inundation of the Nile cannot be explained except by assuming a feeder below, as well as above, the line; and there is literally *no room* to doubt that the Nyanza is the great southern feeder of the Nile. The only question is whether the northern affluents all reach the Nile direct, or any of them through the Victoria lake. As this Nyanza is now proved not to extend to 2 deg. north, as Speke was first told, my argument in 1859 for the Habaiah entering it no longer holds water. It is just possible, however, that the south-flowing rivers of Caffa and Narea may run into the Nyanza, and its chief tributary, from whatsoever quarter, is the true *Caput Nili*.

The Tanganyenka may yet be proved to communicate with the Nyassi, and there may be a portage between the former and the Nile.

*Note, December 5th, 1865.*—Mr. Baker has found the lake Luta Nzige, of which Speke took home the rumour, and yet the source of the Nile is as great a mystery as ever. All that Speke proved by his two journeys in search of it is the fact of a vast lake in Central Africa in the meridian of the Nile, and flowing out northwards. All that Mr. Baker has proved by his journey is the fact of a second lake, north-west of the Victoria Nyanza, and still nearer than it to the Nile at "Miani's tree" the southmost point to which the river has been tracked. By neither has the river been tracked into or out of either of the lakes. Our absolute knowledge of the source of the Nile is no more, therefore, than Herodotus and Ptolemy had. The enigma of the Nile is still unsolved. Past Khartoum, past Miani's tree, the river still flows up from the silent south, and never perhaps shall its secret come up out of that silence; and who would not have it so?

(See *Bombay Saturday Review* Sept. 2nd, 1865, "THE CAPUT NILI," by G. B.)

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\* Speke places a negro territory of this name on the north-east of his lake.

The Honorable the *President* observed that it was highly probable that the adventures were founded on fact. The country had been opened up by the Portuguese previous to DeFoe's time, and nothing was more probable than that it might have been crossed by a shipwrecked crew. No doubt, if De Barros' Geography were at hand, confirmation would be found of the adventures of Singleton; all his efforts to procure a copy had, however, failed. The Honorable the *President* concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the Secretary for his paper.

At the Monthly Meeting of the 8th October 1863, on the motion of the *Honorary President*, seconded by the Honorable the *President*, the best thanks of the Society were voted to the Honorable Mr. Justice Newton for his most valuable and interesting communication on the Sáh, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiarwar and Guzerat.

The Honorable the *President* in seconding this motion remarked that it would be in the recollection of many of the members present that Government had in 1858 sent a number of coins of the type on which Mr. Newton has deciphered the word "Bhallaraha" to the Society with a request that we would report upon them. The Society, however, even with the assistance of Vishnu Shastri, were obliged to declare themselves baffled, and recommended Government to send the coins to England, in hopes that some of the learned there might be able to read them, but no better success attended the inquiries in England than in Bombay. He would therefore congratulate the Society on its having been reserved to one of their body to decipher this legend, and to discover the coins of the Valabhi dynasty. Extracts from Mr. Newton's paper ought, the *President* thought, to be sent to Government, in continuation of the correspondence to which he had referred above, and he would not conclude his remarks without thanking Mr. Newton for the honour he had thus done to the Society. He must, however, at the same time, observe that there was still much left for Mr. Newton to do, in examining all procurable coins of Valabhi type, and ascertaining whether they were all of one reign, and he hoped that the Honorable Judge would complete the interesting work which it had been reserved for him to commence, and which the *President* trusted he would carry out to the end.

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING,

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30TH, 1863.

The *Honorary Secretary*, at the request of the Honorable the President, then read the

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR 1862-63.

GENTLEMEN,—During the past year 41 resident members and 2 non-resident members have been elected, against 17 elected in 1861-62. 8 have withdrawn from the Society, and 1 died, during the year. There are, therefore, 146 members at present on the register, namely, 115 resident and 31 non-resident. Of the members on the register 25 are absent in Europe or non-paying.

*Library.*—368 works in 957 volumes, exclusive of periodicals, have been added to the library by purchase, against 147 works in 212 volumes bought the previous year; 83 works in 103 volumes and 26 pamphlets have been presented to the Society; 84 in 231 volumes have been re-bound, and 88 files of newspapers stitch-bound.

*Periodicals.*—The periodicals taken in by the Society are as follows: viz.—*Literary* 5, *Illustrated* 4, *Scientific* 27, *Reviews* 6, *European Newspapers* 11, *Medical Newspaper* 1, *Register and Army Lists* 6, *French Literary and Scientific Periodicals* 9, *American* 4, *German* 4, *Indian Newspapers* 11, *Indian Journals and Reviews and Almanacs* 15, *Batavian Publications* 3. Total of scientific and literary periodicals 83, and newspapers 23, out of which 27 are presentations from learned societies and institutions in exchange for our Transactions.

*Tabular Statement.*—The following statement will show the number of works added to the library by purchase, exclusive of periodicals, in their respective classes:—

Classes.	Subjects.	Works.	Vols.
I.	Theology and Ecclesiastical History . . . . .	36	52
II.	Natural Theology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy . . . . .	2	2
III.	Logic, Rhetoric, and Works relating to Educa- tion . . . . .	2	2
IV.	Classics, Translations, and Works illustrative of the Classics . . . . .	10	98
V.	Philology, Literary History, and Bibliography..	5	6
VI.	History, Historical Memoirs, and Chronology..	23	46
VII.	Politics, Political Economy, and Statistics . . . .	15	22
VIII.	Jurisprudence . . . . .	37	69
IX.	Public Records, Statutes, and Parliamentary Papers . . . . .	20	22
X.	Biography and Personal Narratives. . . . .	28	50
XI.	Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, and Gene- alogy . . . . .	8	11
XII.	Voyages, Travels, Geography, and Topography.	29	33
XIII.	English Poetry and Dramatic Works . . . . .	15	54
XIV.	Novels, Romances, and Tales . . . . .	31	198
XV.	Miscellaneous, and works on several subjects of the same author . . . . .	9	34
XVI.	Foreign Literature. . . . .	8	25
XVII.	Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Mechanics, and Astronomy. . . . .	24	30
XVIII.	The Fine Arts and Architecture . . . . .	7	9
XIX.	The Science of War, and Works on Military Subjects. . . . .	1	4
XX.	Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology, and Chemistry. . . . .	19	25
XXI.	Botany, Agriculture, and Horticulture. . . . .	8	21
XXII.	Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy. . . . .	4	7
XXIII.	Physiology, Dietetics, and Medical Jurispru- dence . . . . .	4	7
XXIV.	Transactions of Learned Societies, Encyclopæ- dias, &c. . . . .	12	117
XXV.	Dictionaries, Lexicons, Vocabularies, and Gram- matical Works . . . . .	6	9
XXVI.	Oriental Literature . . . . .	9	11
Total of Works and Volumes. . . .		368	957

*Catalogue.*—The alphabetical catalogue of the library, corrected up to 31st December 1862, and the rules, have been printed during the

past year, at an expense of Rs. 2,000, and distributed *gratis* to members. A supplemental catalogue, alphabetical and classified, of the works received during the year, is in the press, and proofs of the alphabetical portion are laid before the meeting.

*Museum.*—There have been two donations to the Museum during the year, one of a large slab of trap rock bearing Canarese characters, forwarded by Dr. Ross from North Canara through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, and one of a slab of marble bearing Himyaritic Inscriptions, from Jebel, presented by Dr. Davidson through Dr. Coles.

*Original Communications.*—There have been five original communications read before the Society during the year, the manuscripts of which are in the custody of the Society. The two communications on the Sah, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat, by the Honorable Mr. Justice Newton, are most valuable contributions to our Journal.

*Transfer of the Society's Book Agency.*—Early in the year the Committee transferred the Society's Book Agency from Mr. Mudie to Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co., who up to date have performed this duty satisfactorily.

*Selection of Books.*—Hitherto the selection of new books was left to the discretion of our Agent. The Committee have now undertaken this part of their duty, and the books they have selected during the year are chiefly standard works. Light works were admitted when proposed by any of the Society's members in the book of *desiderata*.

*Completion of several Departments of the Library.*—Much has been done in the way of enriching those departments of the Library which were deficient, particularly the classes of *Classics, Jurisprudence, Natural History and Theology, and Ecclesiastical History*, to which numerous standard and costly works have been added.

*Suggestions for reducing the Society's Subscription.*—The Committee have had under consideration the reduction of the annual subscription, and after mature consideration came to the conclusion—"That if the Society is to be maintained as a scientific society the present rate of subscription must be continued."

*Application to Government for Assistance.*—At the same time the Committee, having made inquiries as to the assistance received by the Calcutta Branch Royal Asiatic Society from the State, resolved to apply to Government for a grant of Rupees 300 a month, to assist



the Society in the promotion of its objects generally, and particularly in the improvement of its Oriental and Scientific departments, and the publication of a Bibliotheca of valuable Guzerathi, Marathi, and Sanscrit texts.

*Finance.*—The financial statement of the Society is satisfactory.

The Revd. Dr. Wilson, Honorary President, seconded by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., then moved “That the Report now read be adopted, and that the best thanks of the Society be given to the Honorable President, the Committee of Management, and the Office-bearers of the Society, for their services during the past year.”—The motion was carried by acclamation.

The Honorable President, in returning thanks to the Society on behalf of their office-bearers for the year 1862-63, said “that it was his duty to inform the Society how much in his opinion the Society was indebted to their Secretary for the satisfactory report that the Committee had been able to submit to the Society. He was happy also to inform the meeting that Mr. Cowasjee Jehanghier Readymoney had placed the sum of Rs. 5,000 with Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co., for the purchase of Oriental works for the Society, and that the Honorable Jugonnath Sunkersett had directed an equal sum to be expended on works on Natural History. These gentlemen had hoped that the collections would have arrived in time to present them to the Society before the anniversary meeting. They had, however, been disappointed in this, but he was bound to mention their intentions, and felt sure that in doing so he was guilty of no breach of confidence. He trusted that their munificent example might be followed by others.

In conformity with the Society’s Rules, Article X., the Meeting then proceeded to the election of members of the Committee of Management for the year 1863-64, and the following is the list of office-bearers elected for the year 1863-1864 :—*President*—The Honorable W. E. Frere; *Vice-Presidents*—M. Stovell, Esq. M.D., the Honorable Mr. Justice Newton, the Honorable Mr. Justice Forbes, Colonel W. R. Dickinson; *Members of the Committee of Management*—Bháú Dájí, Esq., G.G.M.C., Lieut. Col. J. B. Dunsterville, Sir A. Grant, Bart., George Foggo, Esq., J. Peet, Esq., M.D., Cowasjee Jehanghier Readymoney, Esq., W. Loudon, Esq., Brigadier Tapp, C.B., J. P. Hughlings, Esq., W. C. Coles, Esq., M.D.; *Auditors*—George Foggo, Esq., and W. Loudon, Esq.; George Birdwood, Esq., M.D., *Honorary Secretary*.

The *Newspapers* and *Periodicals* proposed to be added or discontinued were then voted on one by one. The *Bengal Hurkaru*, the *Economist*, the *Examiner*, and the *Bombay Price Current*, were voted to be discontinued from the 1st of January 1864. The *Madras Times*, the *Times of India*, and the *Bombay Gazette*, were voted to be continued. The *Mofussilite*, the *Poona Observer*, *Meliora*, the *Indu Prakash*, the *Sindian*, *Chemical News*, *Pharmaceutical Journal*, and the *London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazines*, were voted to be added to the list of periodicals. The *Fort Saint George Gazette*, at present received on payment by the Society, the Secretary was directed to apply for gratis. Professor Candy intimated that as the meeting would not vote for the *Phonetic News* he would himself present it to the Society.

At the conclusion of the proceedings the Rev. Dr. Wilson, seconded by Sir Alex. Grant, Bart., proposed a vote of thanks to the Honorable the President for conducting the business of the Anniversary Meeting, and the meeting was adjourned to Thursday the 10th December next.

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